ENCOUNTERS WITH CHRIST IN LATER MIDDLE ENGLISH PASTORAL AND CATECHETIC TEXTS

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Abstract

This thesis explores believers' encounters with Christ in the first half of the fifteenth-century, as portrayed in Middle English pastoral and catechetic writings circulating at the time. Scholarship to date has examined the christological nature of lyrics, eucharistic devotion, passion meditations, and mystical writings, while overlooking important pastoral and catechetic texts. This approach has propounded a religious landscape in England marked by personal and privatised piety, and results in an impoverished account of the fundamental locus of encounters with Christ: public worship.

This thesis addresses this inaccurate perception of fifteenth-century religious culture in England, and demonstrates that pastoral and catechetic texts—grassroot textual witnesses mostly neglected for their supposed lack of 'literary merit'—were predominantly popular and common as variants indicate, thus shedding light on religious practices and beliefs centred on Christ and taking place within the social body of the Church. This thesis examines more than 250 manuscripts and contributes to scholarship by offering new taxonomies of three corpora of texts: *Virtues of the Mass* treatises, levation prayers, and creeds. It uses a substantial number of mostly unknown and unpublished archival material, indexes and classifies the texts, while also analysing their content, manuscript contexts, and affiliation to textual networks.

This taxonomic work is supplemented by an effort in contextualisation, so as to understand the writings in their historical, political, and cultural context. A significant argument of the thesis, supported by evidence in Chapters One, Three, and Four, is that encounters with Christ promoted within public worship resonated with and advanced the reformist agenda of Archbishop Henry Chichele's church. Chichele's agenda was implemented throughout and after the Council of Constance (1414–1418), and promoted unity and pastoral care, while advocating for a 'wide' church, in which diverging theological and ideological views could coexist through the unifying nature of public worship. The three corpora under scrutiny are very much embedded within the religious landscape of the Chichelean church. The thesis argues that these corpora demonstrate a symbiosis between Latin and vernacular writings, and between intellectual and parochial milieux, that reflect a pervasive and porous theological discourse across a religious ecosystem particular to the years 1420s to 1440s in England, centred upon encounters with Christ in public worship.

Extended Abstract

This thesis explores how fifteenth-century believers encountered Christ through the literature being written, copied, and circulated in England at the time. It assesses developments and emphases in christology in theological discourse within the fifteenth-century academy, as well as the reception and dissemination of the pastoral programme of Archbishop Henry Chichele's reform of the *ecclesia Anglicana* after the general Council of Constance (1414–1443). A significant argument of the thesis is that christological innovation was intricately connected to the ecclesiology of the institutional church. To encounter Christ was propounded mostly through the Church, such as attendance at worship, the sacraments, and catechetic education. Christological discourse and developments were not confined to the academy, such as in the Latin writings of Thomas Netter of Walden and Thomas Gascoigne for example, but importantly were put forward in the simplest didactic pastoral and catechetic works of spiritual guidance in Middle English.

In order to assess christological discourse across all kinds of literature in the first half of the fifteenth century, I select three genres of vernacular texts circulating in a considerable number of extant manuscripts. I then compare and contrast them with each other and alongside predominant theological discourses.

In Chapter One, I examine the first corpus, which comports treatises referred to as the *Virtues of the Mass*. I offer a new taxonomy of forty-four texts (appearing in more than 107 manuscripts) by dividing them into two main textual traditions, and shed light on liturgical literacies and devotional practices that promoted encounters with Christ that have been under-studied or largely overlooked in previous scholarship.

In Chapter Two, I anchor the *Virtues of the Mass* corpus in its historical and socio-religious context. I demonstrate how the pastoral guidance of the benefits of attending Mass advanced a national effort by Archbishop Chichele and his bishops to promote public worship as the most significant cultural message of the post-Constance *ecclesia Anglicana*.

Chapter Three catalogues, indexes, and classifies levation prayers—prayers said at the elevation of the eucharistic host at the climax of the Mass—that are the second corpus under scrutiny. I demonstrate the popularity of these prayers by reference to sixty-two extant witnesses. By analysing the manuscript contexts of these writings, I identify a conception of sacramental encounters with Christ anchored within a broader spatio-temporal reality than the Mass. The sacramental participation in Christ advocated by levation prayers came to have a place of its own in private spheres, such as in household devotions.

Chapter Four examines Middle English creeds, the third corpus under scrutiny. I create a taxonomy based on 140 credal witnesses, holding an array of theological and ideological views, which demonstrate the 'devotional cosmopolitanism' of fifteenth-century England. Indeed, the valance of new fifteenth-century credal translations, with their own elisions, amplifications, and clarifications speaks to the plural religious context within which people encountered Christ.

Chapter Five anchors these creeds within the historical context of *doctrina*, the teaching of the elements of the faith, in a time of controversies with heresy trials being conducted across dioceses. In this chapter, I demonstrate how credal statements upholding the *magisterium* of the church functioned as vectors of unity, in a heterogenous religious landscape.

The Conclusion proposes a fresh understanding of fifteenth-century piety characterised by public and communal forms of worship, based upon the preponderance of pastoral and catechetic literature circulating during Chichele's archiepiscopate, reflecting a particular religious ecosystem; one of encounter with Christ in public worship.

Three appendices conclude this study with significant reference details regarding each text and its manuscript. This empirical section provides a significant evidence base for the classification and subdivisions of my taxonomic work, and offers key reference points for future scholarship.

This thesis contributes to a number of scholarly discussions. First, it moves attention away from inward forms of piety to uncover a more holistic approach to devotional practices that shaped the religious and civic landscapes of fifteenth-century England. Second, it advocates for the study of short and malleable pastoral and catechetic texts as compelling examples of literature, as conferred by their status within reading communities rather than modern presuppositions of what literature should be like. These corpora, like Middle English lyrics, are the closest examples of lay literary agencies, and thus deserve our full attention. Third, this thesis forces us to reconsider scholarly scepticism towards lay agency in the religious culture of the time. Clerically mediated religious practices, rather than being enforced from the top down, were often a grassroots endeavour in which the laity exercised significant agency. The malleability of *Virtues of the Mass*, levation prayers, and creeds demonstrates an array of practices and beliefs modelled for and shaped by the laity, reaffirming that Christ was encountered within all strata of society. Fourth, this thesis establishes that the English religious landscape between 1414 and 1443 cannot be interpreted through the lens of fourteenth-century literary scholarship, nor Arundelian censorship for that matter, but ought to be considered as its own entity reflecting specific sensibilities and mentalities in the 'wide' church promoted by Chichele's tenure as archbishop.

Acknowledgments

'*Ferrum ferro acuitur et homo exacuit faciem amici sui*.' As iron sharpens iron, the Vulgate explains, so one person sharpens another. This thesis has been the fruit and labour of much sharpening from its inception to its final line. First, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Vincent Gillespie, and Professor Anna Sapir Abulafia. I could not have asked for better personal and research-related sharpening. Vincent Gillespie has modelled what humble scholarship looks like, where rigour, incisiveness, and wisdom meet kindness, compassion, and endurance. Anna Sapir Abulafia has modelled driven scholarship, where sharpness, enthusiasm, and perceptiveness are coupled with a pastoral care organically flowing from her roles as a wife, mother, and grand-mother so as to demonstrate academic excellence.

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Conventions

Manuscripts

Manuscripts are identified according to their full shelfmark (place, library, and shelfmark) in their first appearance in the body of the text. If the manuscript is then further scrutinised shortly after, subsequent references are to the abbreviated shelfmark (e.g. 'Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59' is then referred to as 'MS Ashmole 59'). I have indicated in a footnote to the lists of texts in the body of the thesis, or appendices, whenever I have not been able to consult a manuscript in person, nor had access to it virtually. My taxonomies have immensely benefitted from catalogues of medieval manuscripts, which I acknowledge in my introduction and in footnotes (mostly in the appendices). The British Library online catalogue 'Explore Archives and Manuscript' and its records of western manuscripts, the Bodleian Library online catalogue 'Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries,' the Wren Digital Library and its 'James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts,' as well as 'MARLOC,' the Manuscripts & Archives Online Catalogue at Trinity College, Dublin, have all been instrumental in my tracing and discovery of new material belonging to the corpora under scrutiny in this study.

Transcriptions

In transcriptions, I retain manuscript word division, while I silently expand abbreviations, whether in Latin or Middle English. For the sake of readability, I have not retained the scribes' uses of the graphs *u* and *v*, but have followed modern conventions. When quoting from an edition, I rely on the editors' conventions, which often retain the scribes' uses of *u* and *v*. In most cases, I retain the scribe's punctuation, although in ambiguous cases, I have supplemented the original text with modern punctuation for clearer meaning. When quoting from an edition, I have retained the editor's own punctuation.

Translations

Unless references are included, translations are my own. I have not translated Middle English for the sake of the flow of my arguments. However, particular words are at times parsed to provide a clearer meaning.

References

Full reference to primary edited works are given at their first appearance in the thesis, and then appear in abbreviated form. Similarly, secondary literature is fully referenced at first instance, and then appears abbreviated. Biographical dates for figures who shaped British history come from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, without direct referencing to the respective entries.

Appendices

The three corpora under scrutiny are indexed in three respective appendices at the end of the thesis, in which each text is described according to a set outline. Each description consists of a header which gives the shelfmark, and folio(s)/page(s) on which the text appears. It is followed by a reference to *DIMEV* (*Digital Index of Middle English Verse*) when the text is in verse. Then, it provides an incipit, followed by a bibliographical entry if the text has been edited or can be accessed through a digital facsimile. Finally, it includes dates and origins (whether place of production, dialectal affiliation, or ownership marks). Unless otherwise stated, I have dated manuscripts following the conventions established by Neil R. Ker in *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), vii. Years in Arabic numerals indicate that the manuscript date or date range is known, whereas roman numerals are used to indicate a more general date. The appendices do not include physical descriptions of the manuscripts and their contents, which would have strengthened the case of this thesis. However, owing to the great number of manuscripts examined, such codicological work would have been outside the scope of this thesis.

List of Abbreviations

Add.	Additional
DIMEV	Linne R. Mooney, et al., *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* <www.dimev.net>
Doctrinale	Thomas Netter, *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei ecclesiae catholicae*, 3 vols., ed. B. Blanciotti (Venice: Antonii Bassanesii, 1757-1759)
Don.	Donation
EETS	Early English Text Society
E.S.	Extra Series
N.S.	New Series
O.S.	Original Series
S.S.	Supplementary Series
e Mus.	E Musaeo
Eng. poet.	English Poetry
Eng. th.	English Theology
Gough Eccl. Top.	Gough Ecclesiastical Topography
IMEP	*The Index of Middle English Prose* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984–present). See full bibliographical entry in the bibliography.
Jolliffe	P. S. Jolliffe, *A Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974)
LALME	McIntosh, Angus, Michael L. Samuels et al., *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986)
Laud misc.	Laud miscellaneous
MED	Robert E. Lewis, gen. ed., *Middle English Dictionary* (online ed.) (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1956–2022) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med>

MMBL	N. R. Ker, and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–2002)
MS	Manuscript
ODNB	David Cannadine, gen. ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005–2022)
PL	Jean-Jacques Migne, ed. *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Garnier, 1844–1855). Accessed online at *Patrologia Latina: The Full Text Database* (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest LLC, 1996–2022) <http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>
Rawl.	Rawlinson
Raymo	Robert Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction,' in *Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050–1400*, vol. 7, ed. J. Burke Severs, and Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science, 1986)
Wood empt.	Wood empti

À Jonathan dont l'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu
est une constante source d'inspiration

INTRODUCTION

Sethe cryste hathe þe honoured þus by hys natyuyte,
Conueyne yne one persone þy nature with þe deyte.
By merytes of hys passyon browȝt þe to felicite,
To þis for-seyde questyoun Ane Awnswere nowe geve me:
Quid ultra debuit facere
Þat lorde þat dyed for þe & me?[1]

'Quid ultra debuit facere/ Þat lorde þat dyed for þe & me?' This macaronic refrain from the fifteenth-century lyric of the same name, found in a single manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 189, begs the question 'what more should Christ have done?' The lyric traces the arc of salvation history, beginning with the first chapter of Genesis and the creation of humanity in the image of God, as well as God bestowing upon humanity stewardship over all the earth. It then moves on to the third chapter of Genesis, and details the fall of humanity, before touching on Christ's Incarnation, passion, redemption, and finally life eternal. The use of the second-person perspective in the lyric invites the audience to perceive their own life, beginning with Christ's act of creation in the first line, and ending with Christ's elevation of humanity into the heavens in the final stanza. The audience is challenged to participate actively in the meta-narrative that frames the poem, while Jesus Christ remains its focus. To participate in this unfolding of salvation history,

[1] 'What More Could Christ Have Done?,' in *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 164; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 189, fol. 104r.

the lyric presupposes the audience's 'feythe and baptyme,' referring to the initiation celebration, also called the sacrament of faith, which begins the Christian life.

Consequently, life with Christ is anchored in the institutional framework of the church, following the eschatological process, from creation, followed by new birth in Christ, and towards the final 'felicite' in heaven. This meta-narrative permeates most Middle English religious writings, which are too often considered by scholars as merely 'moral,' 'devotional,' and 'didactic,' or, if more daring, 'christological,' without necessarily any acknowledgment of the theological depth that they might contain. As noted by Michael Kuczynski in the context of religious lyrics, a common assumption among scholars seems to be that religious writings in the vernacular, addressed to 'lewde men and wymmen,' simple folk, tended to dumb down sacred truth, 'reducing it to a pabulum that just about anyone could digest.'[2] The key questions underpinning this thesis include whether or not sacred truth could be thus trimmed to accommodate an illiterate audience, and how we might consider the protean character of the Christian faith as a well that is both shallow enough to wallow in and deep enough to dive in, and in which the same truth is unravelled through different means and levels of understanding.

Ultimately, this study is an account of Christian belief as it echoed through vernacular theological discourse and knowledge in late medieval English society. Although there are many ways to approach such a topic, christology, as a bedrock of late medieval piety in England, has proved to offer a propitious angle. How did common people encounter Christ under the administration of Henry Chichele as Archbishop of Canterbury (1414–1443)? The field of christology, which is concerned with the doctrine of Christ, underwent some new developments, clarifications, and emendations at that time, which reflected the period's perception of the identity of its ecclesiastical institution, worshipping

[2] Michael P. Kuczynski, 'Theological Sophistication and the Middle English Religious Lyrics: A Polemic,' *The Chaucer Review* 45:3 (2011): 321–339, at 328–329.

communities, and public culture. As a subfield of Christian theology, the task of christology has always been to interpret the significance and meaning of Jesus Christ in light of the biblical, theological, and historical developments of a particular time.

As a work of contextualised christology, then, this present study aims to assess the complex representations, both new and long-established, of the doctrine of Christ within fifteenth-century religious literature. It does so not only in light of the biblical, theological, and historical developments of the time, but also in light of the religious and literary culture, in a society undergoing fast-changing developments and facing fast-flowing intellectual undercurrents. By considering both the Chichelean church's ecclesiastical agenda of pastoral reform and the vernacular religious literature circulating at the time, this work evaluates the christological concerns of a society that was permeated by growing heterogeneous views.[3] As I shall show, these christological concerns can be traced back to three intersecting axes: ecclesiology with an emphasis on the liturgy, eucharistic theology, and catechesis. It is within the scope of these three entities that believers first encountered Christ.

The field of christology was undergoing changes, in its interpretation and application, and those changes can be traced. A focus on encounters with Christ and their role within the public culture of the Chichelean church, according to textual evidence, opens up a plethora of other queries. What were the theological and historical developments that fostered the particular emphases on christology at the time? How do we interpret christological material in light of its intended and unintended textual communities? How do we navigate the often unhelpful binaries of 'orthodoxy' and

[3] My contention throughout this study is that rather than being monolithic, or 'monologic,' as David Lawton puts it, fifteenth-century Middle English pastoral writings reflect almost as many ideological and theological stances as the number of copies in circulation, a number that is often underestimated. On the nuanced and complex uses of voice in the fifteenth century, see David Lawton, 'Voice After Arundel,' in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie, and Kantik Ghosh (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 133–151, at 139.

'dissent,' 'clergy' and 'laity' in material of mostly anonymous authorship, provenance, and audience? Was the meaning and significance of Christ different in vernacular textual content from material written in Latin?[4] With this in mind, was there even such a thing as a vernacular christology? By examining the period's most prominent forms of christological instruction, a series of pastoral texts in Middle English circulating during Chichele's archiepiscopate, I intend to show that the interpretations of christology in this period were more varied and fluid than one would expect according to their respective cultural and institutional contexts. Indeed, these christological interpretations not only echoed theological, social, linguistic, and historical changes observed across textual communities, but were also in dialogue with them, instigating and responding to these changes.

The scope of this research is deliberately narrowed into considerations of vernacular literature that was circulating in England during the period in which Henry Chichele was archbishop of Canterbury, from 1414 to 1443. Born in around 1362 to a burgess of Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire and educated at Winchester College and then New College, Oxford, where he became a doctor in civil law in 1396, Henry Chichele quickly rose to prominence and was given ecclesiastical responsibilities. His time at the ecclesiastical court of Canterbury, and in the diocese of Salisbury as Bishop Richard Medford's vicar-general, as well as the many prebends and benefices that he received, are all testimonies to his success as an ecclesiastical lawyer.[5] By 1404, Chichele was involved

[4] This question is very much in line with the ongoing cultural debate in England regarding the role of the vernacular 'in the construction of a national Christian community,' as seen in writings such as *The Cloud of Unknowing*, *Piers Plowman*, *Dives and Pauper*, and Julian of Norwich's *Revelation of Love*, for instance. See Nicholas Watson, *Balaam's Ass: Vernacular Theology Before the English Reformation*, vol. 1, *Frameworks, Arguments, English to 1250* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022); Fiona Somerset, and Nicholas Watson, *Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); Ruth Evans, Andrew Taylor, Nicholas Watson, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'The Notion of Vernacular Theory,' in *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 314–330, at 323.

[5] Chichele's connection with the diocese of Salisbury is all the more fascinating due to the reputation of Salisbury cathedral as a bastion of orthodox reform beginning in the 1380s, when Thomas Montagu—whose aim was to raise liturgical standards—was elected as dean. See David Lepine, '"Let Them

in royal service with appointed visits to the Roman curia, before being sent to the Council of Pisa as a representative of the English crown and the Province of Canterbury. In 1407, he received the see of Saint David's, and on 12 March 1414, Chichele was elected archbishop of Canterbury by the cathedral chapter, 'undoubtedly the king's choice as Archbishop Thomas Arundel's successor at Canterbury,' according to Jeremy Catto.[6] Chichele's long and stable tenure, despite the havocs of war and dissent that accompanied it, ensured an ecclesiastical continuity of pastoral agenda, which was to unfold as the 'post-Constance' era. In such a time, the *ecclesia Anglicana* considered seriously the needs for reform of its institution and members, as well as the challenges posed by dissenting voices.

While ecclesiastical repression has (legitimately) been a common thread of historiography of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, too often the efforts of the institutional church to take on the reform of ecclesiastical hierarchies, while placing a significant emphasis on the *cura animarum*, have been dismissed. The perception that the church's hierarchy took advantage of lay people through their use of a language of power in vernacular religious writings, thus perpetuating an ecclesiastic and social ecosystem that ensured the clergy's magisterial authority, is perhaps too pervasive. Such a view is often opposed to an idealised approach to the religious hierarchy, and refuses to contemplate the possible genuine reformist efforts demonstrated in *pastoralia* (the material of basic catechetic instruction).[7] Jeremy Catto, in an influential 1985 book chapter, notes that

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Praise Him in Church": Orthodox Reform at Salisbury Cathedral in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century,' in *After Arundel*, 167–185.

[6] Jeremy Catto, 'Chichele, Henry (c. 1362–1443), administrator and archbishop of Canterbury,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), < https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5271>, accessed 9 December 2020.

[7] See Nicholas Watson, 'Conceptions of the Word: The Mother Tongue and the Incarnation of God,' *New Medieval Literatures* 1 (1997): 85–124; David Aers, and Lynn Staley, *The Powers of the Holy: Religion, Politics, and Gender in Late Medieval English Culture* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996). On the historical study of *pastoralia*, which implies the catechetic material legislated at the Fourth Lateran Council in the first canon, *Firmiter credimus*, see Leonard E. Boyle, 'A Study of the Works Attributed to William of Pagula: With Special Reference to the *Oculus sacerdotis* and *Summa summarum*,' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1956); Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200–1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981); W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962),

Chichele's tenure was marked by efforts at practical reforms, as instigated by Richard Ullerston's (d. 1423) 1408 *Petitiones*, and pushed forward by Robert Hallum (d. 1417) at the Council of Constance.[8] The general Council, which took place in Constance from 1414 to 1418, became a catalyst of English intellectual life by setting out three main tasks on its agenda: the restoration of papal unity, the suppression of heresy, and the reform of the Church in head and members.[9] Consequently, understanding the modalities used by the *ecclesia Anglicana* to portray itself at the Council with its unifying and reformist agenda,

especially Chapter 9; Vincent Gillespie, '*Doctrina* and *Predicacio*: The Design and Function of Some Pastoral Manuals,' *Leeds Studies in English* 11 (1979): 36–50. On the development of the academic research field of *pastoralia*, see Joseph Goering, 'Leonard E. Boyle and the Invention of *Pastoralia,*' in *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200–1500)*, ed. Ronald J. Stansbury (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 7–20.

[8] Jeremy Catto, 'Religious Change under Henry V,' in *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, ed. G. L. Harriss (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 97–115, at 104. Ullerston's sixteen articles entitled *Petitiones quod reformationem eccelesiae militantis* pleaded for a return to the first principles of the faith modelled on Christ, particularly for those holding church authority. He denounced the church's simony, appropriation of land, exemptions, dispensations, privileges, extortions and excesses, while acknowledging the doctrine of Christ over papal authority. In the first article of the *Petitiones*, which focuses on the election of the pope, Ullerston underlines that the pontiff ought to model Christ, who established him, so as to preach clearly, teach, and serve the needs of one's neighbours. As head of the Church and Vicar of Christ, the Pope ought to live out Christ's pastoral model. The fifth article, in particular, displays this pastoral concern at a local level, as Ullerston emphasised the need to put forward the Word of God when visiting parishioners. He also mentioned that for the cure of souls, archdeacons ought to learn the language spoken where they ministered to aid the cure of souls, while those designated for the reading of theology in cathedral churches had to imitate Christ in their duty to preach for the flourishing of the people. These very *Petitiones* underpinned the forty-five articles on Church reform formulated by the University of Oxford and put forward at Constance by the English delegation. Richard Ullerston, 'Petitiones quoad reformationem ecclesiae militantis,' in *Magnum oecumenicum constantiense concilium de universali ecclesiae reformation, unione, et fide*, vol. 1 of 6, ed. Hermann von der Hardt (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1697), 1135, 1143, 1145; 'Articuli concernentes reformationem universalis ecclesiae editi per universitatem Oxon,' in *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, vol. 3 of 3, ed. David Wilkins (London, 1737), 360–365.

[9] C. M. D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378–1460, The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 7. More specifically on the papal Schism, see R. N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Margaret Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes 1378 to 1409* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1983); Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki, eds., *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2009). On Church reform, see Margaret Harvey, 'English Views on the Reforms to Be Undertaken in the General Councils (1400–1418) with Special Reference to the Proposals made by Richard Ullerston,' (DPhil Dissertation, University of Oxford, 1964); Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414–1418)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Chris Lee Nighman, 'Reform and Humanism in the Sermons of Richard Fleming at the Council of Constance (1417),' (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1996). On the reform of the Church in head and member, see Robert Hallum's address to the Pope on 22 January 1415: 'Ecce, pater sancta, quia venit tempus, in qua Christus omnipotens cum suis angelis et sanctis omnibus necnon universi reges, principes et prelati ac mundus iste totus indubitanter expectant veritatis, iusticie et pietatis iudicium pro perfecta unione et reformation status ecclesiastice ierarchie tam in capite quam in membris.' Robert Hallum, 'Misereberis Syon quia venit tempus,' in *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, vol. 2, ed. Heinrich Finke (Münster: Regensberschen Bunchhandlung, 1923), 394.

as well as the modalities used to implement its pastoral programme at home, sheds light on the theological, social, and political dynamics of the post-Constance era in England.[10]

The era under Henry Chichele's archiepiscopate saw an increasing number of university graduates in canon or civil law becoming bishops, including Chichele himself.[11] This was the trickling effect of thirteenth-century legislation, the 1298 constitution *Cum ex eo* of Pope Boniface VIII. This legislation granted dispensations for parochial clergy to undergo academic studies; it gave them a leave of absence for a maximum of seven years to study at university, thus equipping the parochial clergy with the means to cure souls.[12] As demonstrated by the extant episcopal registers, clerical education at a university from this period onwards grew exponentially, to the extent that at the Council of Constance, in the forty-third session on 21 March 1418, statutes on the promulgation of the church's reformist programme restated the importance of dispensations granted according to *Cum ex eo*, while revoking all other forms of dispensation.[13] The fruits of championing a literate clergy, which was at the forefront of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century episcopal agendas, can be perceived in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in the abundance of pastoral manuals which were the outcome of canon lawyers bringing academic learning to bear on the parish clergy's pastoral ministry. Such pastoral energy was carried on by Henry

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[10] As Mishtooni Bose notes regarding Chris Lee Nighman's work on the English delegation's intellectual life at Constance, 'it has captured the imagination of literary scholars attentive to the powerful traces that it has left behind in important vernacular and Latin literature produced in England and elsewhere after 1418.' Mishtooni Bose, 'Intellectual Life in Fifteenth-Century England,' *New Medieval Literatures* 12 (2010): 333–370, at 341.

[11] Catto, 'Religious Change,' 102; Jeremy Catto, 'The World of Henry Chichele and the Foundation of All Souls,' in *Unarmed Soldiery: Studies in the Early History of All Souls College*, *Chichele Lectures, 1993–1994* (Oxford: All Souls College, 1996), 1–13; W. J. Courtenay, 'Theology and Theologians from Ockham to Wyclif,' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, ed. Jeremy Catto and T. A. Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 3.

[12] Such dispensation for study, which had already been established for bishops with Honorius III's constitution *Super specula* (c. 1219), was not new for parochial clergy in England, as it appears in diocesan statutes from the thirteenth century. Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Constitution "Cum ex eo" of Boniface VIII,' *Mediaeval Studies* 24 (1962): 263–302; Roy Martin Haines, 'The Operation of the Bonifacian Constitution *Cum ex eo*,' in *Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church of the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 138–155.

[13] Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London and Washington, DC: Sheed and Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990), 448. See also Boyle, 'The Constitution,' 298.

Chichele with his emphasis on the *cura animarum* and his promotion of university graduates to particular benefices.[14] The bishops in Chichele's entourage had been trained alongside him at the University of Oxford, at a time of theological controversies regarding 'the apostolic mission of the clergy,' and had interacted personally with John Wyclif and his followers.[15] Most of them agreed with Wyclif's criticism towards the state of the institutional church, and acknowledged the need for deep-seated pastoral reforms.[16] However, they mostly disagreed with Wyclif's means of implementation, and opted for a reformist programme to be carried out from the confines of the *ecclesia Anglicana* abiding by the tradition of the church, while drawing on European reformist treatises such as those of the French public intellectuals Jean Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly, and Nicholas de Clamanges.[17] Such intellectual moulding, which was shaped by the scholastic quodlibetal tradition and was, in the fourteenth century, concerned with practical questions about the cure of souls, meant that pastoral care and the preservation of institutional orthodoxy was at the forefront of these churchmen's minds and ministries.[18] Belonging to that era of churchmen, the literature under scrutiny in this study must be read within its intricate pastoral context. For the sake of assessing continuities and discontinuities, some material predating the Chichelean church, on account of circulating widely in its time, has been included together with material that postdates it.

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[14] See Chapter Two, fn. 14.

[15] The main controversy was hostility towards the friars, which was renewed by 1356. According to Jeremy Catto, from then on theologians addressed questions of an ecclesiological nature, such as 'the nature of property and dominion, the state of man before the fall, and the public implications of individual sin.' Jeremy Catto, 'Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford 1356–1430,' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, 175–261, at 180, 184.

[16] Jeremy Catto, 'Fellows and Helpers: The Religious Identity of the Followers of Wyclif,' in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life*, ed. Peter Biller and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), 141–161, at 149; Vincent Gillespie, 'Chichele's Church: Vernacular Theology in England after Thomas Arundel,' in *After Arundel*, 3–42, at 14.

[17] Gillespie, 'Chichele's Church,' 25–26.

[18] On the quodlibetal tradition, see Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Quodlibets of St. Thomas and Pastoral Care,' *The Thomist* 38:2 (1974): 232–256; see also the collection of essays in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages, The Fourteenth Century*, ed. Christopher Schabel (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2007).

Textual representations of these changing cultural and ecclesiastical dynamics abound not only in Latin writings, but also in the vernacular. A particular confluence of known authors with a shared pastoral agenda can be traced to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Such authors include the Augustinian canon, John Mirk (fl. c. 1382–c. 1414), later prior of Lilleshall in Shropshire; the secular chaplain turned chantry priest at the Augustinian house of Haughmond Abbey, John Audelay (d. c. 1426); the Benedictine monk at Bury St Edmunds and prior of Hatfield Regis, John Lydgate (c. 1370–1449/1450); and the lay woman Margery Kempe, who traced her spiritual journey in *The Book of Margery Kempe*.

This study covers a wide range of Middle English texts, including writings from the authors presently mentioned, but its main focus is on three genres, comprising corpora of vernacular writings that rose to prominence during this time.[19] The first of these genres is referred to throughout this work as the *Virtues of the Mass*.[20] It consists of forty-four variants circulating in 107 different manuscripts, which expound the liturgical sequences of the Mass and/or its spiritual and physical benefits.[21] The second genre is levation prayers, which were anthologised by Rossell Hope Robbins in two influential articles in 1939 and 1942. Levation prayers are short prayers, that most often take versified form, to be said at the elevation of the host or the chalice, the climax of the liturgy of the Mass.[22] These liturgical lyrics are extant in sixty-two Middle English versions. The third genre I shall discuss is vernacular credal statements; I have discovered a total of 131 extant

[19] By genre I refer less so to our modern understanding of the word than to its medieval equivalent, which implies groups of texts organised around thematic readings. See Ralph Hanna, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 9.

[20] On the corpus of texts of the *Virtues of the Mass* viewed as a comprehensive genre, see my forthcoming article. Antje Elisa Chan, 'The *Virtues of the Mass*: A Taxonomy of a Late Middle English Genre of Liturgical Significance,' *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 49:1 (2023).

[21] These numbers, as I shall mention further on, are not definite, as more texts could presumably be found in other repositories of Middle English manuscripts.

[22] Robbins' own work of indexing and cataloguing levation prayers has been a source of inspiration for this study.

vernacular witnesses, which will be explored at length. I shall demonstrate that this corpus reflects the religious and devotional landscapes of the Chichelean Church, while at times promoting traditional catechetic instruction, questioning such reception, or else strikingly addressing doctrinal developments. As Vincent Gillespie, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Stephen Kelly, and Ryan Perry (among others) have underlined, the material evidence of fifteenth-century England, after the presumably restrictive effects of Archbishop Thomas Arundel's 1409 *Constitutions*, rather than pointing to an overt 'censorship' of theological writings in the vernacular, in fact testifies to their vitality.[23]

By offering new taxonomies of texts such as the *Virtues of the Mass*, levation prayers, and the credal statements, as well as updating old ones, this study advocates for the rediscovery of literary corpora of religious instruction that have been mostly disregarded by scholarship owing to their supposed lack of 'literary merit.'[24] In the past few decades, Middle English 'literature' has come to encompass textual works that are no longer defined merely by their aesthetic value or their status as 'literary works,' but rather as works revealing a medieval understanding of 'literature.' As such, 'medieval literature' has grown to encompass corpora of texts of an ethical and legal nature, as well as medical, practical, historical, and religious treatises, whether long or brief, common or less well-known.[25]

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[23] Vincent Gillespie, 'Anonymous Devotional Writings,' in *A Companion to Middle English Prose*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 127–149, at 135; Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 16–17; see the whole collections of essays in *After Arundel*, and especially Kelly's and Perry's article, in which they talk about a 'post-Arundelian appetite for reflection on religious ideas.' Stephen Kelly, and Ryan Perry, 'Devotional Cosmopolitanism in Fifteenth-Century England,' in *After Arundel*, 363–380, at 365, 379.

[24] Robert Raymo, in his 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction,' helpfully offers classifications of the *Virtues of the Mass*, levation prayers, and creeds. However, these taxonomies are no longer necessarily extensive, and their lack of clear categorisation, as well as 'literary merit' put forward by Raymo, has meant that very little research has been undertaken on them since then. Robert Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction,' in *Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050–1400*, vol. 7, ed. J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science, 1986), 2255–2378, at 2354, 2470–2577.

[25] On the status of literature in Middle English, see the 'Introduction,' in *The Idea of the Vernacular*, xiii–xvi. On the status of devotional texts, see Michael Sargent, 'Minor Devotional Writings,' in *Middle*

My definition of literature here also draws on Maura Nolan's work on John Lydgate, in which she defines the literary in relation to the Benedictine monk as works using 'figurative language' while belonging to a tradition, 'a group of texts joined together somehow by a common theme or purpose.'[26] Although the three genres at hand contain texts that are relatively brief (most often less than five folios in length), the fact that they occur in a considerable number of manuscripts attests to their affiliation to a tradition and thus to their significance to any study of the religious literature of fifteenth-century England.[27] Their tendency to appear as myriads of different versions of the same text, as opposed to longer writings with established patterns of transmission, has meant that few scholars have focused their effort on them. The flourishing of modern scholarly approaches to anthologies, miscellanies, and the act of *compilatio* (the compilatory agency) has shed light on late medieval authorship, as well as on the processes of transmission and circulation of religious texts and their manuscript contexts, so as to achieve a greater historicising of late medieval literary communities.[28] The present work on the *Virtues of*

English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 147–163; Robert Meyer-Lee, 'Emergence of the Literary in John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady,' *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 109:3 (2010): 322–348, at 323. On the proliferation of a wide range of literary corpora in the fifteenth century, see Nicholas Watson, 'The Terminology and Ethos of Vernacular *Compilatio*,' in *Late Medieval Devotional Compilations in England*, ed. Marleen Cré, Diana Denissen, and Denis Renevey (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 435–456, at 435.

[26] Maura Nolan, 'Lydgate's Worst Poem,' in *Lydgate Matters: Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 72.

[27] Michael Sargent cautiously suggests that the pattern of frequency of extant manuscripts can help us to assess approximatively the numbers that were originally produced, which are in themselves indicators of the demand of the time. Michael Sargent, 'What Do the Numbers Mean? A Textual Critic's Observations on Some Patterns of Middle English Manuscript Transmission,' in *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, ed. Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (York, Woodbridge, and Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press and Boydell Press, 2008), 205–244.

[28] On anthologies and miscellanies, see, for instance, Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts,' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths, and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 279–315; or the collection of essays in Stephen G. Nicholas and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996); Derek Pearsall, 'The Whole Book: Late Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies and Their Modern Interpreters,' in *Imagining the Book*, ed. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 17–29; Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, 'Towards a Taxonomy of Middle English Manuscript Assemblages,' in *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. Margaret Connolly, and Raluca L. Radulescu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 263–279; Margaret Connolly, 'Understanding the Medieval Miscellany,' in *Insular Books*, 3–15; 'The Whole Book and the Whole Picture:

the Mass, levation prayers, and creeds can be considered as offering case studies of the 'polyvocality of later Middle English [religious and] literary culture,' to use a term coined by Ralph Hanna.[29] The tailored texts under scrutiny were thus subjected to abridgement, amplification, or complete rewriting, testifying to the flexibility and adaptability of fifteenth-century pastoral writings so to adapt to, transmit, and assert the ideologies of particular literary and religious communities. By assessing the flourishing of these three corpora of texts, alongside other texts with which they circulated or to which they were connected, this study sheds light on the multi-layered expectations of christological encounters in pastoral writings, which should not be disconnected from the theological, cultural, and political contexts within which these texts travelled.

Whereas encounters with Christ have been traced deftly in mystical and visionary writings, christological lyrics, and passion meditations, few studies have considered christological material in pragmatic texts such as works of *pastoralia*.[30] The didactic nature of pastoral works, and an assumption that such writings merely contained 'basic' christological material, might have prevented the flourishing scholarship that has been

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Editions and Facsimiles of Medieval Miscellanies and Their Influence,' in *Insular Books*, 281–299. On *compilatio*, see, for example, Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*,' in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon, 1991), 35–70; Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 190–210; Sargent, 'Minor Devotional Writings,'; Vincent Gillespie, '*Lukynge in Haly Bukes*: *Lectio* in Some Late Medieval Spiritual Miscellanies,' *Analecta Cartusiana* 106 (1984): 1–27; Diana Denissen, *Middle English Devotional Compilations* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019); and the recent collection of essays *Late Medieval Devotional Compilations*.

[29] Hanna, *Pursuing History*, 12.

[30] See, for instance, Barbara Zimbalist, *Translating Christ in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2021); Eleanor Johnson, *Staging Contemplation: Participatory Theology in Middle English Prose, Verse, and Drama* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2018); Emily A. Holmes, *Flesh Made Word : Medieval Women Mystics, Writing, and the Incarnation* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013); Cristina Maria Cervone, *Poetics of the Incarnation, Middle English Writing and the Leap of Love* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993); Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); Kuczynski, 'Theological Sophistication,'; Christiania Whitehead, 'Middle English Religious Lyrics,' in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, ed. Thomas G. Duncan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005); Ian Johnson, and Allan F. Westphall, eds., *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

witnessed elsewhere. However, in its very essence, as the material outcome (as manuals) of the *cura animarum* (the cure of souls), which involved the spiritual care and guidance offered by the clergy, *pastoralia* enables us to grasp the christological emphases that were affirmed and taught within particular religious cultures. As *pastoralia* aimed to improve the spirituality of the laity, leading them to salvation, christology was always present in such material. The wealth of christological expounding in the fifteenth century corroborated a greater demand in *pastoralia*. Norman Tanner and Sethina Watson affirm that 'expectations became more elaborate in the later middle ages,' hence, as C. A. Martin puts it, 'the mediaeval layman of 1420 was required to know more than the mediaeval layman of 1027.'[31] Manuals of religious instruction were in greater demand themselves, in response to the increasing dissemination of the clergy's catechetical programme. Although mystical writings, christological lyrics, and passion meditations mostly emanated from clerical milieux, the prevailing absence of the mediating figure of the priesthood within these texts has meant that most research on christology in Middle English writings has emphasised private forms of devotion, creating a discrepancy between our modern understanding of late medieval religious culture and the breadth of religious literature available to and disseminated among late medieval readers.

As this study suggests, based on the unveiling of pastoral corpora, there is a considerable need to reassess our scholarly perception of religious culture in light of the communal devotional practices that formed the bedrock of any late medieval piety.[32] Such

[31] Norman Tanner and Sethina Watson, 'Least of the Laity: the Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian,' *Journal of Medieval History* 32:4 (2006): 395–423, at 402; C. A. Martin, 'Middle English Manuals of Religious Instruction,' in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. Angus McIntosh, Michael Benskin, and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels, 1981), 283–298, at 284.

[32] A common perception in scholarship is that the growing fifteenth-century lay readership of pastoral manuals would have circumvented priestly mediation. Although such great numbers of vernacular works of pastoral instruction suggest private practices of catechetic and devotional learning, with an emphasis on the household, the literature does not suggest a decrease in communal religious practices, nor in the significance given to the sacraments.

public and communal practices were mediated by the priesthood, and took place within the precincts of its sacred space, its community, and its institution.[33] Although the importance of preaching grew considerably, as it adapted to a wider audience in the fifteenth century, the main priestly duty remained the administration of the sacraments, such as the celebration of daily masses, hearing confession, and granting absolution.[34]

In focusing on bodies of writings being written, copied, and circulated during Chichele's archiepiscopate, I am mostly concerned with the confluence of christological material that implies a direct encounter with Christ sacramentally. As Jean Leclercq has pointed out in the context of the monastic life, sacraments are the very loci of encounter with God: 'Thus one of the Christian realities the monks speak of most readily, even apart from the works consecrated to it, is the world of the sacraments. In them is accomplished the most positive contact of man with God since it is the basis for all other encounters.'[35] Thomas M. Finn goes further to define such encounters, as he notes that 'each of the sacramental rites in its own distinctive way afforded the participant an encounter with

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[33] On the role of the priesthood in the Middle Ages, see Greg Peters, and C. Colt Anderson, eds., *A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Maggie Ross, *Pillars of Flame : Power, Priesthood, and Spiritual Maturity* (London: SCM, 1988); R. N. Swanson, 'Pastoralia in Practice: Clergy and Ministry in Pre-reformation England,' in *The* Pastor Bonus*, Papers Read at the British-Dutch Colloquium at Utrecht, 18–21 September 2002*, ed. Theo Clemens and Wim Janse (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2004), 104–127; R. N. Swanson, 'Before the Protestant Clergy: The Construction and Deconstruction of Medieval Priesthood,' in *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe*, ed. C. S. Dixon, and L. Schorn-Schütte (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 39–59; R. N. Swanson, 'Problems of the Priesthood in Pre-Reformation England,' *The English Historical Review* 105: 417 (1990): 845–869. On sacred space and ecclesial community, see Laura Varnam, *The Church as Sacred Space in Middle English Literature and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

[34] On the growing importance of preaching and its changing form, see Helen Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1993); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 57; Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 61–100; G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926); G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters & of the English People*, 2nd revised edition (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961). On the Wycliffite view of preaching, see, for instance, sermon 83, 'Common of Several Confessors,' in *English Wycliffite Sermons*, vol. 2, ed. Pamela Gradon and Anne Hudson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 161–166. On preaching as sacrament, see Stephen Arthur Pink, 'Holy Scripture and the Meanings of the Eucharist in Late Medieval England, c. 1370–1430,' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2011), 93–95.

[35] Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catharine Misrahi, 3rd ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), 248.

saving and sanctifying grace.'[36] Such saving and sanctifying grace, which was understood to be encountered and received by the believer, is always mediated by Christ as the grace giver. In fact, such graces flow out of the experience of encountering Christ in the sacraments. The term *encounter* thus suggests not only an intricate connection with the sacraments, but also a meeting face to face, an experience of Christ, through sacraments and sacramentals.

Perhaps the most thorough definition of the sacraments and of sacramentals during Chichele's archiepiscopate originates in Thomas Netter of Walden's 1420s *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei catholicae ecclesiae contra Wiclevistas et Hussitas*. Born in 1372, Netter was a Carmelite friar and priest who joined the English delegation at the councils of Pisa (alongside Henry Chichele) and probably Constance.[37] As a witness to the proximity of religion and secular power in the early fifteenth century, Netter also became a royal confessor in the years 1415–1416 and Prior Provincial of the Carmelite order in England.[38] His *Doctrinale*, a compendium of doctrinal and devotional arguments, revealed Netter's zeal for defending the orthodox doctrine of the *ecclesia Anglicana* against any dissenting voices holding contrary views. Netter was known by his contemporaries and his immediate posterity as 'the theologian who had given a full and final answer to the Lollards, the Athanasius or the Augustine of their heresy.'[39] He dedicated the fifth book, the central part of his *Doctrinale*, to the topic of the sacraments, and most precisely to the eucharist and

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[36] Thomas M. Finn, 'The Sacramental World in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard,' *Theological Studies* 69 (2008): 557–582, at 568.

[37] Smith advances that Netter's possible involvement as a conciliarist at Constance, and his deep interest for the process which led up to Wyclif's condemnation on 4 May 1415, may have informed his encyclopaedic work of refutation of Wycliffite beliefs. Kirk Stevan Smith, 'An English Conciliarist? Thomas Netter of Walden,' in *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Ross Sweeney, and Stanley Chodorow (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), 290–299, at 293.

[38] Richard Copsey, 'Thomas Netter of Walden: A Biography,' in *Thomas Netter of Walden: Carmelite, Diplomat and Theologian (c.1372–1430)*, ed. Johan Bergström-Allen, and Richard Copsey (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, 2009), 60–61.

[39] David Knowles, *The End of the Middle Ages*, *The Religious Orders in England,* vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 147.

the doctrine of transubstantiation, affirming Christ's fleshly presence in the consecrated elements.[40] The book unfolds a sacramental theology that is embedded in the rituals of the Church, which was highly regarded by his contemporaries according to Kevin J. Alban.[41] Netter's assertion of the centrality of the sacramental system for the Church bore witness to the ongoing tensions that framed sacramentality during Chichele's archiepiscopate, where official interpretations were being challenged, and yet the sacramental life of the Church did not lose any vigour.

The sixth book of the *Doctrinale*, *De Sacramentalibus* considers sacramentals: practices, objects, and traditions that were signs of Christ's real presence in the eucharist. Netter draws on Titus 2:10, '*doctrinam salvatoris nostri Dei ornent in omnibus*,' as a biblical grounding for the development of sacramentals. According to Netter, sacramentals were people's duty to embellish Christ's doctrine with singing, acts of chastity, holy prayers, psalms, and spiritual hymns, as well as feast days and crafted objects.[42] Sacramentals were considered sacraments until the twelfth century, when sacraments became codified and were narrowed down to the number of seven (baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, marriage, orders, and last rites), as in Peter Lombard's fourth book of *Sentences*.

Peter Lombard (d. 1160) offered what became the standard definition of Christ's presence in the sacraments by establishing that: 'A sacrament is […] a sign of the grace of God and the form of invisible grace, in as much as it bears the likeness of the grace and is its cause. Thus, the sacraments were instituted for the sake of not only signifying but also

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[40] Thomas Netter, *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei ecclesiae catholicae*, 3 vols., ed. B. Blanciotti (Venice: Antonii Bassanesii, 1757–1759), II.144–172. Hereafter references to Netter's *Doctrinale* are as follows: *Doctrinale*, volume. colophon. and section.

[41] Kevin J. Alban, *The Teaching and Impact of the Doctrinale of Thomas Netter of Walden (c.1374–1430)* (Turnhout and Abingdon: Brepols and Marston, 2010), 161. On Netter and the *Doctrinale*, see also Bergström-Allen, Copsey, eds., *Thomas Netter of Walden*; Smith, 'An English Conciliarist.'

[42] 'Hanc doctrinam homines modulis suis exornent castibus actibus, precibus sanctis, ieiuniis, psalmis, et spiritualibus hymnis: diebus autem feriatis, materialibus fabricis, genuflexionibus, devotis osculis, cultibus vestium, etc.' *Doctrinale*, III.3.2.

sanctifying.'[43] This definition drew heavily on the views of Augustine, who saw the sacraments as signs of a divine reality, as well as those of Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1141), who contended that the sacraments and their rites not only pointed to an inner reality (*res*) but also carried and transmitted such inner reality to all those partaking in them.[44] The writings of both Augustine and Hugh of Saint Victor included a long list of sacraments, of which liturgical prayers and practices occupied a central stage.

To encounter Christ sacramentally, through the sight of the elevated host, liturgical prayers such as levation prayers, or confessions of faith such as credal statements, was thus intrinsically grounded in the tradition of the Church, which held that such 'sacramentals' participated in the mysterious and hidden reality to which they pointed. Symbols merely point towards something, whereas sacraments share an ontological reality. Hence, through sacraments and sacramentals, which participated ontologically in Christ's being, believers were able to encounter Christ truly and participate through the rites and practices in the divine reality of Christ's Incarnation.[45] While the authors and scribes of the writings assessed in this study did not refer to the liturgical instructions, prayers, and creeds as 'sacramentals' *per se*, many of these very texts embraced a sacramental understanding of reality through the eucharist.

The corpora under scrutiny here demonstrate an emphasis on the sacraments and sacramentals that put forward an understanding of reality mediated by the tangible

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[43] Peter Lombard, *The Sentences, On the Doctrine of Signs*, trans. Giulio Silano (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010), Book 4, dist. 1, ch. 4, art. 2.

[44] Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 30, II. 1, 1–2; Emmanuel J. Cutrone, 'Sacraments,' in *Augustine Through the Ages*, *An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald, O.S.A., et al. (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), 741–747, at 743; Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis*, ed. and trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2007).

[45] This participatory understanding of reality, which finds its Christian roots in Augustine's *De Trinitate*, who himself draws on a Pauline interpretation of union with Christ is deftly treated in Hans Boersma, *Heavenly Participation: The Weaving of a Sacramental Tapestry* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 2011). See also Eleanor Johnson's skilful treatment of late Middle English religious literature through the lens of participatory hermeneutics. Johnson, *Staging Contemplation*.

presence of Christ in the Christian life. Such heightened consciousness of the sacramental system in the first half of the fifteenth century can be traced more globally in canon law. At the eighth session of the Council of Florence in 1439, a decree known as *Exultate Deo* (or *Pro Armenis*) was legislated, which reaffirmed the sacramental life of the Church.[46] Although some argue that such heightening originated in the need to respond to dissenting sacramental views across the continent and England, it is difficult to distinguish exactly the conjunction of parameters that brought this phenomenon into being.[47] This study contends that the heightening of the sacramental system and its practices in England coincided with Chichele's pastoral programme (promoting a better education of the clergy, as well as a broadening of liturgical literacy), the rise of lay devotional (pragmatic) literacy, the need to affirm the magisterial authority of the *ecclesia Anglicana*, and a response to dissenting mentalities on the significance of the sacramental life of the Church.[48] At the intersection of this conjunction of factors, one needs also to consider the socio-political level of the ongoing Lancastrian renegotiations for power by means of orthodox reform, a sign of allegiance to the political regime in place.[49] Consequently, the corpora under scrutiny cannot be separated from the theological, cultural, and political pressures that were brought to bear upon them and were integrated within them, encountering at their core the 'major cultural changes' that shaped the first half of fifteenth-century England. Such changes were

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[46] Tanner, *Decrees*, 534–559.

[47] See, for instance, an art historian's perspective, Ann Eljenholm Nichols, *Seeable Signs, The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments 1350–1544* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), especially Chapter 2.

[48] On 'devotional literacy' see Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 121. On literacy more generally and its unprecedented growth, see Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307*, 3rd ed. (Chichester and Malden, MA: John Wiley and Sons, 2013); Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Christopher Cannon, *From Literacy to Literature, England, 1300–1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). On pragmatic literacy, see Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity,' in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, 275–297.

[49] See K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Catto, 'Religious Change'; Jennifer Nuttall, *The Creation of Lancastrian Kingship: Literature, Language and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For 'Lancastrian orthodoxy' see Gerald L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England, 1360–1461* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 2005), 590.

rooted in 'the relatively distant past' while having 'divergent origins,' as Michael Sargent argues.[50] Each text thus speaks to a particular historical context embedded within specific textual communities, and transmitted within distinct manuscript contexts.[51]

This research began with a review of the intellectual history of the first half of fifteenth-century England. The primary sources under scrutiny encompassed the proceedings of councils and synods that took place between 1408 and 1445, as well as Chichele's registers and his records of convocations; William of Lyndwood's 1429 compendium of English canon law, the *Provinciale*; and the expansive theological work of Thomas Netter of Walden, the *Doctrinale*; and Thomas Gascoigne's *Liber Veritatum* (compiled between c. 1434 and 1458). Based on the recurring themes of these writings emanating mostly from academic spheres, I undertook a wide survey of manuscripts containing pastoral material written, copied, and circulated between 1415 and 1450. This approach is consistent with what A. R. Bennett refers to as 'corpus studies,' although as he notes, 'the intrinsic limits of beginning to do the work of quantitative analysis, then, is that it is always only a beginning.'[52] Rather than being a quantitative codicological survey per se, by considering more than four hundred manuscripts containing Middle English material, mostly found currently on the British Isles, I was able to distinguish thematic patterns that were representative of the variable contents of the manuscripts, based on their theological, historical, and sociological multifarious contexts. Ecclesiology, sacramental theology and its connection to soteriology, and finally catechism were three deep-seated concerns that permeated many of the manuscripts under scrutiny. This led me to define the

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[50] Michael Sargent, 'Censorship or Cultural Change? Reformation and Renaissance in the Spirituality of Late Medieval England,' in *After Arundel*, 55–72, at 69.

[51] On the positive outcomes of interdisciplinary approaches and a 'theory of practice' see Paul Strohm, 'Afterword: What Happens at Intersections?' in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 223–232.

[52] A. R. Bennett, 'What Do the Numbers Mean? The Case for Corpus Studies,' in *Manuscript Culture and Medieval Devotional Traditions: Essays in Honour of Michael G. Sargent*, ed. Michael G. Sargent, Jennifer N. Brown, and Nicole R. Rice (York: York Medieval Press, 2021), 48–81, at 49.

parameters of the study by choosing three corpora of pastoral texts based on their popularity in manuscript circulation, as well as the lack of recent scholarship dedicated to them.[53]

Focusing on the literary form of the pastoral treatise and prayer, this study engages with Vincent Gillespie's call in a 1980 article to pay attention to other methods of catechesis rather than focusing exclusively on the sermon form.[54] The purpose was not to establish a definite list of vernacular pastoral writings from the first half of the fifteenth century, which my limited access to libraries in North America would have made impossible, but rather to discriminate tendencies that are sufficiently representative of the pastoral concerns of the time. These three corpora (the *Virtues of the Mass*, levation prayers, and credal statements) and their respective taxonomies do not attempt to provide a fixed and authoritative survey, which by the very nature of codicology would inevitably be provisional and incomplete. This has been perhaps one of the greatest 'disadvantages' of these corpora, as their malleability and variability, which sets them apart from longer canonical texts with an established circulation, have meant that few scholars have endeavoured to undertake the work of identification, cataloguing, and indexing, and even

[53] This choice of particular corpora has meant that I have not been able to pay as much attention to other forms of pastoral writings, such as vernacular sermons and drama. However, just as the essence of the *officium praedicatoris* was to instruct people in the basics of Christianity to encourage devotion, the pastoral writings under scrutiny were probably used in homiletic contexts. Further study could consist of tracing these similar themes in the latter genres. On pastoralia and sermons, see, for instance, Helen Leith Spencer's fifth chapter in *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*. On drama and the sacramental life of the Church, see Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Sarah Beckwith, *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in the York Corpus Christi Plays* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Penny Granger, *The N-Town Play: Drama and Liturgy in Medieval East Anglia* (Cambridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 2009).

[54] Gillespie, '*Doctrina*,' 36.

fewer of preparing editions.[55] Here, Rossell Hope Robbins' editing work on levation prayers must be commended.[56]

However, the very factors that have discouraged thorough studies of these texts are in themselves important cultural signifiers that demonstrate a vivacity and energy particular to works of pastoral and catechetic nature in the first half of the fifteenth century. A set of existing catalogues were crucial for such an enterprise: the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, and more specifically the section on 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction' by Robert Raymo, and Valerie Lagorio and Michael Sargent's 'English Mystical Writings;' P. S. Jolliffe's *Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*; the *New Index of Middle English Verse* by Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards and pioneered by Carleton Brown, Rossell Hope Robbins, and John Levi Cutler; and, finally, the numerous volumes of the *Index of Middle English Prose* and *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*.[57]

The limited scope of this study has meant that the Middle English material had to be privileged over the other languages of England: Latin and Anglo-Norman.[58] While I did consider Anglo-Norman and Latin versions of the *Virtues of the Mass* and of levation prayers, as well as Latin versions of the creeds, the results of such enquiries, meagre as

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[55] Highly dynamic, loosely structured, Middle English texts appearing in countless variants have rarely been edited, and when they have been edited, they run the risk of being engulfed in the modern form of author–text editions, where their variable and fragmentary nature is easily lost to the modern reader whose own reading experience no longer matches those of medieval readers.

[56] Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The Gurney Series of Religious Lyrics,' *PMLA* 54:2 (1939): 369–390; 'Private Prayers in Middle English Verse,' *Studies in Philology* 36:3 (1939): 466–475; 'Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse,' *Modern Philology* 40: 2 (1942): 131–146.

[57] See also more specific identification, cataloguing, and indexing efforts as in Norman F. Blake, 'Varieties of Middle English Religious Prose,' in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. Beryl Rowland (London: George Allen and Unwin LTD, 1974), 348–356; Vincent Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion,' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 317–344; Gillespie, 'Anonymous Devotional Writings.'

[58] I set aside here the impact of Welsh, Gaelic, Scottish, Cornish, and Norse on the linguistic landscape of England. For a broader sociolinguistic approach, see the collection of essays in D. A. Trotter, ed., *Multilingualism in Late Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000); Robert M. Stein, 'Multilingualism,' in *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 23–37.

they may be and often belonging to an earlier timeframe than that of the material under scrutiny, do not appear in this study. In order to produce a full survey of the pastoral material being written, copied, and circulated during Chichele's archiepiscopate, which was still very much a tri-lingual culture, it would be necessary to survey writings in all three languages. Such an undertaking would enable a fuller reconstruction of the theological, cultural, and political landscapes that shaped these religious writings, as well as their institutional context, the *ecclesia Anglicana*.

Vincent Gillespie has recently made an urgent call to reconsider 'manuscripts of catechetic and devotional materials' within 'the Latin and intralingual intertext of vernacular compilation practice.'[59] While this comment invites further study of the three corpora under scrutiny within the pluri-linguistic context of fifteenth-century England, the purpose of this work was not to trace fifteenth-century christologies in pastoral material in general, but rather to trace vernacular christological materials and their translation, adaptation, and amplification specifically in Middle English. As Daniel Wakelin observes in his book *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft*, 'Why, then, bother to count and categorise large numbers of things?'[60] Any attempt at establishing taxonomies covering a large spectrum of textual versions of the same theme, and without considering its Anglo-Norman and Latin equivalents for that matter, seems to run over methodological difficulties facing quantitative studies. However, rather than providing exhaustive numbers, suggestions have been made based on qualitative case studies without attempting to answer in full Michael Sargent's poignant question, 'What do the numbers mean?' It has been impossible within the scope of this thesis to offer an in-depth study of each piece of writing contextualised in the corpora under scrutiny alongside its manuscript context.

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[59] Vincent Gillespie, 'Building a Bestseller: The Priest, the Pear Tree, and the Compiler,' in *Late Medieval Devotional Compilations in England*, 27–62, at 28.

[60] Daniel Wakelin, *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375–1510* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 13.

However, the combination of taxonomies that are as comprehensive as possible and the specific accounts of texts, their manuscript contexts, and their permeating ideologies, have offered a healthy balance between assessing both commonplace and notable christological trends.

This study is divided into three main parts, each of which corresponds to one of three themes: ecclesiology, sacramental theology, and catechism. Each part (except for Part Two) contains two organically connected chapters: one dedicated to the work of identifying and indexing the taxonomies of the corpus under scrutiny, and the other focused on the main historical, cultural, and theological developments that came to shape the themes and texts analysed, as well as their production and circulation. The combination of a taxonomic study with a highly contextualising chapter enables the anchoring of fifteenth-century texts within the microcosms of their possible literary communities, while demonstrating on a macrocosmic level the intricate connections between theological debates happening within the university and the simpler vernacular pastoral texts circulating in parochial contexts.

Part One, entitled 'Christ as Church,' begins with its first chapter 'The *Virtues of the Mass*: A Taxonomy of a Communal Devotional Practice,' which is dedicated to a corpus of little-studied writings—the *Virtues of the Mass*—and lays out the forms and traditions of this liturgically significant literary genre through a new taxonomy. The *Virtues of the Mass* can be traced to two Latin traditions, one of which lists the benefits of the ritual, and the other of which offers a full exposition of the liturgical celebration. Its earliest appearance in Middle English can be traced to the pastoral writings of the Augustinian canon John Mirk in the 1380s. Its initial debut as a Middle English genre is recorded in manuscripts dating from the 1390s, with the oldest version of the *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, found in London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII, and the *Virtues of*

the Mass, found in the Vernon manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1). However, the genre's popularity grew exponentially in the first half of the fifteenth century, as the *Virtues of the Mass* were constantly adapted, amended, and amplified in order to comply with the demands of particular literary communities, their pastoral needs, and their ideological stances. By offering a taxonomy of the *Virtues of the Mass*, divided into two traditions, with a further three sub-divisions for the first tradition, this chapter puts the corpus of the *Virtues of the Mass* on the map of fifteenth-century religious and literary culture, while advocating indirectly for a reconsideration of our understanding of devotional practices, which have focused mainly on private piety since the 'religious turn' of the 1990s in medieval studies.

Chapter Two, 'Liturgy as Watershed of the *ecclesia Anglicana*,' locates the genre of the *Virtues of the Mass* in its historical, theological, and literary contexts, as a vector of textual transmission of ideas of unity, priestly authority, and liturgical heightening.[61] By demonstrating the crucial role of the liturgy in the re-formulation of the English church's ecclesiology, which was a constant terrain for debate in the first half of the fifteenth century, this chapter posits that *Virtues of the Mass* treatises epitomised an invitation to participate in the liturgy, crystallising and codifying a shift in the way that people were relating to the Church, as both an institution and a worshipping community. Considering the *Virtues of the Mass*, and their emphasis on *soulhele*, eschatology, and liturgical *habitus*, alongside English sermons preached at the Council of Constance, Margery Kempe's devotional life, and Henry Chichele's contributions to canon law, I distinguish the multivalent dynamics that bear upon the treatises, while situating them within literary communities and thus promoting a higher view of the sacramental life of the Church and of its clergy.

[61] Here by 'liturgical heightening,' I not only mean visual and verbal heightening, but also a 'reinvigoration' of the liturgy with an increased emphasis. See Gillespie, 'Chichele's Church,' 14.

Part Two, ‘Christ as Eucharist,’ turns away from ecclesiology to consider the eucharistic rite. It acknowledges the eucharist as one of the main loci of fifteenth-century piety, and considers the development of the liturgical practice of elevating the host and wine after their consecration. This practice, spurred on by the congregants’ desire to see the consecrated elements and the development of the doctrine of transubstantiation, speaks to new forms of piety, which propounded a spiritual communion that relied on sight rather than on physical consumption. Chapter Three, ‘Levation Prayers: A Taxonomy of Union with Christ,’ traces the development of eucharistic prayers said at the climax of the canon—the elevation of the host—and establishes their significant role in codifying public devotional practices of encounters with Christ. The focus of levation prayers, organised around three paradigms of salutation, profession of christological belief, and petition, is then assessed in light of emendations, emphases, and echoes in order to place tentatively each prayer within particular literary communities. The census of levation prayers, augmenting the work of Rossell Hope Robbins and Robert Raymo, is thus divided into two traditions. Tradition One emphasises the liturgical use of levation prayers, while Tradition Two focuses on levation prayers with a devotional nature. Overall, this chapter delineates the flowering of a prayer that emanated from a response to a highly theological discourse, namely the words of consecration, and evolved to encompass a pragmatic vocabulary of experience and practices, giving clergy and laity alike a vantage point into the threshold of mystery, incarnate in the host: an encounter with Christ.

Part Three, ‘Christ as Doctrine,’ takes a deeper dive into the exploration of sacramental encounters with Christ, by looking at the role of belief in the public life of the Church. Chapter Four, ‘Fifteenth-Century Middle English Creeds: A Taxonomy of Multivalent Theological Microcosms,’ offers a new taxonomy of Middle English creeds. It differentiates four credal traditions across more than 150 vernacular witnesses. First, I

assess creeds based on the twelve articles, and their affiliation with the various versions of Edmund of Abingdon's *Mirror*. Then, I look at the Apostles' Creed with mainstream, sacramental, or Wycliffite/Lollard leanings, before turning to some versions of the Athanasian Creed, and miscellaneous credal statements. The currency of such varied, flexible, and adaptable corpus speaks to the health and vivacity of a pervasive pastoral genre that responded to theological debates and controversies, as well as the specific needs of particular literary communities. Hence, each doctrinal statement was an opportunity to assert one's own ideological and theological affiliation in the fast-evolving religious landscape in England in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Chapter Five, 'Doctrine and the Magisterial Role of the *ecclesia Anglicana*,' contextualises the role of belief within the macrocosm of the Chichelean church, in light of credal refinements and developments as displayed in Middle English creeds. Doctrine, whether the entire content of theology or the irreducible essence of Christian truth, or *doctrina* (the art of instructing the laity in the Christian faith), both became means of encountering Christ, whether through the vernacular word as representative of sacramental truth, or through the mediating priestly figure as a representative of Christ.

INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE

In the incipit to his treatise entitled 'Comment on se doit maintenir a la messe,' the fifteenth-century conciliarist and reformer Jean Gerson (1363–1429) tells his audience that to come to mass is to come to Christ:

> Quant on sonne la messe, on doit penser que ce sont les messages du Roy qui dient la nouvelle que le Roy vient, et doit on courre à Notre Seigneur comme se on doit.[1]

Not only should one come, but, more emphatically, one ought to run to Christ. Likening the mass to Jesus Christ is not a new practice.[2] Since the time of the early church, Christians gathered for communal prayer, worship, and for the celebration of the eucharist to be united in the real presence of Christ.[3] Similarly, in *The Lanterne of Liȝt*, a Wycliffite religious manual on the main tenets of the faith dated between 1409 and 1415, to go to

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[1] 'When mass is called for (rang), one must think that these are the announcements of the King which state the news that the King is on his way, and one must run to our Lord as one ought to do.' Jean Gerson, 'Comment on se doit maintenir a la messe,' in *Œuvres complètes*, *L'œuvre polémique,* vol. 10, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1960), 321.

[2] I make a distinction between 'mass,' the social gathering of the Christian community, the general liturgical practice, and 'Mass' as the particular enacted eucharistic celebration.

[3] As in the communal life shared by the earliest Christian community in Acts 4:32. This ideal of the Church, commonly referred to as *ecclesia primitiva*, was to become the predominant model for reform. See Scott H. Hendrix, 'In Quest of the Vera Ecclesia: The Crises of Late Medieval Ecclesiology,' *Viator* 7 (1976): 347–378, at 347.

church is to undertake a true pilgrimage: 'Whanne we don in þe chirche in forme as God haþ tauȝt vs, þanne we do oure pilgrimage.'[4] To go to church is an eschatological act. One has a foretaste of the heavenly Jerusalem—heavenly bliss—where one will see God face to face in the unity of the communion of saints. For the fifteenth-century holy lay woman, Margery Kempe (c.1373–c.1439), to go to church was almost always accompanied by 'contemplacyon' and 'dalyawns' with Jesus Christ and his passion.[5] Margery's affective encounters with Christ place him both as the object and as the agent of worship, who reforms, transforms, and makes the worshiper holy. But what did theologians, polemicists, religious, and lay people mean by Church in the early fifteenth century?

Traditionally, scholars have mainly studied medieval ecclesiology (from the Greek *ἐκκλησία* and *λόγος*, literally the study or understanding of the Church in its essence) through the lens of its institutional structure. Whether at the local, regional, national, or international levels, they have focused on its judicial proceedings, as well as papal powers. The doctrine of the Church developed by papal authorities and schoolmen was mainly framed within the context of the Roman curia and the formulation of canonical material on questions of church constitution and authority from the papacy all the way down to the parish level.[6] Thus, when one looks at the ecclesiology of the early fifteenth century, what immediately comes to mind is the conflict between conciliarists and papalists. While the

[4] *The Lanterne of Liȝt*, ed. Lilian M. Swinburn, EETS O.S. 151 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1917), 86/8–9. The manual is mentioned in Henry Chichele's register, at the judicial examination of John Claydon, a London-based relapsed heretic, whose book *The Lanterne of Liȝt* was then examined by a comity of friars. The burning of John Claydon points to the rapid micro-changes marking the dichotomy between English orthodoxy and heresy. An orthodox text could suddenly become unorthodox if found in the wrong hands. Thus, while Abbot Whethamstede of St Albans ordered a copy of *Dives and Pauper* for his abbey's library, almost at the same time in 1430, Robert Bert of Bury St Edmunds was arrested for possessing that same book. See *Register of Henry Chichele: Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–1443*, vol. 4, ed. E. F. Jacob, Canterbury and York Series vol. 47 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), 132–137, especially 136–137. See also, Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 211–214; Anne Hudson and H. L. Spencer, 'Old Author, New Work: The Sermons of MS Longleat,' *Medium Aevum* 53:2 (1984), 220–238, at 228.

[5] In the *Book*, 'dalyawns' usually refers to spiritual discussions of an intimate and edifying nature.

[6] Throughout the study, I make a distinction between 'Church,' the mystical body of Christ, the Christian community, and 'church,' which is the ecclesiastical institution.

papal monarchy asserted its spiritual and temporal powers from the eleventh to the thirteenth century,[7] the fourteenth century and its ecclesiastical unrest with the Avignon papacy and the Great Western Schism (1378–1417) enabled anti-papalist sentiments to crystallise, thus giving rise to the conciliar movement.[8]

Ecclesiological issues were at the forefront of social consciousness in the fourteenth century.[9] Theologians, whether papal absolutists, conciliarists, or Wycliffites, started writing treatises that were primarily concerned with ecclesiology.[10] At the turn of the fourteenth century, Giles of Rome advocated for papal hegemony over temporal rulers in his 1301 *De ecclesiastica sive de summi pontificis potestate*, which responded to the conflict opposing Pope Boniface VIII (c. 1235–1303) to Edward I of England (1239–1307) and Philip IV of France (1268–1314) in the years 1296–1303. Giles' treatise was echoed distinctly in the papal bull *Unam Sanctam*, issued on 18 November 1302, which affirmed the pope's supremacy as the vicar of Christ and heir of Peter over all spiritual and temporal powers.[11] William of Ockham's *De imperatorum et pontificum potestate*, written between

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[7] The temporal claims of the papacy reached their high point under the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216), when the pope displayed the range of his *plenitudo potestatis* over both spiritual and temporal powers. See Eric George Jay, 'The Church as Papal Monarchy,' in *The Church: Its Changing Image through Twenty Centuries* (London: SPCK, 1977), 97–113.

[8] On the conciliar movement, see Alexander Russell, *Conciliarism and Heresy in Fifteenth-Century England: Collective Authority in the Age of the General Councils* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); J. H. Burns and Thomas M. Izbicki, eds., *Conciliarism and Papalism* (Cambridge and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[9] Hendrix, 'In Quest of the Vera Ecclesia,' 348. Francis Oakley also underlines that 'Only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did ecclesiology become a focus of intense concern among theologians.' He points at Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and Thomas Aquinas' *Summa*, which do not offer a separate treatise on the topic *De ecclesia*. Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 157.

[10] On the novelty of these writings, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4, *Reformation of Church and Dogma* (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 69–72.

[11] Arthur P. Monahan, 'General Introduction,' in Giles of Rome, *De ecclesiastica potestate*, translated by Arthur P. Monahan (Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), ix–xxvii. Giles of Rome's treatise posited that dominion was given to temporal lords by Christ through the medium of the church and the vicar of Christ, the pope. Dominion was thus lawfully held by those in a state of grace. Giles' argument was then turned against the friars by Richard Fitzralph in his *De pauperie salvatoris*, upon whom John Wyclif drew extensively for his argument of grace-founded *dominium*. The papal hierocrat Giles of Rome's Augustinianism was the same Augustinianism that shaped Wyclif's thought on dominion. See Stephen E. Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 25–26.

1346–1347, denied the papal claim to a plenitude of power (*plenitudo potestatis*), stating that in the Gospels Peter had no full authority either in temporal nor in spiritual matters. Following in Ockham's footsteps, John Wyclif with his 1378–1379 *De ecclesia* and John Hus' 1413 *De ecclesia* also drew attention to Peter and a return to the apostolic Church, calling for a true lordship that was based not on temporal or spiritual powers but rather on the law and grace of Christ.[12] These treatises all addressed the ecclesiastical hierarchy and questions of authority within the 'universal' Church. Where did the authority of the Roman church reside? Was it vested in the community of all just people, in the person of the pope, or in general councils?[13]

During the Council of Constance (1414–1418), the need not only to define the 'true Church,' but also to affirm the foundation of its authority was pressing. It enabled conciliarists to ground the church's authority within the *congregatio*—the body of the faithful—whose voice was represented by church councils. Consequently, conciliarists published the decree *Haec sancta*, which was approved on 6 April 1415 and which asserted the superiority of the council over the pope.[14] The conciliar movement lost its advantage around the time of the Council of Basel (1431–1449) when its decree *Frequens*, which advocated for the regular holding of church councils, slowly lost its hold against strengthened papal powers.[15]

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[12] Wyclif's perception of the true lordship of Christ was based on his realist ontology, which posited that all human dominion derived from God's universal dominion. Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics*, Chapter One; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 314–358; Matthew Spinka, *John Hus' Concept of Church* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1966), 252–289.

[13] See G. R. Evans, 'Exegesis and Authority in the Thirteenth Century,' in *Ad Litteram: Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*, ed. Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 96–97.

[14] 'Et primo, quod ipsa synodus in Spiritu sancto legitime congregata, generale concilium faciens, ecclesiam catholicam militantem repraesentans, potestatem a Christo immediate habeat, cui quilibet cuiuscumque status vel dignitatis, etiam si papalis exsistat, obedire tenetur in his quae pertinent ad fidem et exstirpationem dicti schismatis.' 'First, that this synod, legitimately assembled in the holy Spirit, constituting a general council, representing the catholic church militant, has power immediately from Christ, and that everyone of whatever state or dignity, even papal, is bound to obey it is in those matters which pertain to the faith and the eradication of the said schism.' Tanner, ed., *Decrees*, vol. 1, 408–409.

[15] 'Frequens generalium conciliorum celebratio, agri dominici praecipua cultura est, quae vepres, spinas et tribulos haeresium, errorum et schismatum exstirpat, excessus corrigit, deformata reformat, et

Papal authority continued to be a widely discussed topic among fifteenth-century theologians. Thomas Gascoigne (1403–1458) dedicated more than twenty pages to the subject in his *Liber Veritatum*, the theological dictionary composed between 1434 and 1457.[16] Discussions on institutional structures were crucial as ecclesiastical hierarchies (or the lack thereof) were shaping the very nature of ecclesiology, which was intrinsically connected to christologies that were being developed within the ecclesial community. As we shall see in Chapter Two, the authority of the Church as vested in its predestined elect promoted an invisible Church, as John Wyclif and John Hus argued, whereas authority vested in the ecclesiastical structures promoted a visible Church in which salvation was found within its social reality.

Whether advocating for an invisible or visible Church, papalists, conciliarists, Wycliffites, and Lollards alike shared a focus on the visible signs of the ontological nature of the Church: holiness and unity.[17] Both themes permeated not only ecclesiastical matters of the English church and its reformist agenda, but also fifteenth-century literary culture, whether in intellectual writings or in treatises concerned with the Church as the community of the faithful.[18] The development of the identity of the Church through its holiness and unity came to emphasise its ontology as a worshipping community. This identity spread as

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vineam Domini ad frugem uberrimae fertilitatis adducit […] Propter hoc edicto perpetuo sancimus, statuimus, decernimus atque ordinamus, ut amodo concilia generalia celebrentur […]'/'The Frequent holding of general councils is a pre-eminent means of cultivating the Lord's patrimony. It roots out the briars, thorns and thistles of heresies, errors and schisms, corrects deviations, reforms what is deformed and produces a richly fertile crop for the Lord's vineyard […] For this reason we establish, enact, decree and ordain, by a perpetual edict, that general councils shall be held henceforth in the following way […],' ibid., 438–439.

[16] The entry 'papa romanus' in Thomas Gascoigne's *Liber Veritatum*, is found in Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Lat. 118, pp. 157–176.

[17] This dual theme appears in both orthodox and heterodox writings, in both intellectual and theological works, and in simple vernacular treatises, such as the *Virtues of the Mass* written by John Audelay, which assumed no understanding of the liturgy among its audience.

[18] The English church, as a particular branch of the universal Church, was not a monolith of standardised beliefs, as some scholars have suggested in light of Thomas Arundel's presumed hammer-like archbishopric. The English church not only comprehended institutional structures, within which a wide range of theological views could be held, but also people, whether religious or lay, educated or uneducated, of whom had peculiar understandings of 'church,' whether at a parish, regional, national, or international level. 'The English church' should therefore be considered as having multivalent meanings, which I shall attempt to differentiate and identify throughout Part One of this thesis.

a result of the impetus of pastoral reforms in head and members initiated at the Council of Pisa in 1409 and advocated at Constance in 1414–1418, and possibly as a result of the disenchantment of late medieval polity and its failure to achieve unity.[19] *Cura animarum* dominated the church's agenda more than ever at this time, having deeply shaped the vernacular religious literature of fourteenth-century England through manuals of pastoral theology addressed to the parish clergy, which outlined episcopal directives.[20]

The reformist programme of the English church, as sketched in Richard Ullerston's 1408 *Petitiones quoad reformationem ecclesiae militantis*, which were commissioned by Robert Hallum (d. 1417) for use at Pisa, and in the University of Oxford's 1414 *Articuli concernentes reformationem uniuersalis ecclesiae*, criticised abuses among its prelates and curates.[21] Ullerston and his peers at Constance, in particular Robert Hallum, saw personal reform, both theological and moral, as the thrust and desired outcome of their reformist agenda.[22] Furthermore, the *Petitiones* also denounced the institutional practices of simony, papal interference, appropriations, non-residence, and pluralism. Alongside these, the fourth injunction of the Oxford treatise *De promotione universitatis* advocated for the greater influence of universities, which were to become strongholds of pastoral reforms. As places of learning that promoted clear instruction, the purging of errors, and the

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[19] On late medieval polity and the role of the institutional church, see Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge: University Press, 1968).

[20] Vincent Gillespie underlines that the importance of Archbishop Thoresby's instructions issued in 1357, in the Province of York, did not emanate from their content, but from their value of 'conferring official approval on and encouraging the circulation of a vernacular version of his Latin original.' *'Doctrina and Predicacio*,' 43.

[21] See E. F. Jacob, 'A Note on the English Concordat of 1418,' in *Medieval Studies, Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*, ed. J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall and F. X. Martin, O.S.A. (Dublin: Colm O Lochlainn, 1961); Harvey, 'English Views on the Reforms.'

[22] See, for instance, Robert Hallum's sermon preached at Constance on 8 December 1415 on the reading of Luke 21: 25, in which Hallum rebuked the lack of virtue among the clergy, who had given in to avarice, simony, and schisms. Robert Hallum, 'Erunt signa in sole et luna,' in *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, ed. Heinrich Finke, vol. 2 (Münster: Regensberschen Bunchhandlung, 1923), 425. Sheila Linderbaum, in her article on learned rectors in London after Arundel, underlines that the 'pastoral imperative' which motivated new rectors in London very much focused on clerical abuses such as non-residence, 'a pastor's failure to care for his flock.' Sheila Linderbaum, 'London after Arundel: Learned Rectors and the Strategies of Orthodox Reform,' in *After Arundel*, 187–208, at 188.

upholding of virtues and morals, universities were to be given the task of profoundly shaping the English nation.

The overall agenda of the English church was thus to promote holiness and unity among its ecclesiastical hierarchy, and subsequently among the laity through the pastoral care of a devout, university-educated clergy.[23] Positing universities as bulwarks of Christian truth that would enforce reforms gave them a greater role in the ecclesial *magisterium* than they had ever enjoyed previously.[24] Holiness and unity were thus understood as being foundational to the nature of the church, and permeated not only ecclesial and academic discourses in England, but also its vernacular literature. This latter body of literature, addressed to 'lerde & lewe seclere & clerke,' was to shape deeply the faith of the laity.[25] This dual theme of holiness and unity at the heart of the doctrine of the

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[23] 'Quia studii generalis universitas in diversis regnis statui et nutriri debuit, ut isporum lampas illuminans, purgans, et proficiens terras et patrias adjacentes, illuminans per doctrinam difficilium dubiorum, purgans a tenebris haeresium et errorum, proficiens exemplis virtutum et morum; ne igitur deficient oleo, lampadis lux et lumen simul deficient, placeat virtuosis studentibus providere.' 'Articuli concernentes reformationem,' in *Concilia Magnae*, 361.

[24] Norman Tanner stresses that universities 'were regarded as an integral part of the ecclesial *magisterium*, the teaching authority of the church.' However, rarely had they been given such importance as in this treatise drafted by a university. See Norman Tanner, 'Medieval Ecclesiology and the Conciliar Movement,' in *Oxford Handbook of Ecclesiology*, ed. Paul D. L. Avis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 199–215, at 208. See also Jeremy Catto, 'Theology after Wycliffism,' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, *Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. Jeremy I. Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 263–280, especially 263–267. At the1417 Convocation, Archbishop Chichele considered ways to diminish the penury of graduates at both Oxford and Cambridge, which were represented respectively by Robert Gilbert (d. 1448) (a Doctor in Theology and warden of Merton College) and Thomas Kyngton (a Doctor of Laws and advocate in the court of Canterbury). As they attempted to secure graduates' particular promotion to benefices, according to the plans of two committees (one in Constance and one in England), religious orders that were unhappy with the procedures formed a third committee, which asked to change the graduation requirements for those in religious orders. This petition was subsequently rejected by Oxford and ignored by Cambridge. Four years later, at the 1421 Convocation, the chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge pleaded for the promotion of university graduates. Oxford changed its statutes for the ordinance to operate for the following ten years. At the 1438 Convocation, measures were taken to promote the 1421 ordinance for the promotion of graduates, which has been ineffective. Gerald Bray ed., *Records of Convocation: Canterbury: 1414–1443*, vol. 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005) 55–74, 100–104, 384–393; Jacob, ed., *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–1443*, vol. 3, Canterbury and York Series vol. 46 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), 32–51, 63–75, 261–267.

[25] Addressing the different social groups and reading communities in this dialogic way was common in vernacular works; see, for instance, the use of 'lerde & lewe seclere & clerke' found in 'Templum Domini,' in Roberta D. Cornelius, 'The Figurative Castle, A Study in the Mediaeval Allegory of the Edifice with Especial Reference to Religious Writings,' (PhD Dissertation, Bryn Mawr, 1930), 112; or the specific audience of the *Speculum Vitae*: 'lewed men namely/ þat can na manere of clergy.' *Speculum Vitae: A Reading Edition*, ed. Ralph Hanna and Venetia Somerset, EETS O.S. 331 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7, l. 82–84.

Church was advocated at the international level, as well as at the national, regional, and local ones, whether one considered the church an institution ('Gesellschaft'—church) or a spiritual community ('Gemeinschaft'—Church).[26] As we shall see, the nature of the church as one, holy, and catholic was thus woven seamlessly into the historical, political, and theological backdrop of Henry Chichele's archiepiscopate (1414–1443).

Part One of this thesis, while taking into account the church as an institution and the power dynamics at play within it, steers the conversation away from looking at the church as an organisation and its papacy often verging on political theology. Instead, I focus on the church's self-understanding and its practices as demonstrated in vernacular writings that were circulating during the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele. The Church, 'Gemeinschaft,' will be the focus of this first part of the thesis, as we observe the chief currents that shaped the faithful at prayer through intellectual and cultural understandings of the mass as a social reality, which was one of the main salient means through which the Church expressed its cultural life during Chichele's archiepiscopate. As propounded in the literary cultures of the time in England, Christ chiefly revealed himself to his people through the Church, and then also through its institution. It was through the worshipping community at prayer that most people primarily encountered the person of Jesus Christ. As Hans Boersma puts it, 'if you wanted access to Christ, you had to be where Christ gave himself—in the church, that is.' Hence, 'theologically, Christology and ecclesiology went hand in hand.'[27]

In a time of external and internal pressures, as the English church was constantly pressed to recalibrate itself, Chichele's archiepiscopate was a time of fruitful expounding of ecclesiology. Part One of this thesis argues that in an attempt to redress the current

[26] On the social relationship of the church, considered both a structured institution and as an interpersonal community, see Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church* (Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1978).

[27] Hans Boersma, *Eucharistic Participation: The Reconfiguration of Time and Space* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2021), 39–40.

religious state of England, Chichele's church worked towards establishing the crux of the Christian life in the worshipping community. I support this argument through a consideration of both vernacular and Latin materials on ecclesiology, bearing in mind that literary cultures were anchored within peculiar theological, political, and social contexts as described above, and comprehended composite entities across education, estates, and localities. The ontological nature of the Church was established whenever the community gathered for worship, and so the literary material under scrutiny will mainly be concerned directly or indirectly with the mass or divine office. Although the reformist programme advocated at Constance concentrated on institutional structures and those in charge of *cura animarum*, the whole ecclesial community was reformed by these changes.

The main material under scrutiny in Part One of this study is a corpus of treatises usually referred to as *Virtues of Mass*. These texts, most often in verse, explain how one ought to follow the service at mass, and the virtues that are intrinsically connected to the ceremony. In Chapter One, I trace forty-four texts in at least 107 manuscripts containing variations of the *Virtues of the Mass* spanning from the late fourteenth century to Richard Hill's commonplace book, which was written between 1501 and 1536.[28] While being re-created and adapted to specific audiences, responding to particular intellectual, cultural, and religious currents of the time, the vast majority of these treatises and their initial impetuses can be situated between 1414 and 1443. By dividing these texts into two main literary traditions, and by expounding their related themes, I show how, as a textual genre, they vividly catalysed and crystallised a movement of democratization of a ritual that had been characterised earlier as a predominantly clerical celebration.[29] I argue that, according

[28] *Songs, Carols and Other Miscellaneous Poems, From the Balliol MS. 354 Richard Hill's Commonplace Book*, ed. Roman Dyboski, EETS E.S. 101 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1908), xiii–xvi.

[29] Almost no references are made to the exact role of the laity in the church's rites amid the abundance of pastoral manuals, preaching aids, and catechetical material used by generations of medieval church reformers in England, which reiterated the minimal catechetical competency expected of the clergy

to the *Virtues of the Mass* genre, the main locus of encounter with Christ in fifteenth-century England was the mass itself. Chapter Two locates the *Virtues of the Mass* texts in their social, cultural, and political contexts, in light of the ecclesiastical developments at the Council of Constance and their application at home in England in a post-Constance era. I argue that the mass, as the social reality of Christ's union with his body (the Church), is put forward as the harbinger of unity of the *ecclesia Anglicana*'s pastoral programme, through both religious and civic endeavours.

Overall, the first part of this study contends that any participation in liturgical observances was not primarily attributable to clerical and political incentives, but rather to Christ as the subject, object, and mediator of worship, which did not preclude religious and secular intermediaries. The result of this analysis is to move the discussion away from power imbalances and subjectivity, and to focus instead on the forming, informing, and shaping of lay spirituality within the context of the Church, both as a worshipping body and an institution, and its reception in vernacular works of pastoral and spiritual guidance. The Church as the communion of the faithful—in its corporate identity, as well as in its spiritual identity—was at the core of lay experiences of Christ. The act of going to church, whether the church building—construed by ecclesiastical authority through its dedication rite—or the spiritual community, was to encounter Christ through worship. When examined through the lens of encountering Christ, church attendance provided lay people with agency through their participation in the body of Christ, as they were enabled through

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and lay audiences, as codified in the basic knowledge of the faith. The most tangible and popular decree on the role of the laity might have been codified and legislated as the twenty-first constitution of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, *omnis utriusque sexus*, the obligation to confess once a year. Following this emphasis on the sacrament of penance, Archbishop John Pecham's Syllabus, in his diocesan context, after the English Council of Lambeth in 1281, went further in codifying the place of the laity within the ecclesial community. Consequently, some argue that the great contribution by thirteenth-century English theologians to penitential literature was 'a typical product of the intense concentration on practical matters that characterised English graduates.' F. Broomfield, 'Introduction,' in *Thomae de Chobham, Summa Confessorum* (Louvain and Paris: Nauwelaerts and Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1968), xx. On the role of the laity in public worship, see Nicholas Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021), especially Chapter 4.

this communion to partake actively in the most significant Christian ritual.[30] Hence, lay people's christological understandings and imaginations were first and foremost shaped by their participation in the life of the Church and more specifically in the Mass. The vernacular affirmation of lay participation in the life of the Church coheres with the time of the archiepiscopacy of Henry Chichele, which was marked by the heightening of the liturgical standards of the English church, both verbally and visually, as part of a larger programme of affirming the sacramental identity of the *ecclesia Anglicana*.[31]

[30] For material on the church and more specifically the mass, demonstrating a resurgence of lay involvement in the community of the faithful, see Duffy, *The Stripping*, Part I. See also Nicole R. Rice's argument on lay participation in clerical liturgical practices through confraternity, corrody, guild membership, and chantries in *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline in Middle English Literature* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[31] On the heightening of the verbal and visual register of religious ceremonies, see Gillespie, 'Chichele's Church,' 3–42; Helen L. Spencer, 'Ancient Customs and New Manners: Medieval Views of Preaching,' in *English Preaching*.

CHAPTER ONE

The *Virtues of the Mass*: A Taxonomy of a Communal Devotional Practice

Since, though he is under the world's splendour and wonder,
His mystery must be instressed, stressed;
For I greet him the days I meet him, and bless when I understand.[1]

A student asks his teacher, 'What is þe mas?' After ensuring multiple times that the student is willing to pay attention and learn with good intent, the teacher answers, 'God is glorifyed in Trynyte be þe mas seying.' Anticipating a dissatisfied student, the teacher provides a further explanation:

> The mas ys so grete and eke so worthy hyt is reffresshyng, undefoylyd ay. Off all seyntys thys is trowth þat I say yit more vertu þe mas hath, as I rede I shall tell the.[2]

Upon the insistence of the student, who still expects a response to his question, the teacher continues, 'þe mas ys the joye of mankind,' before adding:

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[1] Gerard Manley Hopkins, 'The Wreck of the Deutschland,' in *The Major Works*, ed. Catherine Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 111, l. 34–36.

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 36, fol. 9v (MS Rawlinson Poet. 36). Scribal abbreviations have been expanded, while *u* and *v* have been regularised following modern usage.

> I lete þe wete I have seen here before in olde wrytyng and in dyvers bokys mas ys remissyon of those synnys and that all crystyn sowles hath trespassed to Godward in longe tyme before passed.[3]

This didactic dialogue between a teacher and a student, found in MS Rawlinson Poet. 36, not only draws our attention to the mass—the central Christian rite of worship in the late Middle Ages—as the liturgical celebration of the eucharist, but also as a powerful and restorative mystery: the sacrament of the Eucharist.[4] As underlined by the teacher, humankind finds its joy in the forgiveness of sins that the eucharistic sacrifice offers, bringing the participants closer to God. Furthermore, the assertion that the teacher knows about the meaning of the mass through 'olde wrytyng and in dyvers bokys' suggests the existence of a literary tradition on the topic.

This chapter explores this literary tradition. Tracing its origins in the liturgical reforms of the Carolingian era, its growth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and its slow translation into vernacular literature at the turn of the fifteenth century, it covers writings belonging to a fifteenth-century literary genre commonly referred to as the *Virtues of the Mass*. As mentioned in the introduction to Part One, the study of medieval ecclesiology has mainly focused on the institutional church's structure and polity. By looking at Middle English texts—more specifically the *Virtues of the Mass* texts—and what they have to say about the nature of the church not just as an institution, but as a spiritual community, this chapter attempts to understand the place of the church, its teaching, and its practices within the timeframe of Henry Chichele's archiepiscopate.

My main focus is on the church's paramount public expression: the mass. As the name of the genre under scrutiny indicates, *Virtues of the Mass* texts promoted the

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[3] Ibid.

[4] *Middle English Dictionary*, University of Michigan, May 2021, s.v. *messe*, n. 1a, 12, <www.quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary>. Hereafter *MED*. Throughout this study, I differentiate 'Eucharist,' which is the consecrated Sacrament invested with Christ's presence, and 'eucharist,' the more general ceremony.

centrality of the celebration within late medieval religious literature and culture in England. By describing and examining the *Virtues of the Mass* and its variants as a comprehensive genre, this work aims to illumine a corpus of little-studied and often-ignored texts, while also demonstrating how this pastoral literature put forward themes privileged in their respective literary communities. The confluence of material on the interpretation of the mass and its virtues in the first half of the fifteenth century, with the translating, copying, and circulation of old texts and the writing of new ones, underlines the paramount interest invested in the mass within both clerical and lay spheres. The thriving development of the genre speaks to the significance of this communal devotional practice as the bedrock of late medieval piety. This chapter first provides an introduction to the genre, before unveiling two different traditions of writings within the forty-four texts under scrutiny, which I have classified based on their form and content. I conclude the chapter by tracing the main themes that permeate the texts, such as prayer, *soulehele*, and liturgical *habitus*.

INTRODUCING THE *VIRTUES OF THE MASS* TEXTS

The dialogue between the teacher and the student in MS Rawlinson Poet. 36 follows a treatise on the virtues of the mass, which lists physical and spiritual benefits ascribed to the ceremony of the mass by a selection of saints and doctors of the church.[5] The dialogue connects the *Virtues of the Mass* with its envoy made of two eight-line *ababbcbc* stanzas. This envoy is of particular interest, as it gives us four distinct insights and social facts about a mostly unedited corpus, further examination of which will reveal it as a genre.

[5] The treatise shares a possible source text with Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Hh.3.13, fols. 111v–112r. Hereafter Hh.3.13.

First, the poetic 'I' refers to himself as a 'translatour,' which suggests that the author's source text might have been in Latin or in another vernacular language, such as French.[6] Such an act of translation seems to be far from the supposedly problematic and controversial nature of translation after Archbishop Thomas Arundel's 1409 decrees. It seems to fit with the impetus behind the translation of orthodox religious texts, which was one of the 'unintended consequences of Arundel's decrees.'[7] Second, 'Inglyssh' is mentioned twice with insistence, emphasising the vernacular status of the text and implying a specific audience made up of non-Latinate religious or lay people.[8] The vernacular, with its 'politics of access,' is inherent within all versions of the *Virtues of the Mass* that I will examine, as their authors attempted to make the Latin rite of the mass comprehensible to all.[9] Third, the use of a self-effacing topos draws our attention to the pragmatic content of the text rather than its literary ambition:

> Yif eny crafte be in baled makyng
> I reserve hyt to the poetys olde
> Chaucers, Gower and Lydgatys wrytyng
> Whych in balade made bokys manyfold.[10]

[6] French material focuses on expounding the liturgical sequences of the mass, rather than its benefits. See, for example, Gerson, 'Comment on se doit maintenir a la messe,' in *Œuvres Complètes*, 321–323, or *Le Mesnagier de Paris*, ed. Georgina E. Brereton and Janet M. Ferrier (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2010), I.iii, 50–58. For German material, see Adolph Franz, *Die Messe Im Deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1902), especially Chapters 9–11; Kurt Illing, 'Messerklärung,' in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 6, ed. Wolfgang Stammler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), 443–449.

[7] Vincent Gillespie, 'Fatherless Books: Authorship, Attribution, and Orthodoxy in Later Medieval England,' in *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ*, 151–196, at 171.

[8] See Elizabeth Dearnley, *Translators and Their Prologues in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2016), 189–217.

[9] On the nature of the vernacular, see essays in *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 314–378. For insights into the Latin tradition of the *Virtues of the Mass*, see Elena Parina and Maria Volkonskaya, 'Middle Welsh Texts on the Virtues of the Mass in Their European Context,' in *Transmission of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Outi Merisalo, Miika Kuha, and Susanna Niiranen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 87–99.

[10] MS Rawlinson Poet. 36, fol. 9v.

Such indirect appeal to 'the poetys olde' is what Vincent Gillespie has dubbed an act of 'patriarchal affiliation.'[11] While the poetic 'I' does not explicitly anchor his text in the tradition of clerical writers, his concern for authorship and orthodoxy nonetheless displays similarities with an ongoing anxiety towards religious writings post-1409. Fourth, the use of a utility topos ultimately validates the *Virtues of the Mass* as a didactic instrument facilitating the salvation of its audience. The treatise, 'steryng all crysten men/ To here mas' provides the assurance that, 'They þat so do, shall wyn hevyn.' As established by this framing of the audience's response through an elaborate and self-reflexive envoy, the *Virtues of the Mass* and its variants were principally concerned with fostering liturgical literacy within non-Latinate audiences by promoting the efficacy of the mass as an instrument of salvation.

The genre of the *Virtues of the Mass* appears in Middle English as early as the 1380s with John Mirk's adaptation of the text in his sermon on the feast of Corpus Christi, in the *Festial*, and in his *Instructions for Parish Priests*. It is then picked up in the 1390s, as found in the Vernon manuscript (although much of the writings in Vernon pre-date the 1390s), before becoming widely popular within Chichele's church, while extending into the early sixteenth century with Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354. Mirk's list of benefits attributed to the mass in his *Festial* is a verbatim translation from the Latin in *Fasciculus morum*, a preaching handbook on the vices and virtues from the first half of the fourteenth century, whereas his *Instructions for Parish Priests* omits two benefits, suggesting either that he adapted the material from his pastoral treatise, or that he was including it from memory, hence the few changes.[12]

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[11] Gillespie, 'Fatherless Books,' 179.

[12] On *Fasciculus morum*, see Siegfried Wenzel, ed., *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989); *Verses in Sermons:* Fasciculus Morum *and Its Middle English Poems* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978).

Both *Virtues of the Mass* texts that date from the 1390s—the version found in the Vernon manuscript and the oldest version of *The Lay Folks' Mass Book* found in London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII—offer an exposition of the liturgical ceremony, sequence by sequence, rather than listing benefits such as in the *Fasciculus morum*. Evidence from manuscripts indicates that both types of *Virtues of the Mass* texts gained a significant momentum in production and circulation under the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele, as almost half of the manuscript witnesses can be traced to the first half of the fifteenth-century. This significance is clear in the fact that both John Audelay and John Lydgate adapted the text, and it was also included in manuals of religious instruction such as *Memoriale credencium* and *Sacerdos parochialis*, and circulated in anthologies of religious material such as Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125, and London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, within the timeframe of Chichele's church.

As Chapter Two will demonstrate, the circulation of *Virtues of the Mass* writings echoed the pastoral programme put forward by the archbishop at a time when the *ecclesia Anglicana* needed to vindicate its orthodoxy and unity. While the genre remained popular throughout the fifteenth century, there was a distinct second wave of currency within a number of manuscripts copied in the 1470s and 1480s possibly connected with the book market in London, such as in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, and Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 1047. The genre even made an appearance in print, with the English translation of the Flemish work by Gherit vander Goude, *The Interpretacyon and Sygnyfycacyon of the Masse*, printed in 1532, as well as related texts called meditations during the time of mass, drawing on the Birgittine brother of Syon Bonde's *Pilgrymage of perfeccyon*, printed in 1526 by Richard Pynson and in 1531 by Wynkyn de Worde.[13] The

[13] See *The Interpretacyon and Sygnyfycacyon of the Masse. Gherit vander Goude, Dat Boexken vander Missen,* ed. Percy Dearmer (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903). See also Alexandra Barratt,

genre of the *Virtues of the Mass* was thus a relatively prevalent corpus advocating public worship throughout the fifteenth century and beyond, while gaining a stable currency under the Chichelean church.

The *Virtues of the Mass* texts are little known among literary scholars and historians of the fifteenth century, despite their circulation in at least 107 manuscripts.[14] Scholarly reception of the corpus, however, is not completely non-existent. The Middle English genre of *Virtues of the Mass* has been mentioned in passing by John Bossy, Eamon Duffy, and Miri Rubin, while a tentative taxonomy was drawn up by Robert Raymo for the *Manual of Writings in Middle English*.[15] More recently, Katherine Zieman has referred to a few variants in her argument on the politics of liturgical understanding in *Singing the New Song*, while Maria Volkonskaya has drawn our attention to four edited texts.[16] Most scholars of religious literature from late medieval England are aware of the existence of the genre, or at least of one of its most well-known variants, *The Lay Folks' Mass Book* (hereafter *LFMB*), as entitled by Thomas Frederick Simmons in his 1879 Early English Text Society edition (hereafter EETS).[17] However, the variants of the *Virtues of the Mass*

Anne Bulkeley and Her Book: Fashioning Female Piety in Early Tudor England (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 90–96. These meditations were also found in manuscripts, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Wood empt. 17, fols. 1r–27r and London, British Library, MS Harley 494, fols. 63r–75r.

[14] This number is close to the extant manuscript witnesses of *The Prick of Conscience*, which reaches 120 copies.

[15] John Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution 1200–1700,' *Past & Present* 100 (1983): 29–61; Duffy, *The Stripping*; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Raymo, 'Works of Religious,' 2255–2378 and 2555–2558.

[16] Katherine Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 80–92. Parina and Volkonskaya, 'Middle Welsh Texts,' 96–98.

[17] The *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, presumably a fourteenth-century text, translated from a twelfth-century French counterpart, is one of the first Middle English examples of interpretation of the rite having a lay addressee in mind. The fact that eight out of the nine known manuscripts of the *Lay Folks' Mass Book* date from the fifteenth century speaks to the theological and socio-historical context of that century, where a lay active participation in the life of the church was expected. *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879). On the *LFMB*, see Jeremy Smith, 'The Manuscripts of the Middle English *Lay Folks' Mass Book* in Context,' *Studia Anglica Posnaniensa*, 56 (2021): 361–385. I am grateful to Professor Smith for providing me with a copy of his essay prior to publication. David Jasper and Jeremy Smith, '*The Lay Folks' Mass Book* and Thomas Frederick Simmons: Medievalism and the Tractarians,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70:4 (2019): 785–804.

remain under-studied, and their value for informing our understanding of fifteenth-century religious culture is still under-appreciated.

This lack of interest can be traced to two predicaments. First, it has proved difficult to ground the variants of the *Virtues of the Mass* in a particular literary culture. John Bossy suggests that the treatises flirt with 'the category of magical rites.'[18] Some versions of the *Virtues of the Mass* have been understood to speak to the nature of piety mixed with folklore and legends, what Eamon Duffy refers to as a 'cruder, materialistic, and wonder-seeking piety,' which could hardly be distinguished from more official forms of orthodox devotion.[19] For instance, the variant of the *Virtues of the Mass* found in the household book Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 1047, copied after 1471, is surrounded by cooking and medicinal recipes, a series of rules of conduct, and some charms. The text's literary and theological contents have been elided so as to give way to a bare list of the mass' external goods, which Robert Swanson calls the 'rewards for spirituality.'[20] Treated in this way, the question arises as to whether this treatise could be thought of as literature.

As seen in Raymo's comment on the texts' supposed lack of literary merit, modern understandings of the 'literary' not only discourage a great amount of Middle English texts from being read by present-day readers, but they also preclude the *Virtues of the Mass* genre from being taken on its own terms: literature as conferred by the status of its audience rather than the text itself.[21] The second predicament is the absence of a clear taxonomy for the *Virtues of the Mass*. Raymo's taxonomy, under his section on 'Service and Service-Related Works,' helpfully categorised different textual variants, which he

[18] Bossy, 'The Mass,' 33.

[19] Duffy, *The Stripping*, 292, 295.

[20] R. N. Swanson, 'Praying for Pardon: Devotional Indulgences in Late Medieval England,' in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2006), 215–240, at 220.

[21] On the status of literature in Middle English, see 'Introduction,' in *The Idea of the Vernacular*, xiii–xvi.

classified as, for example, *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, *The Manner and Meed of the Mass*, *De meritis misse, Merita misse*, and the *Virtues of the Mass*.[22] His cataloguing work, however, failed to bring clearly to light the emergence of a cohesive genre of pastoral literature in the vernacular that focused on the mass, its liturgical sequences, and its benefits.

The variability of the *Virtues of the Mass* genre, reflected by multifarious linguistic choices and an emphasis on the ineffable nature of the Mass, precludes the development of an harmonious and singular reading of the genre. The malleability of the *Virtues of the Mass* texts accommodates the needs of particular textual communities to which they were addressed. Hence, the treatises are copied in various Middle English dialects, from Yorkshire to London and from Shropshire to Suffolk, while addressing a wide range of intended audiences from priests, monks, and nuns to lay people with the common address 'man and wife.' Malleable in their form and content, they adopt different registers depending on their intended initial textual community. Some do so by using heavily Latin rubrics or simple Middle English syntax, some by interpreting in detail each liturgical sequence of the rite, or by admonishing the audience to simply pray the *Pater noster,* the *Ave Maria*, and the Creed all throughout the ceremony. The heterogeneous nature of the genre speaks more generally to the transient nature of Middle English manuscripts and works. As Tim Machan underlines, Middle English, in opposition to Latin, was a 'language of the people, impermanence, and change.'[23] Hence, the genre is not only marked by grammatical and dialectal liberty whether in verse or prose, but also by freely adopted clarifications, emendations, or elisions of the *verba*, the textual form, which expressed the *res*, the pre-linguistic truth that it signified.[24]

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[22] Raymo, 'Works,' 2349–2355 and 2555–2558.

[23] Tim William Machan, *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 145.

[24] Ibid., 142.

The *Virtues of the Mass* genre bears the recurring notion that while the meaning of the mass lies behind the words used to describe it, ultimately words fail to reveal the depth of such pre-linguistic truth.

> Weder that he were wold or yong,
> He myght tel with no tung,
> Thagh he myght leve fore ay,
> Ne expone hit opres
> Half the medis of the masse,
> Into his last day.[25]

These words written by John Audelay (d. ca. 1432), a chantry priest at Haughmond Abbey, near Shrewsbury in Shropshire, capture the complexity of the ritual and one's inability to comprehend the mass in its entirety. By its very nature, the Mass could not be fully expounded through words, and its plenitude of meanings was bound to escape those pursuing it. Such a predicament fostered a fluidity in *verba*, supporting a hermeneutical dialogue that came to characterise the *Virtues of the Mass* genre. Moreover, this fluidity also originated in the writing's own status as an anonymous text of pastoral care, less concerned with preserving the deference owed to a reputed poet of old than with the pragmatic and practical advice of the cure of souls. Hence, these writings were endlessly reinterpreted and remodelled based on the practices and needs of the textual communities they addressed.[26] The numerous adaptations of the *Virtues of the Mass* demonstrate the vitality of the genre. Its expounding of multifarious spiritual and physical benefits testifies to the prevalent and ubiquitous role of the mass as a catalyst for communal religious

[25] John Audelay, *Poems and Carols: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 302*, ed. Susanna Fein (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009), 85, l. 184–189.

[26] As liturgical uses were never really made uniform until 1543, it was therefore unlikely that vernacular expositions of the mass as a rite, and its benefits, would aspire to any kind of homogeneity. See Richard William Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 8–9 and 443–444.

culture and practice in a century most often characterised by modern scholars for its eucharistic and private devotion.[27]

There is little consistency in how the treatises are rubricated. Some have a rubric functioning as a title in Latin, such as *Merita missae*, or *Virtutes missarum*. Others have a Middle English title such as *Vertewis of the Mess*, the *Medys of the Masse*, or *Þe Medys and Grace of þe Masse*. Still others either have no title or have a colophon supplemented or appended in a contemporary or later hand. The wide assortment of analogous titles speaks to the common recognition of a particular genre of texts concerned with the mass. Just as the meaning of the term *mass* expounded by these writings can either mean the eucharist, or the liturgical service, the noun *virtue* has a twofold meaning in such contexts. The Latin noun *virtus*, the etymological origin of our modern English *virtue*, implies a power to produce some effect, result or meaning, or else to manifest divine power.[28] The Middle English use of *vertu* keeps such dual meaning in the context of the mass, and points to the inherent power conveyed by the eucharistic sacrifice or the religious practice, and to their efficacy.[29] As such, *vertu* is a sacramental grace, the very divine power of the Eucharist manifested, or, on the other hand, the spiritual benefits that flow from it. The Middle English noun *mede* that sometimes replaces *vertu* is more concrete. It entails a material reward, a profit often acting as a compensation, which could suggest that the virtues of the mass are to be earned, by devout attendance for example. This versatile title can be traced to the fourteenth-century preacher's handbook *Fasciculus morum* which refers to the '*virtutem et effectum misse*' in its section *De accidia*.[30] By referring both to

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[27] See, for example, Ian Christopher Levy, 'The Eucharist in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Sacramental Theology*, ed. Hans Boersma and Matthew Levering (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 235–248.

[28] *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Brepols, June 2021, s.v. *virtus*, n. 4, 7, <www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk>

[29] *MED*, University of Michigan, May 2021, s.v. *vertu*, n. 9, 10, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED51027/track?counter=1&search_id=20214692>

[30] Wenzel, ed., *Fasciculus Morum*, 408–411.

the power and effect of the mass, *Fasciculus morum* establishes that the mass is not only invested with power, but that it is also a vector of change, affecting those participating in it. *Virtutem* and *effectum* are thus both implied in the Middle English *vertu*, but are also a common denominator of all *Virtues of the Mass* texts. Therefore, the genre of the *Virtues of the Mass* comprises two traditions: one concentrating on the benefits that ensue from the mass, and the other on the latter's powerful nature. The fact that the same titles and rubrications are used interchangeably for both traditions regardless of their focus once again suggests an all-encompassing genre.

The taxonomy developed in the following section identifies and details these two main traditions, with the aim of elucidating the *Virtues of the Mass* genre. The first tradition lists a series of benefits associated with attending mass. This tradition is further categorised into three corpora: texts assigning the benefits to Augustine as *auctoritas* (Strand a), texts assigning each benefit of the mass to the sayings of a saint or doctor of the Church (Strand b), and texts with numerated lists of benefits (Strand c).[31] The second tradition, rather than listing the virtues of the mass, attempts to expound the meaning of the celebration by giving an exposition of its liturgical sequences, while almost always providing pastoral advice. The taxonomy classifications are not mutually exclusive—a text, such as one found in Vernon, can contain both a list of benefits attributed to saints and doctors of the Church and an exposition of the liturgical sequences of the Mass, and would be listed under both Traditions 1 (b) and 2, although the number of overlapping texts is small (nine out of forty-three). Traditions 1 (a) and (b) are also sometimes compiled one

[31] For a contemporary text that uses *auctoritates* in a similar way, see *Speculum Christiani*, ed. Gustaf Holmstedt, EETS O.S. 182 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1933). *Speculum Christiani* draws its biblical and patristic catenae from the Latin pastoral handbook *Cibus anime*. On the connection of both pastoral works, see Vincent Gillespie, 'The Evolution of the *Speculum Christiani*,' in *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. Alastair J. Minnis (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1989), 317–344. Alongside the *Virtues of the Mass*, the religious miscellany, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 268, also contains the latter part of the *Speculum Christiani* and a Latin text of *ars moriendi* (an excerpt from the second book of Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*), which point to the literary proximity of these works of *pastoralia*.

after the other to form a continuous text on the benefits of the mass, such as in London, British Library, MS Harley 3954 and in Spalding, Spalding's Gentlemen's Society Library, MS M.J.B. 14.

TRADITION 1: *VIRTUES OF THE MASS* AS LISTS OF BENEFITS

The versions of the *Virtues of the Mass* belonging to Tradition 1 appealed to a large number of literary communities with varying socio-economic means, as well as reading interests and needs. Their presence in larger-format manuscripts, such as the Vernon manuscript (544×393 mm) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87 (305×228 mm), as well as in medium formats such as Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 514 (222×151 mm) and New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317 (215×145 mm), coupled with their absence from pocket-size manuscripts, suggest that the majority of manuscripts that contained Tradition 1 *Virtues of the Mass* texts were for instruction purposes rather than private devotion. It would have been difficult to bring easily such books to church as a devotional prop to use during the liturgy. The luxury of the border decoration and the large format of Vernon, patronised by the nobility and compiled by members of the secular clergy, contrast with simpler manuscripts that compiled some of John Lydgate's writings, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59, and MS Rawlinson Poet. 32, or with the lack of scribal neatness in a commonplace notebook, such as Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, which was probably copied by a secular priest in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.[32]

[32] On the social and cultural contexts of the Vernon manuscript, see Wendy Scase, 'Some Vernon Analogues and Their Patrons,' in *The Making of the Vernon Manuscript: The Production and Contexts of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1*, ed. Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 247–268,

The social and cultural contexts of the *Virtues of the Mass* texts classified within Tradition 1 can often be associated with members of the secular clergy which is not surprising as its main known Latin source, the preaching handbook *Fasciculus morum*, would have appealed to an audience in charge of the cure of souls. As the main Latin source for Tradition 1, focusing on the 'effectum,' the benefits of the mass, *Fasciculus morum* briefly presents two lists, one supposedly drawn from Bernard of Clairvaux on the eucharist, and one supposedly drawn from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. Bernard's list sets forth the eucharist as medicine and food for both the sick and the pilgrims, and for the weak and the strong. Augustine's list affirms that the celebration or hearing of mass ensures necessary provisions, forgiveness of idle words, cancellation of forgotten oaths, no vision loss, no sudden death (and if sudden death is unavoidable the mass counts as last rites 'housel'), as well as no ageing during mass, and that one's steps to and from mass are being counted by angels.[33] Texts belonging to Tradition 1 thus reveal the practical and spiritual outcomes of attending church, which should be shared and taught among clerical and lay audiences alike.

Lists of Benefits Assigned to Saint Augustine

The list of seven benefits associated with Augustine gained a considerable currency given its many different variants, closely or loosely copied and adapted, circulating mostly in

especially 260–268. On Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, and its affiliation to the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, owing to a bidding prayer for use in this diocesan context, see *MMBL*, 4:290–292.

[33] This same list is found in Thomas Brinton's sermon 48, written for the Sunday after Epiphany, 21 January 1375. As the list is closely connected to a warning about acedia, it is probable that the Benedictine monk of Norwich was familiar with *Fasciculus morum*. Mary Aquinas Devlin, ed., *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373–1389)* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1954), 216.

miscellanies of religious texts.[34] It appears in sixty known manuscripts, which makes Tradition 1 (a) the most widely disseminated textual grouping of the *Virtues of the Mass* genre. Whereas the use of Bernard's list remained limited, apart from its presence in John Lydgate's *Virtues of the Mass*, Augustine's list can be traced, in the following table, to nineteen known texts.

1. *Virtues of the Mass* as Lists of Benefits

    a. Lists of Benefits Assigned to Saint Augustine

A[35]	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59, fols. 67r–67v	7 virtues
T	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21 (601), fol. 214v	7 virtues
R	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 118, fol. 118v	7 virtues
B	Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, p. 429–430	7 virtues
Y	New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fol. 28r	9 virtues
C	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fols. 54r–54v	9 virtues
O	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 268, fols. 145r–145v	7 virtues
L	London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fols. 162r–162v	7 virtues
H	London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fol. 76r	6 virtues
Y_2	New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 27r–27v	5 virtues
P	Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 1047, fol. 23v	5 virtues
X	London, British Library, MS Royal 17. A. I, fols. 28r–28v	5 virtues
S	Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society Library, MS M.J.B. 14, fol. 168v	4 virtues
J	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, fol. 2r	-
	John Lydgate, 'Wordys of Seynt Augustyne in fasciculus morum of the medys of the masse,' in 'The Interpretation and Virtues of the Mass,' l. 593–656	15 virtues
	John Mirk, *De festo corporis Cristi sermo*, in *Festial*, l. 47–55	7 virtues
	John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 314–329	5 virtues
	Memoriale credencium	7 virtues
	Sacerdos parochialis	7 virtues

[34] Miri Rubin traces Augustine's benefits known as the 'meads of the mass' to his sermon 131 on the exposition of John's Gospel, chapter 6. However, the text in question underlines that to eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ is to be refreshed, without specifying any physical virtues. Augustine, 'sermo 131,' *De Scripturis*, in *PL*, vol. 38, 729–730.

[35] Hereafter, the variants will be referred to by their sigla, as introduced in the four tables.

A, T, and R explain in their epilogue that an angel from heaven has told this list of virtues to Augustine, thus anchoring the saint's authority in divine revelation. While Peter J. Lucas has pointed out the similarities between A, T, and R, he ultimately concluded that 'these three versions differ considerably.'[36] However, when contextualised within the *Virtues of the Mass* genre, A, T, and R are in fact some of the closest witnesses we have in terms of form and content. For example, A succinctly states that:

> What man hereþe messe of clene intente
> And worschipeyd hooly þe sacrament
> He shal have meede for his travayle.[37]

T similarly explains:

> Ffor that day man hereth masse with good entent
> And worshyppeth the holy sacrament
> He shall receve thys mede for hys travayle.[38]

And R offers a more florid choice of words:

> He seyth þat day þat a man heryth hys messe with goode entent
> And sethe and worchepyth at þe messe þe holy sacrament
> He schall have all þis mede for hys travayle.[39]

These brief excerpts demonstrate a proximity that is unparalleled in other clusters of variants of the genre. The manuscript contexts of the three manuscripts do vary, however. Whereas MS Ashmole 59 was copied by the scribe and book collector John Shirley (d. 1456), and mostly compiles John Lydgate's material, MS R.3.21 does likewise and is

[36] Peter J. Lucas, 'The Versions by John Shirley, William Gybbe and Another, of the Poem "On the Virtues of the Mass": a Collation,' *Notes and Queries* 28:5 (1981): 394–398, at 395.

[37] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59, fol. 67r.

[38] Lucas, 'The Versions,' 397, l. 5–7; John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, vol. 2, ed. H. N. MacCracken and Merriam Sherwood, EETS E.S. 107 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1911), 115.

[39] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 118, fol. 118v.

commonly known as a 'Lydgatian miscellany', however MS Rawlinson Poet. 118 differs in its lack of Lydgatian material as it mainly consists of John Capgrave's *Life of St Katherine* in metrical form. Note that although B, which offers a list of virtues from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* within its exposition of the mass, enumerates seven virtues, its order and account thereof differ from A, T, and R. The versified texts O, L, and Y_2, which are identical except for dialectal differences (L is from Lincolnshire, while O is from Lancashire, and Y_2 is probably from the Cheshire/Lancashire border) and five lines missing in Y_2, are also part of longer texts providing an exposition of the mass.[40]

The composite manuscript MS Add. A. 268, copied in the early fifteenth century contains a treatise on the *Ars moriendi*; the Latin pseudo-Bernard *Speculum peccatoris*, the pastoral handbook *Speculum Christiani*; Thomas of Hales' *The Lyf of Oure Lady* written in Latin; an abridged version of *The Prick of Conscience*; and a French romance, *La Queste del Saint Graal*. While the latter's manuscript context could suggest implicitly a miscellany made for the clerical market, MS Royal 17. C. XVII clearly implies a clerical audience, with its Latin mnemonic verses for priests, John Mirk's *Instructions to Parish Priests*, the seven penitential psalms in Middle English verse, meditations on the *Pater noster*, some female hagiographies and an extract from *The Prick of Conscience*. While Y and C, both written in prose, share the same number of virtues expounded in the same order, C, which is part of the large-scale work *Ara Dei* (Raymo 194), a fifteenth-century treatise of sacramental theology on the Mass, is much more thorough in its account which supposedly gathers its material from Augustine's *De Trinitate Dei*.[41] Thus, while Y states: 'The fourth is þat yn þat day he shal not lese his sygth,' C elaborates, 'The fourthe is þus

[40] Angus McIntosh, Michael L. Samuels, et al., *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), vol. 1, 115 (LP 45); vol. 1, 145 (LP 259). For the online version of *LALME*, see <https://www.amc.lel.ed.ac.uk/amc-projects-hub/project/elalme/>

[41] Augustine's work on the Trinity is called *De Trinitate*. Note that the writer is amalgamating both the latter title and *De Civitate Dei*, and that in both works such list is left wanting.

told þat day þat man or woman hirith masse and have vysion and devout sight of þe sacrement, þaie shuld not lesyn, ne forgon þat daie þaire eyn sight.'[42]

Lists of Benefits Assigned to Various Saints and Doctors of the Church

Within Tradition 1, another strand of writings which concentrate on the benefits of the mass can be categorised together due to their appeal to well-known saints and doctors of the Church. In this group of texts, rather than being associated all together with Augustine, each benefit and its interpretation is anchored in a Latin *auctoritas*, what the grammarian Hugutio of Pisa (d. 1210) defined as 'a saying worthy of imitation.'[43] The writer of the *Virtues of the Mass* found in the Vernon manuscript describes the procedure as such:

> ȝif I seide þis word wiþ my wit,
> Wiþ-outen witnesse of holi writ
> Wisdam weore hit non;
> Þerfore I wole þat ȝe hit witen,
> Hou þat we fynde hit writen
> Wiþ Auctours mony on.[44]

Consequently, the sayings of the saints and doctors in the *Virtues of the Mass* function as an ostensible gloss of historical validity and authority, authenticating the accurately reflected *res* of the mass.

[42] New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317 (henceforth Beinecke MS 317), fol. 28r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fol. 54r.

[43] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 236–237.

[44] *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, part 2, ed. Frederick James Furnivall, EETS O.S. 117 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1892), 495, l. 85–90.

b. Lists of Benefits Assigned to Various Saints and Doctors of the Church

N	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 36, fols. 6r–9v	20 virtues
E	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Hh.3.13, fols. 111v–112r	20 virtues
K	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Kk.1.5, fols. 53r–54r	20 virtues
F	Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, fols. 43r–45v	22 virtues
Y_3	New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 3v–4v	16 virtues
S_2	Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society Library, MS M.J.B. 14, fols. 168v–169v	16 virtues
I	London, British Library, MS Additional 39323	12 virtues
Y_4	New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 27v–30r	13 virtues
H_2	London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fols. 76r–77v[45]	12 virtues
V_2	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 302v	7 virtues
H_4	London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fol. 74v	6 virtues

Although the texts share similar content, claiming, for example, that hearing mass is more profitable than almsgiving, or one mass heard when living on earth is worth a thousand when dead, or even that hearing mass is worth as much as Christ's passion, their attributions to patristic writers vary extensively. Without a precise source text, it is difficult to determine with certainty which saying corresponded to which saint in the collective memory. However, there are a few exceptions. The Apostle Paul is consistently paired with the saying that the Mass is the worthiest prayer in N, E, K, F, Y_3, S_2, I, and Y_4, while John Chrysostom is paired with the saying that women hearing mass on the day they give birth will do so without sorrow, in N, E, K, F, and Y_3. Matthew is often associated with the fact that mass prevents one from falling into deadly sin such as in N, E, K, F, Y_3, and Y_4, while Augustine was remembered as affirming that one does not age when hearing mass, as in N, E, K, F, Y_3, and Y_4. It is probable that each saying might draw on parts of the *Glossa*

[45] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 832, a manuscript from 1460s–1470s compiled by John Longe, contains a Latin numbered version of the *Virtues of the Mass* in prose (fols. 168v–169v), explaining the same virtues in the same order as H_2, apart from H_2's last saying by Bede on righteous priests who refuse to say mass.

ordinaria, some form of *florilegia* or other collections of patristic writings, yet it could also be a matter of arbitrary attribution retained in the collective memory.

Whereas the writings in the list above almost always differ considerably, two sets of texts stand out for their idiosyncrasies. First, V_2 and H_4 are almost identical, apart from dialectal differences (V_2 seems to be from West Midlands and H_4 from southern Norfolk) and word-choice, as well as the order of the saints upon whom they call.[46] V_2 calls upon 'Austin, Ambrose, Bernard, and Bede', and H_4 mentions 'Jerom, Ambrose, Bernard and Bede […] and Austyn.' They then both list the same six benefits apart from omitting V_2's seventh benefit that stopping to hear mass when travelling does not hinder one's journey.[47] While V_2 and H_4 are unusual insofar as they do not ascribe each saying to a specific saint, they are both conflated with longer texts of the *Virtues of the Mass*, which provide an exposition and explanation of the ceremony. Both texts share a significant number of lines with John Audelay's *Virtues of the Mass*. However, Audelay includes the same six virtues without ascribing them to any *auctoritates*.[48]

N and E are the second set of texts in tradition 1 (b) that stand out for their idiosyncrasies. Both texts expound the same number of virtues, each of which is assigned to the same saint, in the same order, intended for a literate audience. Each saint's saying in Middle English is first introduced by a Latin subheading in prose, signalling the Middle English content. Both syntax and vocabulary are of an aureate nature, displaying an aesthetic of heightened diction and amplification, echoing the Benedictine monk and poet John Lydgate's (ca. 1370–1449/1450) *Virtues of the Mass*.

[46] See Wendy Scase, 'Introduction: Essays in Manuscript Geography,' in *Essays in Manuscript Geography*, ed. Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 1–10, at 2; *LALME*, vol. 1, 112 (LP 4103).
[47] *The Minor Poems,* part 2, 496–497, l.91–132; London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fol. 74v.
[48] Audelay, *Poems and Carols*, 81–82, l. 44–66.

N	E
Ffyrst I begynne as seyth thapostill Powle The mas precellyth and is more wordi Then ony prayer as to mannys sowle As Cryst wych is our hed sone of Mary Wyth hys membrys as seyth thys doctour hy Bet ys on to us therefore I red the Thy mas thou here and eke thi Lord thou se.[49]	The Apostel Poule saith expresse As Crist which is oure hede and governour Excellith us in price and worthynesse So doth the masse and is most digniour.[50]

Latin neologisms such as 'precelleth' and 'digniour' are a common feature of both texts, which attempt to emulate the 'greatness' of aureate poetics. In spite of their similarities, their *verba* is rather different. N is written in rhyme royal (*ababbcc*) and is more expansive in its description of benefits, while trying to emulate the ballad genre of the 'poetys of old,' emulating a constructed, ideal literary past.[51] E uses the eight-line stanza form in *ababbcbc* (comporting two saints' sayings at a time), which was often used by fifteenth-century poets to speak directly to their audience with religious and moral authority.

As such, E begins with an exhortation to 'christen peple baptised in the faithe' to honour the order of priesthood, and is preceded by a prose writing on Melchizedek in Latin.[52] Hence, the highly clerical text E, found in MS Hh.3.13, shares a similar prologue to F, found in Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, which also traces the order of priesthood back to the book of Genesis, with Melchizedek and Abraham.[53] Both manuscripts were probably owned by secular priests based on their manuscript contexts. MS Hh.3.13, which contains extracts from John de Burgh's *Pupilla oculi*, a late-fourteenth-century abbreviation of William of Pagula's pastoral handbook *Oculus sacerdotis*, also contains some basic catechetic material that priests in charge of the cure of

[49] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 36, fol. 6r.
[50] Hh.3.13, fol. 111v.
[51] See Seth Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers, Imagining the Author in Late-Medieval England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 22–56.
[52] MS Hh.3.13, fol. 110v.
[53] Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, fol. 43r.

souls usually had compiled in their clerical miscellanies.[54] This foundational material, mostly in prose, covering the Ten Commandments, seven deadly sins, seven works of bodily and spiritual mercy, seven principal virtues, and five bodily and spiritual wits, would have appealed to clergy and laity alike. However, as the manuscript context suggests, with its use of the eight-line stanza form *ababbcbc* in its unique entry in verse, alongside the Latin prose text on Melchizedek tracing the origins of the order of the priesthood and its significance, MS Hh.3.13 would have originally been compiled for a clerical audience. Similarly, MS 3 contains a great number of sermons in Middle English, some sentences of excommunication, a bidding prayer connected to a parish church in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, a versified Apostles' Creed, and an abbreviated version of *The Prick of Conscience*.[55]

Numbered Lists of Benefits

The third strand within Tradition 1 of *Virtues of the Mass* texts—those that only offer a list of spiritual and physical benefits bestowed by the mass—consists of writings that contain numbered lists in verse or prose. All of the manuscripts classified in the following table date from the second half of the fifteenth century, apart from Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 514, which dates from the late fourteenth century, but its version of the *Virtues of the Mass* was added in a later hand. The later dating of all of these writings examined here displays thus a transition in the adaptation of *Virtues of the Mass* texts within Tradition 1.

[54] See Kate Harris, 'The Patronage and Dating of Longleat House MS 24, A Prestige Copy of the *Pupilla oculi* Illuminated by the Master of the *Troilus* Frontispiece,' in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 35–54.

[55] *MMBL*, vol. 4, 290–292.

c. Numbered Lists of Benefits

G	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 32, fols. 35v–37v	30 virtues
Y_5	New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 1v–3v	34 virtues
S_2	Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society Library, MS M.J.B. 14, fols. 168v–169v	16 virtues
M	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 514, fols. 71r–71v	11 virtues
C	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fols. 54r–54v	9 virtues
Y	New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fol. 28r	9 virtues

The versified texts G and Y_5, which expound thirty and thirty-four virtues respectively, are similar apart from the prologue and the extra four virtues in Y_5, which are lacking in G, and their different envoy, as G addresses 'Lollers and heretike,' which suggests a different community of readers.[56] Despite showing dialectal and word-choice variants, G and Y_5 must have shared a similar source text, in which they might have found their common reference to the *auctoritates* 'Seynt Bernard, and Seynt Austyne,/ and Seynt Thomas of Alquyne.'

While M does not acknowledge any *auctoritas*, it stands as a later addition to a Latin Book of Hours copied and illuminated in England in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The hand is from the late fifteenth century, and the text is copied in the bottom margin of an antiphon on Mary Magdalen's anointing of Jesus' feet, and continues on the already ruled blank verso of the folio. Although C and S_2 have already been featured in the previous lists, it is worth noticing that both texts number the virtues. Such a pattern only occurs in late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century texts, which suggests that the *Virtues of the Mass* as a genre was well established by then, and did not necessarily need the authoritative validity of earlier variants. The numbering also conveys mnemonic

[56] Y_4 and G describe eighteen virtues similarly and in the same order, while the rest of the texts offer a different order, and two virtues are distinct.

pointers, which *auctoritates* might have embodied in earlier variants, and which prose texts would have lacked (C, M, and S_2 are all written in prose).

Texts belonging to Tradition 1 are thus varied in their treatment of the benefits that originate in going to church. Their appropriation for specific literary communities relies not only on the pool of exemplars available to scribes, but also on the needs perceived by scribes in particular communities. Thus I, found in the early-sixteenth-century single sheet London, British Library, MS Add. 39323, would probably have been hung on the wall of a parish church as its content emphasises the saving nature of hearing mass, personally but also communally, while reminding priests that by not celebrating the ceremony they deprived the Trinity of his glory, the angels of their joy, and the labourers of their benefits.

Only one manuscript can be clearly connected to a monastic community: New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, which is associated with Syon Abbey. Such limited monastic affiliation reflects the content of the *Virtues of the Mass*, concerned with practical matters of lay people's daily lives, such as food supplies, childbearing, worker's productivity, and journeying to and from church. These considerations would have rarely been at the forefront of the minds of those in monastic orders. The content and ownership of the manuscripts in Tradition 1, such as Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354 which was the commonplace book of the London grocer Richard Hill, tend to point either to the secular clergy in charge of the cure of souls or the laity, eager to grow in their devotional literacy.[57] However, the content of these texts also begs the question of the soteriological nature of going to mass. Could the practice of church attendance save the soul? The last part of this chapter will offer a tentative answer to this question based on evidence collected from the texts themselves.

[57] Merchants usually favoured narrow quarto format book, which were ideal for bookkeeping. Hence, MS 354's format is 290×100mm. See Alexandra Gillespie, 'Balliol MS 354: Histories of the Book at the End of the Middle Ages,' *Poetica* 60 (2003): 47–63.

TRADITION 2: *VIRTUES OF THE MASS* AS EXPOSITIONS OF THE CEREMONY

The second tradition of the *Virtues of the Mass* texts offers an exposition of the mass and usually an explanation of its liturgical sequences and its order. This order unfolds from the vesting of the priest to the canon, all the way to the singing of *Ite missa est.* Only then would the ministers leave the sanctuary while the celebrant read the first fourteen verses of John's Gospel, *In principio*, the signal that the service had ended, which saw people kissing earth, stone, steel or wood. The details involved in describing the liturgical rite of the Mass vary depending on the versions themselves. However, most texts from Tradition 2 shared a distinct agenda: to translate the Latin rite into Middle English, so to make it widely accessible to those who were not literate. Hence, Tradition 2 can be considered as an effort to democratize—to make accessible to all—the knowledge of the Mass and to foster liturgical literacy, and thus encourage wider participation in public worship.

Virtues of the Mass texts belonging to Tradition 2 were not new, but their vernacular nature was unprecedented in England and reflected a particular need to educate both clergy and laity in liturgical literacy. A great tradition of commentaries on the mass had surfaced at the time of the Carolingian reforms. This tradition expanded in the twelfth century with Odo of Tournai (d. 1113), Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129), and Honorius Augustodunensis (d. 1151), who expounded the meaning and function of the ceremony with monks and priests in mind.[58] This was followed in the thirteenth century by William Durandus' seminal *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, and then in the early fourteenth

[58] Odo of Tournai, *Expositio in canonem missae*, in *PL*, vol. 160, 1053–1070; Rupert of Deutz, *Ruperti Tuitiensis Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. Rhabanus Maurus Haacke (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967); Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae,* in *PL*, vol. 172, 543–738. See also Hugh of Saint-Cher's *Expositio missae sive speculum ecclesiae*, Hugh of Saint-Cher, *Hugonis a St Charo Tractatus super Missam, seu, Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. Gisbert Sölch (Monasterii Westfalorum: Aschendorff, 1940). Latin treatises on the mass were still popular in the fifteenth century, as Roger Lovatt's assessment of the Carthusian John Blacman's books demonstrates. John Blacman owned a treatise called *De Misse Misteriis* attributed to Regimius of Auxerre. Roger Lovatt, 'The Library of John Blacman and Contemporary Carthusian Spirituality,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43: 2 (1992): 195–230, at 205.

century with William of Pagula's work of pastoral instruction *Oculus sacerdotis*, which expounded the rubrics and actions of the mass in its *sinistra pars*, an ABC of sacramental theology.[59]

While these texts were addressed to monks and priests and aimed to give them a better understanding of their sacramental and pastoral duties, a new corpus of texts in the vernacular flourished in the fifteenth century. The development of this new vernacular corpus can be traced back to the religious pragmatic turn of the fourteenth century, when pastoral manuals translated into Middle English began to move from religious into lay ownership.[60] The writer of the *Virtues of the Mass* text Q begins his prologue with a prayer:

> God of hewine, that shoope Erthe and helle
> ȝyf me grace sume word to telle
> To the lewde that can not rede,
> But the pater noster and the Crede.[61]

Explaining the mass went thus beyond the standard catechetical material expected to be known by the laity (the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and the Creed), and answered pastoral concerns towards a liturgical illiteracy. However, these vernacular expositions could also emanate from the growing demand among lay people in texts of spiritual guidance for private and communal use. These highly didactic vernacular counterparts, rather than merely listing the spiritual and physical benefits attached to going to mass (as texts from Tradition 1 do), attempted to explain the Latin liturgy with a non-Latinate audience in mind.

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[59] *Oculus sacerdotis*, pars iii, cap. 5. See for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 828, fols. 141v–161v. The fact that John Mirk's *Festial* and *Instructions for Parish Priests* heavily drew on the *Oculus* and its *Dextera pars* speaks to the prevalent currency of such text in the early fifteenth century.

[60] Gillespie, '*Doctrina* and *Predicacio*,' 36–50.

[61] *LFMB*, 148, l. 1–4.

2. Expositions of the Ceremony of the Mass

V Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fols. 302v–303v
D Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302, fols. 10v–12r
H_3 London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fols. 74r–76r
Q London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. XXVI, fols. 154r–157r
O Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 268, fols. 139r–145v
C_2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fols. 57v–94r
X London, British Library, MS Royal 17. A. I, fols. 24r–29r
L London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fols. 155v–162v
W Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125, fols. 97r–98v
Y_6 New Heaven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 22r–27v

John Lydgate, 'The Interpretation and Virtues of the Mass'[62]
John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 234–345
The Lay Folks' Mass Book

Although these texts all include interpolations, different word choices, and are copied in distinct dialects, V, D, and H_3 might have shared a similar source text. They form a related textual cluster that contains a *narracio* about women chattering during mass, better known under Tutivillus, the name of the demon who recorded their chatter.[63] V (684 lines long) and H_3 (310 lines long) have 161 lines in common. V and D (414 lines long) have 187 lines in common, and H_3 and D share 195 lines in common. V provides clear guidance through each liturgical sequence with ample details, including prayers such as the *Pater noster*, some confession prayers, Ambrose's prayer for the end of mass, as well as a prologue and an envoy. John Audelay, in D, expects less of his audience, as he reminds them of the need to know the basic catechetical programme of the church, without including any prayers or commentaries. His insistence on praying the *Pater noster* throughout reflects what Audelay presumed to be his audience's limited abilities. The

[62] John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, vol. 2, Part 1, ed. Henry N. MacCracken, EETS E. S. 107 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO. and H. Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911), 87–115.

[63] On Tutivillus, see Margaret Jennings, 'Tutivillus: The Literary Career of the Recording Demon,' *Studies in Philology* 74:5 (1977): 1–95; Mary C. Flannery, 'Tutivillus and the Policing of Speech in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 104,' in *Middle English Lyrics: New Readings of Short Poems*, ed. Julia Boffey and Christiania Whitehead (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2018), 240–250.

cluster O, L, and Y_2, a completely different text from V, D, and H_3, also offers an exposition of the liturgical sequences of the mass, while explaining its meaning and its significance. O is probably the source text, or is closely copied from L's and Y_2's exemplars, as it shares similarities with L and Y_2 that L and Y_2 do not share with each other. While Mirk's *Instructions* focuses on teaching parish priests to instruct their parishioners to come to church to make confession, when to stand or kneel during the liturgy, and when to say one's prayers in the vernacular, *LFMB* goes into greater detail to give an exposition of each liturgical sequence, although it remains sparse in pastoral advice, compared to the other texts of Tradition 2.

Tradition 2 is the second largest textual grouping of the *Virtues of the Mass* genre, with thirty-three extant manuscript witnesses.[64] While its significance in terms of numbers outdoes Tradition 1 (b) and Tradition 1 (c), which have ten and six manuscript witnesses respectively, Tradition 2 did not enjoy as wide a circulation as Tradition 1 (a), with its sixty extant manuscripts, containing multiple copies found in John Mirk's *Festial*.[65] Indeed, Michael Sargent underlines that 'the pattern of survival of the manuscripts of a medieval text is independent of its original pattern of dissemination, to a greater or lesser degree.'[66] However, these numbers do show that while the practical and pragmatic advice found in Tradition 1 (a) was favoured in particular literary communities, texts from Tradition 2, with their heightened agenda of worship, still enjoyed a relatively wide readership. Their place within the religious and cultural landscapes of the time was thus not negligible, as it pointed to the mass as a catalyser and crystalliser of the program of pastoral reform of the *ecclesia Anglicana*, as Chapter Two demonstrates.

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[64] Lydgate's *Virtues of the Mass* appears in nine manuscripts, Mirk's *Instructions* in five, and *LFMB* in nine. See Appendix 1 for a full listing of the respective manuscripts.

[65] For a full list of manuscript witnesses of Tradition 1 (a), see Appendix 1.

[66] Sargent, 'What Do the Numbers Mean?' 208–209.

MAIN THEMES OF THE *VIRTUES OF THE MASS* GENRE

The *LFMB* is famously bookended with the affirmation that 'þo worthyest þing, most of godnesse,/ In al þis world, [hit] is þo messe.'[67] The genre of the *Virtues of the Mass*, in its essence, sought to underline the importance of the mass, not only as the sacrament of the Eucharist, but also, and principally, as a liturgical celebration. As texts from Tradition 1 and Tradition 2 demonstrate, whether through practical benefits connected to church attendance, or through expositions of the liturgical celebration, the centrality of the mass in the religious and civic life of fifteenth-century England originated in the soteriological nature of the ceremony. The Mass was the fundamental locus of encounter between God and humanity. The community at worship found itself embracing the liminal space, the threshold, created by the divine presence embodied in the very materiality of the Eucharist. As Paul Zumthor observes, the very liturgy of the Mass was thought to be the realisation of a ceaseless transfer between divinity and humanity, the joining of the physical world with eternity in a mutuality of communion.[68]

This communion, although fostered in contemplative works that first circulated in monastic contexts and were then appropriated by the laity for private devotion, such as the first part of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, and *The Chastising of God's Children*, was a public and communal experience that was to form and transform those at prayer. To attend mass was a means to sanctification, it was the 'grettest directory' to the grace of God, as John Lydgate wrote.[69] Or as N, in MS Rawlinson Poet. 36, bluntly notes, 'Here mas and in heven shall be thy place.'[70] In its final stanza, N

[67] *LFMB*, 2, l. 1–2; 60, l. 628–629.
[68] Paul Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix: De la 'littérature' médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), 287–288.
[69] Lydgate, *The Virtues of the Mass*, 114/645.
[70] MS Rawlinson Poet. 36, fol. 8v.

reiterates the sanctifying nature of the mass, although it also adds a transactional feature this time around:

> In heryng of mas yyf þu rede well þis
> Hyt shall stere the to here mas evyr more
> And so don in feyth þu mayst not mys
> To plese God and to purchas hevyn blys.[71]

Virtues of the Mass texts thus capture both the pastoral understanding of the liturgy as a locus of salvation, through the means of its saving and sanctifying graces, as well as through a more work-based perspective stamping a transactional essence upon church attendance. This next section traces three particular pastoral emphases that permeate the treatises across both traditions: the mass as head prayer, the mass as medicine, and the mass as a liturgical *habitus*. These prominent themes embedded in pastoral discourse, as we shall see, embodied the social and cultural perceptions of the mass as a soteriological practice within the particular textual communities where the treatises were copied, transmitted, and read.

The Pastoral Context of the Virtues of the Mass

The educative nature of the genre, the practicality of its instructions, and its rationalist rather than affective tendencies lent themselves to instructing the living and the dying in the way of salvation both pastorally and pragmatically. While pastoral works are often associated with *pastoralia*, a term coined by Leonard Boyle, which refers to the catechetical material legislated at Lateran IV, the *Virtues of the Mass* genre belongs to a

[71] Ibid., fol. 9r.

broader network of pastoral writings concerned with the salvation of their audience. The genre's very essence displays a clerically mediated spirituality, which emphasised the order of priesthood and the sacramental life of the Church. While some texts might have circulated in lay hands, such as those in Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, the genre reveals the particular needs of religious communities perceived through the eyes of those in charge of pastoral care. Hence, the *Virtues of the Mass* texts were often associated with penance, as going to mass was understood to be a specific remedy for the sin of religious sloth, which was examined in the confessional. John Mirk, in his list of questions for priests to ask parishioners during confession, suggests the following line of inquiry:

> Haste þow be slowe for to here
> Goddes serues when tyme were?
> Hast þou come to chyrche late
> And spoken of synne by þe gate?
> Hast þou be slowe to goddess seruyse,
> Or storbet hyt by any wyse?[72]

Similarly, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, a manuscript from the second half of the fifteenth century, provides some insight into prayers of confession that were written with this particular negligence in mind: 'I be knowe also to God […] that I sinful creatur have synned in slouthe oft […] whan I shuld have herd goddys service, masses […] I have for slouthe left of […] and in Goddes service I have be necligent.'[73] The numerous associations of negligence connected to church attendance and participation seem to suggest a recurring problem. The genre of the *Virtues of the Mass* would have thus been a

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[72] Kristensson, ed., *Instructions*, 128–129, l. 1051–1056.

[73] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, fol. 217r, which corresponds to C.17 in P. S. Jolliffe, *A Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 69. For a similar confession, see also London, British Library, MS Additional 37787, fol. 4r (Jolliffe's C.21); and *Piers Plowman* B, passus 5, or version C passus 5 in relation to the *Pater noster*. On the latter, see Vincent Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done: *Piers Plowman* and the *Paternoster*,' in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission, Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. Alastair J. Minnis (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 95–119. On confession more generally, see Peter Biller, 'Confession in the Middle Ages: An Introduction,' in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Alastair J. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 1998), 1–34; and the overall volume.

pastoral answer, by either pointing to the benefits of the ceremony, or by empowering the laity to understand the celebration in which they partook.

As works of pastoral guidance, a number of the *Virtues of the Mass* texts emanate directly from parochial contexts, such as John Mirk's and John Audelay's texts, which reflect pastoral responsibilities, alongside *Memoriale credencium* and *Sacerdos parochialis*. In these contexts they embodied the practical needs of specific religious communities that were neglecting their parochial duties, of which one can infer devout attendance, or undermining the role of the clergy in the spiritual life.[74] Three texts in particular, B, E, and F, all emphasise the divine calling of the priesthood and entreat their audiences to respect and honour their ministers before proceeding with the virtues of the mass. Hence, E explains that:

> The christen peple baptised in the faithe
> Pressthode to honoure ensample take ye
> Whiche of alle ordours as scripture saithe
> Most worth is and most of dignite.

The affirmation of the priesthood is then reiterated at the end of the *Virtues of the Mass* text, where priestly 'maculat lyvyng' rather than being condoned is unveiled as incapable of corrupting the 'misteries of the mas,' in an *ex opere operato* fashion.

While offering an ideal of the priesthood as pictured in the priestly figure of Melchizedek, N is also realistic with the corruption present among the clergy, and thus invites its audience to see beyond the priest, to Christ's real presence in the celebration. Similarly, Beinecke MS 317 contains a few extracts on the priesthood, such as a tale on the profitable prayers of a virtuous priest, followed by a text on the signs of a vicious priest,

[74] In a similar vein, Nicole Rice and others note that lay aspirations towards the contemplative life had to be tempered to prevent readers from withdrawing 'from social and sacramental responsibilities, beyond structures of priestly mediation.' Rice, *Lay Piety*, 133.

which has been crossed out by a later hand.[75] These four examples project a need to reaffirm the priesthood as an ideal to be emulated by priests and respected by the laity, thus embedding the texts in the reality of parochial contexts, where both priests and parishioners needed a renewal of their imagination regarding their respective religious and civic duties.

Meanwhile, as briefly mentioned, Beinecke MS 317 is the only manuscript that can be clearly traced to a monastic milieu. Generally associated with the Birgittine house of Syon Abbey, Laura Saetveit Miles has argued that the Carthusian verses copied on the final folio force us to reconsider the manuscript provenance or circulation of the book between Syon Abbey and the Carthusian charterhouses of Sheen and London.[76] However, as we shall see, whether the book was owned by Syon or Sheen, its inherent pastoral nature either suggests an initial ownership by a secular priest who would have brought the book with him when entering one of the orders, or else a Syon composition for the pastoral duty of the brethren. Beinecke MS 317 can be considered as a manual of devotional and moral texts, according to C. A. Martin's categorisation, as it contains *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, divided into two parts; two confessions (one resembles Jolliffe C.21, the other traces sin in light of the basic catechism); a *Life of Saint Jerome* written by Symon Wynter, a Birgittine brother of Syon; a Marian vision; and six versions of the *Virtues of the Mass*, among other texts.[77] This religious miscellany thus verges on the pastoral handbook with its para-liturgical and sacramental material, as the lack of redundancy in the inclusion of six

[75] Beinecke MS 317, fols. 28v–30r.

[76] Laura Saetveit Miles, 'Beinecke MS 317 and its New Witness to the Latin Door Verses from London Charterhouse: A Story of Carthusian and Birgittine Literary Exchange,' in *Manuscript Culture and Medieval Devotional Traditions: Essays in Honour of Michael G. Sargent*, ed. Michael G. Sargent, Jennifer N. Brown, and Nicole R. Rice (York: York Medieval Press, 2021), 3–24, at 6.

[77] On Symon Wynter, see George Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth-Century England: Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, Symon Wynter, and Yale University MS 317,' *The Yale University Library Gazette* 60:1 (1985): 32–46, at 38–41. On fifteenth-century renditions of the *Life of Saint Jerome*, see Claire M. Waters, ed., *Virgins and Scholars, A Fifteenth-Century Compilation of the Lives of John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Jerome, and Katherine of Alexandria* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

Virtues of the Mass texts, compiled in two clusters copied in the same hand, speaks to the nature of the manuscript.

This manuscript context suggests that the *Virtues of the Mass* could have been part of the preaching material compiled in a preacher's handbook that was available to a particular monk-scribe.[78] Alexandra Da Costa and Ann M. Hutchinson note that the brethren's pastoral duty was 'Sisyphean': between hearing confessions, performing the divine office, and preaching, time constraints would have been significant.[79] The convenience of having a series of basic pastoral teachings, in the form of six different texts affirming the significance of the Church's sacramental life would have been an advantage, despite the repetition in the miscellany. The genre of the *Virtues of the Mass* aligned with Syon Abbey's pastoral ideal of preaching and teaching in the vernacular for both enclosed and lay communities.[80] Moreover, the genre points to the common background of the Syon brethren, who often would have been parish priests before joining the order and entered it with their own pastoral books of instruction.[81]

The one *Virtues of the Mass* text from Tradition 2 that offers an exposition of the Mass in Beinecke MS 317, Y_6 (fols. 22r–27v) also fits well with the Birgittine Order's emphasis on understanding the liturgy, which was considered a locus of spiritual growth. Understanding the Latin liturgy would have been both the nuns' basic knowledge necessary to live a regular life as a nun at Syon and the foundational knowledge of the neighbouring lay communities and visiting pilgrims at prayer. Y_6's importance within the

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[78] Laura Saetveit Miles has suggested that Beinecke MS 317 could be a preacher's handbook compiled by a monk-scribe. See Miles, 'Beinecke MS 317,' 21.

[79] Alexandra Da Costa and Ann M. Hutchison, 'The Brethren of Syon Abbey and Pastoral Care,' in *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200–1500)*, ed. Ronald J. Stansbury (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), 235–260, at 242–246.

[80] Jeremy Catto speaks of both houses at Syon and Sheen as the 'focus of orthodox guidance for the personal religion of the laity.' See Jeremy Catto, 'The Burden and Conscience of Government in the Fifteenth Century,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 17 (2007): 83–99, at 97.

[81] Vincent Gillespie, 'The Book and the Brotherhood: Reflections on the Lost Library of Syon Abbey,' in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (London: British Library, 2000), 187–208, at 189.

miscellany is inscribed in the very materiality of the manuscript by a fore-edge parchment tab aligned with the incipit. Miles observes that this suggests a 'consultative reading' either due to a frequent access and/or to an immediate need for the text.[82] For Y_6 to be at the 'fingertip of the reader,' as Daniel Sawyer would say, implies that the text could have been used in a liturgical sequence of the mass as a well-prepared versified sermon.[83] Preaching at Syon took place on Sundays and on feast days, and sermons would have been delivered between the creed and the offertory, or immediately following the offertory if not on Sunday afternoon.[84]

Susan Powell notes that Sunday preaching mostly consisted of expounding the Gospel passage for the day and could then expand into a full sermon.[85] In its second stanza, Y_6 explains:

> That Cryste yn his gospell gan say
> Goddys sone of heven
> In whome alle wytte and wysdome ys
> Ffor he us techyth bothe more and lasse
> With wordys meke
> His kyngdome and his ryghtwysnesse
> Ffirste for to seke.[86]

After drawing on Matthew 6:33, which concludes the middle part of the Sermon on the Mount consisting of Christ's teaching on prayer, Y_6 goes on to gloss the verse, explaining how one might 'his byddynge wylle fulfylle.' The ensuing teaching on the importance of mass attendance, the sacrament of penance, and proper behaviour in church, as well as the

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[82] Miles, 'Beinecke MS 317,' 21–23.

[83] Daniel Sawyer, 'Navigation by Tab and Thread: Place-Markers and Readers' Movement in Books,' in *Spaces for Reading in Later Medieval England*, ed. Mary C. Flannery and Carrie Griffin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 99–114, at 99.

[84] Susan Powell, 'Preaching at Syon Abbey,' *Leeds Studies in English* 31 (2000): 229–267, at 230; Owst, *Preaching*, 144–145.

[85] Powell, 'Preaching,' 230, 235.

[86] Beinecke MS 317, fol. 22r. Other Syon vernacular sermons include the Gospel passage in the Latin before expounding it. See, for example, the Syon Pardon sermon, London, British Library, MS Harley 2321, fol. 17r.

exposition of the liturgical sequences of the Mass, offers an all-encompassing guide on prayer in its communal context.[87] A particular admonition from the text, 'þerfor takyth hede þat havyth no clergye' as well as the address 'both man and wyf' contrasted with the frequent use of 'as clerkys knawe,' verses also found in Y_6's sister texts, O and L, seem to indicate a sermon delivered *ad populum*, probably to a lay audience without obvious ties with parish priests. Although this variant of the *Virtues of the Mass* does not draw explicitly on Saint Bridget's *Revelations*, its concluding pardon fits within Syon's locale as an 'attractive pilgrim centre' profuse with indulgences.[88] Beinecke MS 317's pastoral nature makes it a propitious pastoral handbook either in the hands of a secular priest before he joined the Birgittine brethren or a charterhouse, or indeed the very preaching aid of a Birgittine brother overwhelmed with pastoral duties, opening new avenues for considering the interconnectedness of *Virtues of the Mass* texts with homiletics.

The Mass as Head Prayer

The cultural significance of the mass as a communal liturgical celebration is not only evidenced by the very purpose of the genre of the *Virtues of the Mass* but also by the texts themselves. N, E, K, F, Y_3, S_2, I, H_2, Y_4, and John Lydgate's 'Wordys of Seynt Augustyne in fasciculus morum of the medys of the masse' all attest that the Mass is the worthiest of

[87] As Alexandra Da Costa and Ann M. Hutchison point out, the Syon brethren were given the 'powers of minor papal penitentiaries' from 1420 onwards. Da Costa and Hutchison, 'The Brethren of Syon Abbey,' 244. Such emphasis on penance could thus reflect their pastoral responsibilities to the visiting laity, which is corroborated in the second confession on folios 42r–50v, with its emphasis on being brought 'yn to the stable of þi chirche' for penance.

[88] Y_6 ends with a pardon connected to the kissing of stone, earth, wood or iron at the hearing of *Verbum caro factum est*—the second reading of the first fourteen verses of the Gospel of John, which took place after the priest's dismissal. The Syon Pardon sermon, which traces most pardons administered at Syon, does not mention Pope Clement V's pardon of twelve months and forty days at *Verbum caro factum est*. However, it does mention that whoever 'knelyng on his knees sayth devoutly an Ave or eny oþer prayer in this sayd monstari, he schal heve 400 dayes of pardon.' MS Harley 2321, fol. 27r.

prayers, the ‘hed preyere.’ Eight of the ten texts attribute such affirmation to the Apostle Paul, while H_2 attributes it to John of Chrysostom.[89] S_2 explains methodically that the Apostle Paul says that ‘more avayleth the hede prayer then all oþer prayers. The masse is þe prayer of Cryste, whych ys owr hede and we hys membres, therfor þe masse most avayles of all prayers.’[90]

The versified version E, found in Hh.3.12, following some catechetic material (Jolliffe F.19; Raymo 50; 51; Raymo 156), draws on an aureate style and similarly attests that:

> The Apostel Poule saith expresse
> As Crist which is oure hede and governour
> Excellith us in price and worthynesse
> So doth the masse and is most digniour
> Then all praiers to goddis honour.[91]

This headship analogy, which draws on 1 Corinthians 12:12–27 and Ephesians 1:22, unravels two commonplace perceptions. First, it unravels the concept that the Mass as a liturgical celebration is first and foremost a prayer, which echoes the Benedictine rule, and the medieval monastic tradition, where private prayer is ‘an extension of communal liturgical practice,’ the central act of prayer.[92] All prayers were thus understood to flow from the Mass, and were ancillary to it. Whether prayers were prayed in private or in communal devotion, in the household or in a parish context, all were a continuation of

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[89] Similarly, the Latin treatise on the virtues of the mass in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 832, copied before the 1470s, connects the mass as the head prayer to John of Chrysostom. In fact, the *Virtues of the Mass* in MS Bodley 832 might have been a Latin translation of H_2, which was copied in the first half of the fifteenth century, or both texts might have shared an exemplar as they expound the same list of twelve virtues. The manuscript contexts of MS Harley 3954 and MS Bodley 832 are nonetheless different as the former contains *Mandeville’s Travels*, accompanied by miniatures, an A-B version of William Langland’s *Piers Plowman*, and some catechetic and devotional texts, while the latter, mostly in Latin, compiles texts chiefly on grammar and meter.

[90] Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen’s Society Library, MS M.J.B. 14, fol. 169r. The single sheet London, British Library, MS Additional 39323, which contains I, traces the same list of twelve virtues found in S_2, possibly pointing at a shared exemplar.

[91] MS Hh.3.12, fol. 111v.

[92] Alicia Smith, ‘Anchoritic Prayer in Time: Enclosure and Encounter, c. 1080–1350,’ (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2020), 46. On the polysemous nature of prayer, see pages 31–79.

communal worship, as believers were considered as a continuation of Christ's bodily presence on earth. Hence, all forms of Christian devotion are placed under the canopy of the mass. This conception of the mass as head prayer did not stand in opposition to a medieval tradition which upheld that the *Pater noster* was the most important prayer Christians ought to know. *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, for example, maintains that: We schull be-leue þat þis pater noster/ Þat Crist hym self techis to alle cristyn men/ Passys oþer prayer.'[93] On the contrary, it testifies to the passing of a monastic and priestly understanding of prayer into a vernacular and lay culture.

The second commonplace perception which can be drawn by these ten texts which refer to the Mass as the head prayer is that the Mass is Christ's prayer, outweighing Christ's other prayer, the *Pater noster*. The Mass is instituted on Maundy Thursday by Christ, celebrated by priests as representatives of him, and actualised by his real presence in the Eucharist. Consequently, the Mass is the fundamental locus of encounter between humanity and God, what J, the one-stanza in rhyme royal lyric, calls the 'Most gracious meane to the glorius Trinite.'[94] The *Virtues of the Mass* texts and their emphasis on the liturgical celebration as head prayer, encompassing both eucharistic participation and the liturgical celebration as a 'social' phenomenon as John Bossy puts it, suggest that the mass, rather than the eucharist per se, was put forward as a revitalised centre of religious and civic life of fifteenth-century England. As the head prayer at the heart of the monastic life, the Mass, celebrated alongside the *Opus Dei*, had thus permeated clerical liturgical views and practices, before making its way among the laity.

[93] *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Nolloth, EETS O.S. 118 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO, 1901), 7, l. 59–61.

[94] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, fol. 2r.

The Mass as 'medycine'

According to the *Virtues of the Mass* texts, the Mass was understood as the fundamental locus of encounter between Christ and humanity. Consequently, the gathering of the community of the faithful around the eucharistic event, Christ's real presence in the host, was the ultimate pharmaceutical process, which was at the heart of the *cura animarum*.[95] *Salus animae*, or soul-health, was first and foremost determined by sacramental participation, whether it was through baptism at birth, repeated penance, and eucharistic participation, or through the last rites as put forward in *ars moriendi* literature and *visitacio infirmorum* texts. The extensive body of literature from the second half of the fourteenth century on medical treatment of the soul through literary means, as recounted by Daniel McCann, far from being obsolete in the first half of the fifteenth century, did nevertheless change in nature.[96]

This development can be traced through particular texts of pastoral guidance such as the *Virtues of the Mass*, where the soul is not so much cared for, healed, and reformed through the reading of vernacular devotional texts, but through liturgical practices, correct belief, and true disposition of heart, what John Audelay calls 'good entent.' The pragmatic shift brought about in pastoral writings from the first half of the fifteenth century can thus be perceived as a response to the affective and mystical bent of late-fourteenth-century religious literary culture and its emphasis on inward piety. The interconnectedness of

[95] On medieval religious and medical studies, see, for example, Naöe Kukita Yoshikawa, ed., *Medicine, Religious and Gender in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015); Daniel McCann, *Soul-Health: Therapeutic Reading in Later Medieval England* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018); Katie L. Walter, *Middle English Mouths: Late Medieval Medical, Religious, and Literary Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Hannah Lucas, 'Julian of Norwich: A Phenomenology of Health and Home,' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2020). See also more generally Faye Marie Getz, *Medicine in the English Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); E. Ruth Harvey, 'Medicine and Science in Chaucer's Day,' in *The Oxford Handbook to Chaucer*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 440–455.

[96] McCann, *Soul-Health*, 156.

medicine and literature was thus set aside within particular communities in order to privilege liturgical practices and a renewed emphasis on the mass as loci of healing processes.[97] The mass was the rite of choice for 'soule-hele' as advocated by pastoral texts of the first half of the fifteenth century.

The more pragmatic tradition of *Virtues of the Mass* texts, Tradition 1, which addressed the practical needs of believers related to their spiritual and physical health, unveils a literary register concerned with the well-being of the whole person, body and soul, and the inner workings of daily life. The main Latin source for Tradition 1, *Fasciculus morum*, expounds Bernard's understanding of the mass as '*medicina*' and '*dieta*,' as 'it comforts the weak, delights those that are well, heals sickness, and preserves health.'[98] *Fasciculus* adds that 'through it one grows more meek under correction, more patient in hardship, more ardent in love, more shrewd in one's caution, more ready to obey, and more devout in thanksgiving.'[99] The healing properties of the mass are thus connected both with the physical and spiritual well-being of those attending public worship. Hence, texts in Tradition 1 (a), (b), and (c) draw their audience's attention to physical benefits such as good digestion after mass (also interpreted as no physical hunger), no ageing, no blindness, no pain during childbirth, nor any sudden death.[100] These physical benefits

[97] Carole Rawcliffe notes that the altar or chapel in medieval hospitals, as well as in monastic infirmaries, functioned as the focal point of the establishment as locus of spiritual health. Carole Rawcliffe, '"On the Threshold of Eternity": Care for the Sick in East Anglian Monasteries,' in *East Anglia's History: Studies in Honour of Norman Scarf*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, Carole Rawcliffe, and Richard G. Wilson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2002), 41–73, at 53.

[98] 'debiles confortat, valentes delectate, languorem sanat, sanitatem servat.' Wenzel, ed., *Fasciculus Morum*, 408, l. 102–103; 411.

[99] 'Per illud eciam fit mansuecior ad correpcionem, paciencior ad laborem, ardencior ad amorem, sagacior ad cautelam, ad obediendum prompcior, et ad graciarum actionem devocior.' Ibid., 408, 410, l. 103–105.

[100] While many physical benefits connected to attending mass could sound superstitious, most of them can be traced to biblical and theological arguments, sometimes connected to the eucharist, although seldom put forward. S_2 explains that one does not age during mass, just as Adam and Eve did not age by eating from the tree of life. As such, the presence of the consecrated Eucharist is compared to the tree of life and its prelapsarian conception of time, a notion which is often applied to the liturgy, as the realisation of eternity meeting the physical world. Protection against vision loss can be traced to Jesus' miracles of giving sight to the blind in the Gospels, while also playing on the metaphorical sense of sight as spiritual vision,

attributed to the mass reveal the tangible fears of embodied religious communities whose main concerns appeared to be the fear of worldly predicaments leading to a degenerating body, and ultimately to physical death.[101]

While this tradition does not make any explicit reference to the Augustinian trope of *Christus Medicus* (Christ the Physician), it underlined that through the act of coming to church to hear mass, physical death would be averted, or in the worst-case scenario such a death would be complemented with spiritual health, leading to life eternal.[102] When physical healing/medicinal protection failed, salvation was nonetheless attained through beholding Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Concerns regarding spiritual health reflected what was understood as the moral requisite for salvation. Thus, idle words and unfulfilled oaths are forgiven at mass alongside venial sins, mass is more profitable than alms deeds, mass prevents one from sinning, and hearing one mass when living avails more than a thousand masses for the dead. Hence, mass is the locus of spiritual health.

By attending and participating in public worship, believers not only ensured the footing of their spiritual health but they also contributed to the building up of the Christian community into its consummated state of redemption. Thus, Tradition 1 texts underline that participation in the mass contributes to the salvation of others. Among other texts, the H_2 text in London, British Library, MS Harley 3954 writes that according to Anselm:

> At every messe þat xal be seyne
> A soule is delyveryd out of peyne
> And at every messe þat xal begynne
> A synful man turnyt fro hys synne

rooted in 2 Corinthians 5:7, Acts 26:18, etc. The angel counting the parishioners' steps to and from church can be traced to Job 34:21.

[101] This fear can be clearly connected to the Black Death which spread across England from 1348 in repeated waves. Organised religion was hence considered as a means of protection, within which the mass held a prominent position, as demonstrated by Clive Burgess. See Clive Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls': The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), especially 37–39.

[102] On *Christus Medicus*, see Thomas F. Martin O. S. A., 'Paul the Patient, *Christus Medicus* and the "*Stimulus Carnis*" (2 Cor. 12:7): A Consideration of Augustine's Medicinal Christology,' *Augustinian Studies* 32:2 (2001), 219–256.

> And a man þat is in aryth way
> Xal not feblyn, I dar wel say.[103]

The celebration of the Mass is thus a communal endeavour requiring a moral obligation towards the broader Christian community. Whereas for example N, E, F, K, G, and Y_5 all emphasise that 'for ilke mess that is said devoutly,' implying a priestly liability, S_2 shifts the moral responsibility to the entire community who becomes an active agent in its process of sanctification and salvation, as the text emphasises hearing instead of saying mass: 'for every masse devoutely harde.'[104] This communal responsibility comes at times with benefits such as in Y_3 where the audience is told that 'a man to her masse dayli wiþ devocyoun preyenge for alle cristen sowles shal preserve him fro helle.'[105] Hence, treatises from Tradition 1 put forward the mass as a 'remedye,' both a physical and spiritual medicine, protecting and building up the Christian community.

Texts from Tradition 2 leave aside the daily physical benefits emphasised in Tradition 1 in order to focus on spiritual health, while using a more developed medical vocabulary. To understand this medicinal process, one needs to consider the essence of the mass. John Bossy notes that the mass as a public ritual 'procured deliverance or salvation.' The salvific nature of the mass originated in its very conception. Bossy adds, 'As the sacrifice of the new law, it was a reparatory or satisfactory ritual in which was renewed or recapitulated the self-immolation of Christ atoning […] to his Father for man's offence.'[106] The medical vocabulary used by *Virtues of the Mass* texts thus originated directly in the essence of the ritual. Hence, H_2 begins with the medicinal trope:

> Lordyngis dygne and dere,
> Lystyn and ȝe may here
> I wyl ȝou shywyn a *medicyne*,

[103] London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fol. 77r.
[104] Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society Library, MS M.J.B. 14, fol. 169r.
[105] Beinecke MS 317, fol. 4r.
[106] Bossy, 'The Mass,' 33–34.

Þat xal ȝou sauyn fro helle pynne.[107]

V, in the Vernon manuscript, introduces the rite as being 'mad for soule-hele.'[108] It is very fitting to refer to such medicinal tropes indeed, for a manuscript that not only compiles most of the pastoral and spiritual material circulating in England in the 1390s, but is also called in its incipit *salus anime*–sowlehele.[109] Indeed, the treatises promoted the mass as a medicine for the pervasive sickness of sin. As traced in both Tradition 1 and Tradition 2, participation in the mass clearly ensured physical and spiritual healing. While most treatises did not explicitly connect such theology of health to Christ and the eucharistic event in their medical hermeneutic of the ritual, the Tradition 2 cluster V, D, H_3, and H_2 (which belongs to Tradition 1 (b)), and John Lydgate's *Virtues of the Mass*, all explored the eucharistic imagery of bread and wine turned flesh and blood, as the locus of a pharmaceutical process.

As McCann observes, through the mystery of the Incarnation, 'God becomes not just flesh and blood, but medicinal flesh and blood.'[110] The therapeutic nature of the Mass comes from its direct association with Christ, and in particular with his passion, as Christ cures sin and death through the ultimate suffering.[111] In his *Virtues of the Mass*, John Lydgate explained that to attend mass was to undertake a contemplative exercise of visualising Christ's passion, for the passion of Christ itself is 'oure restauracioun,/ our

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[107] London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fol. 76r. My italics.

[108] *The Minor Poems*, part 2, 493, l. 4.

[109] On the Vernon manuscript and its incipit *salus anime*, see Anthony I. Doyle, ed., *The Vernon Manuscript: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. poet. a.1* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), 3. Audelay is also familiar with the word 'soulehele,' as he uses it in his *Marcolf and Solomon* and in his epilogue to *The Council of Conscience*. See also Susanna Fein, 'Example to the *Soulehele*: John Audelay, the Vernon Manuscript, and the Defence of Orthodoxy,' *The Chaucer Review* 46 (2011): 182–202, at 194.

[110] McCann, *Soul-Health*, 82.

[111] Nicholas Love in his *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* makes a similar connection between the suffering of Christ and its medicinal nature: 'Here to acordyng spekeþ *Seynt Austyn* þus, Goddes son toke man & in hym he soffred that longeþ to man & was made medicyne of man.' McCann comments on this very text, saying that: 'The mystery of the incarnation is, at its core, a pharmaceutical process […] Christ is the source of a medicine so powerful and so plentiful that it defies categorisation and analysis.' Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004), 9/21–23. McCann, *Soul-Health*, 82.

bawme, our tryacle, our helthe, our medycyne.'[112] This equivalency of medical and salvific vocabularies combining both physical and spiritual healing properties, puts forward the passion as the crux of salvation history, brought to the fore in the timelessness embodied by the ever-repeated ritual of public worship. [113]

Using a similar rhetoric, John Audelay plays on the multivalence of the Middle English noun 'hele' by beginning his treatise on the mass with a conflation of meanings: 'Lordis, ȝif ȝe lyþe,/ Of a þyng I wil ȝou kyþe/ Is *helþ* to al monkynd.'[114] Mass as health/salvation to all humankind actualises the redemptive nature of the passion, anchoring thus the parishioners' communal and personal lives in salvation history, day after day and Sunday after Sunday. As the G text, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 32, more specifically underlines: 'for the masse is y don/ To haue mynde in crist is passion/ That left here with us his body in forme of brede.'[115] Thus, not only did the bread and wine turn into body and blood, but the entire ceremony was an embodiment of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, offering a medicine for the state of the general sickness of sin that all, whether religious or lay, found themselves in.[116]

Christ's passion was understood as medicine once and for all, which represents the sacrificial graces of the mass, offering salvation to sinners. But as medicine, its healing

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[112] Lydgate, *The Minor Poems*, 87, l. 15–16. Such emphasis on the passion permeates most of the treatises such as in G, found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 32, where the passion a meditative catalyst is captured in the eucharistic bread: 'for the masse is y don/ To haue mynde in crist is passion/ That left here with us his body in forme of brede.' Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 32, fol. 37r.

[113] See Sarah Appleton Weber, *Theology and Poetry in the Middle English Lyric: A Study of Sacred History and Aesthetic Form* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1969); Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, 'Introduction to the Liturgy of the Medieval Church,' in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, 2nd ed. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), 1–10; Marion Glasscoe, 'Time of Passion: Latent Relationships between Liturgy and Meditation in two Middle English Mystics,' in *Langland, the Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition, Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey*, ed. Helen Phillips (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), 141–160.

[114] Audelay, *The Poems*, 65/1–3. My italics.

[115] MS Rawlinson Poet. 32, fol. 37r.

[116] The *LFMB* also uses a similar medicinal topos for the sacrifice of the mass: 'þis messe be mede & medicine.' *LFMB*, 44–45.

properties, namely the sacramental graces, were also dependent on dose and frequency.[117] Hence, by their very nature, the virtues of the mass hinged on how often and how much people took part in the ceremony. All of the *Virtues of the Mass* traditions underlined the necessity of attending mass daily. While V, D, and Lydgate's variant, belonging to Tradition 2, make direct injunctions to go to mass every day, texts from Tradition 1 underline that hearing mass *that day* ensues benefits, as in T:

> Ffor *that day* man hereth masse with good entent
> And worshyppeth the holy sacrament
> He shall receve thys mede for hys travayle.[118]

Just as in the early-fifteenth-century Latin text *Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman*, which sets out the daily spiritual programme of a layman who is expected to go to church first thing in the morning, the audience of the *Virtues of the Mass* is told that they ought to attend mass daily.[119] Audelay thus repeats with enthusiasm, 'Everé day in the yere,/ Loke thou here thi masse', or else 'oche a day thi masse thou here.'[120] John Lydgate's text includes six direct injunctions to attend mass early in the morning:

> Furst euery morrow, or Phebus shyne bryght,
> Lat pale Aurora condute yow and dresse
> To holy churche, of Cryste to haue a sight
> For chyef preseruatyf gayne all goostly sykenesse.[121]

The cultivation of a voluntary inclination repeated day after day is at the heart of Lydgate's text, which continues to rely on the medical trope with 'preseruatyf' and 'goostly sykenesse.' Rather than an anthropocentric ritual that is socially constructed, mass is a

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[117] I would like to thank Dr. Ashley Moyse who drew my attention to this valuable insight.
[118] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fol. 214v.
[119] See W. A. Pantin, 'Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman,' in *Medieval Learning and Literature*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 398–422.
[120] Audelay, *The Poems*, 73/ 232–233, 78/390.
[121] Lydgate, *The Minor Poems*, 88, l. 21–24. Note the aureate poetics.

sacramental rite that tells a Christian meta-narrative in which God has the central stage as the ultimate physician. Hence, all treatises insist on its everyday character. As a daily medicine administering sacramental graces and ensuring physical and spiritual health, mass was thus to be attended as regularly and frequently as possible.

A Liturgical habitus

As mass was considered as a medicine that worked based on the dose and frequency of intake, which was to lead ultimately to salvation, the question arises as to how effective such pharmaceutical properties were on a day-to-day basis. Liturgical observances shaped people's understanding of the Church, its identity, and function, but also shaped people's very encounters with Christ. Hence, any participation in liturgical observances was not primarily due to clerical and political incentives, but to Christ as the subject, object, and mediator of worship. The term *participation*, from the Old French *participacion* and the Latin *participatio* is best expressed by the Middle English verb *communen*, which draws on the Latin *communicare* originating in the Greek verb *κοινωνέω*, to share in, to partake in.[122] While modern understandings of *participation* increasingly emphasise the autonomous agency of the vocalising subject, the late medieval understanding of 'communen' is one of spiritual joining expressed in 1 Corinthians 10:16: 'þe chalys of blessyng to whom we blessyn wheþer it be not þe communicacyoun of cristis body; and þe

[122] The fifteen-century manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker MS 32, which contains a gloss and commentary upon the Gospels of Mark and Luke, as well as all of the Pauline epistles and the epistle to the Hebrews, translates systematically the Greek verb *κοινωνέω*, in the original text, and its noun form *κοινωνία*, as 'comynd, 'communicacyoun' and 'companye' apart from the epistle to the Philippians where *κοινωνία* is rendered as 'felaschipe'. See *The Pauline Epistles*, ed. Margaret Joyce Powell, EETS E.S. 116 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1916), 52, 1 Cor. 1:9; 77, 1 Cor. 10:16; 119, 2 Cor. 6:14; 137, Gal. 2:9; etc.

bred þat we brekyn is it not þe particypacyoun of goddys body.'[123] The words *communicacyoun* and *particypacyoun*, here used in a eucharistic context, establish the intricate connection between participation and sacramental grace. The act of participating, rather than originating in the participant, emanates from the divine presence in the very Eucharist. Christ, both God and man, in the form of bread and wine, is the sacramental grace in which believers are invited to participate.

Earlier on in the first letters to the Corinthians, this same Greek verb *κοινωνέω* is translated into Middle English as the act of being called into a 'companye.' The Middle English translation of 1 Corinthians 1:9 found in the fifteenth-century manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS Parker 32, includes the following extract: 'For god is trewe by whom ȝee ben callyd in to þe companye of hys sone Iesu crist oure lord.'[124] To be called into the 'companye' of Christ, as we shall see in treatises on the virtues of mass and in *The Book of Margery Kempe*, locates the agency of the participant beyond herself or himself in the sacramental joining of humanity with the divine, as displayed in the Incarnation, and embodied in the eucharistic rite. By being called into Christ's 'companye,' the believers participate, by sacramental grace, in a reality greater than themselves, as a sign, *signum*, pointing to and participating in this greater reality, *res*. The liturgy itself, in its ontology, is a sign pointing to and participating in the divine reality of God. *Virtues of the Mass* texts and their emphasis on the ritual epitomised an invitation to participate in the liturgy, which was understood to point beyond itself to a divine reality. This section argues that the *Virtues of the Mass* genre offers an insight into new forms of liturgical *habitus*, the integrated liturgical actions and practices of a person, developed among clergy and laity alike in fifteenth-century English society, challenging John

[123] Ibid., 77.
[124] Ibid., 52.

Harper's argument that laypeople 'were excluded entirely from active participation in both Mass and Office.'[125]

As most of the treatises on the mass commonly assume, one *hears* mass. The incipit of the R text thus begins with: 'Here may every man lern boþe more and lesse/ What mede it is to here well þe messe,' while L notes 'þen sall we us dresse and dyght/ Unto þe kyrke yf we do ryght/ Howr messe to her.'[126] Katherine Zieman underlines that hearing mass does not necessitate listening to the rite, which requires understanding, but is merely a 'juridical "hearing,"' by which she means the witnessing of a sacrificial event.[127] Cognitive understanding connected with grammar is, however, not the only cognitive understanding presupposed within a lay audience. Ryan Perry has recently argued for the need to distinguish between phonetic and comprehension literacy and their very gradation. Using Margaret Beaufort as an example, Perry notes how John Fisher, her confessor from 1498 onwards, recounts that Beaufort complained that she had never learnt Latin, and yet she knew the liturgy by rote.[128] According to Robert Swanson, 'Distinctions between the "literate" and the "illiterate" may in fact be fundamentally flawed precisely because they focus so much on reading and textuality.'[129]

Medieval understandings of human cognitive faculties not only involved 'grammar' as such, but also optical perception, among other sensual modes of perception identified as revelatory processes. Thus, if hearing was more than an act of understanding grammar, non-*litteratus* would have been able to engage cognitively with liturgical observances. As

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[125] John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1991), 40.

[126] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 118, fol. 118v; London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fol. 156r.

[127] Zieman, *Singing the New Song*, 81.

[128] Ryan Perry, 'Middle English Books of Devotion and Liturgical Privatisation in Fifteenth-Century England,' *The 2022 Medium Ævum Annual Lecture, Pfaff at 50: New Devotions and Religious Change in Later Medieval England*, 2 July, 2022.

[129] R. N. Swanson, 'Prayer and Participation in Late Medieval England,' *Studies in Church History* 42 (2006): 130–139, at 137.

the interpretation of the liturgical sequence containing the Gospel lesson in V demonstrates, hearing as a mode of perception endowed with revelatory meaning, included more than a mere grammatical understanding. In fact, it encompassed an epistemological model including cognitive paralinguistic modes of communication, which were defined in such case by desire and grace. In V, laypeople are invited to stand at the Gospel and to follow the author's instructions:

> Al ȝor lykyng þer-on leiþ
> To wite what þe prest seiþ,
> Holliche þat ȝe here hit.
> þauȝ ȝe vnderstonde hit nouȝt,
> Ȝe may wel wite þat god hit wrouȝt,
> And þerfore wisdam were hit
> Ffor to worschupe al godes werkes,
> To lewed men þat ben none clerkes.
> Þis lesson, now go lere it.[130]

The audience is encouraged to dedicate all of their desire to knowing the words of the priest. Margaret Aston emphasises that the 'Gospel, receptacle of Christ's words, was the symbol of the Saviour; its entry at mass comparable to the entry of the redeemer.'[131] Hence, one should ardently desire to hear and know the word of God, the revelation of the Incarnate Christ. The Middle English verb 'witen' in its variety of meanings, does imply a familiarity that comes from empirical knowledge, which can also take the form of having in one's mind or more cognitively, to believe. The adverb 'Holliche' in this case modifies 'wite' implying not simply a complete knowledge, but a wholehearted and steadfast familiarity with the words of the Gospel, and by extension, Christ, the Word of God. This wholehearted familiarity consequently underlines the importance of the congregants' heart

[130] *The Minor Poems*, part 2, 504/424–432.
[131] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, 109.

postures, their desire towards God, over textual understanding, as included directly after by the caveat 'þauȝ ȝe vnderstonde hit nouȝt.'[132]

Continuing this argument, V goes on offering an exemplum so to illustrate the reasons why one should honour God's work, displayed in the priest's lesson, while underlining that the graces conveyed at mass were not contingent on cognitive understanding.

> And whi ȝe schulde þis lessun lere,
> Herkneþ alle and ȝe may here.
> Þer a Neddre hauntes,
> Ȝe may wel fynde, and ȝe wol seche,
> He vnderstond noþing þi speche
> Whon þou hire enchauntes,
> Neuerþeles heo wot ful wel
> What is þi meninge eueri-del
> Whon þat þou hire endauntes.
> So fareþ þer vnderstondyng fayles,
> Þe verrey vertu ȝow alle a-vayles
> Þorw grace þat god ȝow grauntes.[133]

As explained in the fifteenth-century prose version of the *Speculum Vitae*, *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen*, the snake or adder is commonly used as a teaching trope to stop one's ears from hearing liars, flatterers and deceivers. The adder 'þat as sone as sche seeþ a man þat can charme hir anon sche stoppeþ hir one ere wiþ þe erthe & þat oþer wiþ hir taile so þat sche may not hire þe charme.'[134] This expounding of the adder's hearing habits in the fourth degree of soberness and right measure has been inverted in V and yet similarly

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[132] 'witen, v. (1)','holli, adv.'*MED Online*. University of Michigan, November 2019. Web. 13 February 2021 <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED52987/track?counter=3&search_id=20076408>. Jeanette Dillon, in her study on alien languages on the English medieval and early modern stage, writes that 'laypeople received the incarnate Word in the form of the sacred host […] Understanding the words that were spoken was unimportant to participation in the mass. What the congregation needed to grasp was the sacramental power of the Word, its transforming mystery.' Janette Dillon, *Language and Stage in Medieval and Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1.

[133] *The Minor Poems*, part 2, 504/433–505/444.

[134] *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen: A Prose Version of the Speculum Vitae, Ed. from B.L. MS Harley 45*, ed. Venetia Nelson (Heidelberg: Winter, 1981), 230; London, British Library Harley MS 45, fol. 163v.

emphasises the importance of hearing righteous speech.[135] The beginning of this twelve-line stanza, with the imperative 'Herkneþ', tells the addressees that to hear empirically, one ought to make every effort, to pay careful attention, which suggests once again a disposition of the heart.[136]

While the adder is portrayed in sermon collections as the sinner who refuses to hear the preacher's exhortations, based on Psalm 57 (58):5–6, here we have an example of an adder enchanted by what it hears. Whereas 'He vnderstond noþing þi speche,' yet it 'wot' exactly the meaning of what is said.[137] 'Witen' here is once again not 'vnderstondyng' in its *litteratus* sense but an empirical knowledge implemented 'Þorw grace þat god ȝow grauntes.'[138] As shown, the act of hearing and listening to the Gospel reading and the priest's lesson requires a disposition of the heart as well as God's grace in order to benefit from the 'verrey vertu,' the spiritual benefit of sacramental grace, bestowed on the hearers at mass.[139]

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[135] In a similar way, the *Instructions for a Devoute Literate Layman* recommends the reading of vernacular devotional texts at dinner 'lest the tongue speak vain or hurtful things'/ 'Et ne lingua proferat vana seu nociva.' Pantin, '*Instructions*,' 399, 421.

[136] To hear carefully was deeply embedded in the audiate culture of late medieval England. The act of listening to the written word was always participatory in nature. See Coleman, *Public Reading*, especially Chapters 4 and 5.

[137] *The Minor Poems*, part 2, 504/437. On the adder as sinner's refusal to listen to preachers, see Owst, *Preaching*, 198. In Wiltshire, Longleat House, Longleat MS 4, the Longleat sermon collection, the writer uses the adder as a metaphor for contemporary heretical views: 'þese days þe fend ȝeuyth þe neddre of lesingis of errourys and heresye to hese chyldryn þat settyn feyth in hym, and hath sowyn þis long ful of swych neddrys of flashed and of malice.' Wiltshire, Longleat House, Longleat MS 4, fol. 59r, as quoted in Hudson and Spencer, 'Old Author, New Work,' 231. See also sermon, in fifteenth-century sermon collection of the Benedictine monk from Durham, Robert Rypon, in London, British Library Harley MS 4894, fol. 17v. On Robert Rypon's sermon collection, see Holly Johnson, 'Robert Rypon and the Creation of London, British Library, MS Harley 4894: A Master Preacher and his Sermon Collection,' *Medieval Sermon Studies* 59 (2015): 38–56.

[138] *The Minor Poems*, part 2, 505/444. This view is contrasted by the writer of the Longleat sermon collection, written some years after 1410, whose emphasis and treatment of scripture reveals a literalist approach. He comments that a lay person 'may heryn a þousand messys and þoȝw lytyl ben steryd þerby to forsakin hys synne, namely whanne he vnderstondyth nout what þe prest seyth.' Wiltshire, Longleat House, Longleat MS 4, fol. 69v, as quoted in Anne Hudson and H. L. Spencer, 'Old Author, New Work,' 227.

[139] Such sacramental grace is mentioned in Audelay, as unfolding from one's desire for God and one's participation in the mass. 'Seche grace is ȝif to þe/ Fore þi hert dissiryng/ þou hast part of beedis and masse syn[g]yng.' Audelay, *The Poems*, 73/242–244.

To put it another way, the integrated experience of worship of the parishioners pointed to Christ, and to engage with the reality of Christ's presence in the ceremony was a special form of 'mende makyng.' These words, uttered by Pauper in the 1405–1410 dialectical treatise on the decalogue *Dives and Pauper,* answer Dives' broader question about the misleading nature of conducting worship in front of images, encapsulating the cognitive process at work. Pauper explains that 'for euery messe synggyng is a special mende makyng of Cristys passioun.'[140] The compound noun 'mende makyng' not only points to the act of remembering Christ's passion as in the fifth sense of the *MED* entry of the noun 'mind,' but the gerund form also modifies the noun so to indicate a practice. To have an image of the crucifix before one's eyes during mass is to have 'þe more fresh mende [one] owyȝt to han of Cristys passioun.'[141] Pauper here underlines the necessity of a layering of understanding, remembering, 'mende making,' which is refreshed again and again as one comes to behold Christ's presence through the actions of the priest. The Mass, as the re-enactment of Christ's passion par excellence, is an actualisation of Christ's presence among his people, and the eucharistic sacrifice is an invitation into the triune life of God. Such experiential embracing of Christ's presence was very much carried over from the Mass into para-liturgical and devotional reading practices such as passion meditations.

In the *Testament*, written at the end of his life, John Lydgate concludes his document with a passion scene, triggered by the visual memory of a crucifix, with the Latin inscription 'vide,' painted on the wall of a cloister that he beheld at the age of fifteen.[142] This passion scene, where Christ speaks directly to Lydgate and by extension to his audience, is framed by the verbal injunctions to behold, to see Christ on the cross, another form of 'mende makyng.' Appearing anaphorically throughout the section, these

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[140] *Dives and Pauper*, vol. 1, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum, EETS O.S. 275 (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), I.iii, 86.27–28.

[141] Ibid., I.iii, 86–87.29–30.

[142] John Lydgate, *The Testament of Dan John Lydgate*, in *The Minor Poems*, vol. 2, 356/740–746

injunctions take the beholder's eyes away from Lydgate's biographical account and direct them unto Christ crucified.[143] While Lydgate merges with the audience as he sees the passion scene anew, conjointly his authorial voice fuses with the 'I' persona of Christ, becoming almost indistinguishable. The events of Christ's passion seem to be integrated into Lydgate's own self to the extent that the author appears to partake in them too.[144] Such participation in Christ's passion reality can be perceived as an act of 'communicacyoun' or 'particypacyoun' in the divine reality. The octaves of this section end with a refrain line from Christ's distinct voice, reinforcing his atoning sacrifice, with variants such as 'Was like a lambe offered in sacryfice,' 'For mannes offence offered in sacryfice,' or 'My blod I offred for the in sacryfice.' After inviting his addressees to 'Turne home ageyn' and do penance, Christ/Lydgate beseeches the audience:

> Emprente thes thynges in thyn inward thought,
> And graue hem depe in thy remembraunce,
> Thynke on hem [wel], and forgete hem nowght,
> Al this I suffred to do the allegeaunce,
> And with my seyntes to yeve the suffisaunce,
> In the hevenly court for the I do devyse
> A place eternall, a place of all plesaunce,
> For which my blood I gaf in sacryfice.[145]

This unitive voice, which functions both as an expression of Christ's love and as Lydgate's own experience, who by *impressing* the passion upon his mind is counted as one of Christ's 'seyntes,' longs to guide the audience to 'A place eternall,' which is both the purpose of Christ in his redemptive sacrifice and of the author in his writing ambitions.

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[143] Shannon Noelle Gayk argues that 'vide' 'does not refer to any particular, visualisable image, but instead to the textual body of Christ being produced in the poem itself. In other words, what the reader is asked to behold, in fact, is the Passion narrative.' Shannon Noelle Gayk, *Image, Text, and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 116.

[144] The devotional trope of asking Christ to take part in his passion, which Sarah Beckwith considers an integral part of cruciform piety, permeates the tradition of Pseudo-Bonaventurean *Lives of Christ*, as well as being central to the piety of mystics such as Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe. See Beckwith, *Christ's Body*.

[145] Lydgate, *The Minor Poems*, 361/874–881.

James Simpson observes that this section is fully spoken by Christ, which then 'implies that Lydgate's own life has been absorbed by Christ's.'[146] Whether Lydgate is fully absorbed into Christ in his response to the invitation to partake in the triune life of God, surrendering his authorial agency to the latter, or whether his authorial voice still permeates this last section in a unitive fashion as I have argued, both views underline the nature of sacramental grace that enables a life spent loving and knowing God: which is to say inhabiting Christ's life day after day through the mass and para-liturgical practices so as to one day attain the consummation of one's union with Christ.

Participation in the liturgical rite, reiterated in order to become an everyday practice, was intended to be so integrated with the subject that it would become second nature. Lydgate tells his audience at the end of his treatise, that:

> Masse to all vertu, grettest directory,
> Whyyche conveyeth and ledeth a man to grace,
> Heryng masse, emprynte in thy memory,
> To knele or stonde and chaunge nat thy place.[147]

The Middle English verb 'emprenten' from the Latin *imprimo*—which assumes *in animis*, the engraving or impressing of ideas and notions unto the soul—suggests that the mass, its meaning, and its practice, are to be internalised and memorialised in such a way that it becomes integrated into one's being.[148] To fix the passion on one's mind by having memorialised the meaning and the intricacies of the mass was to have access at all times to the greatest 'directory' to the grace of God. It is what Henning Laugerud calls a 'physical-mental impression.'[149]

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[146] James Simpson, *The Oxford English Literary History*, *Volume 2, 1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 456.

[147] Lydgate, *The Minor Poems*, 114/643–648.

[148] Félix Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire Latin Français* (Paris: Hachette, 1934), 735.

[149] After discussing Saint Francis' stigmata, which are an impression of Christ in the physical body of the Saint, Laugerud looks at images of Christ that are impressed on the mind, having a direct physical and mental effect on the brain. Henning Laugerud, 'Memory: The Sensory Materiality of Belief and Understanding in Late Medieval Europe,' in *The Saturated Sensorium: Principles of Perception and*

This stanza echoes back to the beginning of the poem where John Lydgate presents the mass as the lay educational equivalent of the doctrine found by theologians in their books. 'To haue memory of Crystes passioun,' to have it impressed unto one's mind, was the heart of both lay and religious spirituality.[150] Robert Swanson observes, 'The very repetitiveness of medieval religious practice demands the integration of another factor, which is all too easily ignored: memory.'[151] The memory of liturgical experiences, whether through prayer, somatic movement, or the intentions of the heart, were integral to the texts of the second tradition of *Virtues of the Mass* (V, D, H_3, Q, O, L, Y_2, *LFMB*, Lydgate's *Virtues*, and Mirk's *Instructions*). Mary Carruthers underlines that 'the most powerful associational connections are formed by habit, *de consuetudine*, rather than by logic, *de necessitate*.'[152] The fact that the mass formed and informed believers as much through the sacramental power experienced via body memory as through the literal meaning contained in the liturgy of the Word, was central to the ecclesial experience of believers.

Carruthers, examining the differences between logical reconstruction and habitual reconstruction, establishes that 'the ability to recollect is natural to everyone, but the procedure itself is formed by *habitus*, training, and practice.'[153] Additionally to the many somatic, visual, and oral prompts training believers to observe liturgical practices, whether intense gazing, silence, kneeling, standing, set or free prayers, or refrain singing, the disposition of the believer's soul was formed and informed by practice and habituality. The mass, taken as such on its own terms, anchors understanding of faith in habituality, the body memory of the congregants, connecting knowledge with action. The role of public

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Mediation in the Middle Ages, ed. Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen, Henning Laugerud and Laura Katrine Skinnebach (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2015), 266.

[150] Lydgate, *The Minor Poems*, 87/13.

[151] Swanson, 'Prayer and Participation,' 137.

[152] Carruthers, *The Book*, 80.

[153] Idem. On *habitus*, see also Katherine Breen, *Imagining an English Reading Public, 1150–1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

worship, as advocated by the *Virtues of the Mass* genre, which in its fundamental nature established the community as the body of Christ, the Church, was to educate such a social body in the disposition of their souls towards heavenly bliss.[154]

The recollected sequences of the mass, known through implicit bodily memory and cognitive understanding, as well as through sacramental graces, as expounded in *Virtues of the Mass* texts from Tradition 2, give us an insight into the 'liturgical sensibility' of the time.[155] Just as Margery Kempe herself, who was immersed her entire life in the life of the Church and its liturgy, whether locally, nationally, or internationally, gives us a panoply of readings, prayers, and kinesics at the heart of her liturgical practices, *Virtues of the Mass* texts point us to learned actions and words that were to become part of believers' liturgical sensibility, making them 'liturgical persons.'[156] Richard Pfaff coined the term 'liturgical person' when describing monks and priests who, rooted in liturgical observances, studied the liturgy or curated its development.[157]

As shown with the passing of monastic spiritual practices among secular priests and the laity, it is possible to observe the translation of the 'liturgical person' into clerical and

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[154] Evelyn Birge Vitz considers medieval liturgy as the main mean of religious education, one that was learnt by osmosis. It was through habituated practices, which were internalized through the senses associated with body memory, that the liturgy distilled its educational programme. Evelyn Birge Vitz, 'Liturgy as Education in the Middle Ages,' in *Medieval Education*, ed. Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski, S. J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 21.

[155] Implicit bodily memory can be understood as the re-enactment of an experience, which has become so internalised that the past is not explicitly remembered in the action, becoming intrinsic to one's bodily disposition. See Thomas Fuchs, 'The Cyclical Time of the Body and its Relation to Linear Time,' in *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 25 (2018): 47–65.

[156] Margery's 'maner of werkyng'—her 'cryis', her 'sobbyngys' and her 'wepyngys'—was a deeply habitualised and repeated activity. This leads us to wonder to what extent it was an unconscious performance, where layers of recurring bodily experiences, connecting the present to past spiritual encounters through bodily sensations (e.g. kneeling), perceptions of touch, smells and sounds, forming a cyclical-present which appeared extra-temporal, continuously maturing Margery in her love and knowledge of God.

[157] For 'liturgical sensibility,' see Richard William Pfaff, '*De Cella in Seculum: The Liturgical Aspects*,' in *De Cella in Seculum, Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael Sargent (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), 17–27, at 24. For the definition of 'liturgical person' as 'the sensibility of one whose life patterns are rooted in liturgical observance and who at the same time either studies the liturgy or makes active choices about it, or both,' see Richard William Pfaff, *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998), 3. While lay people did not curate explicitly liturgical developments, they had a clear influence in the fifteenth century on the increase in the volume of services, as well as on the appearance and the content of some aspects of the rituals. See, for instance, Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls'*, 383–384.

lay circles within the late Middle Ages. The audience of the *Virtues of the Mass* texts, as well as Margery, did not impinge nor attempt to alter or curate liturgical developments, just as priests and monks would have done. However, their repeated practice of liturgical observances, their liturgical *habitus*, would have directly affected the liturgy to the extent that it exemplified another type of reception and response to mass and the divine office. Such a response was formed by habituation, where the recurrence and sameness of experience in changed situation, context, and time provided believers with an intimate encounter with the familiar liturgical word, ushering forwards an encounter with Christ himself. Hence, whereas the mystic's spirituality is measured by a notion of progress in mystical experience and its phenomenology, such as Richard Rolle's degrees of love (i.e. insuperable, inseparable and singular), progress within lay spirituality ought to be perceived through habituality. The liturgical *habitus* advocated by *Virtues of the Mass* texts from Tradition 2 and Margery was one that the laity at prayer could adopt. Perhaps it was also one that was then adopted back into monastic circles with some new experiential facets, as lay and monastic liturgical sensibilities came to mutually nourish and influence each other. Hence, Kempe's *Book* circulated in the textual community of Benedictine monks at the cathedral priory of Norwich in Norfolk, before the sole manuscript found its way into the hands of Carthusian monks interested in mystical practices, at the priory of Mount Grace in North Yorkshire.[158]

[158] Richard Salthouse, Benedictine monk at the priory of Norwich would have made the *Book* 'in the format of a textual testament, parallel to a monastic record or a hagiographic document.' The manuscript was intended as a record of a local piety, before it found its way in Yorkshire. Anthony Bale, 'Richard Salthouse of Norwich and the Scribe of The Book of Margery Kempe,' *The Chaucer Review* 52:2 (2017): 173–187, at 184–185.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has developed a new taxonomy to further the understanding of a highly influential genre, the *Virtues of the Mass*, which would have had more impact on the liturgical literacy and devotional practices of lay people than has been posited previously. In a visionary 1985 book chapter on Henry V's reign, Jeremy Catto argued that 'the vitality and importance of public communal worship in the church's response to Lollardy' reflected an adaptation and affirmation of corporate worship over personal devotion.[159] Nearly four decades later, the field of Middle English religious literature is still awaiting a critical turn towards a focused analysis on textual witnesses of communal devotional practices. Such texts are too often held responsible for their own neglected state due to their supposed lack of 'literary merit.' This new taxonomy of the *Virtues of the Mass* hopes to be another step towards rethinking the place of the mass and communal devotional practices in fifteenth-century religious literature. It has identified two main traditions within the *Virtues of the Mass* corpus: texts expounding the spiritual and physical benefits of attending mass, and texts elaborating on the nature of the Mass itself. By looking at the pastoral contexts of the genre, its main themes such as the mass as head prayer, as medicine, or the development of a lay liturgical *habitus*, this chapter has demonstrated that the mass was indeed the bedrock of late medieval piety, as the main locus of encounter with Christ.

The pervading emphasis on communal and public worship in England in the first half of the fifteenth century not only worked towards gathering all the faithful around similar liturgical practices, as experienced most tangibly at mass, but also fleshed out the participatory nature of the ceremony. The mass as such was not only the inherent cultural

[159] Catto, 'Religious Change,' 109.

message of Henry V's reign, but also of Henry Chichele's archiepiscopate. Flourishing within such political, religious, and cultural contexts, the *Virtues of the Mass* genre was part of an effort to democratise corporate worship and communal devotional practices, so to make the meaning of the Mass more readily available to learned and unlearned, rich and poor, religious and lay alike. As such, the textual tradition of the *Virtues of the Mass* took on an active role of crystallising and codifying the greater significance of the mass as a cultural and religious binding and a soul-healing medicine, administered daily through the means of its sacramental nature.

CHAPTER TWO

Liturgy as Watershed of the *ecclesia Anglicana*

> '[Leitourgia] *meant an action by which a group of people become something corporately which they had not been as a mere collective of individuals—a whole greater than the sum of its parts. It meant also a function or "ministry" of a man or of a group on behalf of and in the interest of the whole community […] Thus the Church itself is a* leitourgia*, a ministry, a calling to act in this world after the fashion of Christ, to bear testimony to him and his kingdom*.'[1]

The treatises on the virtues of the mass are best understood in light of the historical, theological and literary contexts of their main textual transmission of ideas of unity, ecclesial authority, and liturgy. To understand their role and significance in the ever changing ecclesial landscape of England during the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele, it is necessary to consider some underlying forces that have paved the way for, and at times continued to govern, the textual communities in which they were received. Mishtooni Bose has underlined that, as reflected in the literature of the time, such forces were often expressed in tensions between 'clerical and lay worlds, between imagined pasts and a

[1] Alexander Schmemann, *For the Life of the World, Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (Yonkers, NY: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2018), 33–34.

contested present, or between England and the rest of Christendom.'[2] Before considering how the *Virtues of the Mass* texts encapsulate such tensions, let us first turn to the ecclesial macrocosm within which they emerged, which is to say the broader theological, intellectual, and political perspectives that shaped the underlying currents governing the microcosms of the treatises' textual communities.

One text in particular inhabits these tensions between clerical and lay agencies, between an idealised past and a disenchanted present, and between England as a Christian nation and other Christian nations on the continent: *Dives and Pauper*. As Priscilla Heath Barnum has underlined, *Dives and Pauper*, which is extant in eight manuscripts from the first two-thirds of the fifteenth century, is particularly unique in its attempt to illustrate the active life of both friars, personified by Pauper who might have been a Franciscan, and wealthy lay people, such as Dives.[3] It does so by considering both canon law and civil law in its expounding of the decalogue. Such an endeavour is the product of a textual community aware and attentive to the rapprochements between ecclesiastical affairs and the civil government. Thus, the image of the English church depicted through the eyes of the educated and wealthy lay person, personified by Dives, is one of liturgical opulence that is deteriorating because of sin: 'for I wende til now þat Englych nacion hadde worchepid God pasynge all oþre nacionys, but now Y se it is noȝt so.'[4] Although Dives' disillusion with public worship does not originate in dismay about heresy but in the sinfulness of 'þe peple of Engelond,' it corroborates the introductory words used by the

[2] Bose, 'Intellectual,' 338.

[3] Priscilla Heath Barnum, 'Introduction,' *Dives and Pauper*, vol. 2, EETS O.S. 323 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), xxxvi–xxxvii.

[4] Priscilla Heath Barnum, ed., *Dives and Pauper*, vol. 1, part 1, EETS O.S. 275 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 188/1–4.

English clergy to describe the institutional church at the last session of Parliament on 10 March 1401, in a statute commonly known as *De heretico comburendo*:[5]

> quod cum fides catholica super cristum fundata […] in dicto regno inter omnia regna mundi hactenus extiterit devocius observata […] et ecclesia Anglicana, per predictos inclitissimos progenitores et antecessores vestros, ad honorem Dei et tocius regni predicti, laudabiliter dotata, et in suis juribus et libertatibus sustentata […] nichilominus diversi perfidi et perversi cujusdam nove secte, de dicta fide, sacramentis ecclesie, et auctoritate ejusdem dampnabiliter sencientes,[…] et alia diversa enormia auditui horrenda indies perpetrant et committunt, in dicte fidei catholice et doctrine ecclesie sacrosancte subversionem, divinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam in destruccionem status, jurium, et libertatum dicte ecclesie Anglicane.[6]
>
> *Whereas the Catholic faith, founded on Christ […] has up until now been observed more devoutly in the said kingdom than in any kingdom in the world…and the English church, laudably endowed by your aforesaid most excellent progenitors and ancestors, to the honour of God and all the aforesaid realm, has been sustained in its rights and liberties […] nevertheless, various perfidious and perverse people of a certain new sect, believing damnable things of the said faith, the sacrament of the church, and its authority […] perpetrate and commit on a daily basis various other horrendous and unheard of crimes, to the subversion of the said Catholic faith and doctrine of the sacrosanct church and the diminution of the divine worship, and moreover, to the destruction of the status, rights, jurisdiction and liberties of the said English church.*

Divine worship was threatened, and actions on behalf of King Henry IV (1367–1413) needed to be taken. This petition of the clergy against heretics was made after the valedictory speech of the Commons' Speaker, Sir Arnold Savage (1358–1410), which presented the mass as an analogy for Parliament. Savage declared that the king, throughout

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[5] Pauper refers to this very statute in a section on the sinfulness of the English people, who only work towards maintaining sin and offending God, as reflected in 'a comoun lawe that what man speke with the trewthe aȝens here falshed he shal ben hangen, drawen and heueded.' *Dives and Pauper*, vol. 1, part 1, 148–149/44–46. See also A. K. McHardy, '*De heretico comburendo*, 1401' in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond (Stroud and New York: Sutton Publishing and St. Martin's Press, 1997), 112–126.

[6] '*Petitio cleri contra hereticos*,' in *The Parliaments Rolls of Medieval England 1275–1504*, vol. 8, *Henry IV – 1399–1413* ed. Chris Given-Wilson (Woodbrige, and London: Boydell Press, and National Archives, 2005), 122, item 48.

this session of Parliament, had emulated Christ's sacrifice 'd'estre offertz a Dieux pur toutz cristiens,' by advocating that 'la foie de seinte esglise serroit sustenuz et governez come il ad este en temps de ses nobles progenitours.' The analogy continued. Just as at the end of mass 'y convient de dire, "Ite missa est," et "Deo gratias",' at the end of Parliament, one ought to thank God for the king 'qi vorroit faire justice des toutz partz,' and who is an annihilator of heresy, when 'la foie de seinte esglise par malvoise doctrine feust en point d'avoir este anientz.'[7] Both the Commons and the clergy marking the king as the defender of the church, its divine worship, and ultimately its orthodoxy (which was to become a common feature of the Lancastrian anti-heresy programme) points to the greater role of temporal powers in the framing of the English church's identity.[8] As Clive Burgess has pointed out, 'The interdependency of king and bishops constituted a cornerstone of the late medieval English polity, to the obvious benefit of both parties.'[9] Almost twenty years after the first appearance of anti-heretical legislation in parliament, the enactment of *De heretico comburendo*, which created a penalty of death by burning for all unrepentant heretics—originating in unlicensed preaching, unauthorised 'conventicles,' and the holding of unorthodox books—was another instance of the identity of the church being defended by both spiritual and secular powers.[10] This chapter, in continuity with the work of Jeremy

[7] 'Du fyn de parlement,' in ibid., 121, item 47.

[8] This view has to be contrasted with Margaret Aston's argument that 'the passage of anti-Lollard legislation would not always have been plain sailing.' See Margaret Aston, 'Lollardy and Sedition 1381–1431,' *Past & Present* 17 (1960): 1–44, at 31. On the Lancastrian anti-heresy programme, see Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 32–62. See also Nuttall, *The Creation of Lancastrian Kingship.*

[9] Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls'*, 4.

[10] The synod commonly called the Blackfriars Council of 1382, held in London in May simultaneously with a session of Parliament, was influential not so much in condemning the twenty-four conclusions of John Wyclif, but more in establishing a 'canonical narrative,' wherein Wycliffites were portrayed as 'usurpers' of the office of preachers conspiring to preach their theology beyond the university, all across the country. Archbishop William Courtenay church's (1381–1396) jurisdictional tour de force was to bring ecclesiastical matter into the lay political and legal spheres by resorting to Parliament, where lay authorities were given the right to arrest heretics for the first time. Thus a session of Parliament in May 1382 ordered a statute to commission sheriffs to arrest unlicensed preachers, who, 'alantz de countee en countee, et de ville a ville' preached heresies and errors under 'dissimulacion de grant saintee.' See 'Rotulus parliament tenti apud westm' in crostino Sancti Johannis ante portam latinam anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi quinto,' in *The Parliaments Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504*, vol. 7, ed. Chris Given-Wilson (Woodbridge and

Catto and Clive Burgess, who both emphasise the increasing importance of the divine service at the turn of the fifteenth century, argues that this notable prominence can be traced back to the religious establishment as governed by Archbishop Henry Chichele, and implemented by his reformist bishops. It is in this context that incremental growth of circulation of *Virtues of the Mass* texts should be read, as the genre embodied religious and civic endeavours to unite the English people around the social institution of the mass.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND ENGLAND'S ECCLESIAL IDENTITY

Both the session of Parliament of March 1401 and *Dives and Pauper*, the writing of which began not long after this and was finished between 1405 and 1410, reflected on the Christian identity of the English church and its past greatness upheld by both religious and civil powers. In both cases, the English church was portrayed in superlative terms as the most worshipful nation. The defence of the national church's identity over and against dissenting mentalities that conducted religious activity outside the ecclesiastical authority's precinct and supervision, and threatened both the church and state with an internal schism, had deeply shaped the ecclesial and civil landscapes in England by the time the English delegation (led by Robert Hallum) presented its reformist agenda at the Council of Constance.[11] Struggling to defend and promote its impeccable reputation as the bulwark of

London: Boydell Press and National Archives, 2005), 275, item 17; Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3–22, especially 10–16; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 73–81.

[11] On *De heretico comburendo* and its reception, see Peter McNiven, *Heresy and Politics in the Reign of Henry IV: The Burning of John Badby* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 93–117. Thomas Walsingham expresses bluntly in his chronicle the fracturing of both civil and ecclesial structures engendered by dissenting mentalities: 'the chief aim and final intention of all the Lollards was the overthrow of the king, the subversion of the orthodox faith, and the destruction of the holy Church.' Thomas Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 663.

orthodoxy, the English church had to learn to establish its ecclesiology anew, and the general Council with its convergences of international and national mentalities was a natural terrain upon which to do so. Although the English church continued to project the opulence of its liturgical practices as inherent to its ecclesial identity, as we shall see, its confrontations with dissenting mentalities had shifted the ways in which the national church established itself. The central theme of English ecclesiology emerged at Constance as England portrayed itself more broadly as a harbinger of unity, pursuing it both abroad and at home.

It was not a surprise that unity took centre stage in English religious identity at a time in geopolitics when civic and religious fractures and cleavages continually imperilled international, national, and local stability and peace. Unity was thus the focus of all the English clergy holding spiritual powers at Constance and at home. Indeed, while the English delegation (among others) and the Roman Curia were harbouring for peace at Constance, with the hope of resolving the schismatic state of the institutional church, at home in England, Archbishop Henry Chichele was sending provincial mandates to pray for unity.

On 9 April 1415, on 7 June 1415, and again on 2 August 1416, Chichele ordered for prayers to be said in cathedrals, in convents, and in collegiate and parish churches, whether religious or secular, on Sundays and on feast days in the form of solemn processions, litanies and mass, for the peace, the unity, and tranquillity of the church, accompanied by an indulgence of forty days for religious and lay people who followed suit.[12] On 7 June 1415, Chichele included a request for processions and litanies to be held

[12] ‘quod ipsorum singulis in ecclesiis suis cathedralibus et aliis ecclesiis conventualibus et collegiatis tam regularibus quam secularibus necnon parochialibus ecclesiis suarum civitatum et diocesum diebus dominicis et festivis subditos suos clericos et laicos effectualiter moneant et inducant seu moveri faciant et induci ut pro pace, unitate et tranquillitate ecclesie […] cum omni cordis devocione processiones solempnes singulis quartis et sextis feriis cum decantacione letanie et misse si fieri poterit alias spiritualium collectarum […] ut prefertur facientibus xl dies indulgencie tociens quociens concedimus per presentes et a vobis

twice a week for the Emperor Sigismund, who was striving for the stability and unity of 'holy mother Church.'[13] While the implementation of the reformist agenda was a concern that would be emphasised in the provincial convocations after the General Council, such as in the convocations of 1419 and 1425, during the Council's proceedings Chichele mainly rallied the nation around prayer for unity and peace, rather than reform.[14] Overall, unity was at the forefront of the English clergy's minds, both at home and at Constance. Indeed, E. F. Jacob comments on the English delegation's policy and achievement at the Council of Constance by affirming that, 'to English eyes unity and orthodoxy were of greater significance than reform.'[15]

Out of the twenty known sermons preached at Constance by members of the English delegation, the sermon on the pericope 'Unum corpus sumus in Christo' (Rom. 12:5), preached on 10 January 1417 by the Augustinian Geoffrey Shale, a doctor in theology from the University of Cambridge, most forcefully encapsulated the self-reflexive efforts of the English nation to pursue unity.[16] Shale, who ended his life in the Dublin

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ceterisque suffraganeis nostris similes indulgencias petimus elargiri.' *The Register of Henry Chichele,* vol. 4, 123–124. See also 4: 158–159; *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–1443*, vol. 3, ed. E. F. Jacob, Canterbury and York Series vol. 46 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), 323–325.

[13] *The Register of Henry Chichele,* vol. 4, 127; 3: 435–437.

[14] *Records of Convocation*, 75–90, 157–220. See also, *The Register of Henry Chichele,* vol. 3, 51–58, 101–115. However, the provincial convocation of 1417, between 26 November and 20 December, under the motion of Robert Gilbert, the warden of Merton College, had the special reformist task of alleviating the penury of graduates at Oxford and Cambridge by ensuring that they would be promoted to benefices. See *The Register of Henry Chichele,* vol. 3, 32–41; E. F. Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele* (London: Nelson, 1967), 73–86. Chichele's emphasis on the promotion of graduates emanated from his plan to bring unity and peace within the church and nation. To promote trained university clerks to benefices was the solution to the intellectual issues promoted by Wycliffites and Lollards. As Jacob notes, Chichele 'had confidence in the good sense of most academics and longed to see them where their light was most needed: in the cathedrals and in the livings of England.' Ibid., 71–72.

[15] E. F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953), 52.

[16] Adolar Zumkeller, 'Unbekannte Konstanzer Konzilspredigten der Augustiner-Theologen Gottfried Shale und Dietrick Vrie,' *Analecta Augustiniana* 33 (1970): 5–74, at 6–7; A. B. Scott, 'Latin Learning and Literature in England, 1169–1500,' in *A New History of Ireland*, vol. 1, ed. T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1976), 934–995, at 956–957; Owst, *Preaching*, 11–12, fn. 3; F. X. Martin and A. de Meijer, 'Irish material in the Augustinian Archives, Rome, 1354–1624,' *Archivium Hibernicum* 19 (1956): 61–134, at 79–80. This might be the same Galfrido Salle, who on 4 July 1415, was delegated the authority of 'sequestrator' over the vacant seat of the diocese of Chichester by the keepers of the spiritualities, which suggests that Geoffrey Shale was part of the contingent of delegates who 'reinforced' the English delegation at Constance in April 1416. *The Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 3, 10–13, 438–439.

Augustinian friary, where he became master regent in 1421, addressed a theme that was a pressing matter at the Council. He reminded his audience eloquently that '"there may be no schism in the body"; but with all humility in love it may anxiously preserve unity among themselves in accordance with bonds of peace, in order that, finally, by means of such sacred council it may become "one sheepfold and one shepherd".'[17]

In a simpler form of homiletics, Shale's sermon, which is divided into three parts, one on the bonds of love, one on the bonds of peace, and finally, on Christ's redemptive sacrifice uniting the mystical body to himself, exhorted 'the most excellent fathers and lords, doctors and religious' present at the Council to unite around love, peace, and Christ's sacrifice.[18] His clever use of varying modes of presentations on the theme of unity, both in terms of content and form, displays great mastery of homiletic techniques clothed in simplicity. The content, rather than confronting the divisions between papalists, conciliarists, and between nations, calls the audience to abide in Christ, as traced in the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles and expounded in Augustine's Psalm commentary.

Rather than antagonising his addressees, Shale unified them around the common ground of clearly expounded biblical passages, three of the most beloved exegetes of the late Middle Ages (Augustine, Gregory, and Bede), and a mental image of Christ's passion.[19] His recurrent alternation between passages of scripture, Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and his own admonition, preceded and followed by summaries of each section in mnemonic verses, displayed an oratorical ingenuity that delivered a unified

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[17] Shale's Constance sermon is found in London, British Library, MS Royal App. 7, which contains a collection of nine sermons preached at the Council of Constance. For an edition of the sermon, see Zumkeller, 'Unbekannate Konstanzer Konzilspredigten,' 29–44. '"Ut non sit schisma in corpore" sed cum omni humilitate in caritate sollicite servet unitatem ipsis in vinculis pacis, ut tandem mediante isto sacro concilio fiat "unum ovile, unus pastor".' Zumkeller, 'Unbekannate Konstanzer Konzilspredigten,' 30.

[18] 'praecellentissimi patres et domini doctoresque et religiosi.' Ibid., 32.

[19] Although Shale refers to Venerable Bede's exhortations, from which he is supposedly quoting, this material cannot be traced and might belong to a pseudo-Bedean tradition. Shalle uses the same passion imagery as Richard Rolle, in 'Meditation B,' in which Christ is hanging 'in þe eyre,' between heaven and earth. See Richard Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse*, ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, EETS O.S. 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 79.

image composed of seamlessly woven scenes. The christological images are vivid: whether in trinitarian affirmations '"Unum" ex assensu unanimi totius Trinitatis,' 'unus Deus cum Patre,' in countless references to the Incarnation 'est caro Christi virginea,' 'de materiali gremio,' 'en ex matre Virgine rubescit,' or in passion references, 'Dei Filius, inter caelum et terram pendet in aere,' 'corpus Christi sanguineum.'[20] They all point to Christ as the solution to unity.[21] Shale ends his section on the bonds of peace with the following verses:

persona pura
sic est Dei ac viri natura
'Christus,'
Absque scissura
Remanet et sine ruptura
'unum;'
ex omnium iunctura
et membrorum est ligatura
per 'corpus.' [22]

Christ, both divine and human, in his perfection, without division or rupture in his hypostatic union, is the epitome of unity. And it is through Christ's own unity that all people are joined and bound together as members, as demonstrated by the rhyme-schemes of the three tercets that emphasise 'Christus,' 'unum,' and 'corpus.' Shale's depiction of unity is one marked by English concerns towards the moral and intellectual dilemma of a disunited church. He tells his audience that from all the heavenly hierarchies and earthly ones, 'God has composed the body together,' therefore discord and heresy, 'the emerging Lollardy,' should be spurned as false 'that there might be no schism in the body.'[23]

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[20] Zumkeller, 'Unbekannate Konstanzer Konzilspredigten,' 29; 30; 41; 31; 41; 40; 41.

[21] Shale, who preached his sermon ten months before the election of Martin V as pope on 11 November 1417, echoes Jean Gerson's christological grounding for the doctrine of the unity of the church, which he used to advocate for the superiority of the council over the college of cardinals, as exposed in his *De auferibilitate papae ab ecclesia*, which was read publicly at a Dominican convent in April 1415. See Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 3, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1962), 87–105.

[22] Zumkeller, 'Unbekannate Konstanzer Konzilspredigten,' 40.

[23] 'Ex cunctis Ecclesiae gradibus/ caelice viventibus/ et ceteris mundanis/ "Deus temperavit corpus ei",/ discordiis et haeresibus/ lollardice emergentibus/ cunctisque spretis vanis,/ "ut non sit schisma in corpore",/ sed subditis maioribus/ reciproce servientibus,/ ut licet vestris planis/ "in idipsum pro invicem sollicita sint membra".' Ibid., 38. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote extensively on the bride of Christ being a

Unity relies on Christ, but it also relies on everyone fulfilling their office, in a mutual assistance of good works. Glossing Ephesians 4, Shale reminded his addressees that Christ had appointed different offices in the church. Dwelling on the offices of pastor and doctor, he emphasised that both the cure of souls and the teaching of the people were a communal endeavour for spiritually edifying the mystical body of Christ, the Church.[24] While we know very little of Geoffrey Shale himself, his sermon depicts an unassuming English delegate who agrees with and promotes the reformist agenda of the *ecclesia Anglicana*, while rallying all sides present at the Council around the figure of Christ. The English identity at the Council and at home was thus fashioned as a new bastion of unity, promoted by English delegates and Henry Chichele alike.

BETWEEN REFORM AND THE VINDICATION OF ENGLAND'S ORTHODOXY

Although unity seemed to have been at times the only concern of the English delegation at Constance, there is no question that reform was a crucial matter for individuals such as the religious delegates Robert Hallum, Richard Fleming (d. 1431), Nicholas Bubwith (c. 1355–1424), and Thomas Spofford (d. 1456). Fleming's and Hallum's sermons and Bubwith's and Spofford's reforming zeal were individual witnesses to the English

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single Church of both angels and men, of both saints in heaven and believers on earth. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of* Doctrine, vol. 3, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 299.

[24] '"alios autem pastores" ad curam animarum "et doctors" ad informandum populum, "ad consummationem sanctorum" id est perfectionem fidelium in fide et moribus instruendorum "et aedificationem" spiritualem "corporis Christi" mystici, quod est Ecclesia.' Zumkeller, 'Unbekannate Konstanzer Konzilspredigten,' 39. Shale's gloss of Ephesians 4 echoes Jean Gerson's thirteen considerations on the hierarchy of the church expounded in his *De potestate ecclesiastica*, read publicly shortly after the delivery of Shale's sermon. While Gerson's *De potestate* was based on a series of lectures from 1402 and was written at Constance, the assertion of both scholars on the responsibility of the ecclesiastical hierarchy for the transmission of the faith to the whole mystical body of Christ, shows that the use of offices given by Christ were a common rhetorical theme for those promoting a reformist agenda.

reformist mindset, which was shared in the highest sphere of ecclesiastical power in England.[25] In a letter dated from 1415, Archbishop Chichele wrote to Robert Hallum, leader of the English delegation at Constance: 'Rise, therefore, I bid you dear brother, and continue to show that the church shall not only be united but also reformed, and so its honour more manfully renewed.'[26]

The Anglo-German coalition had refused to elect a new pope before treating the subject of reform first, until Henry V forced his delegates to side with the Mediterranean coalition who had pleaded for a papal election.[27] The forty-third session of the Council, held on 21 March 1418, was a step towards reforming the institution, although not as fully as advocated by the clauses presented during the fortieth session on 30 October 1417.[28] The final reforms undertaken by the pope consisted of treatments of exemptions, unions, and incorporations, intercalary fruits, simony, dispensations, tithes, and the life and probity of clerics. In April of that year, each individual nation then obtained concessions from the newly elected Pope Martin V in the form of concordats, closely connected to the *Avisamenta*, the recommendations, brought forth at the council by commissions of reform.[29]

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[25] See, for example, Richard Fleming's sermons for Epiphany, 6 January 1417, for Passion Sunday, 28 March 1417, and Robert Hallum's sermons such as the initial address to Emperor Sigismund on 22 or 23 January 1415, a sermon for the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, 13 October 1415, and for the second Sunday in Advent, 8 December 1415. Chris Lee Nighman and Phillip Stump, 'A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and other Orations Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414–1418),' BibSite (Bibliographical Society of America, 2006) <http://www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Nighman-Stump>, accessed 8 April 2021; Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, 53.

[26] London, British Library, MS Royal 10. B. IX, fol. 59v., as quoted and translated in Jacob, 'A Note on the English Concordat,' 358.

[27] At Pentecost, on 30 May 1417, the French Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly used the pericope of Acts 2:1, which points at the gathering of all in one place, to preach on the 'priority conflict,' which opposed the 'reform party' advocated by Sigismund and the English and German nations and the 'unity party' with which d'Ailly sided, promoting the necessity to proceed to papal election first, and then reform. Nighman and Stump, 'A Bibliographical Register.' E. F. Jacob assumes that Henry V's change of mind concerning the priority of reform over papal election originated in a 'fissure in the English ranks' between reformists and curialists. Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele*, 38–39.

[28] At the fortieth session of the Council, eighteen areas of the institutional church were listed for the future pope to reform. Tanner, ed., *Decrees*, vol. 1, 443.

[29] E. F. Jacob, ed., *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–1443*, vol. 1, Canterbury and York Series vol. 45 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1943), clix–clx.

The English Concordat ratified on 30 May 1418 at Berne, in the diocese of Lausanne, began with a clause on the number of cardinals from the Curia holding benefices in England, who should not be a burden to the national church by preventing locals from obtaining dignities and prebends in larger churches.[30] It continued with a clause revoking indulgences granted during the period of the Schism, and then dealt with subjects of appropriations, pluralism, and dispensations.[31] The clauses of the English Concordat were more or less aligned with the English reformist programme as outlined in Ullerston's *Petitiones*. Almost all of them pointed to the limitation of excessive papal involvement in English ecclesiastical affairs, which prevented not only the strategic improvement of local provision for the university-educated clergy (clauses on cardinals and dispensations), but also promoted indirectly the negligence of the cure of souls (appropriations, dispensations, and pluralism).[32]

Ultimately the reformist nature of the English Concordat was concerned with ensuring a better religious education of the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy as well as the laity. Although it did not take the form of the vehement denunciation by Robert Grosseteste (c. 1170–1253) of the threat to the cure of souls by the English archbishop (Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury between 1241–1270) in Grosseteste's see, it was a step towards a greater emphasis on pastoral care. Indeed, Grosseteste did not stop at denouncing his own archbishop, but rooted this threat towards pastoral care in the very

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[30] *Raccolta di concordati su materie ecclesiastiche tra la Santa Sede e le autorità civili*, ed. Angelo Mercati (Vatican City: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1954), 165–168. On the dating of the different versions of the English Concordat, see Jacob, 'A Note on the English Concordat,' 349. On Englishmen at the Curia, see Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome, 1362–1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Margaret Harvey, *England, Rome, and the Papacy, 1417–1464: The Study of a Relationship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

[31] *The Register of Henry Chichele,* vol. 4, 194–196. See also Jacob, 'A Note on the English Concordat,' 353–355.

[32] On 3 January 1420, Roger Bolter, John Waryn, and Walter Trethewy, the keepers of the spirituality of the diocese of Exeter, were appointed to inspect their diocese in order to ascertain whether the various terms of the English Concordat were being respected and obeyed (such as appropriations, consolidations of benefices and incorporations). *The Register of Henry Chichele,* vol. 4, 70.

Roman curia. Hence, he had gone to the papal court of Innocent IV in 1250, and declared in an 'uncompromising rhetoric' to the pope and his cardinals that:

> Infidelity has taken over a large part of the world and has separated it from Christ […] I tremble and am frightened to say it very vigorously. Nonetheless, I dare not remain silent […] The cause, source and origin of this [state of the church] is this papal court.[33]

Infidelity, according to Grosseteste, was not only committed against Christ and rooted in the abuse of ecclesiastical powers, but it was also taking people away from Christ, when the main role of the universal church was to embody the unified bride of Christ. At the Council of Constance, and in the English Concordat, it was this very identity of the universal Church as the bride of Christ that was undergirding the promotion of religious education and pastoral care, in order to unify the church in its Christian beliefs and do away with the errors and subversions of dissent. The election of Martin V, on 11 November 1417, was the resolution of the moral and intellectual problem of the Schism at the international level. The new pope's treatment of appropriations, dispensations, and pluralism in the English Concordat was not only a pronouncement of papal power, but it was also a step towards the resolution of ecclesiastical abuses at the national and provincial levels, which was to trickle down to the local level in the form of increased and thoughtful pastoral care.[34]

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[33] Servus Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons, 1250: Edition of the Documents,' *Collectanea Franciscana* 41 (1971): 350–365, at 353, 355, as quoted in James R. Ginther, 'Robert Grosseteste's Theology of Pastoral Care,' in *Master of the Sacred Page: A Study of the Theology of Robert Grosseteste, ca. 1229/30–1235* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 95–122, at 96–97.

[34] As early as 15 December 1417, a month after his election, Martin V issues a bull that provided Benedict Nicoll, the bishop of Bangor, to the see of Saint David's, which had been empty since the death of its previous bishop Stephen Patryngton, who had died earlier that year. This papal provision was a clear message to the *ecclesia Anglicana,* suspected to oppose apostolic reservations, and Archbishop Chichele, who had used his metropolitan authority to confirm newly appointed bishops, that England was not beyond the pope's authority. *The Register of Henry Chichele,* vol. 1, 40–41.

While English delegates played a great role in advocating for reform, siding with Emperor Sigismund and dedicating a great number of their sermons to the topic, E. F. Jacob and others have suggested that what was really at stake at the Council of Constance was the strengthening of the status of the English nation, as well as vindicating its orthodoxy, which had been under continued suspicion.[35] The Council, as 'a playground of power politics and international rivalries,' exposed the tensions and conflicts in naming the *nationes principales* and *nationes particulares* that were to represent the church in its single entity as a universal body and its components of national units.[36]

A polemical leaf, dated from the early fifteenth century, found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 845, mirrors such tensions stretched to the extreme.[37] While the pope is considered as 'bisacutus' (a two-edged axe) and Rome is referred to as 'dominatrix' (a mistress), the Emperor is a reformer ('reformator'), the English King is one who brings justice ('iusticia'), England is a dowry ('dos') and the English people are heavenly ('celestes'), a common Anglo-Latin pun on 'angel.'[38] The questioning of England's status as a *natio principalis* by the French, soon after the Spanish kingdoms adhered to the Council as a unified entity, reinforced already existing divides. The polemical leaf overtly criticises the growing affinity between the Mediterranean nations. Hence, Italy is portrayed as a people who are 'inconstantes' (fickle). France represents 'mollicies' (weakness), while its people are 'canceres' (diseases). The newly unified Spanish kingdoms are not spared either. While the King of Aragon is referred to as the

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[35] Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch*, 49–52.

[36] R. N. Swanson, '"*Gens secundum cognationem et collectionem ab alia distincta ?*" Thomas Polton, Two Englands, and the Challenge of Medieval Nationhood,' in *Das Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis: Begegnungen, Medien und Rituale*, ed. Gabriela Signori and Birgit Studt (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014), 57–87, at 57, 65.

[37] As noted by Crowder, some information of what he calls a 'crude cypher,' is connected to the Council of Constance, others consist more broadly of satiric comments on post-Constance European politics. C. M. D. Crowder, 'Constance Acta in English Libraries,' in *Das Konzil von Konstanz, Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte und Theologie*, ed. August Franzen and Wolfgang Müller (Freiburg: Herder, 1964), 477–517, at 491.

[38] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 845, fol. 224r.

'cuculatus' (being cuckold), his people are 'elati' (the proud elevated), the people of Navarre are of the 'infimi' (vilest), and the people of Portugal are 'asperi' (savage).[39] This clear animosity not only reflected resentment originating in past rival papal obediences, but also reinforced the underlying tensions between France and England due to the ongoing Hundred Years War and the recent invasion of France by Henry V.[40]

Leaving the spectrum of satirical writing aside, there was a legitimate fear of further division in the Roman Curia. These divisions seemed to emanate from the affirmation of autonomous national churches, which had become the core of the voting structure chosen by the conciliarists in order to outnumber the Italian partisans of John XXIII.[41] As Margaret Harvey writes, 'Late medieval churchmen did not believe in autonomous national churches but in a body whose visible institutional unity is linked with obedience to the pope.'[42] Rather than being the rise of English nationhood, mainly based on opposition to the French, Constance enabled England to position itself as a legitimate representative of the unity of the institutional church and its orthodoxy.[43] Perhaps the

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[39] The genre of this polemical leaf and its excessive caricatures playing on the social and political tensions at the origin of the Council's ecclesiastical factions can be traced all the way to the thirteenth century, with Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Occidentalis*. See Jacques de Vitry, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry*., ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch (Fribourg: The University Press, 1972).

[40] The second phase of the Hundred Years War was reopened on 15 August 1415, when the English army went ashore at Harfleur, and then won the battle of Agincourt on 25 October 1415. See Robin Neillands, *The Hundred Years War*, rev. ed., (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 199–221.

[41] It was more than a year after the English victory at Agincourt, on 5 November 1416, that the Cardinal of Cambrai, proctor to the King of France, and other French envoys revealed their intention to question the nature of the English nation as a *natio principalis*. As the French Cardinal Fillastre's diary recounts, 'The realm of France was much larger than England, and the Italian, German, and French nations incomparably greater than the English nation.' During the twenty-eighth session on 3 March 1417, a French royal proctor, Jean de Campagne, furthered the French *protestacio* against the English's right to represent the universal Church: 'justice forbids, reason disapproves, and the mind refuses to believe that so small a portion of the lands of Christendom and the Universal Church as the kingdom of England—small, I say, in comparison with other nations—should stand in general councils and in the conduct and determination of ecclesiastical affairs on a level with any other of the nations aforesaid, which do so far excel it.' Louise Loomis, *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 303, 323.

[42] Margaret Harvey, 'Ecclesia Anglicana, Cui Ecclesiastes Noster Christus Vos Prefecit: The Power of the Crown in the English Church during the Great Schism,' *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982): 229–241, at 229.

[43] See Derek Pearsall, 'The Idea of Englishness in the Fifteenth Century,' in *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. Helen Cooney (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001), 15–27, especially 20–21; J.-P. Genet, 'English Nationalism: Thomas Polton at the Council of Constance,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 28 (1984): 60–78.

English agenda for the unity of the whole church was best expressed, alongside Geoffrey Shale's sermon, through the defence of the English nation conducted by the proctor Thomas Polton (d. 1433), one of the four official notaries at the Council, as a response to the French *protestacio* of 3 March 1417.[44] Against the repetitive attacks of French Cardinals, Polton, referred to as 'sollicitudo' (solicitude) by the polemical leaf, framed his response through the lens of the unity of the universal church.[45] In his attempt to deflate national tensions and reaffirm England's right to the status of *natio principalis*, he reminded his audience that division in the body could not lead to ecclesial unity. Polton began, 'the said famous nation of England or Britain have been gravely traduced by the [French].' However, he underlined that:

> […] for the good union, soon, [by God's gift], to be attained, we have patiently borne hitherto these and numerous other injustices. We hoped that when their perpetrators came to themselves and took thought of their union, if not with us, yet with the Universal Church, they would desist from wrongdoing.[46]

Abstaining from answering the French accusations, which were 'flagrant offenses against God and the whole world,' would ensue 'serious sin against God and peril to the Universal Church and the union.'[47] Using a similar theological argument to Robert Grosseteste, according to which abuse prevents the Church from fully living out its union in Christ and

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[44] The French *protestacio* draws on Pierre d'Ailly's *De potestate ecclesiastica*, Part I, Chapter 4. D'Ailly's *De potestate ecclesiastica*, written at Constance and read in one of its churches on 1 October 1416, was in fact one of the most famous texts circulating in England after the Council of Constance. C. M. D. Crowder traces the text in the following manuscripts found in English libraries: Oxford, New College, MS 161; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 42; London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 409; London, British Library, MS Royal 6. E. III; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.23. See Crowder, 'Constance Acta in English Libraries,' 507–510. See also Harvey, *England, Rome, and the Papacy*, 217; Agnes E. Roberts, 'Pierre d'Ailly and the Council of Constance: A Study in "Ockhamite" Theory and Practice,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (1935): 123–142, at 132.

[45] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 845, fol. 224v.

[46] Loomis, *The Council of Constance*, 336–337.

[47] Ibid., 337.

instead divides people from him, Polton attempted to show how the various nations of Europe might be brought together 'in the supranational body of the universal Church.'[48]

While the English official notary tried to veer the discussion towards the doctrine of unity, he could not resist refuting the French argumentation, which rejected England as a nation on the basis of the interpretation of Pope Benedict XII's statute *Extravagans*, of England's two provinces, and lack of political subjection of some locales to the king of England.[49] Moreover, according to Polton, 'the glorious realm of England is not inferior to the realm of France in antiquity or authority.'[50] Rather than pointing at Saint Helena (Constantine's mother) as the initiator of the Christian faith in England, in response to the French's reference to Saint Denis as the origin of their national church, Thomas Polton traced with breadth and verve the legitimacy of England's Christian church and its identity as a Christian kingdom. The importance of such argumentation lay in the communal nature of salvation and responded to the side comment made by the French cardinal Jean de Campagne that France had always upheld the faith of Christ, 'from which it has never deviated, as compared with the kingdom of England.'[51] The tensions within a nation, such as the rise of heterodoxy as fustigated over by the French, as well as tensions between nations, compromised not only the unity of the universal church, according to Polton, but also its function as a corporate entity through which salvation was to be found.

[48] Swanson, 'Thomas Polton, Two Englands,' 87.
[49] Loomis, *The Council of Constance*, 337–341.
[50] Ibid., 341.
[51] Ibid., 324.

LITURGY AS THE SOCIAL REALITY OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH

As seen in the homiletic rhetoric of both Thomas Polton and Geoffrey Shale at Constance, since God was himself responsible for the body's composition, any discord or heresy leading to schismatic tendencies was to be spurned as plainly untrustworthy. As we shall see, the mystical body of Christ the Church could not be divided either at an international level, nor national, provincial, and local levels.[52] The perception of unity, its definition, and outworking continued to evolve as it was re-contextualised within shifting theological, political, and social modalities.

The *Virtues of the Mass*, as a genre containing a broad range of texts (from liturgical expositions to simple lists of virtues) as well as audiences (from clerical addressees to women commissioners), offers insights into how unity was articulated in the post-Constance era. The mass, as the eucharistic event and the gathering of the body of Christ, was portrayed as a theological and social harbinger of unity during this time. Whereas the mass is the locus for a prophetic and apocalyptic vision of the Church as solution in the twenty-first passus of the C-Text of *Piers Plowman*, and then dissolution in its twenty-second passus, almost a quarter of a century later, the mass is the locus for social reformation and formation.[53] While the barn of Vnite is attacked six times by Antichrist and its friars before it gives way, offering a critical commentary on events unfolding when the C-Text was being written (papal schism, John Wyclif's view on the church militant, and the peasants' revolt), the *Virtues of the Mass* are presented by their

[52] A delegation of the Greek church was present at the Council of Constance, underlining the persisting desire for the union of the Latin and Greek churches. Hence, in the following major general Council, in the hope of uniting Latins and Greeks, the Council of Basel was transferred to Ferrara by Pope Eugenius IV. Jacob, ed., *The Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 3, 261–264.

[53] Will has his seventh dream immediately before the canon of the mass, the liturgical climax: 'In myddes of the masse, tho men yede to offrynge,/ Y ful eftesones aslepe and sodeynliche me mette/ That Peres the plouhman was peeynted al blody/ And cam in with a cros bifore the comune peple/ And riht lyke in alle lymes to our lord Iesu…' William Langland, *Piers Plowman, A New Annotated Edition of the C-Text*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 344, XXI.4–8.

authors, scribes, and compilers as a counter-attack, a renewed emphasis on the unity found within the sacrificial and sacramental nature of the Church, through which salvation is found. Whereas Langland is ultimately concerned with the salvation of the individual within the Christian community, hence his emphasis on penance as the foundation of inward reformation, the *Virtues of the Mass* presuppose a communal understanding of salvation, consequently insisting on the unity of the church. Langland can be placed in a tradition of the fourteenth-century prophetic call for religious reforms that denounced the corruption of the institutional church, but the *Virtues of the Mass* reflect an articulation of ecclesial reform, which reaffirms that amid heterogeneous religious views, the tenets of the faith and mass are the theological and social bindings of the community of all Christians.

Two later versions of the *Virtues of the Mass*, G in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poet. MS 32, and Y_5 in Beinecke MS 317, both respectively expound the thirty and thirty-four virtues of the mass and reflect upon the construction of an ecclesial identity anchored in its main liturgical ceremony. Both treatises end with an envoy, exhorting 'lollers and heretike' over whom 'the deuyll is prynces:'

> Leueth youre errours and youre argumentis
> And what worke that euer ye wurche
> Ffolwith the lore of holy churche
> And louyth the masse with alle your mynde
> And God wolle sende you a gode ende.[54]

The address to 'lollers and heretike' functions as a mere rhetorical trope to imply that all those outside of what is considered the 'holy churche' ought to leave their beliefs and practices behind and embrace orthodox teaching and the Church's sacramental life. John Thompson suggests that after the convocation of 1431, the institutional church 'seems to

[54] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poet. 32, fol. 37v; Beinecke MS 317, fol. 3v.

have been less concerned with the danger from heresy.'[55] Thus, at the convocation of 1434, Lollard offenders were far from being the priority on the church's agenda, whereas the convocation of 1428–1429 had been characterised by the defence of the church against heretics.[56] Indeed, it had been almost entirely consumed with the question of the incarceration of heretics in ecclesiastical prisons and the examination of Lollards, such as the trials of John Jourdelay, and Catharine Dertford, Robert Herleston (rector of the parish church of Hedgerley), William Harry, and John Gale, as well as the sentence against the Oxford graduate Ralph Mungyn, a relapsed heretic, and the abjurations of Richard Monk and Thomas Garenter.[57]

Thus, at the convocation of 1432, while the Council of Basel was taking place and after years of crusading against Bohemians, Henry Chichele, through the intermediary of the bishop of London, Robert FitzHugh (d. 1436), issued a commission for England to pray for the conversion of the Hussites in Bohemia and Moravia.[58] Faithful Christians, through prayer, fasting, and other works of piety, were to plead with God for his mercy and compassion and the remission of sins of the people for the glory of his majesty and the exaltation of the Christian faith.[59] For the sake of 'the salvation of Christian people and the rooting out of heresies and errors and for the peace and reformation of the morals of the

[55] John A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414–1520* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 224. E. F. Jacob grounds the absence of Lollard trials in convocation after 1431 in a possible delegation of responsibilities to the dioceses in order to relieve the provincial convocation of such burden. See Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele*, 71.

[56] *Records of Convocation*, 341–348.

[57] Ibid., 237–280.

[58] On the five different crusades against heretics in Bohemia, between 1420 and 1431, see Thomas A. Fudge, *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418–1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002).

[59] 'Fideles Christi piis exhortationibus admonendo ut devotis orationibus, ieiuniis et aliis operibus pietatis Omnipotentis Dei studeant exorare clementiam quatenus sic spei bonae concessit misericordia largiri dignos optatum conclusionis effectum ad suae maiestatis gloriam et exaltationem fidei Christianae haex ut in remissionem suorum peccatorum eis proficiant iniungentes.' *Records of Convocation*, 320. The commission is also found in *The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 1420–1455*, part 2, ed. Charles Gordon Browne, and Oswald J. Reichel (Exeter: William Pollard and CO., 1915), 590–591.

Christian people,' mandates were to be sent across the province in cities and in dioceses to take on such intercession.[60]

Such an undertaking was harnessing the power of prayer for a spiritual crusade against heresy, where the participation of the whole *ecclesia Anglicana* was required. The rooting-out of heresy was to ensure God's glory and the dignity of the Christian faith. Thus, by the mid-fifteenth century, any heresy or errors had become a divisive matter leading to exclusion, when the ecclesiology of the institutional church promoted inclusion and integration through its 'visible church.'[61] Threats to the ideal of unity and peace were countered by physical and spiritual endeavours, whether in Bohemia or at home. G and Y_5's 'Lollers and heretike' embodied all of the 'others,' those no longer or not yet submitted to the church's authority and doctrine. However, the very argumentation of both G and Y_5's envoy seemed counterproductive. The categorical implication of John Wyclif's ecclesiology, based on the *congregatio predestinatorum*, was to discard the benefits of the church's teaching and sacraments for those destined to be damned.[62] To refute Lollard beliefs and practices with one of the very things considered unnecessary to the salvation of the invisible church, the Mass, points to the social construct embedded in the rhetorical trope 'lollers and heretike' in the middle of the fifteenth century. Both G and Y_5 reinstituted the visible church as receiving Christ's mediated divine graces in the context of

[60] '[…] populique Christiani salutem ac ad extirpandum haereses ac errores pacemque et reformationem morum in Christiano populo componendum procurare et executioni debitae demandari facere cupientes, vobis committimus et mandamus, quatenus amnibus et singulis episcopis confratribus et suffraganeis nostris per literas vestras patentes harum seriem continentes cum omni celeritate mandare curetis […].' *Records of Convocation*, 320.

[61] On the inclusive and integrative nature of the institutional church's spirituality, see Swanson, 'Prayer and Participation,' 130–139.

[62] Wyclif's doctrine of predestination originates in his interpretation of Romans 8:28–30. See the basis of his ecclesiological argument which originates from his predestination and eucharistic theology, in the introduction to his first chapter of *De ecclesia*: 'Quamvis autem ecclesia dicatur multipliciter in scriptura, suppono quod sumatur ad propositum pro famosiori, scilicet congracione omnium predestinatorum […] Quamvis enim sic manducans moritur temporaliter, non tamen eternaliter, cum Christus, resurrection et vita in finali iudicio vivificat omnia membra sua, quia leo rugiens suscitat suam ecclesiam.' John Wyclif, *De ecclesia*, ed. Johann Loserth (London: Trübner and CO., 1886), 2–5. On predestination and its relation to Wyclif's eucharistic theology, see 135–139.

its sacramental life. The underlying principle here was already present as early as in the third-century, in the thought of bishop of Carthage, Cyprian, who affirmed that 'there is no salvation out of the Church.'[63] The assurance that 'God wolle sende you a gode ende' presupposed that to abide by 'holy churche' and its visible 'body' suggested attaining eternal bliss.

At Constance, during the fifteenth session of the general Council, on 6 July 1415, the Bohemian theologian Jan Hus (1372–1415) was examined and sentenced to the stake, while thirty of his doctrinal positions were condemned. The first condemned article had to do with his ecclesiology. By positing that 'it therefore follows that the universal holy church is only one, inasmuch as there is only one number of all those who are predestined to salvation,' Hus followed and adhered entirely to John Wyclif's ecclesiology as revealed in *De ecclesia*.[64] However, Wyclif's doctrine of the true church had not been questioned at Constance, not in the forty-five articles condemned at the eighth session on 4 May 1415, nor in the 266 condemned on 6 July 1415 during the fifteenth session.[65] Hus defined the church as 'the universality of the predestinate,' whether triumphant, sleeping (in purgatory) or militant. In a letter written from the Franciscan prison in Constance, on 5 June 1415, he addressed his friends at the Council lamenting that during his examination he had not been able to develop his 'distinctions about the Church.' Concerned that he would not be able to explain where his own ecclesiological conclusions came from, he added:

> I supposed that they will not allow me [to defend myself with] the opinion of St. Augustine about the Church and

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[63] Cyprian, *Letters (1–81)*, trans. Rose Bernard Donna (Washington, DC: Catholic University of American Press, 1981), 282, 73.21.

[64] 'Unica est sancta universalis ecclesia, quae est praedestinatorum universitas. Et infra sequitur: universalis sancta ecclesia tantum est una, sicut tantum unus est numerus omnium praedestinatorum.' Tanner, ed., *Decrees*, 428–429.

[65] Ibid., 410–413, 422–426. On John Wyclif's forty-five and 266 articles condemned at Constance, see Edith C. Tatnall, 'The Condemnation of John Wyclif at the Council of Constance,' in *Council and Assemblies: Papers Read at the Eighth Summer Meeting and the Ninth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. G. J. Cuming, and Derek Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 209–218.

> about its predestined and foreknown members, and about evil prelates. If only I could be granted a hearing that I might reply to the arguments of those who wish to impugn the articles stated in the treatises![66]

Wyclif and Hus' ecclesiology relied on a literal reading of Augustine's metaphor of the heavenly and earthly cities in *De civitate dei*, where the saved and the lost were divided at the end of times.[67] In the second book of his *Doctrinale*, Thomas Netter rejected Wyclif's projection of the heavenly church unto the earthly one, which he defined as drastically different, while accepting that the church in heaven only consists of the saved and the church on earth comprehends both saved and damned.[68] As Kevin J. Alban demonstrates, Netter used Jesus' parables to underline the 'mixed nature of the Church:' not all the ten virgins were wise and had the necessary oil to join the bridegroom at the wedding banquet; some were foolish. Not all the fish was good as the net was let down into the lake; some were bad. Not all the seeds sown by the sower grew in the right soil; some were sown along the path and were snatched away by the devil.[69] For Netter, the division between the saved and the damned in heaven should be emphasised, however for the time being on earth, the visible nature of the church was crucial as it embodied the collective call on the joined catholic society.[70] To adopt Wyclif's doctrine of the invisible church would thus mean that the church as a communal and public entity no longer functioned as a visible body with visible limbs, building the church and establishing Christ's kingdom.[71]

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[66] Matthew Spinka, *John Hus at the Council of Constance* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965), 254–255.

[67] As Gordon Leff writes, John Wyclif's metaphysical realism, with its 'penchant for reducing everything to its archetypal reality led him inexorably to the complete separation of the elect and the damned.' Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250–c. 1450*, vol. 2 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), 517.

[68] *Doctrinale*, I, 274–276. 1–4. On Netter's ecclesiology, see Santiago Madrigal, 'The Place of the *Doctrinale* of Thomas Netter of Walden in the History of Ecclesiology,' in *Thomas Netter*, 201–230.

[69] Alban, *The Teaching and Impact*, 100–105.

[70] 'Ecclesiam militantem esse congregationem omnium vocatorum catholica societate iunctorum.' *Doctrinale*, I.279–280.1.

[71] Ibid, I.305–318.1–7. William Ockham, almost half a century prior to Wyclif, had presented the church as an 'invisible' entity. However, he defined church membership as among those who publicly demonstrated and confessed their faith through their external actions publicly demonstrated. As Takashi

Ultimately, Wyclif's invisible church called for a disintegration of the ecclesiological entity. As Takashi Shogimen notes, 'a single most important consequence of [Wyclif's doctrine of predestination] was that the Church was radically de-institutionalized.'[72] Membership of the church became an invisible reality, unknown by all, as no one could assume predestination.[73] And the sacramental power invested in the institution through the order of the priesthood was discarded.[74]

It is through the means of his Christology that Thomas Netter reconciled the visible and invisible dilemma raised by Wyclif's ecclesiology. For Netter, just as Christ is one person but has two natures, a visible one and an invisible one, the Church, Christ's bride, has visible and invisible components. To discard the public components of the Church was to discard her visible nature. Through Christ's real presence in the visible sacramental life of the Church, Christians were incorporated into the very body of Christ, the Church, and membership of this body lasted as long as they lived within the unity of the body, carrying out their own appointed role according to God's will, whether religious or lay. Rather than positing salvation within the confines of the individual, Netter anchored it in the social reality of the visible church, which was a distinct emphasis of the ecclesiology of the post-Constance era and its dissemination in vernacular culture and literature.

Shogimen underlines, 'Ockham logically reduced the indefectibility of the universal Church through time into the permanent presence of, at least, one individual who holds the orthodox faith. In so arguing, Ockham de-mystified the Church as an institution.' Takashi Shogimen, 'Wyclif's Ecclesiology and Political Thought,' in *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 199–240, at 220–221.

[72] Shogimen, 'Wyclif's Ecclesiology,' 216.

[73] 'Sicut igitur homo sine speciali revelacione non assereret sine formidine se esse predestinatum, sic nec assereret se esse membrum, et per consequens, non caput illius ecclesie.' Wyclif, *De ecclesia*, 5.

[74] John Lydgate's texts of the *Virtues of the Mass* are often copied alongside a short treatise called 'Exortacion to prestys when they shall sey theyr Masse,' as in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.21. Two other variants of the *Virtues of the Mass* exist, one in verse and one in prose: E found in MS Hh.3.13 and F found in Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School MS 3. These texts begin with an affirmation of sacramental priesthood and the superiority of spiritual powers over temporal ones: 'for prestis wolle kepyng thayr presthode may well be called nobyll prynces for throght þe oblacyon thay excede all maner of temporall prynces for throght thayr dygnity and power þay may doo þat no patryarke not prophytt nor aungell myght do.' Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School MS 3, fol. 43r.

The mass, as the gathering of the faithful, was thus the epitome of the public nature of the visible church. Although it was the focal point of Christian worship, it was never divided from the sacrament of penance. As demonstrated in most of the *Virtues of the Mass* texts, penance was a concrete way for the visible church to come to terms with its own sinfulness that separated it from the church triumphant in heaven.[75] Thus H_3 in London, British Library, MS Harley 3954 reminds its audience that:

> He is bon our bale to bete
> ȝyf we wyllyn our synnys lete
> In to oure laste day
> ȝet and we wyllyn levyn our synne
> He wyl us wys how we xul wynne
> To heuene þe ryth way.[76]

To highlight the centrality of mass and by extension penance was to affirm the importance of the visible church at the heart of religious and civic society, making its way to heavenly bliss. As mentioned in Chapter One, the great number of surviving textual witnesses of *Virtues of the Mass* texts in the first half of the fifteenth century points to the importance of reaffirming the significance of the mass in light of the controversial ecclesiological positions emanating from Wycliffite theology and the Lollards. John Wyclif himself had affirmed that amidst the multiplication of liturgical observances: 'It would be better for a man to spend his time rooting up mulberry trees in a spirit of greater charity than to attend any number of masses or to recite long prayers just because these are more virtuous actions

[75] As codified and legislated in the 1215 decree of the twenty-first constitution of the Fourth Lateran Council, *omnis utriusque sexus*, the obligation to confess once a year emphasised the nature of the sacrament as fundamental penitential medicine for the sickness of sin. 'De confessione facienda et non revelanda a sacerdote et saltum in passcha communicando,' in Tanner, ed., *Decrees*, vol. 1, 245. On Lateran IV decrees as codifiers instead of innovations, see Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968). Canon twenty-one was the most often transmitted canon of all the decrees of Lateran IV in the synodal and episcopal legislation of England. See Peter D. Clarke, 'Enforcing Religious Conformity in Late Medieval England, Lateran IV Canon 21 and the Church Courts,' in *Pastoral Care in Medieval England: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. Peter D. Clarke and Sarah James (New York: Routledge, 2019), 143–157, at 143.

[76] London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fol. 74r.

in themselves.'[77] Hinting at Christ's injunction in the Gospel of Luke that through faith one can order a mulberry tree to be uprooted and transplanted into the sea, Wyclif indicates that the faith of the church is related to the inner being of the individual, their hearts' disposition, rather than the gathering of the worshipping community, and its liturgical practices.[78]

Wyclif's ecclesiological stance meant that both the sacrificial and sacramental aspects conferred to the mass by the institutional church were questioned by Wycliffites and Lollards alike.[79] The criticised 'Audire quotquot missas cum oracionibus numerosis profusis' was indeed characteristic of the spiritual and pastoral programme advocated in the reformist agenda of Henry Chichele's church and in the textual tradition of the *Virtues of the Mass* treatises. Most of these treatises emphasise gathering together at mass, with 'goode entent' or 'ententyfly,' acknowledging the disposition of the heart believers should possess, not only towards the ritual they were about to take part in but also (and mainly) towards Christ himself, whose presence united them.[80]

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[77] 'Sed multiplicata mendacia circa sacramentum altaris maioritas observancie ritus novella supra virtutes; et sic distraccio a magis bono videntur multis concludere quod Melius foret multiplicitatem istam dimittere. Melius, inquam, foret vellere siccomoros in maiori caritate quam audire quotquot missas cum oracionibus numerosis profusis, qui magis virtuosum.' John Wyclif, *De Apostasia*, ed. Michael Henry Dziewicki (London: Trübner and CO., 1889), 250, as translated in Michael Fox, S.J., 'John Wyclif and the Mass,' *The Heythrop Journal* 3: 3 (1962): 232–240, at 236.

[78] 'ȝif ȝee hadden feiþ as þe corne of seneuey, ȝee schulen seye to þis tree more be þou drawen up by þe root and be ouer plauntide into þe see, and it schal obeye to ȝou.' Luke 17:6. *The New Testament in English, According to the version by John Wycliffe, about A.D. 1380, and Revised by John Purvey, about A.D. 1388, edited by Josiah Forshall, Frederick Madden,* ed. W. W. Skeat (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879). Thomas Netter addresses Wyclif's rejection of liturgical practices in the sixth book of his *Doctrinale*. For Netter, Wyclif's rejection of liturgical practices is a direct rejection of the church's authority. *Doctrinale*, III.180–187.1–10.

[79] Fox, 'John Wyclif and the Mass.'

[80] See for example, Cambridge, Trinity College R.3.21; London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus A. XXVI; London, British Library Harley MS 3954; London, British Library, Royal MS 17. C. XVII; Beinecke MS 317; Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354; Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 59; Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson Poet. 118.

THE MASS AS STRONGHOLD OF UNITY

Commenting on the social, political and religious anxieties that shaped the beginning of Chichele's church, and which led the Lancastrian regime to engage society's lower strata through the means of the parish, Clive Burgess notes, 'Quite simply, political urgency found productive expression in spiritual investment.'[81] Such investment can be traced to the heightening and increase in importance of the divine service within monastic institutions, such as Henry V's new foundations of Sheen and Syon, and also within cathedral and collegiate churches, as well as parish churches, through the means of the chantry, lay confraternities, and parish guilds.[82] The increase in number of celebrations of the divine service can be perceived as a unifying endeavour of gathering civic and religious communities around a powerful symbol of unity. The mass in its very nature was not only the re-enactment and remembering of Christ's work of reconciliation on the cross, and investing his Church with the ministry of reconciliation, but the ceremony also invited believers to partake in such ministry through the means of righteous hearing, the offertory, and the bidding of the bedes, interceding thus for the salvation of humankind. Unity was hence no longer the sole responsibility of the king and his Parliament, as well as the archbishop and his bishops, but a civic and religious duty assumed by all.

The Mass as eucharistic rite was thus the embodiment of Christ's sacrifice on the cross and his offer of redemption to humanity. It was the memorial act of Christ's ministry of reconciliation. Such definition was prevalent in the treatises, as seen in Chapter One. The sacrificial nature of the Mass perceived through the lens of reconciliation brought

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[81] Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls'*, 43.

[82] On chantries, see Margaret Harvey, *Religious Life in Late Medieval Durham* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), especially Chapter 8; Howard Colvin, 'The Origin of Chantries,' *Journal of Medieval History* 26:2 (2000): 163–173; Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979).

about unity and peace through Christ's sacrifice on the cross. This sacrifice is expounded by the treatises, in accordance with liturgical traditions, as being threefold. John Lydgate called it the 'trebyll pease,' which 'in Bethleem furst began.'[83] Christ not only reconciled God and humanity on the cross, he reconciled angels and humanity with each other, but also all human beings. The very sacrifice of Christ is thus one that intrinsically brings about peace and unity to the Christian community. Therefore, to see an increased emphasis on the importance of attending mass in writings from the first half of the fifteenth century corroborates the reformist agenda of the *ecclesia Anglicana*, and the Lancastrian regime in their insistence on ecclesial and social unity.

Lack of unity was understood as a defiling of the sacrament such as that expressed in 1 Corinthians 10:17, and already insisted upon in the *Didache*, a collection of ethical instructions and guidelines for rituals from a second-century Christian community.[84] As Gregory Dix notes, 'The unity of the church as Body of Christ […] can be violated by personal disputes among its members as well as by a formal ecclesiastical schism, whose token as well as reality lies in the holding of a separate eucharist apart from the catholic communion.'[85] At an international level, the resolution of the papal Schism at Constance had been at the forefront of all ecclesiastical agendas, as a moral and ethical problem affecting the life of the church and in particular eucharistic celebrations. Such need for reconciliation was advocated even more at a parochial level; as people partook in the Mass, the Eucharist, they partook in 'the source of human community,' as underlined by Eamon

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[83] Lydgate, *The Virtues of Mass*, 96/201. This 'trebyll pease' is found in Lydgate's expounding of the sequence *Gloria in excelsis deo*, which he defines as 'tokyn of vnyte and parfyte pese,' loosely referring to Isaiah 9:6–7 and Luke 2:14. He explains how the Incarnation brought about three different kinds of peace. One 'betwyxt God and man,' the second 'twene man and Aungell,' and the third between 'nacions all.'

[84] The call for reconciliation is a condition for Sunday worship: 'Let no one engaged in a dispute with his comrade join you until they have been reconciled, lest your sacrifice be profaned.' Aelred Cody O.S.B., 'The *Didache*: An English Translation,' in *The Didache in Context*, ed. Clayton N. Jefford (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 13, xiv.2. Parts of the *Didache* or of its sources were known to medieval ecclesiastical figures. B. Steimer, 'Didache,' in *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings, trans. Matthew O'Connell (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 2000), 170–171.

[85] Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Continuum, 2005), 106.

Duffy.[86] Y_6 in Beinecke MS 317 anchors the theological root of reconciliation and forgiveness among people at mass in God's own forgiveness, as in Matthew 6:12:

> The nedyth not þynke þan for þi mas
> to haue relece
> Fforwhy God forgevyth neuer mor
> But þeym þat forgevyth euer whor
> All wronges wrought.[87]

It then alludes to the unity of the body through Christ's own sacrifice:

> Therfor man be gladde and blythe
> *To be at oone* with þyn enmye swythe
> and frende to be
> Whyn Cryst sich kyndnesse wole þe kythe
> To forgeve þe.[88]

The mere attendance of a divine service was hence anchored in an act of forgiveness received from God, and extended to one's neighbour whether 'enmye' or 'frende.' To attend mass was to stand united and at peace with Christ's body the Church, one's country, and one's local parochial community; it was a deliberate and active act of reconciliation.

The notion of the mass as a stronghold of unity was also perceived through the communal benefits of attending it, rather than merely through individually receiving God's grace, as hinted at in Wycliffite and Lollard spirituality. As mentioned in Chapter One, most treatises from Tradition 1 acknowledged and reiterated through the *auctor* of their choice, whether the Apostle John, John Chrysostom, Bede, or Anselm, that the act of hearing mass saved souls: 'Saynt Bede says for euery masse devowtly hard a synnar is convertyd and schall be delyuered of hys paynes and a ryghtfull man debeyde nor febuld of

[86] Duffy, *The Stripping*, 93.
[87] Beinecke MS 317, fol. 26v.
[88] Ibid. My italics.

hys way of ryghtwysnes by þe vertew of þe mase.'[89] The emphasis on 'devowtly' pointed at the efficacy of the communal benefits relying heavily on the righteousness and devotion of believers. In order to contribute to the communal spiritual health, while partaking in Christ's ministry of reconciliation, one had to pursue one's spiritual health first through one's genuine love of God.

Some of the treatises expanded on the participatory nature of the mass in greater details, as they fleshed out that hearing mass should be combined with praying at mass. Thus the liturgical rite was the *locus orandi* for personal prayers for oneself, as believers re-orientated themselves towards God, and for communal prayers for others, as the Church militant interceded for the salvation of the people. First and foremost, the mass was the place of reconciliation between God and humanity, therefore unity and peace with God was first to be sought personally. Hence, John Audelay's first instructions to his audience when entering the church building involved personal prayer:

> Then in the cherche ye knele adowne,
> With good hert and devocion,
> Hold up your hondis then;
> Furst fore yourselfe ye schul pray.[90]

The embodied action of lifting up one's hands or one's eyes models and typifies the spiritual re-orientation towards God before mass, an act of humility and submission on the part of the creature towards the creator, readily receiving God's love and grace through Christ's sacrifice. As the fifteenth-century prose text C found in *Ara Dei* clarifies: 'lifte he uppen heuyn þe eye of soule þat is affeccioun of herte and with all þe myȝt and entre affeccioun of his soule þanke he alle myȝty God.'[91] It was only through the 'affeccioun' of

[89] Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, fol. 44v.
[90] Audelay, *Poems and Carols*, 84, l. 157–160.
[91] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fol. 35r.

one's heart and soul oriented towards God that one could proceed in partaking in the Mass and its redemptive work through Christ.

The mass, as a communal ceremony embodying the social body, was thus the *locus orandi* par excellence for the body of Christ on earth, the Church militant, as believers interceded and made pleas to God for the salvation of humankind. A key moment of reconciliation in the Mass was the offertory celebrated in proper masses. It usually followed the reading of the Gospel, in the form of a 'truncated antiphonal psalm.'[92] During this time, a minister in the sanctuary would bring the chalice and the paten to the altar to be prepared and censed by the celebrant before the secret of the canon. Certain treatises from Tradition 2 that comport a full exposition of the ceremony, such as Lydgate's *Virtues of the Mass*, L in London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, or Y_6 in Beinecke MS 317, and O in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 268, expound the offertory as a reminder that one ought to be reconciled with one's neighbour in order to make one's offering to God, and ultimately in order to partake in the Eucharist.[93] Marking the beginning of the mass of the faithful, the liturgical sequence of the offertory emphasised the necessary unity of the body of Christ, as the catechumens had left the nave.[94] Y_6 thus entreats its audience at the time of the offertory:

> But wyrke shulde we firste
> On this manere
> As Cryste hym silf yn þe gospell spake
> And badde whan we shulde offrynge make
> That noon of oþur
> Shulde noþer desyr venieawnce, ne wrake
> Upon his brodir
> And yef we do he byddyth þat we
> Shall hit forsake yn þat degre
> And make ryght noow
> Tyll tyme þat we reconcylyd be
> And made at oone

[92] Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 118.
[93] On the offertory, see Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 110–123, 492–498.
[94] Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution 1200–1700,' 59.

And þan shall we our offrynge make
Her may we goode ensample take
How we sholde wyrke
Euery man with oþir euer we go
Unto the chirche.[95]

Drawing on Christ's words in Matthew 5:23–24, the treatise reminds its audience that as the priest prepared the bread and wine of the eucharistic rite just before the canon, they had to prepare to offer themselves in a sacrificial character. Therefore, any unresolved conflict needed to be resolved prior to hearing mass. 'Tyll tyme þat we reconcylyd be/ And made at oone' underlines the communal nature of the offertory, as the united oblations of all the members of the body of Christ. For the Church, the worshipping community, to offer itself as an offering, it had to embrace fully the unity required of all members of Christ's body. In its ideal form, the mass was thus a means to parochial unity.[96]

The preparation of the chalice and paten by the celebrant was then followed by vernacular prayers, echoing the bidding of bedes, the 'solemn form of prayer in English, which took place before the offertory,' where all present would pray for the pope, bishops, and clergy, for their own priests, for the king, all instances in politics and their own fellow parishioners.[97] Thus, Audelay enjoined his audience to pray:

Sethen for fader and moder, as I thee say,
And then fore al thi kyn,
And fore thi frynd and fore thi foo,
And fore thi good-doeres also
Alse moné as thou mai myn
And for the prest that syngis masse,
That God forgif him his trespasse,
And al the cherche beth in.[98]

[95] Beinecke MS 317, fol. 22v.
[96] Eamon Duffy notes that 'the ideal of parochial harmony and charity was often just that, an ideal. It was, however, a potent one, carrying enormous emotive and ethical weight.' Duffy, *The Stripping*, 95.
[97] Ibid., 124.
[98] Audelay, *Poems and Carols*, 84, l. 161–68.

While scholars assume that devotional material might have been read by lay people during the mass, taking their attention away from their liturgical and communal setting, the *Virtues of the Mass* underline the communal nature of the rite. Latinate clergy alongside illiterate laypeople would have joined their prayers to the Church, praying across time and space for the salvation of its people. While Audelay encouraged his audience to pray for as many people as they could call to mind or enumerate, he also reminded them that:

> Fore thi hert dissiryng,
> Thou hast part of beedis and masse syngyng,
> Where that ever thou be,
> Fore the prest that syngis the masse
> For al astatus, more and lasse,
> That is here levyng;
> He takis hem in his memoré
> And soulis that beth in purgatoré,
> That God to blis hem bryng.[99]

The priest, in his metaphorical role as Christ, lifted up his community and his parishioners in prayer, just as Christ, through his side wound, carried his Church into salvation. This was particularly the case during the general bidding prayer recited by the priest at the end of the procession just before the Mass proper began, which incited the laity to join him in prayer for the Church on earth and in purgatory.[100] By joining their prayers to the priest's, and by extension to Christ himself, believers participated in Christ's redemptive work. Hence, some of the treatises such as Audelay's and N stress the communal and moral responsibility in participating in Christ's work of salvation as members of his Church. Consequently, N mentions:

> Seynt Jerom seyth also as I haue seen
> a mas wyth good deuocyon to here
> and to pray for the sowles þat deed ben

[99] Ibid., 86, l. 244–287, l. 252.

[100] John Harper notes that the bidding prayers and the Offertory were a characteristic of the fifteenth century, when laypeople were gradually expected to participate in the prayers of the clergy. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 40.

> whych man is bounde wyth hys perfyght prayere
> that don at mas the soules the rathere
> shall be lessyd of the infernall payn.
> Therfor here mas ther of loke þu be fayn.[101]

The treatise is clear that to hear mass and to pray were not optional invitations: one was under the obligation, a moral duty to participate in the ceremony for the spiritual health of humankind. The *MED* defines the passive form of the verb 'binden' as either expressing a feudal arrangement or an obligation with regards to Christian morals or doctrine, while also connoting an obligation as in gratitude.[102] The treatise affirmed that to participate in the 'perfyght prayere,' the Mass, for the salvation of one's neighbour was a duty and a responsibility anchored in Christian morals and in the theology of the mass itself, and one ought to be 'fayn,' eager, willing, and happy about undertaking such a task.[103] This apology for engaging intentionally in the mass was thus radical in nature, as it affirmed that the cure of souls was not only a sacerdotal responsibility, but ought to be enhanced by the members of Christ's mystical body, the Church.[104]

The burden of interceding for the salvation of humankind was commonly expressed as a monastic endeavour in the high Middle Ages, with monasteries and nunneries as centres of prayer and intercession. However, this practice slowly expanded, and appropriated and adapted forms of this chiefly monastic *habitus* were included within both clerical and lay spirituality. Richard of Caister (d. 1420), one of Margery Kempe's confessors, and the vicar of St Stephen's, Norwich, adapted the famous fourteenth-century

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[101] MS Rawlinson Poet. 36, fol. 6v.

[102] '*binden*, v.' *MED Online*. University of Michigan, November 2019. Web. 6 May 2021. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED4667/track?counter=1&search_id=20076408>

[103] '*fain*, adj.' *MED Online*. University of Michigan, November 2019. Web. 6 May 2021. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED15150/track?counter=3&search_id=20076408>

[104] It has been argued that such participation should be read through transactional terms as 'petition and praise' could have been pursued 'to secure God's favour and determine a propitious course of events on earth.' Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls'*, 18.

lyric ‘Ihu lorde, þat madest me/ And with þi blyssyd blode hast bowght’ by adding a second intercessory sequence made of six quatrains shifting the gaze from the ‘I’ to ‘hem:’

> Ihu, for *hem* þat I beseche
> That wrathyn þe in ony wyse;
> Withhold from *hem* þi hande of wreche
> And lete *hem* leuyn in þi seuyse.[105]

This shift from a preoccupation with the individual persona’s salvation, highly popular in fourteenth-century christological lyrics, to a concern for ‘all [of Ihu] seyntes euerychone’ not only reflects Richard of Caister’s ecclesiastical role, as the vicar of St Stephen’s parish church, but also an overall greater emphasis on the communal nature of salvation.[106] In the genre of the religious lyric, where the poetic ‘I’ is to be inhabited by its readers, Richard modelled a communal form of intercession by offering a soteriological mode of prayer. This self-conscious modification of a well-known performative voice embodying a repentant sinner in the tradition of affective piety is particularly telling, as it re-orientates the praying voice from concerns about the self to concerns about neighbours:

> Kepe me clene, þat I ne falle
> In fleshely synn as I haue tight
> […]
> Ihesu, kepe hem þat ben goode,
> And mende hem þat han greuyd þe.[107]

Richard’s last addition to the lyric is a stanza that grounds his soteriology in Christ who unites the people with himself:

> Ihu, þat art þe gos[t]ly stone
> Of all holy cherche and erde,
> Bryngge þi foldys floke in one

[105] Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, 98–100, l. 1–2. My italics. Richard of Caister’s lyric, extant or in fragment, is known in ten manuscripts. Dundas Harford, ‘Richard of Caister, and His Metrical Prayer,’ in *Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society* 17:2 (1909): 221–244, at 221.

[106] Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, 100, l. 30.

[107] Ibid., 99–100, l. 11–12; 33–34.

An reule hem ryghtly with on herde.[108]

Caister's adaptation of the fourteenth-century lyric 'Ihu lorde, þat madest me' modelled and echoed not only priestly intercession during the bidding of bedes at mass, but also lay vernacular prayers to be said at the offertory, fine-tuning the intercessory task of partaking in Christ's redemptive work as both a liturgical, para-liturgical, and devotional endeavour.

Such harnessing of the power of prayer to address the communal concern for people's salvation was not only prominent in Caister's unique poetical work, but also resonates in the account of Margery Kempe's own life.[109] Margery, by interceding for her earthly community to join the eternal community of the Church triumphant in heaven, emulated women visionaries such as Marie d'Oignes and the anchorite Julian of Norwich in their intercessory identity as they intensively prayed for the salvation of their fellow Christians.[110] On a Palm Sunday, after the procession in the churchyard, as Margery listened to the sermon punctuated throughout by a kind of refrain 'Owr Lord Jhesu langurith for lofe,' she cried and wept and sobbed.[111] The *Book* then underlines that Christ showed her his appreciation.[112] Margery recalled other words Christ shared with her: 'But, good dowtyr, do thu thi dever and prey for hem whil thu art in this world, and thu schalt have the same mede and reward in hevyn as yyf al the werlde wer savyd be thi good wil

[108] Ibid., l. 41–44.

[109] Richard of Caister is known to have written a book on the Ten Commandments and another on Saint Bernard's meditations (perhaps a collection of homilies), as well as some homilies on the beatitudes, fraternal love, and the relationships between master and servant, father and son, and husband and wife. Harford, 'Richard of Caister,' 228–231. See also, Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370–1532* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 231–232.

[110] In particular, Julian of Norwich's concerns for her even Christians are mitigated by the moral duty of all believers for the salvation of the visible Church.

[111] Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Barry Windeatt (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 337/78.6206. References to *The Book* are in the following format: page/chapter.line.

[112] The Palm Sunday procession commemorated Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, marking the beginning of Passion Week, and had been practiced since the fourth century. C. Clifford Flanigan, 'The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective,' in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2001), 35–51, at 36.

and thi preyer.'[113] This reward that Christ mentions to Margery is one received through union with Christ, as the members of the mystical body participate in Christ's work. Christ's words are then followed by the final outdoor sequence of the Palm Sunday liturgy, when 'the preyste toke the crosse-staf and smet on the churche-dor, and the dor openyd ageyn hym, and than the preyst entryd wyth the sacrament and al the pepil folwyng into chirche.'[114] The priest, representing Christ, accompanied by clerks holding the host probably in a monstrance—Christ's presence—and surrounded by the people, re-enacted the harrowing of hell on the west door of the church.

C. Clifford Flanigan demonstrates that processions had solidarity and togetherness at their core, as they expressed and reinforced the larger system of values that ordered them.[115] Christ's defeat of death and hell itself took on a particular communal nature within the context of the Palm Sunday liturgical performance, as people not only witnessed presumably Christ's bursting open the gates of hell, but confidently entered through them after him, in a participatory fashion.[116] The Palm Sunday performance culminating in the harrowing of hell was thus an important representation and enactment of communal participation in Christ's works, as similarly advocated by Richard of Caister, Margery Kempe, and the *Virtues of the Mass* texts.

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[113] Kempe, *The Book*, 339/78.6246–6248.

[114] Ibid., 6262–6265. According to Duffy, 'The Palm Sunday procession was by the end of the Middle Ages the most elaborate and eloquent of the processions of the Sarum rite, with the possible exception of the special case of Corpus Christi.' Duffy, *The Stripping*, 23.

[115] Flanigan, 'The Moving Subject,' 39.

[116] Eamon Duffy reinforces that 'Palm Sunday was emphatically a celebration of the saving work of Christ: the cross and the miracle of the Mass which perpetuated the effects of the cross within the community lay at its centre.' Duffy, *The Stripping*, 27.

HENRY CHICHELE'S LITURGICAL AGENDA

Now that the *Virtues of the Mass* have been anchored in their contemporary contexts governed by the social, political, and theological dynamics at play, which for the most part point to the overarching theme of unity, the question arises as to whether the *Virtues of the Mass* genre was part of a broader cultural and religious phenomenon that fostered an increase in divine service, through the multiplication of masses and lay participation. To answer such a question, one ought to consider the place of the liturgy in Henry Chichele's church, whether through its public performance on the international stage, through new additions in canon law, or through particular liturgical emphases in records of convocations or archiepiscopal registers.

Apart from the resolute stance on unity displayed by various individuals of the English delegation at Constance, as alluded to earlier, another distinguishing feature of *ecclesia Anglicana* at the Council was its liturgical opulence. The grandeur of the English delegation's liturgical observances was noted by all. The chronicle of Ulrich von Richental (d. 1437), townsman of Constance, gives us a great insight into these English liturgical rites that took place throughout the council. No details were spared. For example, von Richental tells us that on Corpus Christi Day, 18 June 1416, 'the holy Council went in procession through the city and all the clergy and orders of Constance went with it.'[117] He details the numbers of clerical representatives, their attires, and the number of candles used during the two-hour-long procession, 270 in total. Interestingly, von Richental describes the Englishmen as some of the most versed people in liturgical opulence. Von Richental writes that on Sunday 29 December, the feast day of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, 1415, 'All the English who were at Constance celebrated St. Thomas's Day splendidly at the

[117] Loomis, *The Council of Constance*, 143.

cathedral, with hymns of honor, great pomp, all the relics in Constance, and tall burning candles.'[118] A year later, once again on the occasion of Saint Thomas of Canterbury's feast day, 'they sang vespers beautifully in the cathedral, with tall candles burning, bells pealing, and sweet English hymns on the organ.' Von Richental also recounts the opulence with which Robert's Hallum funeral took place on Sunday, 5 September 1417: 'at vesper time, they tolled the bells for him in Constance, very solemnly as befitted a bishop. They carried him into the cathedral under two golden canopies […]. Before and behind it went eighty tall burning candles, borne by poor, old men.'[119]

Although it is hard to read through the subjectivity of von Richental, who shows a favourable disposition towards the English delegation, his account of the English liturgical practices, as well as their staging of 'shows and pantomimes' on two occasions (24 January 1416 and 31 January 1417) give us an insight into the self-projection of English spirituality onto the international stage.[120] Vincent Gillespie comments, 'These public displays by the English church represent a defiant assertion of their conformity to the full majesty of the institutional church's liturgical opulence (in contrast to Lollard ecclesiology).'[121] Rather than defiant (although perhaps defiant towards the French delegation and its cardinals Jean de Campagne's and Pierre d'Ailly's virulent criticism of the English), the *ecclesia Anglicana* vindicated its orthodoxy by endorsing the full sacramentality of the Church's mysteries of the faith. It did so through the liturgy performed. Gillespie notes that 'the high profile use of the full glory of the Sarum liturgy in public events conducted by the English delegation […] was one of the grandest and most elaborate rites in the western Church.'[122]

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[118] Ibid., 138.

[119] Ibid., 158.

[120] On von Richental's account of English drama at the Council of Constance, see André de Mandach, 'English "Dramatic" Performances at the Council of Constance, 1417,' in *Records of Early English Drama* 7:2 (1982): 26–28.

[121] Gillespie, 'Chichele's Church,' 7.

[122] Vincent Gillespie, '1412–1534: Culture and History,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*, ed. Samuel Fanons and Vincent Gillespie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 163–193, at 169.

Those in attendance were said to have felt as if they 'were in Paradise.'[123] Such liturgical grandeur would have been expected of a delegation principally made up of clerical figures (although comporting secular lords and *nobiles*).[124] The context of the general Council was also considered as an international stage where one was eager to impress others. Hence, it was not surprising that on 9 April 1416 the English delegation received a second subsidy ordered by Archbishop Chichele.[125] Therefore, one ought to examine whether such a liturgical stance was pure staging particular to Constance, or whether it was an integral part of the Chichelean church.

The liturgical ambitions of small parishes, such as the parish of All Saints in Bristol as demonstrated by Clive Burgess, with their embellishment of church buildings, processional rites, services, and the liturgical calendar, can be perceived as an unequivocal outcome of or a mapping onto the larger liturgical ambition of *ecclesia Anglicana*. These developments in the parish context, demonstrating the thriving 'pragmatic and devotional literacies' of the laity, shed light on the authorities' renewed efforts to embed the mass as harbinger of unity within society as well as on the trickling down of liturgical standards from the provincial level all the way to the parish, promoting a particular conformity in public worship.[126] As Burgess underlines regarding lay piety in the first half of the fifteenth century, 'many parishioners in a wide variety of locations invested to replicate the institutional developments they witnessed around them.'[127] Hence, it is possible to trace some of the greater emphases on liturgical observances from the first half of the fifteenth century to Archbishop Chichele's initiative.

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[123] T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera, Conventiones et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica*, 3rd ed., vol. 4 (Hagae, 1740), 193, as quoted in Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls'*, 28.

[124] Lay members of the English delegation were mostly sent by Henry V for political matters, such as an alliance with the Emperor Sigismund against the French. Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele*, 34–35.

[125] For the grant of 2d. in the l., see *The Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 3, 10–14.

[126] On the thriving 'pragmatic and devotional literacies' of the laity, see Gillespie, '1412–1534,' 185.

[127] Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls'*, 56.

Elected Archbishop on 12 March 1414, by the prior and monks of Christ Church Canterbury meeting in Chapter, and translated into the see of Canterbury by Pope Boniface XXIII on 27 April 1414, after the death of Thomas Arundel earlier that year, one of Chichele's main contributions to canon law, as recorded by William Lyndwood (c. 1375–1446) in his *Provinciale*, was to be liturgical.[128] Overall, Chichele's constitutions were pastoral and reformist in nature. Whether it was through restricting the collection of money by unlicensed preachers of indulgences, remediating the high fees of unbeneficed clergy for masses and commemorations while regulating their fees, through preventing married, bigamous, or lay clerks from having any spiritual jurisdiction, or through promoting the augmentation of poor vicarages, Chichele's constitutions contributed to the reforming of the ecclesiastic structure, promoting an honest clergy that was to care deeply about the cure of souls, and the right celebration of public worship. Out of sixteen constitutions accounted for in Archbishop Chichele's *Register*, three were directly concerned with the liturgy and its embellishment.

It is hard to consider these constitutions outside of the scope of Chichele's pastoral program. The first one, in 1415, was concerned with the augmentation to the status of a double major feast of the day of 'the most glorious martyr St George as the patron and protector of the said nation,' so that on 23 April, all people, whether religious or lay, would abstain from work and attend their parish churches for worship.[129] In glossing this constitution in his *Provinciale*, Lyndwood affirms that 'therefore there is no solemn observance of such greatness in the church.'[130] Jeremy Catto holds that Chichele's liturgical augmentation of Saint George's day, due to the saint's protection of the English

[128] Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele*, 20.
[129] *The Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 3, 8–10.
[130] William Lyndwood, *Provinciale (seu Constitutiones Angliae) Continens Constitutiones Provinciales Quatordecim Archiepiscoporum Cant' a Stephano Langtono ad Henricum Chichleium*. (Oxford, 1679), 103, bk 2, tit. 3, st. 4.

army, was to propagate Henry V's image as *miles Christi*.[131] The benefits of such augmentation were not only political, with a legitimisation of England's conquering of France, the king being an active soldier of Christ fulfilling God's will, but also religious and pastoral, as Chichele rallied the English people around its patron saint to stand together in unity and peace, vouching for the country's orthodoxy. The final point of this constitution was concerned with the augmentation of the feast days of Saint David, Saint Chad and Saint Winifred, with nine lessons and services in choir.[132] Local saints were thus turned into provincial saints, as promulgated in the Use of Sarum.[133]

The second liturgical constitution, in 1416, had to do with Saint John of Beverley's deposition on 7 May, whose tomb had exuded holy oil on 25 October 1415, the day of the English victory at Agincourt. The translation of the newly sainted bishop was to take place on 25 October, alongside the feast of Crispin and Crispinian, with a mass following the newer Use of Sarum. The church service on that day was to comport three lessons for each, 'the first three on the translation of St John, the middle three on the proper of Saints Crispin and Crispinian, and the last on the gospel for many martyrs.'[134] As Matthew Salisbury underlines, 'In this statute too there is an increased amount of specificity, and concern for liturgical detail.'[135]

The third liturgical constitution was to do with the feast of Saint Frideswide which was mandated at the convocation of 1434, 'ad peticionem cleri.'[136] On 19 October, the Oxford saint was to be remembered across the southern province with nine lessons and services in choir according to the 'secundum usum Sarum.' These augmentations and

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[131] Catto, 'Religious Change,' 107.
[132] *The Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 3, 464–465; Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, 103, bk 2, tit. 3, st. 4.
[133] The amplification of Saint David's, Saint Chad's and Saint Winifred's feastdays were predominantly recorded in Sarum Kalendars, revealing a uniformity that Matthew Salisbury ascribes to 'their imposition at the diocesan level.' See Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 185–193, especially 193.
[134] Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele*, 67.
[135] Salisbury, *The Secular Liturgical Office*, 185.
[136] *The Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 3, 256.

creations of new feasts speak to Chichele's enthusiasm towards liturgical sophistication, as well as his continued efforts towards the cultivation of a sustained liturgical *habitus* throughout the realm.

Henry Chichele's prominant role in propagating the Use of Sarum, which had been developing since the thirteenth century, remains an unsure matter. Richard Pfaff mentions that 'it is possible, though scarcely capable of proof, that Chichele had the promoting of Sarum use as a conscious goal.'[137] However, Chichele's close affiliation with the diocese of Salisbury and its cathedral, as put forward by David Lapine, made him a natural promoter of the Sarum use, which he regarded as 'renowned and praiseworthy.'[138] Chichele convinced both St Paul's Cathedral, London in 1415, and Chichester Cathedral in 1423 to adopt the Use of Sarum, and then granted in 1425 the authorisation to the Benedictine convent at Abergavenny to use the Sarum rite for the new service books provided by Lady Joan of Beauchamp. His attempts to harmonise the liturgical observances across the province suggests a greater control over local liturgical practices, but also a greater emphasis on expressions of corporate worship, marked by unity and orthodoxy.[139]

The promotion of the Sarum rite, with all its solemnities, required considerable investments (books, multiple clergy, supplies, and music) on the part of the benefactors and churches who wanted to emulate the grandeur of the celebrations undertaken by cathedral churches and larger religious foundations. Whether Chichele's promotion of the Sarum rite at a provincial level and among his peers was actively followed at diocesan and parochial levels is another question. What studies on the parish context have demonstrated,

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[137] Pfaff, *The Liturgy*, 440.

[138] See Introduction, fn. 5; *The Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 4, 274; Lepine, '"Let Them Praise Him in Church",' 182–183.

[139] Pfaff, *The Liturgy*, 441; *The Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 3, 502–503; *The Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 4, 274.

however, is that often smaller parish churches would adopt and replicate the Use of Sarum according to the resources available, nevertheless enhancing and heightening public worship in the locale. The study of kalendars, as undertaken by Pfaff and Salisbury, reveals that Chichele's mandated feasts often lacked in the provision of masses as well as in accuracy in their grading of the feasts (Chichelean feasts were often graded at three lessons instead of nine). Such shortcomings were, however, not reflective of a lack of liturgical fervour, but rather due to enduring local traditions and saints. Chichele's tenure as an archbishop can thus be characterised by a wide-reaching liturgical sophistication and enthusiasm, which witnessed the articulation of the Mass and, more broadly, the liturgy as a watershed of *ecclesia Anglicana*'s pastoral programme.

CONCLUSION

The corpus of *Virtues of the Mass* treatises are thus inherently part of a national effort in promoting the liturgy as the watershed, or fountainhead, of its institutional identity. Through the mass, the gathering of the faithful for public worship, churches throughout England not only vindicated their orthodoxy through the use of increasingly sophisticated rites, but they also implemented Chichele and his bishops' programme of pastoral reform, maintaining and bolstering the social reality of the visible Church, as well as promoting unity across the land. The cultural message of the *ecclesia Anglicana* under the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele was thus one of liturgical hegemony, as corroborated by John Lydgate's writings and Margery Kempe's liturgical life. By way of the mass, the faithful at prayer were made partakers in a greater reality than themselves, as experienced through the mystical union of the Church with Christ. This pervading emphasis on

communal and public worship not only worked towards unifying all the faithful through their union with Christ, as experienced most tangibly at Mass, but also fleshed out the participatory nature of the ceremony, democratising it and making its meaning available to learned and unlearned, rich and poor, religious or lay alike. Within such cultural context, the genre of the *Virtues of the Mass* took on an active role of crystallising and codifying the greater significance of the mass as a cultural and religious binding through the means of its sacramental nature, actualising and renewing the bond of unity between Christ and his Church.

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

At the heart of Chichele's church was an emphasis on public worship, particularly the Mass as the eucharistic sacrifice. The centrality of the eucharist within religious and civic culture in fifteenth-century England no longer needs to be justified as it has long been acknowledged and explored by generations of scholars. As Miri Rubin writes, 'the eucharist provided an axis around which worlds revolved; in it were bound order and hierarchy, inducements towards conformity and promises of reward in health, prosperity, tranquillity.'[1] As noted in Part One, the mass as a cultural unifier did not draw its function merely from the communal nature of its ritual, but mostly through the transformative and saving power of the Eucharistic host, Christ's presence among his body, the Church.

The Eucharist was the locus *par excellence* of encounter with Christ in fifteenth-century piety. This sacramental encounter is often referred to as a union with Christ, as one partakes of his flesh and his blood. Hence, by emphasising the real presence in the Eucharist, Thomas Netter affirmed that because of the Incarnation, one did not eat a trope or figure, but Christ's noble flesh, which through a metaphysical transformation made

[1] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 348.

believers themselves noble.[2] In Book V of his *Doctrinale*, Netter explained that participating in the Eucharist through the consumption of consecrated bread and wine, believers not only professed their love for Christ, but also intentionally shared in the body of Christ, the Church, consubstantially by partaking in his nature.[3] Such understanding of eucharistic participation should, however, not be limited to the semantic field of physical consumption, as partaking in the Eucharist required an encompassing semiotic system, which posited various kinds of consumption. Hence, as Part Two demonstrates, seeing the consecrated host at the elevation came to achieve a similar function to physically consuming it. In the absence of physical eating, sight, smell, sound, and contemplation offered new venues of sacramental encounter, in which believers met Christ physically, spiritually, and in a unitive fashion. Roger Lovatt speaks hence of 'the sensory manifestations of spiritual experience.'[4] John Blacman (d. c. 1485), a notary public turned Carthusian monk who was educated at Oxford and Cambridge, recounts Henry VI's own encounters with Christ through such sensory means, as the king would have a 'frequent vision of Christ appearing in the hands of the celebrant at mass, to his enjoyment of a revelation of Christ in glory repeated for three successive years on the feast of Edward the Confessor.'[5] From kings to the street onlookers of mystery plays, the sight of the elevated host captured people's imaginations, disseminating new modes of sacramental participation in the Eucharist, which were framed through the lens of encounters with Christ.

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[2] 'Ego non sic ago, sed nutrio vos carnibus meis, non mutis figuris et tropis, sed meipsum vobis appono, volens vos facere nobiles haustu nobilis carnis et sanguinis, non figuralis et typici […] sed ejusdem carnis et sanguinis naturalis, oer quem factus sum vester cognatus.' *Doctrinale*, II.358.1.

[3] 'Et fideles Christi pene in omnibus ritibus Sacramentorum, et Sacramentalium unionem amoris recolunt cum Christo: sed in perceptione Eucharistiae, non solum amore, sed ipsa re naturae Christo conjunguntur.' *Doctrinale*, II.159.2.

[4] Lovatt, 'The Library of John Blacman,' 212.

[5] Ibid.

The desire to witness the miracle of transubstantiation was such that the priestly elevation of the host unfolded as a liturgical development in response to lay incentives. The elevation of the host first appeared in a late-twelfth-century or early-thirteenth-century synodal statute in Paris, which mentions the practice as a custom already in existence. The synod attested to the need to regulate promptly the ritual of elevation so as to affirm both the doctrine of transubstantiation at the sacring (when the words of consecration are said: 'Hoc est corpus meum') and to prevent material idolatry of the elements (the unconsecrated bread and wine).[6]

Although the author and origins of the decree continue to be debated, the legislation of the elevation as an established rite in need of institutional governance demonstrates its comprehensive prominence by the turn of the thirteenth century. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the ringing of altar bells, and church bells was added to the ritual of elevating the host, which signalled the substantial change of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood.[7] As the ceremony developed, wax lights were also lit up, while incense was burnt, to impress its solemnity and sanctity on all those present.[8] One of the first English statutes concerned with laypeople's behaviour at the elevation was prescribed by the Council of Oxford, convened by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, under

[6] Scholars are still debating the origin of the decree, whether ascribed to Peter Cantor, Robert Coulson, William of Auxerre, or else Stephen Langton, as well as the reasons for its promulgation, whether as a reaction to the teachings of Peter Cantor, a reaction to an elevation preceding the words of consecration, or as a reaction against disbelief. For a summary of the scholarship, see Burkhard Steinberg, 'The Theology of the Elevation in the Eucharist,' *Theology* 873 (2010): 183–191. For the main scholarly views, see Thomas Wortley Drury, *Elevation in the Eucharist: Its History and Rationale* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907); Edouard Dumoutet, *Le Désir de voir l'hostie et les origins de la devotion au Saint-Sacrement* (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1926); Gerald G. Grant, 'The Elevation of the Host: A Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy,' *Theological Studies* 5:1 (1940): 228–250; Vincent Lorne Kennedy, 'The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host,' *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944): 121–150; Peter Browe, 'Die Elevation in der Messe,' in *Die Eucharistie im Mittelatler: liturgiehistorische Forschungen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Absicht* (Münster: Lit, 2008); Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origin and Development*, vol. 2 (Notre Dame, IN: Christian Classics, 2012).

[7] Drury, *Elevation in the Eucharist*, 105–106.

[8] Dumoutet, *Le Désir de voir l'hostie*, 57; Duffy, *The Stripping*, 96; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 58.

the papacy of Pope Honorius III, in 1222.[9] It indicated the necessity for laypeople to be taught to bend their knees and join their hands immediately upon seeing the host, thereupon humbly praying to Christ who was truly present in the consecrated elevated host.[10] By the fifteenth century, such a posture of adoration, when omitted or avoided, was often associated with Lollardy.[11] Further legislation on the elevation can be found in English sources from 1287, and the diocesan Council of Exeter, held by Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter. One of the statutes on the eucharist mentions that the priest should only elevate the host once it had been consecrated. Priests were reminded not to lift up the host before the words of institution had been said, for fear that the laity would adore created matter instead of their creator.[12]

Those edicts point to the increasing significance of the elevation as a medium that was conducive to devotional responses to the consecrated host. Eucharistic piety, which attained its peak in the late Middle Ages with the creation of the feast of Corpus Christi and Corpus Christi guilds, came to perceive the consecration and elevation as a climax of the medieval liturgy.[13] Ultimately, the spiritual crux behind the elevation was the visual experience of the believer. One was able to witness the real presence of Christ on earth beneath the species of bread and wine. In his fourth book of the *Sentences*, Peter Lombard

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[9] The Council of Oxford of 1222 published fifty canons in conformity with those published by the Council of Lateran IV in 1215. This statutes were then completed by Stephen Langton with emendations along with additions, involving sacraments and parochial matters.

[10] 'Frequenter moneantur laici, ut ubicumque videant corpus Domini deferri, statim genua flectant tamquam creatori et redemptori suo, et junctis manibus, quousque transierit, orent humiliter, et hoc maxime fiat tempore consecrationis in elevatione hostiae, quum panis in verum corpus Christi transformatur, et id, quod est in calice, in sui sanguinem mystica benedictione transformatur.' Addition to statute XLI 'Quod nulli aliquid in ecclesia ratione beneficii assignetur', in Joannes D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 22 (Paris: Huberto Welter, 1903), 1175–1176. Prior to that, the ordinary posture of prayer for clergy and parishioners alike was a standing one, with hands uplifted and facing east, as they saw in the orient sun the image of the risen Christ. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 239–240.

[11] Duffy, *The Stripping*, 103.

[12] 'Quia vero per haec verba, *hoc est enim coprus meum*, et non per alia, panis transsubstantiatur in corpus Christi: prius hostiam non levet sacerdos, donec ipsa plene protulerit verba, ne pro creatore, creatura a populo veneretur.' Statute IV 'De Eucharistia,' in *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 24, ed. Joannes D. Mansi (Paris: Huberto Welter, 1903), 788.

[13] See Thomas M. Izbicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), especially Chapter 5; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

had already considered (in the twelfth century) the Eucharist as the occasion for the most intimate union between Christ and the believer in this world; the true fount and origin of all grace.[14] To behold the Eucharist was to gaze at Christ, truly present on the altar. Caroline Walker Bynum calls it 'Christian materiality,' as one beholds the most important affirmation of Christ's presence on earth after the Incarnation.[15] The act of seeing the consecrated host that the priest elevated in his hands at mass became thus the focus of personal and communal devotion; 'everything else being of merely secondary value.'[16]

In his examination at the prison of the castle of Saltwood, conducted by the Archbishop Thomas Arundel in 1407, William Thorpe expressed his disapproval towards people's fascination with the consecrated host.[17] For Thorpe, the priestly office consisted of making God's law known to his people, and so he was dismayed when eucharistic piety was devoid of any catechetical knowledge.[18] Thorpe comments, 'For þese men and wymmen þat ben now clepid feiþful, and ben holden iust, neiþer knowen, neiþer wolen bisien hem to knowe effectuely ony heeste of God.'[19] William Thorpe then recounts his experience of preaching to these same people at St Chads church, in Shrewsbury:

> As I stood þere in þe pulpitte, bisiinge me to teche þe heestis of God, oon knyllide a sacringe belle, and herfor myche peple turned awaei fersli and wiþ greet noyse runnen frowardis me. And I, seynge þis, seide to hem þus: 'Goode men, ȝou were better to stoonden here stille and to heere Goddis word! For, certis, þe vertu and þe mede of þe moost holi sacrament of þe

[14] See distinctions VIII–XII, Peter Lombard, *The Sentences*, *On the Doctrine of Signs*, Book IV, trans. Giulio Silano (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2007), 41–66.

[15] See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), especially Introduction; 49–51.

[16] S. Loretta McGarry, 'The Holy Eucharist in Middle English Homiletic and Devotional Verse,' (PhD Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1936), 220.

[17] On the examination, see Elizabeth Schirmer, 'William Thorpe's Narrative Theology,' *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 31 (2009): 267–299.

[18] William Taylor and William Thorpe, *Two Wycliffite Texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406, the Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*, ed. Anne Hudson, EETS O.S. 301 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 45–46. See also, Rita Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 191–219.

[19] *Two Wycliffite Texts*, 44.

> auter stondiþ myche moore in þe bileue þereof þat ye owen to haue in ȝoure soulis þan it doiþ in þe outward siȝt þerof.'[20]

Some parishioners' sole reason to find themselves in church was in fact to see the host. Since the ninth century, larger churches had commonly had multiple side altars, not only on account of the growing cults of saints and their relics, but also because of a greater desire of both clergy and laypeople for votive masses and the development of chantries in the fifteenth century, as well as the practice for each ordained priest to celebrate mass once a day.[21] Hence, it was not surprising that as the mass reached the point of consecration at a neighbouring altar, people left Thorpe in the middle of his sermon to see the real presence of Christ in the hands of another priest.

As a Wycliffite, Thorpe's views raise questions about the status of Scripture and the Eucharist in fifteenth-century piety.[22] Whereas Thorpe pointed to Scripture's preponderance over eucharistic piety, the received lay practices described seem to infer the contrary. As Jeremy Catto comments on John Wyclif's view of the 'idolatrous' lay devotion to the eucharist, for Wyclif 'to encourage devotion by means of a false doctrine was to foster idolatry.'[23] Advocating for the significance of preaching among parish priests, Thorpe called for the necessity of holding the sacrament of the Eucharist, and eucharistic piety that resulted from it, firmly with doctrinal truth. Hence, he emphasised that the virtue and honour of the sacrament of the altar originated much more in the belief

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[20] Ibid., 52.

[21] Votive masses reflect a slow change in one's understanding of the Mass. As the faithful paid stipends for the priest to offer a votive mass on their behalf, or for someone else, the ecclesial context of the mass, became framed by human need, which Martin R. Dudley refers to as the act of reducing the Mass to a transaction. See Martin R. Dudley, 'Sacramental Liturgies in the Middle Ages,' in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 227. In terms of the daily celebration of the Mass, it was common for churches to have as many altars as they had ordained priests. It was also forbidden for a priest to celebrate at an altar that had already been used by the bishop that day. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite,* 212–223.

[22] On the polysemous nature of the 'eucharist' and 'scripture' in fifteenth-century English theological discourse, see Pink, 'Holy Scripture and the Meanings of the Eucharist.'

[23] Jeremy Catto, 'John Wyclif and the Cult of the Eucharist,' in *The Bible in the Medieval World, Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 269–286, at 275.

one had of it in one's heart than in the act of seeing. Such affirmation anchored eucharistic meaning in the beholder's cognitive understanding rather than in the ritual that, through its sacredness, was to shape the beholder.

While Thorpe seems to doubt the doctrinal grounding of St Chads' parishioners, the ritual of the elevation provided people with new prayers inspired from communion prayers used by celebrants.[24] From the thirteenth century onwards, missals and prayer books contained Latin levation prayers, which provided parishioners with ways to respond to the scene that they beheld.[25] Although they used simple wording, these levation prayers—written in Latin and then later on in the vernacular—affirmed the beliefs of the church with credal truth. Anchored in the liturgy, and by extension in the confessional setting that required parishioners to profess their faith yearly at minimum in the words of the Apostles' Creed, levation prayers make a compelling case for fifteenth-century lay spirituality focused on the eucharist. As the backbone of a eucharistic piety, these prayers are an invitation into the most significant spiritual experience that a lay person would have had: encountering Christ through sacramental participation.

This second part of my thesis explores the theme of encounter with Christ through the Eucharist as propounded in levation prayers. By putting into words the sight of the elevated host, levation prayers offered a pattern for heart and mind to encounter God, in a pragmatic rather than a mystical way. They schooled the heart and mind so as to long to encounter Christ and communicate with him through prayer in order to have a taste of eternal life. With a view to creating space in which to behold the mystery on the altar,

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[24] Dumoutet, *Le Désir de voir l'hostie*, 421–426. On a historical perspective on eucharistic prayers used as part of the liturgy by the celebrant, see Allan Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula: The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1981).

[25] Mass, being the central social event of the church community, was beneficial for all, as everyone participated in the benefits and graces of the sacrament.

levation prayers used simple grammar along with christological homologies, expressing theological depth and richness of meaning.[26]

Chapter Three thus traces levation prayers as they were written, copied, and circulated mostly in the first half of the fifteenth century, while taking their use and manuscript contexts into account. I have differentiated two traditions of levation prayers: one that encompasses prayers with a clear clerical stamp through their liturgical context (Tradition 1), and one that demonstrates the percolation of a highly liturgical prayer into a devotional context for the purpose (mostly) of personal piety (Tradition 2). The great diversity of textual occurrences and transmissions, whether within longer texts such as in *Virtues of the Mass* treatises, or among a plethora of liturgical, devotional, instructional, and pragmatic texts suggests that the significance of levation prayers within English religious life under the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele was pervasive. This chapter thus argues that as the epitome of lay participation in the liturgy of the Mass, levation prayers offered a sacramental mode of encounter with Christ, which came to be considered as equivalent to the consumption of the host. With the dissemination of these prayers outside of their original liturgical context, encounters with Christ through vivid visualisation, prayer, and meditation on the consecrated host were thus democratised to allow all, across time and space, to be united to Christ in the Eucharist (whether through reading, hearing, or visualising).

While Part One and Part Three each contain two chapters, one concerned with a taxonomic study and the other with a contextualisation of the corpus under scrutiny, Part

[26] The act of beholding, in its biblical sense implies attentive receptiveness to what is observed. As Maggie Ross writes, 'Beholding is *embodied*; it opens on the deep mind where incarnation, transfiguration, and resurrection are rapt into one.' Beholding is therefore a holding of God in being in time and place. Maggie Ross, 'Behold not the Cloud of Experience,' in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Charney Manor, July 2011, Exeter Symposium VIII*, ed. E. A. Jones (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 29–50, at 36.

Two omits the latter type of chapter in order to prevent repetition.[27] Eucharistic piety in the fifteenth century has been thoroughly examined recently by scholars such as Miri Rubin, Eamon Duffy, Sarah Beckwith, Stephen E. Lahey, Emily A. Holmes, and Jennifer Garrison.[28] Wycliffite and Lollard eucharistic theology has also received considerable attention in the writings of Anne Hudson, Ian Christopher Levy, J. Patrick Hornbeck, and David Aers, while Thomas Netter's eucharistic theology has been scrutinised by Kevin J. Alban and Ian Christopher Levy.[29]

[27] Limited by the overall wordcount of this study, I have privileged original material over the well-trodden field of late medieval eucharistic theology.

[28] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*; Duffy, *The Stripping*; Beckwith, *Christ's Body*; Stephen E. Lahey, 'Late Medieval Eucharistic Theology,' in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2012); Holmes, *Flesh Made Word*; Garrison, *Challenging Communion*.

[29] Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, Ian Christopher Levy, *John Wyclif's Theology of the Eucharist in Its Medieval* Context, 2nd ed. (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2014); J. Patrick Hornbeck, *What Is a Lollard?: Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); David Aers, *Sanctifying Signs: Making Christian Tradition in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), Chapter 3; Alban, *The Teaching*, Ian Christopher Levy, 'Thomas Netter on the Eucharist,' in *Thomas Netter of Walden*, 273–314.

CHAPTER THREE

Levation Prayers: A Taxonomy of Encounter with Christ

Hyt semes quite, and is red:
Hyt is quike and semes dede:
Hyt is flesche and semes bred:
Hyt is on and semes too:
Hyt is God body and no more.[1]

As outlined in Chapter One, encounters with Christ predominantly took place within the precincts of the church building, and more specifically at the time of the Canon, 'the central prayer of the rite of the Mass,' also known as the eucharistic prayer.[2] The celebrant, who recited (most probably in silence) the fixed words of the consecrating prayer, would have then elevated the host for all to see, as mentioned by the Sarum Missal. Having recited the institution narrative, beginning with 'Qui pridie quam paterétur' ('who on the day before he suffered'), the priest would have said the words of consecration, 'hoc est enim corpus meum,' ('for this is my body') prior to elevating the host. The Sarum Use

[1] London, British Library, MS Royal 17. A. XVI, fol. 27v. See also, Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Popular Prayers in Middle English Verse,' *Modern Philology* 36:4 (1939): 337–350, at 344.

[2] 'A–Z of the Study of Catholic Liturgy,' in *T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy*, ed. Alcuin Reid (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016), 509.

underlines that, 'Et debent ista verba proferri cum uno spiritu et sub una prolatione nulla pausatione interposita' ('And these words should be said with a single breath and in one phrase, with no pause between them').[3] Then the missal points at the catalysing gestures of the priest: 'Post hec verba inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam et capite inclinato illam adoret et postea elevet eam mature supra frontem ut a populo possit videri' ('After these words the priest bows to the host and then elevates it quickly above his forehead that it may be seen by the people').[4] By bowing to the host, the celebrant indicates that the elements have been transubstantiated, and thus that Christ is now present. These priestly words and actions encapsulated the fascination with the eucharist that shaped fifteenth-century English religious culture. They both pointed beyond themselves to a heavenly reality as signs of a divine *res*. In such a context, in which heaven and earth met, where the mundane was imbued with transcendence, those present at Mass were left to behold the mystery of Christ's presence.

Levation prayers mustered the converging synergies of this climactic moment by enabling a response on the part of those witnessing the transubstantiation, where the invisible was made present in the visible bread and wine. As the elevation was brief, levation prayers were expected to take the form of concise 'ejaculatory prayers.'[5] In the form of one-clause confessions that combined credal formulae about Christ and his salvatory works, these christological confessions often contained a bipartite paradigm, emphasising either contrast or antithesis. Inspired by the New Testament, particularly Pauline writings, the prayers included such patterns as death and resurrection, flesh and spirit, Jesus Son of God and son of man, descent and ascent, and humiliation and

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[3] *The Sarum Rite, Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, ed. William Renwick (Hamilton: The Gregorian Institute of Canada, 2021), 170; *Medieval Latin Liturgy in English Translation*, ed. Matthew Cheung Salisbury (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2017), 23.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Douglas Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 154.

exaltation. They were already present in the earliest credal christological statements, and often appeared from the first centuries onward in eucharist creed-like prayers.[6] The emergence in the thirteenth century of Latin levation prayers, to be recited by those attending Mass, reflected the devotional aspirations of parishioners who wished to have the appropriate language to respond to the mystery that they beheld.

Latin levation prayers also reflected a pastoral agency.[7] The clergy could ensure that the doctrine of transubstantiation was being well understood and confessed by laypeople, at a time when consumption of the Eucharist was expected at least once a year.[8] Some scholars, observing the clericalisation of the celebration of the Eucharist, asserted that the laity was coerced into the role of passive spectators at Mass, which they referred to as *mysterium depopulatum*.[9] Following their understanding of eucharistic piety, one would have to assume that levation prayers offered a means by which to both restrain and catalyse the laity's desire to consume the host, which would posit levation prayers as a means of

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[6] Bouley, *The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer*, 58. Some scholars, such as Hans Lietzmann, argue that the christological hymm of Philippians 2 was sung in the context of eucharistic prayers. See Hans Lietzmann, 'Symbolstudien,' *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 22: 2 (1923): 257–279, at 265. See also Ernst Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus: eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2, 5–11* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1961).

[7] This interplay between the devotional aspirations of laypeople and the pastoral agenda of the clergy reveals a dynamic and symbiotic relationship of mutual influence. See Douglas Gray, 'Popular Religion and Late Medieval English Literature,' in *Religion in the Poetry and Drama of the Late Middle Ages in England: The J.A.W. Bennett Memorial Lectures, Perugia, 1988*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), 3; Raoul Manselli, *La religion populaire au Moyen Age : problèmes de méthode et d'histoire* (Montréal: Institut d'études médiévales Albert-le-Grand, 1975), 20.

[8] According to some scholars, although yearly communion was advocated for in the twenty-first canon of Lateran IV, sacramental participation in the Eucharist was never really popular in the Middle Ages, except for some lay expressions of piety such as the *devotio moderna* in the Low Countries and Margery Kempe in England. Fear of consuming the host without what Audelay calls 'good entent' was a fear of consuming one's own condemnation, as written in 1 Cor. 11:29. This overall fear of unworthy partaking in the Eucharist indirectly favoured a spiritual communion which did not involve condemnation. See Charles M. A. Caspers, '*Meum summum desiderium est te habere* : l'eucharistie comme sacrament de la rencontre avec Dieu pour tous les croyants (ca. 1200 – ca. 1500), in *Fête-Dieu (1246–1996): Actes Du Colloque de Liège, 12–14 Septembre 1996,* ed. André Halquin and Jean-Pierre Delville (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1999), 140, 148. For the twenty-first canon of Lateran IV *Omnis utriusque sexus*, see Tanner, ed., *Decrees*, 245. On possibly the first description of spiritual communion without a sacramental component found in the early twelfth-century sentence-collection *Sententie Anselmi*, see Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians, c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 78.

[9] G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), 59.

suppression. However, such a view would deny not only the preponderance of the Mass in late Middle English religious literature, as demonstrated in Part One, but also the pastoral agenda of the Church (adoration of Christ), and the very essence of levation prayers and their modality (a genuine paradigm in which to do so). Rather than merely mediated piety, the existence and popularity of levation prayers should be understood as evidence of a genuine desire to supplement yearly communion with a heightened devotional state in the face of the sacrament: a sacramental encounter with Christ.[10]

The very first appearances of levation prayers are found in Latin, as they mirrored the words of the celebrant, imitating devotional prayers with a vibrant christology, written by theologians such as Augustine, Anselm, and Bernard.[11] The pseudo-Anselmian prayer 'In elevatione corporis Christi,' found in Reichenau, Reichenau Stadtbibliothek, MS Hs. No. 36. Bl. 22, thus lays out both a salutation to the body of Christ, insisting on the virginal birth as well as on Christ's double nature 'deitas integra' and 'verus homo,' and a salutation to the blood of Christ, as Christ bled on the cross for our salvation.[12] Although Rossell Hope Robbins stresses that the 'astounding feature' of Middle English levation prayers is found in their 'complete independence of Latin originals,' Latin and Middle English levation prayers both reveal the same structural pattern.[13] While sharing many similarities in their form and use, Middle English levation prayers made a gradual

[10] Édouard Dumoutet, referring to Saint Dorothy of Dantzig (d. 1394), notes that through the beholding of the host, the saint 'cherchait par là à suppléer à la rareté de ses communions.' Édouard Dumoutet, 'Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrament' (PhD Dissertation, Université de Strasbourg, 1926), 17.

[11] Augustine's, Anselm's, and Bernard's Latin prayers inspired authors not only of levation prayers, but also of religious lyrics more generally, which are often considered para-liturgical in nature, given their indebtness to the Latin liturgy. Rosemary Woolf traces the origins of Middle English religious lyrics back to Latin prayers written by Bede, Anselm, and Bernard in *The English Religious Lyric*.

[12] F. J. Mone, ed., *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1853), 281. Middle English levation prayers tend to omit salutations to the blood. However, both levation prayers in New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56 include a salutation to the blood, 'Hayle precious blode of God Cryst Ihu,' and 'H[o]y precious blodde for us dyde shedde.'

[13] Robbins, 'Levation Prayers,' 139. The invocation-declaration of faith-petition pattern is shared with collects, and could be assumed as one of the most common forms of prayer.

appearance as a genre per se in the vernacular pastoral and devotional literature of the late Middle Ages. The earliest Middle English specimen can be found in Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 27, a composite manuscript from the thirteenth century written mostly in Latin, with some Middle English additions dating from the turn of the fourteenth century.[14]

> Wolcome louerd in likinninge of bred
> For me on rode þat woldest be deed
> Of mine misdede þat red me red
> Schrife and husle ar ich boe ded
> Liþe me for þi milsfulhed.[15]

The tripartite structure of the prayer, with its salutation of 'Wolcome louerd in likinninge of bred,' a declaration of faith 'For me on rode þat woldest be deed,' and the petition 'Schrife and husle,' is a shared denominator of all levation prayers. Alliteration, repetition, rhyme, and mnemonic conjunctions are also intricately woven throughout Middle English levation prayers, along with christological homologies and creed-like formulae. The elementary Middle English levation prayer was mostly short in nature, to aid memorisation, and generally consisted of four to eight verses, which were intended to serve as a pastoral incentive to behold the mystery at hand. However, for devotional purposes, some prayers revealed doctrinal expansions and descriptive developments that were rare in earlier Latin versions. Levation prayers, written down, copied, and transmitted for wider dissemination and appropriation, speak to the essence of liturgical prayer, with its hospitable nature that invites all to inhabit the words of the prayer in their own particular way and to the extent of their spiritual understanding. Each and every orant (the person at prayer) is thus taking part in a communal and shared experience of encountering

[14] J. D. Sargan, 'Uniting the Early Middle English in Emmanuel College, MS 27,' *Early Middle English* 3:2 (2021): 75–92, at 75–76.

[15] Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 27, fol. 162r. See also, McGarry, 'The Holy Eucharist,' 224.

Christ, as they turn themselves individually, and simultaneously communally, towards the divine.

This chapter considers Middle English levation prayers that were circulated, written, copied, amended, and augmented in the first half of the fifteenth century in order to assess further the role of public worship, and more specifically the Eucharist, as a spiritual locus of encounter with Christ under the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele. The genre of levation prayers, with sixty-two extant witnesses under scrutiny, speaks to the active participation expected of parishioners, as they were encouraged and admonished to pray at the elevation of the host. The stage-direction-like instructions of the *LFMB* indicate the involvement of its audience:

> Therefore knelynge, hold up thyn hondes,
> And with inclinacion of thi bodi,
> Be hold the levacioun reverently.
> Sucche praere there thanne thu make,
> As liketh the best for to take.
> Sum men maketh here praierys
> In here best manerys,
> Ffor praieris scholde be thanne wyt out drede,
> And there with al þe pater noster and þe crede.
> I sette here oyn that may be sayd
> Ȝef of oyn thu be un purveyd
> Thu maist hit chaunge for a bettere,
> Thow I make hit here in lettere.[16]

The increase of levation prayers in fifteenth-century manuscripts suggests that by that time, praying the elementary *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, or the Creed at the climax of the Canon was no longer satisfactory to match the devotional literacy of parishioners, or to quench their spiritual aspirations. This chapter relies on the taxonomic work undertaken by Rossell Hope Robbins, who established the genre of levation prayers by cataloguing twenty-one Middle English texts in his article 'Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse' and four

[16] Cambridge, Newnham College, MS 4, fol. 107r; 'Text F,' in *LFMB*, 39, 41, l. 200–212.

other texts in his article 'The Gurney Series of Religious Lyrics,' as well as on the taxonomic work of Robert Raymo, with the thirty-three levation prayers catalogued in his 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction.' By amplifying the taxonomies already developed and by categorising the prayers under two textual traditions which I have distinguished, I demonstrate how sacramental encounters with Christ developed and flourished within the context of the liturgy through levation prayers, while expanding within devotional spheres such as the household as ancillary prayers, to become a symbol of encounter with Christ.

TRADITION 1: LITURGICAL USE

The first textual tradition of levation prayers examined here traces prayers that are intricately connected with the liturgy, either by their form, content, or context. I have divided this tradition into two strands based on their textual and manuscript contexts: levation prayers originating in liturgical contexts (Strand a), and liturgical levation prayers emanating from devotional contexts (Strand b).

Liturgical Levation Prayers within Liturgical Contexts

The initial liturgical context of levation prayers is of significant importance as it speaks to the function of the prayers. As responses to the event in question (i.e. the host transubstantiated, Christ made present through the words of consecration and the action of the Holy Spirit), levation prayers were considered intricate components of the response to

the Latin liturgy. Although levation prayers are not intrinsically part of the Latin liturgy (e.g. they are omitted from Sarum missals and other liturgical manuals), vernacular expositions of the Mass expects those present at the ceremony to respond to the consecrating words and the priestly performance of the elevation. Almost all of the *Virtues of the Mass* texts from Tradition 2, which expound the liturgical sequences of the ceremony, mention the time of the 'sackring,' capturing the solemnity and reverence expected by participants in the ritual, before suggesting various prayers to be said in response. Hence, O, L, and Y_6 underline that:

> And þerfor þou þat claymest to be
> A crysten man knele on þu kne
> With holy bede
> When þou þi lorde Ihesu shalt se
> In forme of brede.[17]

Ara Dei, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, similarly emphasises 'at þe levacioun tyme þe þat bene hirers of þe masse ye shuld þan saie unto þe honoure of þe worshippe of þe holy sacraement kneling with devocioun of herte þis holie praier folowing.'[18] Most of the texts in Tradition 1 (a) thus originate within treatises on the *Virtues of the Mass*, with the exception of the prayers in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, London, British Library, MS Additional 27924 and York, York Minster Library, MS Addit. 2.

1. Liturgical Use
    a. Within Liturgical Context

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, fols. 102v–103r *version* 13A[19]

[17] Beinecke MS 317, fol. 25v.
[18] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fol. 134r.
[19] For any levation prayer classified as '*version* x' henceforth, these numbered versions refer to Robbins' own taxonomy established in his article 'Levation Prayers.'

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, fol. 103v	*verse copied in prose*[20]
London, British Library, MS Additional 27924, fols. 231r–231v	*verse*
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. A. I, fol. 27r	*verse* A
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fols. 81r–86r	*prose*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. liturg. e. 3, fols. 125v–126r	*prose*
York, York Minster Library, MS Addit. 2, fols. 206r–207r[21]	*version* 3
John Lydgate, 'levation prayer,' in 'The Interpretation and Virtues of the Mass,' l. 321–392[22]	*version* 9
John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 290–301	*verse* A
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.5.31, fol. 4r	*LFMB* 1
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fol. 58v	*LFMB* 1
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 84/166, p. 177	*LFMB* 2
Cambridge, Newnham College, MS 4, fols. 107r–107v	*LFMB* 1
Liverpool, University Library, MS F.4.9, fol. 206r	*LFMB* 1
London, British Library, MS Additional 36523, fol. 91r	*verse* A
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII, fol. 10r	*LFMB* 2
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155, fol. 257r	*LFMB* 1

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, London, British Library, MS Additional 27924, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. liturg. e. 3, and York, York Minster Library, MS Addit. 2 are all Books of Hours. While the York manuscript, known as the Bolton Hours which follows the use of York, both MS Ii.6.2, Additional 27924, and MS Rawl. liturg. e. 3 follow the use of Sarum. MS Ii.6.2 is probably the oldest manuscript as it was copied in Flanders for the English market at the turn of the fourteenth century according to Margaret Connolly.[23] As reported by Eamon Duffy, 'The most copiously

[20] This text is actually the same poem as *version* 13A on the previous folio, although it is copied as prose.

[21] *DIMEV* connects this levation prayer (*DIMEV* 2878) with the 'shorter version' *DIMEV* 2871, although they have only their first line in common: 'Ihu my lord welcom þu be.'

[22] Lydgate's levation prayer in nine octaves as part of his 'Interpretation and Virtues of the Mass' can be found in the following manuscripts: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 3. 21, fols. 210r–210v; London, British Library, MS Additional 31042, fol. 106v–107r; London, British Library, MS Arundel 396, fols. 125r–126r; London, British Library, MS Harley 2251, fols. 183v–184v; Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, p. 317–330; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 73, fols. 9r–9v (first seven stanzas); Oxford, St John's College, MS 56, fols. 79v–80r.

[23] Margaret Connolly, *Sixteenth-Century Readers, Fifteenth-Century Books: Continuities of Reading in the English Reformation* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 193–194. The feast of St Frideswide in the hand of the original scribe in the calendar indicates 17 October, which suggests a local cult, perhaps in East Anglia, as Chichele established the feast of Saint Frideswide on 19 October in the southern province at a convocation in 1434.

illustrated surviving English Book of Hours of the fifteenth century is the Bolton Hours.'[24] The manuscript, MS Addit. 2, was probably copied under the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele, as it contains an illumination of Saint George holding 'an exceptionally prominent position in the Hours,' which suggests that its production would have taken place after Chichele's augmentation of Saint George's feast as a double major feast in 1415.[25] The book also contains a memorial to John of Beverley, whose translation was to take place on the 25 October as per Chichele's liturgical constitution of 1416. Robbins dates MS Additional 27924 to the mid-fifteenth century, which is also the dating for MS Rawl. liturg. e. 3.[26]

Whereas Books of Hours are often considered as devotional tools by which the laity could engage in 'a virtual participation in the institutionalised worship offered by enclosed monks and nuns because [of] its contents,' it might appear inconsistent to consider them as liturgical works.[27] However, whether used in the household or in the church building, Books of Hours—compiling the liturgical calendar, the Little Office of the Virgin, and the Office of the Cross, often followed by penitential psalms, litanies, and the Office of the Dead—were first and foremost liturgical artefacts that enabled parishioners to take part in the *Opus Dei*, instilling within their readers and listeners a liturgical *habitus*. Within this mostly Latin material, levation prayers were often the odd vernacular component of the manuscript as noted by Robbins.[28] Hence, the Middle English levation prayer in MS Additional 27924, 'Ihesu my lord welcome thou be,' is preceded by three Latin levation prayers introduced by Latin colophons mentioning '*Quando corpus domini levatur*.'[29]

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[24] Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 15.

[25] Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, 'The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere,' in *Household, Women, and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 215–260, at 223.

[26] Robbins, 'The Gurney Series,' 388.

[27] Connolly, *Sixteenth-Century Readers*, 186.

[28] Robbins, 'Levation Prayers,' 132.

[29] London, British Library, MS Additional 27924, fol. 229r, 230r.

Such Latinate contexts, owing to the nature of the liturgy, reinforce the nature of these Middle English levation prayers as essentially liturgical.

The next cluster of levation prayers emanates from *Virtues of the Mass* texts, whether within London, British Library, MS Royal 17. A. I; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, John Lydgate's *Virtues of the Mass*; or the *LFMB* renditions. While the *Virtues of the Mass* from Tradition 2 can be traced to thirty-three extant manuscripts, only half of the witnesses include an example of a levation prayer. Both Lydgate's prayer, consisting of nine octaves, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, extending onto eleven folios, are too long to be recited while beholding the elevated host. However, in both cases, the first part of the prayer can be considered as its foundation to be used in a liturgical context, while the expansions might act as devotional props for a 'virtual participation' outside of the liturgical context of the mass. Hence, the first stanza of Lydgate's levation prayer contains a salutation, 'Hayle, holy Iesu, our helthe our goostly foode,' a declaration of faith in Christ's redemptive sacrifice, 'Hayle, for mankynde offryd on the roode,' and finally a petition 'Graunt of thy mercy, to-forne or I be dede,/ Clene hosyll and schryft, whyle I am here alyue.'[30] The other witnesses match the concision expected of levation prayers as they alternate between four and twelve verses, and their versified nature emphasises the mnemonic potential associated with such pragmatic poems. Interestingly, levation prayers found in *LFMB* vary, speaking to the malleability of the pastoral text. In fact *LFMB* 1, a quatrain, is the most popular version as it appears in five manuscripts.[31] It fulfils the brevity expected of prayers said when seeing the host, while still abiding by the tripartite structure:

> Welcome lorde in fourme of brede
> For me þou suffered herd deede
> Als þou bare the crowne of thorne

[30] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, 101, l. 321, 323, 327–328.
[31] It corresponds to v*ersion* 8 according to Robbins' taxonomy. Robbins, 'Levation Prayers,' 135.

Þou suffer me noghte be forlorne.[32]

Both Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 84/166 and London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII contain a different version (*LFMB* 2) of the prayer, which emphasises a posture of praise and worship rather than a fear of damnation as in *LFMB* 1.

Loued be þou kyng
And blessed be þou kyng
Of alle þi gyftes gode
Amd þanked be þou kyng
Ihesu al my ioying
Þat for me spilt þi blode
And dyed opon þo rode
Þou gyve me grace to sing
Þo song of þi loving.[33]

The third variant of the levation prayer (*verse* A) found in John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, and in the *LFMB* variant within the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript London, British Library, MS Additional 36523, also appears in London, British Library, MS Royal 17. A. I, which was compiled in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Iesu lorde welcome þu bee
In forme of breed as I þe see
Iesu for þi holy name
Shulde us all from synne and shame
Shryfte and housell þu graunte us boo
Whan þat we shull hennes goo
And verrey contricioun of oure synne
Þat we lorde never dye þerinne
And as þu were of a mayden bore
Soffre us never to be for lore
But whan we shull hennes wende
Graunte us blisse witouten ende.[34]

[32] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155, fol. 257r.
[33] London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII, fol. 10r.
[34] London, British Library, MS Additional 36523, fol. 91r.

While MS Additional 36523 uses the plural first-person pronoun emphasising the communal endeavour of the prayer, Mirk's *Instructions* and MS Royal 17. A. I retain the singular first-person pronoun common to levation prayers and more generally to religious Middle English lyrics. MS Additional 36523 and MS Royal 17. A. I do not share any textual clusters apart from the levation prayer and contain rather different material outside this prayer. MS Additional 36523 compiles the *Destruction of Jerusalem*, the Seven Penitential Psalms, as well as the *LFMB*, while MS Royal 17. A. I compiles a poem on the craft of masonry which contains a text on the four crowned martyrs, on the Tower of Babel, on the seven liberal arts, a variant of the *Virtues of the Mass*, and a text on etiquette. The discrepancy of manuscript contexts suggests that both levation prayers copied different exemplars, perhaps some of the variants from Mirk's *Instructions*.[35] In fact, the scribe of MS Additional 36523 may have had access to the early fifteenth-century manuscript London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, which contains a different variant of Mirk's levation prayer found in the *Instructions*. Both prayers emphasise the collective action of beholding Christ in the bread, which is unique among levation prayers.[36] While both poems in MS Additional 36523 and in MS Royal 17. C. XVII refer to the act of seeing the host in the singular first-person pronoun, 'In forme of breed as I þe see,' they then both catalyse such beholding as a source of a communal plea to be shielded from sin and shame, to be granted confession and communion, to inherit eternal life, while MS Additional 36523 adds the contrition for sin, and a plea not to be damned to this petition. This change in pronouns from 'I' to 'we,' which is reminiscent of Richard of Caister's collective adaptation of the lyric 'Ihu lorde, þat madest me,' underlines a

[35] London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. II, fols. 132v; London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fol. 69r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, fols. 152v–153r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 103, fol. 125v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Greaves 57, fol. 7r.

[36] In terms of manuscript context, both MS Additional 36523 and in MS Royal 17. C. XVII also compile the Seven Penitential Psalms, which is another textual connection between the two manuscripts.

communal form of intercession, which ultimately points to the universal experience of encountering Christ in the host.

Liturgical Levation Prayers within Devotional Contexts

The second strand within Tradition 1 of levation prayers consists of prayers that were copied for liturgical use, as their colophon indicates, and yet were compiled in religious miscellanies with a devotional emphasis. Tradition 1 (b) thus considers the function of a levation prayer, as perceived and conceived by the author, scribe, or compiler who made the decision to add the text to their miscellaneous codex. More generally, Tradition 1 (b) points us to the transmission of levation prayers outside of liturgical material while retaining their initial liturgical function, thus establishing the possibility that levation prayers were first intended to be learnt in the household context prior to being recited orally within the church building, during the climax of the Mass.

b. Within Devotional Context

Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O. iv. 14, fol. flyleaf, back cover	*version* 12
London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245, fol. 185r	*version* 1
London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245, fol. 185r	*version* 4
London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245, fols. 185r–185v	*verse*
London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245, fols. 192r–192v	*verse* B
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, fols. 24v –25r	*version* 10
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, fols. 33r–33v	*prose*
New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56, item 5[37]	*verse*
New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56, item 6	*verse*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 30, fol. 300v	*verse* B

[37] On the Takamiya levation prayers, see Mary Morse, 'Two Unpublished English Elevation Prayers in Takamiya MS 56,' *Journal of the Early Book Society* 16 (2013): 269–277.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 1830, fol. 137r[38]	*verse* B
'The Shepherd's Play,' in *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, l. 552–583[39]	*verse*
London, Lambeth Palace, MS 559, fols. 32r–32v	*version* 2
Oxford, Balliol College, MS 316A, fol. 110v	*version* 2
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 115r	*version* 2
Oxford, Christ Church College, MS 151, fol. 127v[40]	*version* 2
Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 197, fols. 135r–135v	*version* 2

The first cluster of levation prayers within Tradition 1 (b), classified as *verse* B, and found in London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 30; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 1830, share the same first two couplets, before offering rather different variants of their poems' endings.

> Ihu welcome mote þow be
> In forme of bred as I þe se
> Ihu for þin holy name
> Kepe me fro synnes and schame.[41]

Both MS fonds français 1830 and MS Lyell 30 use 'kepe' instead of the usual 'schyld,' suggesting a possible connection between the two variants. These two first couplets are in fact similar to *verse* A in Tradition (a), and they may have all originated in an exemplar used by Mirk in his *Instructions for Parish Priests*. *DIMEV* groups these lyrics with the levation prayers in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2 and London, British Library, MS Additional 27924 as *DIMEV* 2871.

However, with the exception of their shared first two couplets they all differ considerably. *Verse* B variants and their shared incipit emphasise the liturgical context of the prayer. MS Lyell 30 thus includes a Latin colophon, 'Oracio devota in anglicis verbis

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[38] This levation prayer was brought to my attention by Alexandra Barratt's article, 'A Middle English Lyric in an Old French Manuscript,' *Medium Aevum* 52 (1983): 226–229.

[39] R. M. Lumiansky, and David Mills, eds., *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, vol. 1, EETS S.S. 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 150–151.

[40] MS 151, similarly to Oxford, Balliol College, MS 316A, contains John Walton's *Boethius*, which suggests the proximity of both manuscripts. See R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 333.

[41] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fond français MS 1830, fol. 137r.

ad elevationem corporis christi,' and MS Egerton 3245 likewise underlines in a Middle English colophon 'Here beginniþ a devout preyer unto þe holy sacrament of þe auteer.'[42] Other than these examples, the three manuscripts do not have any other textual clusters in common. However, they all appear in devotional miscellanies. As a typical example of devotional compilations, London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245 compiles the *Prick of Conscience*, followed by the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, and religious lyrics with four levation prayers are preceded by colophons mentioning their liturgical function. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 30 is a prayer tool box finished in 1441 by a scribe named Graseley, who could have been John Hereford of Ludlow, priest in the diocese of Hereford in the 1410s.[43] It contains a wide selection of Latin and Middle English prayers, including prayers to be said in the morning, before mass, after mass, *The Fifteenth Oes*, prayers for protection and help in adversity, penitential prayers and confessions, christological and trinitarian prayers, indulgences, and so on.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 1830 is a French manuscript dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[44] It contains a text on tribulations (*Li Livres des tribulations*), a text on the joys of heaven (*Tretié des joies qe li ellit auront en paradis*), and finally a text on the Virgin Mary (*Aucunes Auctoritez et paroles apartenanz à […] la douce virge Marie*). The levation prayer, in eight-line, is found on the final folio in the bottom margin of the page, in a fifteenth-century hand.[45] While the prayer is not preceded by a colophon referring to its liturgical use, the brevity of the prayer and its textual proximity to the one found in MS Lyell 30 suggests that it was

[42] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 30, fol. 300v; London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245, fol. 192r.

[43] Albinia de la Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by James P.R. Lyell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 61, 73.

[44] Barratt, 'A Middle English Lyric,' 276.

[45] The singularity of its Middle English nature in a devotional miscellany in French suggests that the manuscript must have circulated in England in the first half of the fifteenth century.

intended for liturgical participation. As the *LFMB* in Liverpool, Liverpool University Library, MS F.4.9 underlines, 'loke up be halde þe levacioun […] schort prayer sulde be wyth oute drede.'[46]

The second cluster explored here, referred to by Robbins as '*version* 2,' appears in devotional miscellanies while retaining its liturgical function through a quatrain in the prayer itself. Hence, the poems all begin with a salutation, 'I the honour wit al my myȝt/ In forme of brede as y þee see' and then anchor the prayer in its liturgical context with the following verses:

> Thi flesh þi blode þis swete siȝt
> Þis sacrament honoured be
> Wit brede and wyne wit wordes dight
> Almyȝtty lord y leeve on þe.[47]

This declaration of faith in the present tense, 'y leeve on þe,' actualises the scene beheld, the elevated host, and infers an immersive experience within the liturgical time of the Mass. With the exception of the prayers in the Vernon manuscript and in London, Lambeth Palace, MS 559, a manuscript from the first half of the fifteenth century in a textura script (commonly used for liturgical material), none of the other prayers include a colophon to anchor the poems in their liturgical contexts. As such, the prayers in Oxford, Balliol College, MS 316A, Oxford, Christ Church College, MS 151, and Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 197 occupy an intermediary position, as their function could either be liturgical or devotional. The manuscript context of MS Codex 197 consists of the *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, a collection of prayers to Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and the saints, and pastoral texts on the virtues and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. Dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, Oxford, Balliol College, MS 316A

[46] Liverpool, Liverpool University Library, MS F.4.9, fol. 206r.
[47] Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 197, fol. 135r.

and Oxford, Christ Church College, MS 151 are sister codices that both contain John Walton's verse translation of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, and two closing christological lyrics, one of them being the levation prayer 'I the honour with al might.' The transmission of *version* 2 in these manuscripts hints at a changing dissemination context where the initial liturgical utility of the poem, as imagined by the author/scribe, took on devotional functions outside of the precincts of the church building.

This is particularly evident in the embedding of a levation prayer in the fifteenth-century Shepherds Play of the Chester mystery cycle; this should not be particularly surprising, as mystery plays were one of the main displays of public Christianity after the liturgy and processions.[48] The Shepherds Play, by making use of word associations and tropes belonging to the liturgy of the consecration and elevation of the host, subtly mirrors the liturgical attitude expected from the congregation at the time of the Canon, playing on a shared horizon of expectation, while reinforcing the significance of the mass as a common religious and cultural unifier. In the play, after what has seemed like a 'pastoral farce,' the shepherds become aware of a shining star in the sky when a choir of angels tells them about the good news of Christ's birth in Latin, with a melodious and lyrical tone.[49] The angels' annunciation recalls the *sanctus*, while the shepherds attempt to imitate the heavenly choir with much difficulty.[50] Immediately before seeing Jesus in Bethlehem, an

[48] On the Chester mystery cycle, see David Mills, 'The Chester Cycle,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, 2nd ed., ed. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 125–151.

[49] Andrew Albin, 'Aural Space, Sonorous Presence, and the Performance of Christian Community in the Chester Shepherds Play,' *Early Theatre* 16:2 (2013): 33–57, at 33. The ordinary language used to express mystery is encapsulated in lines such as the ones of the first shepherd who, seeing the star, exclaims: 'What is all this light here/ that blasses soe bright here/ on my black beard?' Lumiansky, and Mills, eds., *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, 138, l. 300–303.

[50] The first shepherd says: 'What song was this, say ye/ that he sang to us all three?' Ibid., 140, l. 386–387. The shepherds debate and argue trying to decipher the angels' Latin and translate it into their own tongue for more than seventy lines. The *sanctus*, just as the *Alleluia*, the *Gloria*, and the *Te Deum* were 'key chants in the singing of which human worshippers were held to be joining their voices with those of the angels. Through such chants, those on earth experienced a foretaste of heavenly life and anticipated their eternal fellowship with the angels at the end of time.' Helena Phillips-Robins, *Liturgical Song and Practice in Dante's 'Commedia'* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2021), 125.

angel appears to them, just as the priest elevating the host would provide a framework for its sight, and informs them that they are about to see God: 'Sheppardes, of this sight/ be ye not afright,/ for this is Godes might.'[51] When seeing Mary and Jesus, the second shepherd comments: 'Kneele we downe in hye/ and praye wee him of mercye,/ and welcome him worthelye.'[52] Embodying the performance of levation prayers which are framed by a bodily reverence in the act of kneeling, the shepherd's injunction to kneel and welcome Christ sets the scene for the first shepherd's prayer:

> Hayle, kinge of heavon soe hye,
> borne in a crybbe;
> mankynd unto thee
> thow hast made full sybbe.
> Hayle, kynge, borne in a maydens bowre.
> Profettes did tell thow should be our succour;
> this clarkes do saye.
> Loe, I bringe thee a bell.
> I praye thee, save me from hell,
> soe that I maye with thee dwell
> and serve thee for aye.[53]

The verbal stimulus 'Hail' emphasises twice the contrasting paradigm of high to low through the visual reality of a king of Heaven being found in a manger, and a king conceived in a maiden's womb. The shepherd's prayer follows the exact pattern of a levation prayer, not to mention the reference to the hypostatic union as Christ took on humankind fully unto himself. The author of the Chester Shepherds Play, deeply imbued in the liturgy and expecting his audience also to be so, was able to model his adoration of the new-born Jesus on the levation of the host because of the very reality of divinity and humanity united in the person of Christ, who is beheld both in the manger and at the altar. In so doing, he relied on the horizon of expectation of his audience which would have

[51] Lumiansky, and Mills, eds., *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, 146, 465–467.
[52] Ibid., 147, l. 484–486.
[53] Ibid., 150151, l. 552–562.

picked on the salutatory trope to a visible Christ, on the christological homologies, as well as on the petitions.

By anchoring its levation prayer in the nativity, the play foregrounds the mystery of the Incarnation. As through Christ's birth in a manger, humanity is exalted to the heavenly realm, so through Christ's death on the cross, humanity is made alive, redeemed, as signified by the elevated host. Through such mimetic parallels, spectators were thus reminded of their own duty as partakers in the liturgy, blurring the line between dramatic and religious practice, in order to engage devotionally on the very street where the play was to take place.[54] The fact that a levation prayer was integrated into a mystery play shows the extent to which, as liturgical catalysts, these prayers permeated both the religious and cultural imagination of fifteenth-century English society, trickling into new devotional spheres. Levation prayers belonging to Tradition 1 (b) demonstrate how 'inner devotion is clearly being harnessed to liturgical participation,' as Jennifer Bryan has noted.[55]

TRADITION 2: DEVOTIONAL USE

To determine the use of levation prayers might be considered a problematic endeavour, given the 'unpredictable interfaces between a vernacular text and its audiences,' as Ryan Perry observes.[56] However, to trace the initial contexts of these poems within the liturgy,

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[54] On the audience's spiritual engagement in mystery plays, see Heather Hill-Vásquez, *Sacred Players: The Politics of Response in the Middle English Religious Drama* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of American Press, 2007). More generally, see Beckwith, *Signifying God*; Jay Zysk, *Shadow and Substance: Eucharistic Controversy and English Drama across the Reformation Divide* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017).

[55] Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 60.

[56] Ryan Perry, 'Robert Mannyng and the Imagined Reading Communities for *Handlyng Synne*,' in *Pastoral Care in Medieval England*, 159–181, at 159.

while taking into account their changing manuscript contexts, as well as their expanding utility, not only speaks of a pragmatic spirituality that mirrored ecclesial liturgical practices within the domestic context. It also speaks of a pragmatic spirituality appropriated by supposedly more diverse audiences to the effect of sacramental encounters with Christ outside of the ordinary ecclesiastical framework. Tradition 2 and its classification acknowledges a textuality of levation prayers that goes beyond their performative nature in the mass and which fosters a sacramental spirituality alongside and outside of the ritual ceremonies of the seven sacraments. Within their devotional use, levation prayers and their appropriation of the imagery of the host came to acquire the status of a vessel, an instrument of Christ's presence.

Mainstream Devotional Levation Prayers

Tradition 2 (a) depicts the developments of levation prayers within the mainstream devotional contexts of fifteenth-century English society, developing patterns of daily and ordinary devotions. One common feature of these texts in Strand a is the augmentation of the traditional four to eight-line prayer to full-blown meditations on Christ's presence in the host, emanating from devotional manuscript contexts. In such a setting, each coherent unit of text encompasses either liturgical, credal, and/or devotional meanings, functioning as a cue for meditation; a catalyst for deeper reflection in light of one's encounter with Christ.

2. Devotional Use

a. Mainstream

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fols. 95r–95v	*prose* 1
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, p. 372	*prose*
London, British Library, MS Additional 37787, fols. 12r–12v	*version* 14
London, British Library, MS Arundel 197, fol. 47v	*prose* 1
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fol. 98v	*prose*
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fol. 98v	*version* 11
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 328, fols. 168r–168v	*prose* 1
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302, fols. 10r–10v[57]	*version* 7
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 683, fols. 30v–31v	*verse*
Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, 238–239[58]	*prose*
Speculum Christiani, 160, l. 1–21[59]	*prose*
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS IV. 231, fols. 136r–137r	*version* 5
London, British Library, MS Additional 37787, fol. 160r	*version* 5
London, British Library, MS Harley 5396, fols. 273r–273v	*version* 5
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, fols. 25r–26v	*version* 5
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 61, fols. 26r–26v	*version* 5
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 115r	*version* 5

The ordinariness that came to be associated with levation prayers can be perceived in the manuscript contexts of texts belonging to Tradition 2 (a). The prose levation prayer in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, in a Middle English colophon, instructs its audience, assuming readers rather than listeners, on the liturgical setting of such a prayer: 'O ye reders beholdeþe here an holy prayer made by a devoute recluse to be sayde anone affter þe levacioun of þe sacrament, whane þe preste is at masse.'[60] The appearance of such a colophon and levation prayer in a fluid multilingual anthology of courtly and religious

[57] While John Audelay's levation prayer could also be included in Tradition 1 (b) owing to its colophon which underlines that 'When þu seyst þe sacrament […] knele on þi kneys þen mekely becceche him of grace and mercy, fforeȝifnes of þi synne,' its length (in seven octaves) and appropriation of the salutation mode make it unlikely that it could have been recited while seeing the host. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302, fol. 10r. See also Audeley, *Poems*, 77.

[58] Nicholas Love, *The Mirror*, 238, l. 6–41, 239, l. 1–6. Love's *Mirror* being extant in sixty-one manuscripts, to trace and compare the levation prayer within that corpus is outside the scope of this study. On the manuscripts of Love's *Mirror*, see Sargent's edition, as well as Elisabeth Salter, 'The Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* and Related Texts,' in *Middle English Prose*, 115–127.

[59] *Speculum Christiani*, 160. To trace the Middle English versions of the *Speculum*'s levation prayer and its transmission is outside the scope of this study. It is likely that this version is rare apart from its appearance in the fully translated text found in London, British Library, MS Harley 6580, fols. 35r–35v.

[60] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, p. 372.

texts, mostly containing Lydgatian material and compiled by John Shirley in the early 1430s, raises questions.[61] Its location within the last quire and on the second-to-last folio of the manuscript could imply that the prayer was copied within the remaining space after Lydgate's *Ballade of Bochas*, making a scribal concluding statement about the multifaceted textual interface that MS R.3.20 embodies. The scribal decision to include a prose levation prayer rather than Lydgate's own levation poem, which is nine stanzas long and set in a sustained rhyme scheme of *ababbcbc* form, either speaks to exemplar poverty, a lack of space, or personal inclinations.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 683, a late fifteenth-century anthology that compiles Lydgate's shorter poems, includes his levation prayer circulating independently from his *Virtues of the Mass*, although in an abbreviated version, as it contains only the first five octaves. The manuscript context of MS Laud misc. 683 is mostly devotional, with its hagiographic prayers, the *Five Joys of Our Lady*, and the *Treatise on Christ's Passion*, alongside a few secular instructional poems. Anthony Bale has demonstrated convincingly its use within 'a domestic setting (which included women but may have also included men) for group instruction and devotion.'[62] These fluid manuscript contexts, rather far from Books of Hours and manuals of pastoral and liturgical instruction, speak to the development of the levation prayer genre into devotional spheres with didactic, pragmatic, and instructional sensibilities.

Such pragmatic emphases are captured particularly accurately in the prose levation prayer (*prose* 1) found in two fifteenth-century devotional compilations, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 328.

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[61] See Megan Cook and Elizaveta Strakhov, 'Introduction to Colloquium: John Shirley's Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20 and the Culture of the Anthology in Late Medieval England,' *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 36 (2016): 241–244.

[62] Anthony Bale, '"House Devil, Town Saint": Anti-Semitism and Hagiography in Medieval Suffolk,' in *Chaucer and the Jews: Sources, Contexts, Meanings*, ed. Sheila Delany (New York: Routledge, 2002), 185–210, at 192.

The prayer begins with the customary salutation: 'Heyle holest body of our Lord Ihu Cryste þat art now sothfastly conteynyd her in þis moste excellent sacrament.'[63] Throughout the text, a heightened visualisation of the host is encouraged so as to embrace Christ's real presence, which is made tangible through a mental image. The visual stimulus of the host imagined and contemplated upon functions as a sign that points beyond itself to Christ's presence. This presence is considered as a 'gostely' reception of Christ's 'helthful sacrifyse and welle of grace,' a spiritual communion rather than a physical consumption.[64] Although this prayer could have been recited and performed at Mass, owing to its didactic nature (and its length), it is more likely to have been read and prayed within a devotional setting.

The medicinal imagery called upon in the next line, 'I may wit gladnesse fynde medycyne and hele in body and sowle be vertu of that blyssyd presence,' is then reiterated multiple times.[65] The pale host is hence projected as a pharmaceutical symbol, which ought to be meditated upon as its presence is continually actualised, perhaps suggesting a time of devotion at the adoration of the host, as the consecrated bread is kept in a monstrance, or else a devotional exercise within the domestic context. The prayer adds:

> þat holy lambe wyth out wenne of synne þat þis day art offyrryd to the everlastyng fader of hevyn… þu swettest manna aungell mete, o þu most lykyng drynk gostly bryng in to myn inwarde mowth þat holy swete taste of thy helthful presence.[66]

[63] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fol. 95r.

[64] Spiritual communion involved receiving the *res sacramenti* of the sacrament, without consuming physically the consecrated elements. One could thus benefit from the graces transmitted through the Eucharist without partaking physically in the ritual. On spiritual communion, see Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist*, 93–103.

[65] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fol. 95r.

[66] Ibid.

The juxtaposition of vivid images of the host elevated, Christ's atoning sacrifice, and medicine, calling on the senses of taste and sight, invites the audience not only to contemplate, but also to enter in and experience Christ's presence. Rather than relying on a rhetoric of mystical union, the prayer in its pragmatic essence simply calls on the eucharistic sacrifice as a sacramental threshold between the divine and humanity, a threshold of encounter with Christ. Such full-blown meditation expands our understanding of sacramental devotion, often scrutinised only within the confines of the ritual of the Mass. It enables us to envisage heightened modes of sacramental participation that are devoid of mystical elements, merely taking place in the ordinary daily life of the household. However, this form of devotional mode in the home should not be read as something that was practised over and against the ceremony of the Mass or the Divine Office, but rather as something that occurred alongside them, supporting and strengthening the corporate spiritual practices that were already embedded in the lives of believers.

The cluster of poems classified as *version* 5, similarly to Audelay's levation prayer in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302, broadens the initial salutation: 'Welcom Lord yn forme of brede/ In þe ys boþe lyfe and deth,' to develop a comprehensive salutatory prayer.[67] The initial six-line stanza is a traditional levation prayer, with its salutation, its profession of faith ('Ihu ys þy name/ Thou þat art God in Trynyte'), and its petition ('Lord have mercy on me/ And shylde me fro schame').[68] The series of salutations that follows, 'heil mon of most miht/ Godus sone þat art so briht/ Of Marie þou were boren;' 'Heil fruit, heil flour/ Heil be þou saveour/ Of Watur and of londe;' and 'Heil duyk, heil emprerour/

[67] London, British Library, MS Harley 5396, fol. 273r.
[68] Ibid.

Heil beo þou governour/ Of al þis worldus wone,' demonstrates an aesthetic of devotional verse little studied according to Susanna Fein.[69]

Salutations to Christ, originating in the Angel Gabriel's salutation to Mary in the Annunciation, '*Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus*' ('Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women'), repeatedly position the person at prayer before their addressee.[70] Rather than initiating a dialogue, such greetings can be perceived as both reverent and awe-filled addresses, as well as intimate expressions of love and praise, in the form of an ongoing anaphoric meditative prayer.[71] Commenting on the use of 'hail,' Fein underlines that 'each time these words are uttered, they act as an interjection, creating a syntax that constantly halts itself with bursts of exuberant reverence.'[72] The versions in London, British Library, MS Additional 37787; London, British Library, MS Harley 5396; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1 are preceded by a colophon that anchors the prayers 'at þe levacion,' thereby emphasising the liturgical matrix from which they emanated. However, such devotional intensity that merges visual and verbal projections of Christ's Incarnation (comprising birth, passion, resurrection, and exaltation) was more likely to take place within a private setting, in which christological statements and the affect coalesce so to encounter Christ in the ever-present sacramental time of the Eucharist. The lines 'Hayle flesch, hayle blod/Hayle Ihu of mylde mood,' appearing half-way through the poem, thus

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[69] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 115r. See also *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, part I, 24. Susanna Fein, 'Introduction,' in *Poems and Carols*, 3; Susanna Fein, 'Mary to Veronica: John Audelay's Sequence of Salutations to God-Bearing Women,' *Speculum* 86:4 (2011): 964–1009, at 968.

[70] Sequences of salutations as such can be traced to the Marian devotion of the *Salve* service, where four of the most well-known Marian antiphons were sung, such as the *Salve regina*, *Alma redemptoris mater*, *Ave regina caelorum* and *Regina caeli laetare*. On the origin of the *Salve* which appears to be Dominican, see Margot Fassler, 'Music and the Miraculous: Mary in the Mid-Thirteenth-Century Dominican Sequence Repertory,' in *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine : le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*, ed. Leonard E. Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy (Rome and Paris: Ecole française de Rome and CNRS, 2004), 229–278. See also Harper, *The Forms and Order*, 133–134.

[71] Douglas Gray speaks of salutation poems as merging with prayer, and more specifically meditative prayer. Gray, *Themes and Images*, 156.

[72] Fein, 'Mary to Veronica,' 969.

sustain the initial imagery of Christ's presence in the host, while the poem ends with: 'Hayle Ihu that all thing most/ Hayle Fadyr and Son and the Holi Gost/ Welcome in forme of bred.'[73] Such a eucharistic devotional mode, which has been widely studied from the perspective of eucharistic piety, and the development of the cult of *Corpus Christi*, thus propounds a sacramental mode of encounter with Christ permeating all aspects of one's religious life, from the baptismal font to daily prayers in the home, from liturgical participation to the last rites that accompany people on their dying bed.

Devotional Developments and Levation Prayers

Given the popularity of levation prayers as catalysts of encounters with Christ, their form and intonation have thus permeated other genres of prayers, casting new themes in the limelight, while retaining the essence of sacramental encounter.

b. Developments

London, British Library, MS Additional 39574, fols. 88r–88v	*prose*
New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 410, item 4	*verse*

The most striking example is a short prayer found in the fifteenth-century indulgence scroll, New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 410, which contains the wording of a levation prayer while not itself being a levation prayer per se. In fact, the prayer in question is a fairly common prayer to the Holy Name of Jesus which appears in at least twenty-one other manuscripts.[74]

[73] London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, fols. 26r–26v.

[74] See *DIMEV* 2840 for a full list of manuscripts. Unfortunately, tracing the prayer's variants is outside of the scope of this study. However, the prayer in MS 410 gives us an insight into the genre, and offers ideal points of comparison with levation prayers.

Ihu for thyne holy name
And for thy bytter passyon
Save us frome synne and shame
And endeles dampnacyon
And brynge us to the blysse
That never shall have ende
Swete Ihus. Amen.[75]

Its incipit thus shares a typical lexis of levation prayers, 'Ihu for thyne holy name […]/ Save us frome synne and shame,' as found in *Verse* A and *Verse* B poems, in the Bolton Hours, in both levation prayers found in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, and in London, British Library, MS Additional 27924. Invoking the Holy Name and its apotropaic nature, such as offering protection from 'synne and shame,' is deeply embedded within Holy Name devotions, and appears in Middle English as early as in the fourteenth-century in the vernacular translation of Richard Rolle's *Oleum effusum*.[76] While the cult of the Holy Name grew exponentially in the fifteenth century, so did eucharistic devotion. Hence, it should not be surprising to see that aspects of levation prayers and prayers to the Holy Name, both embedded in a particular liturgical praxis, came to unfold coalescent lexis, which implicitly alluded to one another. The last two lines of the poem in MS 410, 'And brynge us to the blysse/ That never shall have ende,' thus encapsulate one of the most common petitions found in levation prayers, namely a request for eternal life. The enmeshment of lexical registers, concerned with the practical desired outcomes of devotion, speaks to christological devotion more broadly. Whereas levation prayers called on Christ's real presence in the host, while invoking the Holy Name and its apotropaic qualities as well as the eucharistic benefit of heavenly bliss, prayers to the Holy Name did not rely on a sacramental setting, but rather on the propensity of the name ihc/ihs/ihu to be

[75] New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 410, item 4 (panel 2).
[76] See Ralph Hanna, *Editing Medieval Texts, An Introduction, Using Exemplary Materials Derived from Richard Rolle, 'Super Canticum' 4* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015).

a signifier of Christ and his saving power, a synecdoche of christological meaning with affective triggers. The shared lexis thus builds on a joint horizon of expectation on the part of the orant, conflating and cementing a christological register rather normative in fifteenth-century religious discourse. The lexical proximity of levation prayers and prayers to the Holy Name begs the question of their use. Would people draw on the register of prayers to 'ihc' at the time of the levation? While this possibility should not be discarded owing to the brevity and content of Holy Name prayers such as the one in MS 410, the prayers' lack of reference to the host beheld in the Mass suggests resonances without embracing the sacramental ethos of levation prayers, serving thus more general devotional purposes.

The prose prayer in the early fifteenth-century manuscript London, British Library, MS Additional 39574 establishes a liturgical setting in its very colophon:

> Here bigynneþ a devoute preyer and an excellent that schulde distynctly ben seyd anon with greet devocyoun bitwene þe levacioun of þe blessid sacrament and the thridde agnus dei.[77]

While the prayer is regulated by salutations, 'Heyl Ihu Crist worde of þe fadir,' 'Heil Ihu Crist Kyng of aungels,' and 'Heyl Ihu Crist liȝt of heven,' it also contains christological naming statements and qualifiers, and a refrain-like petition to Christ to 'have mercy of us.'[78] These christological statements, as well as the first part of the prayer, are closely related to the prose levation prayer found in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, on

[77] London, British Library, MS Additional 39574, fol. 88r.

[78] Ibid., fols. 88r–88v. On 'praising via the divine names' leading to union with Christ, see Denis Renevey, *Devotion to the Name of Jesus in Medieval English Literature, c. 1100–c. 1530* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022). Further research needs to be undertaken on the textual and lexical proximity of devotions to the Holy Name of Jesus and the salutation genre and in particular its christological components. On the Holy Name, see also Lutton, 'From Micro- to Macro-Procesesses of Religious Change,'; '"… But Have You Read This?": Dialogicity in Robert Thornton's Holy Name Devotions,' *English* 67:257 (2018): 119–140; '"Love this Name that is IHC": Vernacular Prayers, Hymns and Lyrics to the Holy Name of Jesus in Pre-Reformation England,' in *Vernacularity in England and Wales c. 1350–1550*, ed. Elisabeth Salter and Helen Wicker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 115–141.

folios 33r–33v. However, the prayer in MS Additional 39574 augments and alters such version, suggesting a possible shared exemplar. The latter manuscript's small format (158×100 mm) denotes that it was produced with private devotion in mind, with a particular Marian emphasis, as it contains a salutation prayer to the Virgin (a prayer beginning with 'Marye, Goddis modir dere'), a Marian lyric nested in *Speculum Christiani* ('Marye modir, wel þee be'), and finally a Marian levation prayer.[79]

Indeed, although the petitions in the levation prayer in MS Additional 39574 are addressed to Christ, they always refer to Jesus in light of his mother: 'word and flesch boren of þe virgin modir, have mercy of us;' 'very man flour and fruyt of þe virgin modir, have mercy of us;' and 'vessel of clenesse, child of the virgyne modir, have mercy of us.'[80] Such references to Mary, when juxtaposed with the salutations ('heyl' being the translation of *Ave*), anchor the elevation of the host in its context of Incarnation. The eucharistic sacrifice could take place only through Christ becoming human, only through Jesus being born of a woman, the Virgin Mary. Such a Marian emphasis could suggest a particular female spiritual responsibility. Just as Mary held and birthed the Word of God, women in the audience are called to behold the host internally, and as they hold his presence within them sacramentally, so as to birth new life in Christ. Although a female audience cannot be directly inferred, a female responsibility in a mostly masculine performance of the elevation of the host is an interesting inclusive statement to ponder.

[79] While MS Additional 39574 is not overtly dedicated to the Virgin Mary, its four Marian items out of fourteen is sufficient to suggest a Marian sensibility.

[80] London, British Library, MS Additional 39574, fol. 88v.

CONCLUSION

Levation prayers in the vernacular began as what Robbins calls 'pious concessions to a natural instinct,' a contextualisation of the parishioners' needs as they gazed at the elevated host, the earthly locus of divine mystery.[81] Prayers in Tradition 1 (a), with their liturgical function and embedded as they are within larger liturgical material such as Books of Hours and *Virtues of the Mass* treatises, encapsulate the expected participation and devotion on the part of those witnessing the consecration and elevation beyond the chancel. Whether one could see the elevated host through the rood-screen or not, the sacredness of the moment was imprinted through the senses, with incense, the ringing of the bell, and most often the lighting of candles, as an invitation to encounter Christ spiritually. Tradition 1 (b) prayers, while retaining a close connection with the liturgical context of the elevation, opened up new avenues for sacramental devotions outside of the church's walls—on the streets as the host was being processed or in the home—so to enable an immersive experience within the liturgical context of the Mass by encountering Christ through the intense beholding of a mental image of the elevated host.

The changing dissemination context of such prayers emphasises the elevation as a growing devotional locus, catalysing and crystallising new modes of sacramental participation, which prioritised encounters with Christ's real presence over the consumption of the transubstantiated host. The manuscript contexts of prayers belonging to Tradition 2 (a) demonstrate dissemination patterns among pragmatically minded reading communities in which levation prayers were collected and copied as tokens of eucharistic devotion by which to live. As the prose prayer in MS Ii.4.9 testifies, the juxtaposition of imagery connected to the host and the ever-actualising voice of the prayer enable us to

[81] Robbins, 'Levation Prayers,' 143.

imagine modes of devotions expanding the realm of sacramental participation to private meditations in the home. Within Tradition 2 (b), the Marian levation prayer in MS Additional 39574, by conceiving and acknowledging a female origin in the reflection of the Incarnational process of the host elevated, similarly opens the possibility of an inclusive sacramental participation that is no longer confined by linear time nor earthly space. It reframes the poem within the ever-present temporality of the liturgy connected to eternity and a boundless christological space where Christ is hailed as 'savyoure/ On watyr and on lande.'[82]

While Douglas Gray, commenting on the elevation, notes that 'there seems to have been a belief that the act of looking on the Host had an almost sacramental value,' this chapter has shown that fifteenth-century cultural perceptions, as demonstrated through levation prayers, not only assumed an intrinsic sacramental value to seeing the host, but also expected a sacramental participation on the part of parishioners in the church building, on the streets, as well as in the home.[83] The popularity of levation prayers in manuscripts being copied and circulated under the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele, such as the Bolton Hours; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 30; *LFMB*; and the levation prayers of John Audelay and John Lydgate, not only speaks to the general eucharistic sensibility of fifteenth-century English civic and religious society. It also speaks to the pastoral programme of promoting public worship and, more specifically, sacramental participation, which was characteristic of the Chichelean church. It is within such a liturgically fertile context that levation prayers flourished as symbols and loci of encounters with Christ.

[82] London, British Library, MS Harley 5396, fol. 273r.
[83] Gray, *Themes and Images*, 158.

INTRODUCTION TO PART THREE

> Feiþ eiþir bileeue is as stoon liinge on þe ground of a strong bilding þat beriþ up al þe werk. For as þe bilding stondiþ stifli þat is wel grounded upon þe stoon, so ech virtuous deede is strong whanne it is grounded vpon þe sadness of bileeue.[1]

These introductory lines are found in the section on the creed in *Pore Caitif*. As a late fourteenth-century compilation of varying length, this text claims to point 'þe riȝt wey to heuene if [symple men and wommen] wolen bisie hem to haue it in mynde and worche þeraftir wiþout multiplicacioun of manye bookis.'[2] The incipit of one of the manuscripts of *Pore Caitif* prides itself on containing all that constitutes the foundation of spiritual guidance: it begins with the Creed, works its way through the tenets of the faith, and covers vices and virtues before focusing on Christ's love, considering the active and contemplative life and the chastity of body and soul as the perfect life.[3] The synonymous

[1] *Pore Caitif, A Middle English Manual of Religion and Devotion*, ed. Karine Moreau-Guibert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 111.

[2] Ibid., 110.

[3] On the *Pore Caitif*'s malleable and variable nature, or its 'chameleon-like nature' as Kalpen Trivedi puts it, see Sr Mary Teresa Brady, 'The Pore Caitif, Edited from MS. Harley 2336 with Introduction and Notes,' (PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 1954); '"The Pore Caitif": An Introductory Study,' in *Traditio* 10 (1954): 529–548; Kalpen Trivedi, 'The "Pore Caitif": *Lectio* through *Compilatio* Some Manuscript Contexts,' *Mediaevalia* 20 (2001): 129–152; Karine Moreau-Guibert, 'General Introduction,' in *Pore Caitif*, 11–101, at 30–51.

nature of faith and belief in the context of the creed suggests that in the late fourteenth century, 'feiþ,' which comes from the Latin *fides*, and 'bileeue,' from the Old English 'geleafa,' both had multivalent meanings, expressing either the body of religious doctrines (and an act of cognitive knowledge of its content), or else the profession of belief based on experiential knowledge, relying on practices (the ritual) and 'good entent' (the ethical).[4] In the prologue to the *Pore Caitif*, the compiler explains that belief is 'þe ground of heelþe,' the bedrock of salvation, for 'wiþoute bileeue it is impossible, as seynt Poul seiþ, þat ony man plese God.'[5] Referring to Hebrews 11:6, which states that 'without faith it is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and is a rewarder to them that seek him,' the compiler uses a common topos of faith, the *sine qua non* required for salvation.

Faith, in late medieval spirituality, began with a ritual: the sacrament of baptism. Through baptism, believers were incorporated into the faith of the Church and the collective nature of its community.[6] Faith as such is the substance (*res*) of the baptismal ritual impressed and bestowed on the baptised, who most often was an infant.[7] Although children might not have understood the mysteries of God, they had faith by virtue of the 'sacrament of faith.' As the Dominican friar and theologian Richard Fishacre (d. 1248) explained, 'infants believe because they have a habitual faith as sleeping persons have eyesight.'[8] This habitual faith was then expected to become an infused faith as believers were catechised. John Mirk (fl. c. 1382–c. 1414), the Augustinian canon, and then prior at

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[4] *MED*, University of Michigan, September 2021, s.v. *feith*, n. 1a, 1b, 1c, 2; s.v. *bileve*, n. 1a, 2a, 2b, 2c, <www.quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary>

[5] *Pore Caitif*, 110.

[6] Thomas Netter puts a considerable emphasis on baptism and its lasting and collective parameters. See *Doctrinale*, I.282–283.6.

[7] John van Engen, 'Faith as a Concept of Order in Medieval Christendom,' in *Belief in History, Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, ed. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 25.

[8] 'Et sic paruuli credunt, quia habent fidem habitualem sicut dormiens uisum.' Rome, Vatican Library, Codex Ottobon, MS lat. 294, fol. 69v, as quoted in van Engen, 'Faith,' 28.

Lilleshall, in Shropshire, begins his *Instructions for Parish Priests* (hereafter *Instructions*), which was written in the 1380s, with practical advice regarding baptism in cases of emergency.[9] Such a theme was already the subject of the second part of William of Pagula's pastoral handbook, the *Oculus sacerdotis* (c. 1320), on which Mirk drew heavily for his *Instructions*.[10] Mirk thus instructs parish priests:

> And teche the mydewyf neuer the latere,
> That heo haue redy clene watere,
> To folowe the chylde ȝef hyt be nede,
> Ȝef heo se hyt be in drede.[11]

He then adds that if there is no midwife around, any parishioner present must perform the baptism, as doing so 'ys a dede of charyte.'[12] The significance of beginning a practical manual with baptism infers that the conferring of the sacrament of faith through baptism was a crucial sacramental responsibility for priests, as it led people to salvation. The very bypassing of priestly sacramental powers to confer the sacramental graces of baptism onto an infant, in cases of emergency, reinforces the crucial nature of the ritual for late medieval society. This habitual faith attributed at baptism was upheld by guarantors (whether blood-parents, godparents, priests, heads of household, and/or lords) present at the ritual, as they made a profession of faith on behalf of the infant, vowing to instruct them in Christian belief. Mirk, further on in his *Instructions*, provides priests with the official injunction to be made to guarantors:

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[9] Here, Mirk draws on a commonplace decree legislated at a diocesan level, such as in the thirty-first and thirty-second canons of the statutes of Canterbury (1213x1214), in the twenty-second canon of Salisbury (1217x1219), as well as in the twenty-ninth canon of the Council of Oxford in 1222. F. M. Powicke, and C. R. Cheney, eds., *Councils & Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 31, 68–69, 115.

[10] Pagula's work was abbreviated in the late fourteenth century as the *Pupilla oculi* by John de Burgh, chancellor of the University of Cambridge. It seems to have been a key text in the pastoral training of Austin canons, hence possibly explaining Mirk's familiarity with Pagula's work. Niamh Pattwell, 'Canons and Catechisms: The Austin Canons of South-east England and *Sacerdos parochialis*,' in *After Arundel*, 381–394, at 392.

[11] Mirk, *Instructions*, 72, l. 85–88.

[12] Ibid., 72, l. 102.

> Godfather and godmoder þou moste preche
> Þat þey here godchyldere to gode teche,
> Here pater noster and here crede
> Techen hem they mote nede.[13]

The sacrament of confirmation would then assess that the habitual faith of the infant, the sacrament of faith impressed on them through the ritual, would then become infused faith. All believers were thus expected to be familiar with the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the Creed as a testimony to the faith that inhabited them. Anchored in the pastoral tradition of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, John Mirk is here merely following some episcopal bequests of some earlier legislation.[14] Pastoral concerns with faith and its ritual of initiation (baptism) remained a constant concern for canonists, theologians, and parish priests leading up to the fifteenth century. While Mirk's writing career spans at least thirty years, and seems to wind down by the time Chichele became archbishop, his preoccupations in relation to the *cura animarum* fed directly into the pastoral literature circulating between 1414 and 1443.[15] The manuscript witnesses of his three major writings, almost all of which date from the early fifteenth century, demonstrate the vitality of his pastoral advice within the textual network of Austin canons, as well as more globally within the Chichelean church context.

To examine the place of faith and belief within the *ecclesia Anglicana* during Chichele's archiepiscopate, one has to turn to the archbishop's right-hand man, the canonist William Lyndwood and his *Provinciale*, written by 1429. Lyndwood underlines

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[13] Ibid., 76, l. 151–154. This injunction echoes the baptismal rite section in the Sarum manual, *The Sarum Rite*, 91, as well as earlier episcopal legislation such as in the Salisbury statutes of Bishop Poore (1217x1219), where parish priests are instructed to gather children to teach them the Creed, the *Pater noster*, and the *Ave Maria*, while instructing parents to do likewise. *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 61, canon 5; see also the Exeter statutes of 1225x1237, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 228, canon 2.

[14] See, for instance, canons 3 and 5 of Richard Poore's Salisbury statutes, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, 61.

[15] Susan Powell, 'John to John: The *Manuale Sacerdotis* and the Daily Life of a Parish Priest,' in *Recording Medieval Lives: Proceedings of the 2005 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Julia Boffey and Virginia Davis (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), 112–129, at 114.

the crucial nature of 'bileeue' in his gloss of the 1281 canon *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, confirming the prescribed norm of knowledge of the faith in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[16] According to him, 'everyone is held to know the articles of faith,' and 'those who have the cure of souls, and must teach others, should know the articles of faith unequivocally and clearly, so that they may know how to explain and defend them.'[17] When it comes to people with little learning or lay people, Lyndwood affirms that 'it suffices that they believe these articles implicitly, in the same way the Catholic church believes and teaches.'[18] Here, Lyndwood uses the common dual definition of faith found in Peter Lombard, and in the *Decretales* of 1234: a knowledge of the Creed that is unequivocal and clear (*explicite*), confirmed with cognitive understanding, is expected of the clergy, and knowledge as an act of implicit (*implicite*) belief in what the Church believes and teaches on the part of simpler (*simplices*) people. The 'simple' people who did not explicitly know the articles of the faith were protected from condemnation as heretics as long as they honestly believed that the church held such beliefs. As John van Engen underlines, 'this protection rested upon an essential precondition: that responsibility for understanding and articulating the faith should be left mainly to churchmen and that the people intend to believe what the collective church believed.'[19] Paying close attention to the language and nuances used to describe belief in the doctrines of the Christian church, in the early fifteenth century, whether among canonists or compilers, sheds light on the

[16] On the *Provinciale* see B. E. Ferme, 'William Lyndwood and the *Provinciale*: Canon Law in an Undivided Western Church,' *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* 4:20 (1997): 615–628; 'The *Provinciale* of William Lyndwood: The Sources, Contents and Influence,' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1987); Paul Cavill, 'The First Readers of Lyndwood's *Provinciale*,' *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* 24:1 (2022): 2–13.

[17] 'unusquisque tenetur scire articulos fidei […] qui habent curam animarum, et debent alios docere, debent scire fidei articulos explicite et distincte; ut scil sciant eos explicare et defendere.' Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Book 1, Tit. 1, 1. Lyndwood, here, is merely following a formula already established in the thirteenth century by William of Auxerre in his *Summa Aurea*. 'Est ergo sensus, quod prelati debent instruere simplices, et simplices debent inniti fidei ipsorum, qui sufficit simplicibus si credunt aliquos articulos fidei explicite et alios implicite.' William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea*, ed. Jean Ribaillier (Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980), Book 3.12.5, 212.

[18] 'Aliis vero qui sunt simplices vel laici, sufficit quod credant eos implicite, i. sicut credit et docet Ecclesia Catholica.' Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Book 1, Tit. 1, 1.

[19] van Engen, 'Faith as a Concept of Order,' 43.

place of vernacular writings in the core tenets of the faith (the *Pater Noster*, the Creed, and the *Ave Maria*) which formed the backbone of the religious landscape of the time. The sheer volume of surviving vernacular catechetical treatises and the significant role that they played in fifteenth-century devotional literacy is telling. As fruits of a greater outreach towards a wider public, catechetical writings open new avenues for considerations of these works on their own terms, as conduits between Christians and the mysteries of Christ.

The *Pore Caitif*, Mirk's *Instructions*, and Lyndwood's *Provinciale* all point to the importance of belief, although each expresses different concerns. Overall, the three texts emphasise the basic catechetical programme that ought to have been known by all. They are part of a long English tradition of religious education. Whereas the canonist William Lyndwood and the Augustinian canon John Mirk both reflect the ecclesiastical posture towards religious education held since the thirteenth century in England, the *Pore Caitif* demonstrates the growing significance of catechetical material outside its penitential context, and the shifting attitudes towards the place of catechism within English society. The three texts belong to a tradition inherited from the thirteenth-century legislation of Lateran IV at a church-wide level, and its emphasis on the confessional (which required knowing the *Pater Noster*, the Creed, and the *Ave Maria*), an emphasis that had already been implemented at provincial and diocesan levels.[20] In England, John Pecham's Lambeth Constitutions of 1281 were only restatements at the provincial level of a decree that had already been governing the parochial instruction of the laity for some time.[21]

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[20] Lateran IV's first canon, *firmiter credimus*, established the foundational doctrines of the Christian faith, which had not been done in a general council since the late Roman Empire's ecumenical councils. Its third canon, *Excommunicamus*, underlined that any belief going against the holy, orthodox, and catholic faith, as expounded in its first canon, was heretical and ensued excommunication and anathemisation. The twenty-first canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, with its emphasis on auricular confession, ensured that the tenets of the faith were learnt and known by lay people. See Tanner, ed., *Decrees*, 229–231; 233–235; 245.

[21] *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, 900; Vincent Gillespie, 'The Literary Form of Middle English Pastoral Manual with Particular to the *Speculum Christiani* and Some Related Texts,' (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1981), 24, 115. See also, for instance, C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

Soon after Lateran IV, in the 1220's, Robert Grosseteste wrote his confessor's manual, *Templum Dei*, a compendium of 'practical theology, canon law, and ethics' in the form of a 'mnemonic exercise.'[22] In his description of the individual as a Temple of God, Grosseteste considers the Temple as twofold: corporeal and spiritual. The foundation of the spiritual Temple, the dwelling-place of the divine nature in the individual is faith, which he characterises as the knowing or cognitive power, *vis cognoscitiva*. Faith is made of twelve stones, the twelve articles of the Christian religion. The fifteenth-century pastoral handbook *Speculum Christiani* similarly grounds faith in this Grossetestian imagery: 'Feyth es foundment of the gostly temple, the which es of thre thynges: of the Godhede, of the manhede of Cristem and of the sacramentes.'[23] Although *Pore Caitif* uses this same Grossetestian building imagery, which underlines a continuity in manuals of pastoral guidance in England, a predominant shift can be observed between Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* and *Speculum Christiani* on the one hand, and the *Pore Caitif* on the other. *Templum Dei* and *Speculum Christiani* are constructed around the priestly function in pastoral care, emphasising the knowledge required in a priest who has to hear confessions, which was typical of confessor's manuals and clerical miscellanies from the thirteenth century invested in bringing people to salvation, the ultimate calling of the priesthood. However, *Pore Caitif*, with its 'flattening out of hierarchy,' is chiefly concerned with the knowledge acquired by 'symple men and wommen,' which implies both religious and lay audiences.[24] Hence, the *Pore Caitif*, and fifteenth-century vernacular catechetical material more generally, were caught in a process of democratizing confessional material outside the penitentiary. The episcopal legislation of the thirteenth century, owing to its stability, had

[22] Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, ed. Joseph Ward Goering, and Frank Anthony Carl Mantello (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 1–8.

[23] *Speculum Christiani*, 10, l. 9–11.

[24] Rob Lutton, 'From Micro- to Macro-processes of Religious Change, The Holy Name of Jesus and Christocentric Devotion in the Long Fifteenth Century,' *Church History and Religious Culture* 99 (2019): 412–439, at 436.

thus trickled into vernacular material from the fifteenth-century, which by then had found its way into lay hands. As Vincent Gillespie notes, 'developments in the presentation of the rudiments in manuals ostensibly for the clergy paved the way for lay interest in and access to those manuals.'[25] This 'pragmatic turn,' which led to a change of purpose in most pastoral manuals not only corroborated a linguistic shift from Latin to the vernacular, but also reflected the appropriation of doctrinal material outside the penitentiary in the fifteenth century.

Until the late fourteenth century, the clearly defined catechetical material was designed to help the clergy guide the laity at confession, but such doctrinal material came to have a life of its own, as demonstrated by the greater numbers of catechetical texts circulating in lay hands in the fifteenth century. One of the main outlets for such catechetical material was in the form of primers, books containing the basic teaching syllabus used to instruct textual and devotional literacy to school children.[26] Elementary primers typically began with a cross-row, an alphabet preceded by a red cross and followed by the Latin words 'est amen,' a prayer in verse form, followed then by the Pater Noster, the first canonical prayer that one would be able to read.[27] Some of the manuscripts under scrutiny in Chapter Four (e.g. Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85; New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Plimpton 258; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 209) are typical examples of particular literacy frameworks in which catechetic instruction absorbed and comprehended the learning of grammar,

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[25] Gillespie, 'The Literary Form,' 128.

[26] For a disambiguation of the term primer, see Kathleen E. Kennedy, 'Reintroducing the English Books of Hours,' *Speculum* 89:3 (2014): 693–723, at 695–696. Primers were usually in Latin, however, vernacular primers were also common, as grammar schools started to favour English over Latin for elementary instruction in the later fourteenth century. See Cannon, *From Literacy to Literature*, 17–24. Among author authors (such as John Trevisa), Chaucer refers to the primer in his *Prioress' Tale*: 'This litel child, his litel book lernynge,/ As he sat in the scole at his prymer.' *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry Dean Benson, 3rd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 210, l. 516–517.

[27] On the medieval alphabet, see Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 246–261; Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973), 60–62; Cannon, *From Literacy to Literature*, 1–2.

grammatica.[28] The tenets of the faith included at the beginning of primers achieved a dual purpose: teaching children to read and imparting religious and moral instruction. Hence, as Kathleen Kennedy puts it, primers offered 'a complete vernacularized devotional and didactic program,' in which the intricacies of Latin grammar could not be isolated from religious instruction, and the lay responsibility to help the priest with the singing of the office, the *opus Dei*.[29]

While the exponential growth of vernacular creeds can be attributed to the basic teaching curriculum of the elementary schools, one also has to take into account the growth in demand for devotional compilations particular to the fifteenth century. Such compilations promoted a progressive spiritual programme of instruction, beginning with catechetic material and most often ending with contemplative texts. For instance, *Pore Caitif*, a late fourteenth-century compilation, is found in parts in at least fifty-seven extant manuscripts from the fifteenth century.[30] Most versions begin with the Creed and end with contemplative texts such as 'the charter of heaven' or 'the mirror of chastity,' unveiling a spiritual programme that progresses from catechesis to contemplation. Such a prevalent pattern is also seen among other compilations containing the basic catechesis of the church, such as the *Mirror to Deuoute People*, *Speculum Christiani*, and *Disce mori*. The popularity of catechetic material from the fifteenth century speaks to the devotional literacy of fifteenth-century readers, which however needs to be nuanced by issues of manuscript survival (owing to the lesser rates of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century

[28] Marie Denley, 'Elementary Teaching Techniques and Middle English Religious Didactic Writing,' in *Langland, the Mystics*, 223–241, at 226. On elementary and grammar education, see Jo Ann Moran Cruz, *The Growth of English Schooling 1340–1548: Learning, Literacy, and Laicization in Pre-Reformation York Diocese* (Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1985), especially Chapter 2.

[29] Kennedy, 'Reintroducing,' 704; Gillespie, 'The Literary Form,' 56; Zieman, *Singing the New Song*, especially Chapter 1.

[30] *Pore Caitif*, 13–14.

manuscripts survival) and by the fact that much credal material before the fifteenth century would have been transmitted in Anglo-Norman.

As the catechetic corpus under scrutiny in Chapter Four demonstrates, doctrines were no longer perceived uniquely as penitential material to be rehearsed before confession once a year, in the period of Lent, before partaking physically in the Eucharist at Easter time. Doctrines, as the rule of faith, were central to everyday Christian spirituality: they were impressed on the believer shortly after birth, at baptism, they were confessed daily at mass and read in devotional material, and they were the last questions that a priest would have asked a dying person, reminding everyone that to believe, to have faith, would lead to salvation (Mark 16:16; John 3:16; John 3:36). Thus, John Mirk, in his section on extreme unction in his *Instructions*, begins the seven questions that priests ought to ask a dying person with 'Arto fayne, my brother, say,/ þat þu dyes in crysten fay?'[31] *The Book of the Craft of Dying* (c. 1430), a devotional text, provides readers with much more than a preparation for an impending death, including a preparation for the Christian life with its emphasis on moral discipline and charitable works, as well as its ascetic sensibility. *The Book* expands these seven questions with others from 'the doctour the noble clerke the chanceller of Parise,' Jean Gerson. These questions were taken from the third part of Gerson's pastoral treatise *Opusculum tripartitum* written in the decade before the Council of Constance, and which circulated separately in an altered form in the popular *Tractatus de arte bene moriendi*.[32]

> Belevyst thowe principally and fully in the articles of the feyth, and also all holy scripture in all þingis after þe exposicion of the holy and trew doctours of holy chirche, and forsakist all heresies, errouris and oppinions dampnid by the chirch, and art

[31] Mirk, *Instructions*, 219, l. 1713–1714.

[32] Amy, Appleford, *Learning to Die in London, 1380–1540* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 15–16, 141. On *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, see especially Chapter 4.

> glad also þat þou schalt dey in the feyth of Criste & in þe vnite
> & obedience of holy chirche?[33]

Such questions, which reflect Gerson's agenda for the unity of the Church and the upholding of orthodoxy, were to be grappled with in a devotional setting, where believers were asked to examine their faith.[34] This conflation of belief with catechesis to produce saving grace was characteristic of pastoral programmes in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, as Nicholas Watson has highlighted.[35] Such dissemination of vernacular doctrinal statements in various forms of literature, whether of a pedagogic bent, a catechetic and devotional nature, or indicative of the tradition of *ars moriendi* writings, and whether found in primers, commonplace books, devotional compilations, or anthologies, suggests that as the devotional literacy of lay people increased, proclamations of faith were no longer confined to the confessional and the last rites. Doctrines were truth to know and recite, and truth to submit to and live by.

This third part of the study argues that the tenets of the faith increased in importance in devotional settings in the first half of the fifteenth century, as a result of the desire to unite people around the faith of the *ecclesia Anglicana*, thus ensuring their obedience and allegiance. It was also a result of the greater significance of the mass as a cultural and religious bond. Considering that direct access to Scripture in the vernacular was still debated and mostly prohibited, the affirmation of doctrines of the Christian faith was a way to encounter God both communally and personally, by affirming one's union with Christ through the proclamation of belief. In such a context, the sacramental nature of

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[33] Carl Horstman, ed., *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, in *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers*, vol. 2, (London: Swan Sonnenschein and CO., 1896), 413.

[34] Such affirmation has to be considered alongside Mirk's other questioning on the Creed, which is interspersed by direct and undirect questions such as 'vnsware me,' 'Leuest þow þys?,' and 'Be-leuest also verrely.' Commenting on this passage, Marie Denley points out that the broken up bulk of the Creed is so tightly formulated that 'there is little the catechumen can reply but a bemused "Yis".' Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, 116, l. 818, 822; 117, l. 837; Denley, 'Elementary Teaching Techniques,' 229.

[35] Nicholas Watson, '*Piers Plowman*, Pastoral Theology, and Spiritual Perfectionism: Hawkyn's Cloak and Patience's *Pater Noster*,' *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 21 (2007): 83–118, at 89.

doctrine was thus emphasised, leading conciliarists such as Henry Abingdon to equate *doctrina* to the image of Christ. Devotional texts on the Creed were increasingly given sacramental overtones, as the *verba* of their profession pointed to the *res* of faith, the pre-linguistic truth of Christ signified.

This close connection between the tenets of the faith and Christ's real presence hence unveils a perception of truth as sacramental, as words participate in the reality of the Incarnation through belief. Such an emphasis was particularly the fruit of a culture in which vernacular doctrinal words in the ear or on the page had come to gain a similar status as the proscribed translated Scripture. Both were considered proclamations of the truth that conveyed special means of sacramental grace. To assess the place of doctrine in the religious landscape of the Chichelean church, Chapter Four first specifically unfolds a taxonomy of treatises on the Creed, their manuscript contexts, the different traditions to which they belong, and their form. Although an analysis of the *Pater noster* and its commentaries, as well as the *Ave Maria* and the Ten Commandments, would provide a fuller picture of fifteenth-century doctrinal landscapes, the Creed with its currency offers a broadly encompassing sample. Chapter Five examines the place of doctrinal truth within the *magisterium* of the Church, as well as doctrine and its fifteenth-century sacramental nature in credal treatises. This third part thus shows that doctrine enjoyed a far greater status within ecclesial and devotional practices set forth in fifteenth-century religious texts than modern scholarship acknowledges, as it was inherent to the reformist agenda of the *ecclesia Anglicana* and its concern for unity.

CHAPTER FOUR

Fifteenth-Century Middle English Creeds: A Taxonomy of Multivalent Theological Microcosms

The child Jesus born within us advances by different ways in those who have received him in wisdom, in age, and in grace. He is not the same in every person, but is present according to the measure of the person receiving him. He shows himself according to each one's capacity.[1]

Historically, new creeds and their developments were composed in order to combat heresies.[2] Adding formulas, refining the text, and defining terms all contributed to the countering of heterodox beliefs.[3] Thus the Apostles' Creed (c. 390) was developed to counter Gnosticism (and its denial of Christ's humanity). The Nicene Creed (325) was composed to solve the Arian controversy (which held, in particular, that Christ was created), the Constantinople Creed (381) was written to refute Macedonianism (and its

[1] Gregory of Nyssa, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, vol. 3, trans. Casimir McCambley (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1987), 86–87.

[2] Throughout the study, whenever I refer to 'creed,' I understand the term generally as a credal statement, without specifying any creed in particular. Whenever I refer to 'Creed,' I mean a specific creed. When following the *Pater noster*, and the *Ave Maria*, the 'Creed' means the Apostles' Creed (or at times the twelve articles), as in its medieval meaning.

[3] Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 485.

denial of the Holy Spirit's personhood and divinity) and Apollinarianism (and its affirmation that Christ did not have a human rational mind but the Divine Logos instead), and the Athanasian Creed (c. 500) was composed to counter Nestorianism (and its criticism of the hypostatic union).[4] These creeds, which had been elaborated in specific theological, cultural, and political milieux, came to shape the life of the Church and its beliefs throughout the centuries, as they came to form 'the credal tradition that medieval Western thought "received" and "restated".'[5] In the fifteenth century, creeds were commonly used within liturgical and confessional settings. The Latin Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed was said at mass by the clergy, right after the reading of the Gospel and before the secret. Hence, John Lydgate tells us in his *Virtues of the Mass*, 'The gospel rad, a Crede aftyr he seyth.'[6] Being part of the Ordinary rather than the Proper of the Mass, the Creed was said at every single mass.[7] Lay people were invited to recite the Middle English version of the Apostles' Creed in the meantime. The Apostles' Creed was also recited at prime and at compline by the clergy and lay people alike.[8] The *Virtues of the Mass* texts from Tradition 2 hence refer to the Creed in their expounding of liturgical sequences as a basic requirement of church attendance. John Audelay's *Virtues of the Mass* states that just as one should long to see one's saviour 'yevery day of the yere,' one ought to know the Creed:

> xii arteklus of thi beleve
> Þus clerkis þai don han preve
> Þat beþ in þis Crede,
> Þat getyn þe salvacion,

[4] Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 1, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 81–97, 191–200, 351–352.

[5] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Credo: Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 432.

[6] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, 98, l. 265.

[7] Salisbury, ed., *Medieval Latin Liturgy*, 15–17.

[8] Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'Du bon usage du « Credo »,' in *Faire Croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), 338–361, at 345.

> And of thi syne remission,
> And heven to þi mede.[9]

Furthermore, parish churches were often ornamented with windows or rood-screens of the twelve apostles, each of whom had their credal formula written on a scroll or on a banner.[10] Ritual evidence of the ubiquity of the creed in the fifteenth century is thus complemented by artistic evidence, which deeply shaped 'the imaginative world of the laity.'[11] Consequently, the creed was heard not only in Latin, when it was either recited or sung depending on the church context, but it was also said in Middle English at Mass and in the Divine Office. People were quizzed on the creed during confession, and the congregation gazed on images of it as one attended services, meaning that it became sensorily imprinted on the congregation's communal and personal memory. The creed was also read and recited, as demonstrated by multifarious textual evidence, which testifies to the pervasiveness of the creed in fifteenth-century religious literature and culture.

Textual evidences of creeds came in an array of forms. Whether simple verbatim translations of the Latin Apostles' Creed or longer adaptations, paraphrases, and commentaries that unfolded the sacramental theology of the Church, their considerable variety implies that particular variants of the creeds were addressed to particular communities. Leading into the fifteenth century, the same five vernacular creeds were being used by the church and its members: the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, the Athanasian Creed (known as *Quicumque vult*), the Apostles' Creed, the twelve articles of the faith, and the fourteen articles.

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[9] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302, fol. 11r.

[10] Duffy, *Stripping*, 64. While this section focuses on literary witnesses of fifteenth-century credal statements, further research is needed to see whether the few fifteenth-century dados and windows left to us corroborate similar credal interpretations.

[11] Ibid., 63.

Fifteenth-century creeds in Middle English were not in any way novel. However, their predominance in the 'mother tongue' over Latin, the subtleties of their content, their manuscript contexts, as well as their interpolated material, shed light on their instructional role at this time. To identify and understand further the place and valences of belief, and more precisely the creed within the Chichelean church, this chapter develops a taxonomy that differentiates four main Middle English credal traditions. Robert Raymo has already traced twelve fifteenth-century prose or verse translations and paraphrases of the Apostles' Creed and four fifteenth-century versions of the Athanasian Creed, as well as twelve fifteenth-century versions of the Creed as told by the apostles.[12] This new taxonomy, which builds on Raymo's work, amplifies and reorganises a diverse corpus, with more than 150 creeds, to assess the place of credal statements and belief more generally in the religious, cultural, and political landscapes of the first half of the fifteenth century.

TRADITION 1: THE TWELVE ARTICLES OF THE FAITH

The first textual tradition under scrutiny is commonly referred to as the twelve articles of the faith. I have divided this tradition into two strands: the twelve articles as told by the apostles (Strand a), and the twelve articles according to Saint Edmund of Abingdon (Strand b).

[12] Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction,' 2282–2284, 2495–2503, 2510–2512.

The Twelve Articles as Told by the Apostles

It was in the late twelfth century or early thirteenth century that the creed first appeared as a list of articles of faith. As lists of articles began to supersede traditional creeds, a shift was observed in the meaning of belief. Articles became the irreducible essence of doctrinal truth, while also containing the entire spectrum of Christian doctrines. This new list of beliefs was traced to the Apostles' Creed and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, as both were deemed to have twelve articles, as expounded by Pope Innocent III in his *De sacro altaris mysterio* written around 1195.[13] Innocent III made this type of apostolic credal list widely accessible with his affirmation that 'the number twelve has been consecrated in many different ways: according to the twelve apostles, the twelve prophets, the twelve patriarchs.'[14] The assimilation of each apostle to one of the articles of belief not only displayed continuity between the Apostles' Creed and the twelve articles, but also reasserted that each article was a revealed truth that had directly originated in the apostolic tradition, thus ensuring its authority.

The twelve articles of faith as told by the apostles (strand a), as one of the most popular Middle English creeds to be found in fifteenth-century manuscripts of English provenance, points to an apostolic revelation, as well as a double mnemonic feature of religious instruction by both its use of apostolic connections and its numeration.[15] Tradition 1 (a) is

[13] Innocent III's subtitles to the Apostles' and Niceno-Constantinopolitan creeds, '*De duodecim partibus utriusque Symboli, tam apostolici quam Constantinopolitani*,' and '*Constantinopolitanum quoque Symbolum dignoscitur continere duodecim clausulas*,' both point to the harmony of the new list of articles of faith. Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, ed. Stanislao Fioramenti (Vatican: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2002), 176–177, Book II, chs. xlix–l, 827–829.

[14] 'Duodenarius enim numerus multipliciter est consecratus, in duodecim apostolis, in duodecim prophetis, in duodecim patriarchis, […].' ibid., 827–828.

[15] The popularity of 'Strand a' relies heavily on the circulation of *Pore Caitif* in fifty-seven remaining manuscripts and *The Book of Vices and Virtues* in forty-five manuscripts. Due to the limited scope of this study, I have not been able to consult every manuscript of both texts, which means that they might contain different versions of the creed lying outside of Tradition 1 (a). Karine Moreau-Guibert underlines that Lollard interpolations of the *Pore Caitif* often include modifications in the Creed, where each clause is not attributed to an apostle but rather to the Holy Spirit, and where each clause is in a macaronic form. See for example Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 3, or Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.53. Moreau-

thus anchored in the didactic tradition of pastoral literature. It is reminiscent of the replacement of creeds by lists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, spurred on by a reformist desire to ensure that priests and monks knew the basis of the faith in order to instruct others.

1. The Twelve Articles of the Faith

    a. told by the apostles

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.3, fols. 11v–12r	*sacramental*
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54, p. 1–33	*commentary B*
Durham, Ushaw College Library, MS 28, fols. 22r–23r	*macaronic* *sacramental*
London, British Library, MS Additional 10106, fols. 42v–44r[16]	*sacramental*
London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, fols. 2r–12r	*commentary B*
London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fol. 130r	*verbatim T*
London, British Library, MS Harley 2403, fols. 191v–194r	*macaronic* *sacramental*
Norwich, Norwich Castle Museum, MS 158.926/4.g.3, fols. 78v–82v	*commentary B*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 98, fol. 255v	*verbatim T*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57, fols. 16r–23r	*scriptural* *sacramental*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 656, fols. 117r–118r	*commentary B*
Oxford, University College, MS 97, fols. 125r–127r	*sacramental*
Disce Mori[17]	*scriptural* *sacramental*
Stephen Scrope's translation of *The Epistle to Othea*, xxiii–xxxiv[18]	*allegorical*
A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen, 81–83[19]	*sacramental*
Pore Caitif, l. 23–360[20]	*sacramental*

Guibert, 'Introduction,' 32. See also, Sr Mary Teresa Brady, 'The Apostles and the Creed in Manuscripts of *The Pore Caitif*,' *Speculum* 32:2 (1957): 323–325.

[16] The articles of the faith are part of the late fifteenth-century comprehensive pastoral text *A Good and a Profitable Table of the Feyth of Christian People*, which appears in a single copy in London, British Library, MS Additional 10106, folios 39v–44r.

[17] Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39, p. 374–385; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 99, fols. 150v–154v.

[18] *The Epistle of Othea* is structured around a single quatrain, often on Greek mythology, which is then glossed, and then interpreted allegorically pointing to a Christian truth. Each allegory ends with a quotation from the Bible, apart from the section on the Creed, which ends with a Latin credal clause stated by each apostle. Stephen Scrope, *The Epistle of Othea*, ed. Curt F Bühler, EETS O.S. 264 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 35–46.

[19] Venetia Nelson, ed., *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen: A Prose Version of the Speculum Vitae, Ed. from B.L. MS Harley 45* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1981), 81–83.

[20] *Pore Caitif*, 111–121.

Speculum Vitae, l. 1229–1452[21]	*sacramental*
The Book of Vices and Virtues, 6–9[22]	*sacramental*
The Doctrine of the Hert, 68–73, l.18–201[23]	*sacramental*

In his analysis of thirteenth-century creeds, Joseph Goering notes that 'it is very difficult to find any two authors who agree in the specific divisions of the articles or in the assignment of these to the individual Apostles.'[24] The reception history of lists of articles seems to suggest that in England, by the fifteenth century, each saying had been set into stone: Peter was assigned to faith in God the Father; Andrew to faith in Christ the Son; James to faith in the nativity and virgin birth; John the Evangelist to faith in the crucifixion, death and burial; Thomas to faith in Christ's descent into hell and his resurrection; and so on.[25] Rather than drawing on previous lists of Apostles, such as those found in the gospels, Tradition 1 (a) draws directly on the list introduced near the beginning of the Canon of the Mass, in the *communicantes* prayer.[26] Although, the association of each apostle with a credal formula (a well-loved legend in the Middle Ages, as evidenced by rood-screens and stained glass windows in parochial churches) can presumably be traced back to as early as the fourth century in the writings of Rufinus and Ambrose of Milan, it was most probably

[21] *Speculum Vitae: A Reading Edition*, vol. 1, ed. Ralph Hanna, EETS O.S. 331 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 44–51.

[22] *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed. W. Nelson Francis (London: Humphrey Milford and Oxford University Press, 1942), 6–9.

[23] *The Doctrine of the Hert: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. Christiania Whitehead, Denis Renevey, and Anne Mouron (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), 68–73.

[24] Joseph Goering, 'Christ in Dominican Catechesis: The Articles of Faith,' in *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, ed. Kent Emery Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 127–138, at 129.

[25] Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 27, a mid-thirteenth-century manuscript with early-fourteenth-century entries, contains a Middle English creed corresponding to Tradition 1 (a) (on fol. 162r), with the same list of clauses assigned to the same apostles suggesting that already in the fourteenth century, a pattern of allocation was appearing in Middle English. This is corroborated by a fourteenth-century creed (fol. 21) of this same tradition in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.4.32, where except from the order of John and James Major, the clauses and their respective apostolic affiliation correspond to fifteenth-century versions.

[26] James D. Gordon, 'The Articles of the Creed and the Apostles,' in *Speculum* 40:4 (1965): 634–640, at 638. *The Sarum Rite*, 169. Note that in the Sarum prayer, Paul is included alongside Peter, and Matthew appears only once in the listing of Apostles. In the twelve articles of faith, Matthew is sometimes included twice, by saying both the ninth and twelfth articles. However, this might be a scribal error, as the twelfth article is normally attributed to Matthias, the disciple who replaced Judas.

merely an elementary heuristic device, simple but effective in impressing each formula on people's memories.[27]

Among Tradition 1 (a), one finds a sub-group formed of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54; London, British Library, MS Harley 2343; Norwich, Norwich Castle Museum, MS 158.926/4.g.3; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 656, all of which share the same source text. These lists of twelve articles, which I have classified as *commentary B* owing to their reliance on the Bible, assigned the articles of the faith to both apostolic and prophetic sources. As all of the incipits underline, the twelve articles emanate from Scripture as they are confirmed 'bi þe olde lawe and also bi þe newe.'[28] The affirmation that each article has been prefigured in the Old Testament by a prophet not only expresses Augustine's typological principle that the Old Testament is revealed in the New, but also underlines the idea that each type functions as a promise of a higher truth to be fulfilled by the clause of an apostle and revealed through Christ in the New Testament.

However, the authority of the doctrinal truth is anchored less in the people (such as the prophets) than in the specific biblical passages (such as the 'old lawe') quoted by the commentary. For instance, the reference to David in MS 158.926/4.g.3 is thus to the scriptural text: 'it is wryten in þe sauȝter book, þe secounde salme þat David þe profit seiþ.'[29] This preference for biblical sources in MS B.14.54, MS Harley 2343, MS 158.926/4.g.3, and MS Laud misc. 656 suggests that the four commentaries must have

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[27] J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London and New York: Continuum, 2006), 1–3. For a late medieval example of the apostolic origin of the creed, see either the *Legenda Aurea* or Trevisa's English version of the *Polychronicon*, 'After þe ellectioun of Mathias, and after þe sendynge of þe Holy Gost, or þe apostles wolde goo aboute þeyȝ come in to dyvers londes, þey come togyders at Ierusalem, and made þe crede.' John Trevisa, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis, Together with English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 4, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby (London, 1872), 357. On the fifteenth-century material witnesses of the Apostolic origins of the creed, see Duffy*, The Striping*, 64–65. The origins of the Apostles' Creed was a point of contention between the Eastern and the Western churches at the Council of Florence (1438–45), which attempted to unify the Church. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 4.

[28] London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, fol. 2v.

[29] Norwich, Norwich Castle Museum, MS 158.926/4.g.3, fol. 79r.

circulated among textual communities with a high view of Scripture and a burden to teach the beliefs of the creed for the explicit faith of their audience, thus drawing direct links between each clause and its origin in the biblical text. Michael Madrinkian suggests that both MS B.14.54 and MS Laud misc. 656 might have circulated in a network of religious houses, as both manuscripts can be traced to the Sheen charterhouse.[30] This scrupulous attention to Scripture is, however, often associated with Wycliffite and Lollard communities. The possible circulation of *commentary B* in conservative monastic communities, which should not be surprising, reminds us that scripturally based faith was advocated among a wide spectrum of sensibilities. This scriptural assiduity is also perceived in both the self-reflexive prologue and the epilogue of the commentary. The prologue, in the voice of a teacher, declares:

> yf it is your wille for to wite to lerne and to knowe whiche ben the xii articles of the crede boþe by the olde lawe and eke by þe newe, I schal teche you with good wille as wel as I can and whoso wol teche me a better I wol mekely lerne it.[31]

The humility topos of the teacher, ready to receive criticism, also permeates the concluding sections of both texts in MS B.14.54 and in MS Harley 2343: 'Neþeles if ony man can fynde in þis crede errour or eresie and grounde him holi writ, y wole mekely revoke it and lerne to bileeve bettir.'[32] This epilogue not only points to the general anxiety of religious writings post-1409, it also most of all presumes that the authority of Scripture is higher than that passed down by the tradition of the Church from one generation to another. Such a high view of Scripture is what Madrinkian refers to as 'the insurmountable last word, superseding any human discourse.'[33]

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[30] Michael Madrinkian, 'New Findings in a Late-Medieval Catechetic Prose Sequence,' *Journal of the Early Book Society* 18 (2015): 228–240, at 230–231.

[31] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54, fols. 1v–2r.

[32] MS Harley 2343, fols. 11v–12r. MS 158.926/4.g.3 omits this epilogue.

[33] Madrinkian, 'New Findings,' 236.

As mentioned, this scriptural emphasis could reflect both reformist and Wycliffite/Lollard sensibilities. However, the clause by Matthew, which refers to belief in Holy Church, is thoroughly glossed by the author, suggesting an ecclesiology based on the doctrine of predestination. One of the main theological differences between orthodox/conservative and Wycliffite/Lollard circles, apart from the significance of the sacraments and the Eucharist more precisely, was their ecclesiology, as shown in the introduction to Part One of this study. For John Wyclif, Holy Church was solely the congregation of the elect, and thus the invisible Church (the true elects of Holy Church) was mixed on earth with the visible church (all those part of the institutional church). Hence, *commentary B* subtly affirms that belief in Holy Church means:

> all holy archangels and aungelis in heven bileven, and as alle þe riȝtful and oly patrarkes and profetis bileven and as alle þe rytful and holy apostles and disciples of oure Lord Ihesu Crist bileveden, and as alle þe riȝtful and holy men and wymmen þat han be fro þe bigynnynge of þe riȝtful Abel, Adams sone, in to þis day and ben now riȝtful and holy and as alle oþer men and wymmen þat shul be riȝtful and holy fro þis day to þe day of doom and þat þer ben chosen and ordeynede to blis þat ever shal laste, and as þis chirche þe whiche þat erriþ not bileveþ, þus I undurstonde þat Mathew bileveþ and moneþ þe bileve of Holy Chirche.[34]

The biblical reference to Abel, who was chosen by God, as a foundational Old Testament passage for the doctrine of predestination, as well as the affirmation that the 'riȝtful' have been 'chosen and ordeynede to blis þat ever shal laste,' emphasise the individual fate of the elects. According to the text, what Matthew means by Holy Church is thus solely the righteous, those chosen, the congregation of the elect. The omission of mentions of those outside the circle of the 'riȝtful' suggests that the Church, rather than being a heterogeneous composition of righteous people and sinners, is solely the projected

[34] MS 158.926/4.g.3, fol. 80v.

eschatological congregation of the elect, a heavenly reality projected onto an earthly reality.[35] It is not the institutional church that cannot err in its belief, but the congregation of the righteous.

Commentary B is clearly Wycliffite/Lollard in its ecclesiology, which raises questions of scribal intention. The manuscript contexts of both MS B.14.54 and MS Harley 2343 suggest a pastoral programme of spiritual progression, by including a commentary on the Ten Commandments, *The Sixteen Conditions of Christ's Charity* (Jolliffe G. 4; Raymo 58), 'the v bodily wittes,' and 'the v gostly wittes' (Raymo 156).[36] MS B.14.54 and MS Harley 2343 hence share textual 'clumps,' as Ralph Hanna puts it, suggesting connections between both reading communities, who from the outset seem perfectly orthodox.[37] The diverse purposes behind the treatises compiled in these two religious miscellanies beg the question as to whether their compiler shared a Lollard ideological stance, or whether the compiling of various theological views and ideologies was intentionally undertaken for the sake of the audience or inadvertently.[38] The combination of texts with orthodox views and dissenting views in the same manuscript suggests that compilers, drawn by particular themes or points of doctrine, might have purposefully overlooked 'alien' content or contexts for the sake of their particular agenda.[39] It might also simply result from a lack of exemplars (what Ralph Hanna refers to as 'exemplar poverty'), which would have left the

[35] For an orthodox/conservative view on the doctrine of predestination and its impact on the Church, see *Doctrinale*, I.274–295.1–8.

[36] C. A. Martin classifies the manuscript context of MS B.14.54 in his category 'Manual extracts, and other texts,' whereas MS Harley 2343 is classified in the category 'Manual as predominant text, or alone.' C. A. Martin, 'Middle English Manuals,' 288–289.

[37] Ralph Hanna, 'Middle English Books and Middle English Literary History,' *Modern Philology* 102:2 (2004): 157–178, at 167.

[38] Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry underline that compilers of religious miscellanies, as well as readers, could 'accomodate texts emerging from theologico-political poles.' Kelly, and Perry, 'Devotional Cosmopolitanism,' 366–367.

[39] Ralph Hanna, 'Compilation: The Gift that Keeps on Giving,' in *Late Medieval Devotional Compilation*, 63–81, at 77.

compiler to decide whether or not including a text would be more beneficial to his audience than leaving it out all together on account of certain doctrinal positions.[40]

I have classified another subgroup of Tradition 1 (a) as *sacramental*, based on its interpretation of the ninth or tenth article. Belief in the communion of saints, which is usually uttered by Simon, is at times appended to belief in the holy Catholic Church, or replaced by belief in the forgiveness of sins all together, or most often interpreted as belief in the sacrament. Hence, in the fifteenth-century historical and devotional miscellany, London, British Library, MS Additional 10106, the sacramental clause is attributed to the tenth article made by Simon. 'The tenth is to beleve in the sacrament of þe masse and this made Symond, seying: to all þat resceive it worthily, it shall be remissioun of her synnes.'[41] In this instance, the clause on the forgiveness of sins is interpreted as the act of partaking in the Eucharist.

Such sacramental emphasis in a miscellany containing, among other texts, a Latin chronicle of the kings of England, a text on the manner of coronation of the kings and queens of England, and a 'good and profitable table of the feyth of christen people,' suggests that the proximity of the monarchy to the sacramental life of the Church was a bulwark of orthodoxy.[42] This correlates with Jeremy Catto's argument that corporate worship was the inherent cultural message of Henry V's reign.[43] The second part of the composite manuscript Oxford, University College, MS 97, dating from the fifteenth century, is a religious miscellany accompanied by documents and chronicles connected to

[40] Ralph Hanna, 'Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England,' in *The Whole Book*, 37–51, at 47.

[41] MS Additional 10106, fol. 43v.

[42] The texts mentioned belong to the first portion of the manuscript (fols. 3r–49v), which is followed by a second unit (fols. 50r–78r) in a 'post-humanist book-hand'. See A. I. Doyle, 'The Work of a Late Fifteenth-Century English Scribe, William Ebesham,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39 (1956–1957): 298–325, at 313.

[43] Catto, 'Religious Change,' 109.

St Paul's Cathedral, London.[44] It contains another sacramental expounding of the tenth clause of the twelve articles of the faith. The treatise, which has been copied from the twelve articles of the faith found in variants of *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, such as in the Simeon manuscript (British Library, MS Additional 22283), underlines that 'The tenthe article is this: I bileeve in hooly chirche and houselynge other comunynge of halwene.'[45] It glosses the articles thus:

> And in this article been understonde the sevene sacramentis the whiche been in hooly churche, that is to seye cristenynge, confermynge of the bisshop, houselynge, penaunce, ordre, mariage and the hooly anoyntynge at mennes and wommennes deeth. This article sette Seynt Symound.[46]

In order to profess belief in the Church, in Holy Communion, and in the communion of Saints, one has to understand that each one of these entities implies the sacramental life of the Church. The Church is established by its sacramental life; the communion of saints is established and maintained through the partaking in sacraments.[47] Such ecclesiology echoes deeply within the agenda of Archbishop Henry Chichele's church, as expounded in Chapter Two. It affirms that salvation is found within the Church and its sacramental life,

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[44] On MS 97, which contains sir John Clanvowe's *Two Ways*, see John Scattergood, 'The Date of Sir John Clanvowe's "The Two Ways" and the "Reinvention of Lollardy,"' *Medium Aevum* 79:1 (2010): 116–120; John Scattergood, *Manuscripts and Ghosts: Essays on the Transmission of Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006), 148–150; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 422. On the first part of this composite manuscript which dates from the late fourteenth century, see A. I. Doyle, 'University College, Oxford, MS. 97 and Its Relationship to the Simeon Manuscript (British Library Add. 22283),' in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges*, 265–282.

[45] See, for instance, London, British Library, MS Additional 22283, fol. 93v; London, British Library, MS Additional 17013, fol. 4v.

[46] Oxford, University College, MS 97, fols. 126r–126v. This gloss echoes the ninth article in *Pore Caitif*, which states that 'Also it is to bileeue þat þe sacramentis of holi chirche ben souereyn medicyns to recounsile to God soulis forsaking synne and sorowynge þerfore. Þese ben þe seuene sacramentis of holi chirche: baptym, confirmacioun, þe sacrament of þe auter, þat is Goddis fleische and blood in foorme of breed and wiin, þe firþe is penaunce, þat is as seint Gregory seiþ to wepe for synnes doon and eschewe to do þo þingis þat ben to bywept, þe fifþe is wedlok, þe sixte is holi ordir, and þe seueþe is þe last anointing.' *Pore Caitif*, 120, l. 324–330.

[47] The necessity of participating in the sacramental life of the Church was legislated at the level of a general council with Lateran IV in 1215, and its twenty-first canon *Omnis utriusque*, which made yearly confession a universal Christian duty. See Tanner, ed., *Decrees*, 245.

which could be understood as a response to some forms of Wycliffite and Lollard ecclesiologies that questioned the basis of the sacramental life of the Church. The textual proximity of this sacramental Creed with *The Two Ways*, probably written in 1391 by Sir John Clanvowe, who was supposedly a 'Lollard knight' according to Thomas Walsingham's *Chronicle*, and an orthodox treatise on the visitation of the sick (Jolliffe L. 5(b); Raymo 215), speaks to the status of compiling texts with diverse and divergent ideological and theological affiliations, whether purposefully or inadvertently.[48] While Clanvowe's *Two Ways* contains only orthodox material, its silence on debated topics such as confession, pilgrimage, and the priesthood seems to fit uneasily with a full-blown expression of the sacramental life of the Church promoted in the Creed found in the same booklet.

The compendium of instruction material, *Disce mori* (Jolliffe A.6; Raymo 11), contained in Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 99, as well as in its abbreviation Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57 (Raymo 12), a manuscript from the second half of the fifteenth century beginning with John Pecham's constitution *Ignorancia sacerdotum* in Latin, all adopt a sacramental reading of the tenth clause in their scriptural commentary of the articles.[49] The three credal texts share the same

[48] On the date of the *Two Ways*, see Scattergood, 'The Date of Sir John Clanvowe's *The Two Ways*.' See also Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, 820–821.

[49] According to E. A. Jones, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57 used *Disce Mori* as a base text and was possibly written by the same author. E. A. Jones, 'The Heresiarch, The Virgin, The Recluse, The Vowess, The Priest: Some Medieval Audiences for Pelagius's Epistle to Demetrias,' *Leeds Studies in English* 31 (2000): 205–227, at 218; see also Phyllis Hodgson, '*Ignorancia sacerdotum*: A Fifteenth-Century Discourse on the Lambeth Constitutions,' *The Review of English Studies* 24:93 (1948): 1–11. On *Disce mori*, see *The "Exhortacion" from "Disce mori,"*ed. E. A. Jones (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006); E. A. Jones, 'A Chapter from Richard Rolle in Two Fifteenth-Century Compilations,' *Leeds Studies in English* 27 (1996): 139–162; Anne Hudson, 'A Chapter from Walter Hilton in Two Middle English Compilations,' *Neophilologus* 52:4 (1968): 416–421; Denis Renevey, '"Old feble wymmen with perseuerance ouercome many longe pilgrimages": Mapping the Feminine in *Disce mori*,' *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 42 (2020): 351–364; Ann M. Hutchison, 'What the Nuns Read: Literary Evidence from the English Bridgettine House, Syon Abbey,' *Mediaeval Studies* 57 (1995): 205–222. For a description of MS 39, see S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 38–39; for MS Laud misc. 99, see S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *Manuscripts in the Laudian Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 16–18; For MS Eng.

source and are similar apart from some dialectal and grammatical discrepancies. The twelve articles are first introduced in Middle English, then followed by a Latin version, where each clause is introduced in Middle English, such as 'Peter seide: […], Andreu seide aftire: […].' A rather thorough scriptural and patristic commentary on the twelve articles follows, with references to other creeds such as the Athanasian Creed and its theological complexities. All three texts expound the Latin clauses 'Credo in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum' through a sacramental lens. Belief in Holy Church is explained as follows:

> I beleve þat of alle hooly cherch called catholicam þat is universel, *quia catholicon grece est universalis latine*, which is þe congregacioun of alle cristen. Þe techinge is trewe and alle þe sacramentes þerof necessarie to mannes salvacion and þat without þe cherche þere is noone hele þat is to hem þat beleeve not as þeese Jewes, paynemes and heretiques.[50]

The ecclesiological stance here indicates a rebuttal of any limitation of the definition of the Church to those predestined as unfolded in *commentary B* with its Wycliffite and Lollard doctrine. The belief in Holy Church is also intricately connected with its sacramental life, as sacraments are 'necessarie' to salvation. The text goes on glossing 'sanctorum communionem':

> I bileeve þe communioun of þe sacramentes of Cristes chirche, which be come to alle christen þat who so resceiveth hem worthili in erþe shal have þe communioun wiþ þe hooli soules in hevene, which here were baptised as we be confermed, confessed, and communed, and resceived oþer sacramentes of þe chirche as we have bi whiche now þei have þeffect of hem ful in blisse.[51]

th. c. 57, see Ralph Hanna, *Smaller Bodleian Collections: English Miscellaneous, English Poetry, English Theology, Finch, Latin Theology, Lyell, Radcliffe Trust* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 9.

[50] Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39, p. 382.

[51] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57, fols. 21v–22r.

To read the Latin clause 'sanctorum communionem' as 'þe communioun of þe sacraments,' and in other sacramental creeds 'houselyng,' the reception of the flesh and blood of Christ at Mass, was not a novelty. It had already been advocated in the twelfth century, by Peter Abelard (d. 1142) in his *De Symbolo*. Whereas the tradition originally read 'sanctorum' in its masculine plural form, Abelard offered a neuter reading: 'Possumus et sanctorum dicere neutraliter, id est sanctificati panis et vini in sacramentum altario.'[52] The alternative reading by Abelard is more broadly observed by Henri de Lubac in his *Corpus Mysticum*, where he traces the fluctuation in meaning of the term *corpus mysticum* in the high Middle Ages.[53] As de Lubac notes, the communion of the body of Christ, 'sanctorum communionem,' 'was the mystery of one body formed by all those who shared in the "one Bread."'[54] Hence, from the time of the Apostle Paul, 'the Church had never ceased to appear linked to the Eucharist.'[55] Abelard's translation of 'sanctorum communionem' as the Eucharist put an emphasis on Christ's sacrificed body present in the host, without disproving the horizon of expectation of his contemporaries who would have associated the sacrament with the communing of the faithful.

By choosing the neuter form 'sacramentals' over the conventional masculine form of 'saints,' *Disce mori* and other fifteenth-century sacramental confessions of faith anchored themselves in a tradition almost three hundred years old, which read 'sanctorum' as the 'sacramentum altario.' Rather than being a variance, it was an intentional glossing that emphasised the fundamental role of the sacrament(s) in the making of the Christian community. By so doing, these creeds anchored the soteriology of their text in participation in the sacramental life of the Church, so as to attain heavenly bliss along with

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[52] Abelard, *De Symbolo*, in *PL*, vol. 178, 629.

[53] See Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages, Historical Survey*, trans. Gemma Simmonds, et al., ed. Laurence Paul Hemming, and Susan Frank Parsons (London: SCM, 2006).

[54] Ibid., 248.

[55] Ibid.

all the saints who had partaken in the sacraments before them. It was a direct assertion, an unequivocal statement, that there was no communion of saints without the sacrament(s), and thus that there was no salvation outside the church.

The Twelve Articles According to Saint Edmund of Abingdon

Abelard's reading did not remain dormant until the fifteenth century. It was followed closely by interpretations by Robert Grosseteste and Edmund of Abingdon (c. 1174–1240), an Oxford scholar turned archbishop of Canterbury, who both also adopted a sacramental understanding of the clause. Before looking at sacramental interpretations of the creed in variants of Edmund of Abingdon's Twelve Articles, let us turn first to the pastoral compilation *Speculum christiani*. The latter introduced the Grossetestian adaptation of the creed to fifteenth-century England, the creed having gathered momentum in Latin in the previous century.[56] Concerned with the clerical instruction of the basic catechism, as it referred to Pecham's ninth 1281 constitution in its prologue, the compilation includes eight tables (a tabular form used in Grosseteste's *Templum Domini*) covering the basic catechetic material of the church.[57] The first table is concerned with the articles of the

[56] Goering, 'Christ in Dominican Catechesis,' 129. Although Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* was translated into Middle English in the early fifteenth century, the single extant manuscript, London, British Library, MS Additional 32578, suggests that *Speculum Christiani* was the fifteenth-century advocate of the Grossetestian creed. See Cornelius, 'The Figurative Castle,' 89–112.

[57] The final lines of the prologue read: 'We bydde and commaunde that every curat expowne and declare openly to the pepil by hym-selfe or be a-nothyr on a solempne day or mo eche quarter ones.' *Speculum Christiani*, 6, l. 3–6. Gillespie notes that the inclusion of the ninth canon might be to fulfil 'fifteenth-century requirements that priests should possess a copy of Pecham's decree,' while remaining a compact manual. Gillespie, '*Doctrina* and *Predicatio*,' 39. Pecham's syllabus, which included teaching of the fourteen articles of the faith, the Ten Commandments, the seven sacraments, the seven works of mercy, the seven vices, and the seven virtues, was the minimal doctrinal knowledge expected in fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century pastoral programmes of church reform and religious education. For instance, William Lynwood's 1422 *Provinciale* glosses Pecham's material extensively. See F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, *Councils & Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 2, *A.D.1265–1313* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 892–918; *Lynwood's Provinciale, The Text of the Canons Therein Contained,*

faith, which begins with an incipit commonly included in the *verbatim Q* version of the Athanasian Creed (*Quicumque vult*), such as found in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.1.10 and in Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 88 (see Tradition 3 below). This use of the incipit of *verbatim Q* of the Athanasian Creed, which mostly circulated alongside Wycliffite translations of the Old and New Testaments, shows not only a high view of the liturgy (*verbatim Q* being a canticle), but also a wish to expand one's theological anchoring into more complex waters, which the text's constant anchoring in Latin authorities already supports.[58]

The reason for the reversion then to Grosseteste's creed, by drawing on the imagery of the spiritual temple before including one article on the Trinity, followed by four articles on Christ in his manhood, and then the seven sacraments, requires more scrutiny. Rather than drawing on the more famous analogous creed of Edmund of Abingdon, this unique fifteenth-century use of Grosseteste displays a particular awareness of his role in contemporary theological debates, as Wycliffites and conservative theologians (such as Thomas Netter) alike claimed him as their own. The creed in particular was a reminder that Grosseteste's theology originated in the sacramental life of the Church, as mediated by the priesthood, a trait that Thomas Netter underlined profusely in his *Doctrinale*, refuting Wycliffite and Lollard theological views. However, the lack of reference to the doctrine of transubstantiation in the ninth article of the creed of *Speculum christiani* (remaining faithful to Grosseteste's own version), rather than suggesting animosity, offers a broad and inclusive understanding of the eucharist. The *Speculum christiani* creed thus seems to

Reprinted from the Translation Made in 1534, ed. J. V. Bullard and H. Chalmer Bell (London: The Faith Press Ltd., 1929); Boyle, *Pastoral Care*, especially Chapter 9.

[58] On the nature of the *Speculum Christiani* as breathing in and exhaling texts already in circulation, see Gillespie, 'The Evolution'; 'Chapter and Worse: An Episode in the Regional Transmission of the *Speculum Christiani*,' *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 14 (2008): 86–111.

originate in a clerical milieu dedicated to forming an educated clergy, equipped with an 'explicit' faith so to minister to a laity eager for a greater pragmatic literacy.

This Grossetestian tradition of the creed can also be traced, as mentioned, to Edmund of Abingdon's Latin *Speculum religiosorum* and its Anglo-Norman translation *Mirour de seinte eglise*, which appears in twenty-three extant manuscripts from around 1250 to 1350.[59] The Anglo-Norman version, which was addressed to new textual communities was then re-translated into Latin while being given a new title, *Speculum ecclesie*, before being translated into Middle English as *The Mirror of Holy Church*. The broadening of audiences of Edmund's writing, and its 'increased emphasis placed on catechetical materials at the cost of contemplative ones' speaks to 'the recognition of the general usefulness' of the text, as demonstrated by Nicholas Watson.[60] Edmund considered the basic catechetical material of the faith as the foundation of a moral life, which was necessary for contemplation. The fifteenth-century popularity of *The Mirror*'s pastoral instruction is manifested in the twelve articles of the faith according to Edmund's *Mirror* (version D), which came to gain a valence of their own, as they were compiled in fifteenth-century miscellanies as single entities.

b. Edmund of Abingdon's twelve articles

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 395D, fols. 167r–167v	version D
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.2.38, fols. 33r–33v	version D
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 9r–9v[61]	version D

[59] Nicholas Watson, 'Middle English Versions and Audiences of Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum Religiosorum*,' in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), 115–131, at 122, 118.

[60] Ibid., 119. To consider the later developments of Edmund's *Mirror* still within the confines of 'para-mystical' texts would diminish its fifteenth-century value as a broad catechetic treatise for the Christian life. On the *Mirror* as a 'para-liturgical' text, see Gillespie, '1412–1534,' 175.

[61] On MS R. 3. 21, see Holly James-Maddocks, 'Scribes and Booklets: The "Trinity Anthologies" Reconsidered,' in *Scribal Cultures in Late Medieval England, Essays in Honour of Linne R. Mooney*, ed. Margaret Connolly, Holly James-Maddocks, and Derek Pearsall (York: York Medieval Press, 2022), 146–179; Linne R. Mooney, 'Scribes and Booklets of Trinity College, Cambridge, Manuscripts R.3.19 and

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 75, fols. 253v–254r	version D
Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, MS 93, fols. 80v–81v	version D
Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, MS 5 (A. 1. 17), fols. 197r–209v	*Mirror* B
London, British Library, MS Additional 10053, fols. 13v–14v	*Mirror* D
London, British Library, MS Additional 22283, fol. 32r	*The Spore of Loue*
London, British Library, MS Additional 22283, fol. 163v	*Mirror* B
London, British Library, MS Additional 28026, fol. 189v	version D
London, British Library, MS Additional 60577, fols. 139r–141r[62]	*Mirror* D
London, British Library, MS Royal 8. F. VII, fols. 44r–44v	version D
London, Westminster School, MS 3, fols. 190v–191r	*Mirror* D
Madresfield Court, MS in possession of Earl Beauchamps[63]	*Mirror* B
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 416, fols. 124r–125r	*Mirror* D
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 25, fols. 28r–33r	*Mirror* C
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 232, fols. 39r–41v	*Mirror* C
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fols. 229v–230r	*The Spore of Loue*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 357v	*Mirror* B
San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS HM 501, fols. 145v–146r	version D
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fols. 73r–74r	version ‘A’ or ‘B’

As classified by Valerie M. Lagorio and Michael G. Sargent, Middle English texts based on the Anglo-Norman translation *Mirour de seynte eglise* are considered as version A.[64] Version A contains one article on the Godhead, then four articles on Christ in his humanity, and seven articles on the seven sacraments. Edmund’s specific division of the clauses in the creed was not new. It had already been circulating in Northern France while he undertook his studies at the schools in Paris.[65] While versions based on *Speculum*

R.3.21,’ in *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions, Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall*, ed. Alastair J. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), 241–266.

[62] On the Winchester Anthology, a name given by its editor, see *The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577*, ed. Edward Wilson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981).

[63] Unfortunately, I have not been able to access this manuscript, which is classified by Valerie Lagorio and Michael Sargent as the B version of the *Mirror*. Valerie M. Lagorio and Michael G. Sargent, ‘English Mystical Writings,’ in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, vol. 9, ed. Albert E. Hartung, et al. (New Haven, CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993), 3460.

[64] Ibid., 3049–3137, at 3116–3117, 3405–3471, at 3460–3462. See also Raymo, ‘Works,’ 2281–2282, 2509.

[65] Andrew Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), 139.

religiosorum and *Speculum ecclesie* omit the redundancy of describing the sacraments both in the articles of faith and in a following chapter on the seven sacraments, the Anglo-Norman version dedicates a chapter to the seven sacraments after it has mentioned them in its enumeration of the last seven articles of faith. However, no Middle English articles of the faith according to Edmund of Abingdon derive from version A. Nonetheless, *Ara Dei*, found in the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, includes 'þe cred of Athanasie þat contenyth in hym silffe þat xii arteclis,' which expounds the twelve articles according to version A and B found in Edmund's *Mirror*.[66] Indeed, version B of the *Mirror*, based on the *Speculum religiosorum*, includes the seven sacraments in the articles, but it does not have a following chapter on the sacraments so to avoid repetitions. Version C of the *Mirror*, based on the second Latin translation *Speculum ecclesie*, includes only seven articles, one on the Godhead and six on Christ in his humanity, before transitioning to the following chapter on the sacraments by saying: 'The vii articlis þat suen þise ben þe vii sacrementis of hooli chirche þat ben remedies to man aȝens original synne, dedli synne and venial synne.'[67] Creeds originating in Edmund's *Mirror* are thus easily differentiated based on their content and content. If the chapter on the creed covers the twelve articles, the last seven being the seven sacraments, and it is followed by a chapter on the sacraments, the text under scrutiny can be traced to version A, *Mirour de seynte eglise*. If the chapter on the creed is not followed by one on the sacraments, the text draws on version B. If the chapter on the creed only contains five articles and is then followed by a chapter on the seven sacraments, it draws on version C.

[66] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fol. 73r. *Ara Dei* here confuses the Athanasian Creed with the twelve articles, and might have probably drawn its material from version A or version B of Edmund's *Mirror*. This confusion is confirmed on fol. 74r as the scribe mentions a third creed, the *Quicumque vult salvus esse*.

[67] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 25, fol. 29v. Versions C of the *Mirror* are closely translated from the Latin *Speculum ecclesie*. 'Septem articuli qui sequuntur septem ecclesie sacramenta, que sunt remedia homini contra peccatum originale, mortale et veniale.' Edmund of Abingdon, *Speculum religiosorum: and, Speculum ecclesie*, ed. Helen P. Forshaw (London: Oxford University Press, 2006), 65, l. 6–7.

The most common Middle English version of the *Mirror*'s articles, version D, is the only version that circulated independently from Edmund of Abingdon's text. It harmonises the discrepancies found in the other versions by drawing more extensively on the Apostles' Creed. It contains one article on the Godhead, eight articles on Christ in his humanity, two articles on humanity's salvation, and a final article consisting of belief in the sacraments of the Church. Many versions of D found within the *Mirror* are then followed by a chapter on the seven sacraments, as in the early fifteenth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 416, and London, Westminster School, MS 3, as well as in London, British Library, MS Additional 10053 from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and the late fifteenth-century London, British Library, MS Additional 60577 (the Winchester Anthology).[68]

While version D draws more extensively on the Apostles' Creed, it also verges on William de Montibus' theological exposition of the twelve articles found in the final book of his *Numerale*.[69] In this version of the articles, William de Montibus (d. 1213) extracts the theological truth of each article, such as the doctrine of the Trinity, the doctrine of the Incarnation, and of the virgin birth just to cite a few. De Montibus omits belief in the Holy Ghost (as it is already implied in the first article, belief in the Trinity), belief in Holy Church, belief in the communion of saints, and belief in the forgiveness of sins, while his last article, number twelve, states faith in the seven sacraments of the Church. De Montibus' list was then adopted and disseminated in England by Richard of Wetheringsett (d. c. 1230), who wrote the *Summa qui bene praesunt*. Joseph Goering notes that

[68] On London, Westminster School, MS 3, see Amanda Moss, 'A Merchant's Tales: A London Fifteenth-Century Household Miscellany,' *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 156–169; Amanda Moss, 'Reading London, Westminster School MS 3: A Manuscript and its Audience,' (PhD Dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2009); Ralph Hanna, 'The Origins and Production of Westminster School Ms. 3,' *Studies in Bibliography* 41 (1988): 197–218.

[69] Goering, 'Christ in Dominican Catechesis,' 128–129.

Wetheringsett's *Summa* marked an important turn in religious instruction in England.[70] The *Summa* was addressed to preachers and established a catechetic programme that they ought to follow. According to Goering, this 'programmatic guide' was to be foundational for later pastoral literature, as it was one of the first catechetic compendiums of the thirteenth century. Wetheringsett's list and exposition of the main catechetic points, such as the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven virtues, seven vices, seven sacraments, and the two evangelical precepts (of which the articles of the faith occupied the first position) often circulated alongside version D. The replacing of Edmund's traditional list of the twelve articles of the faith, as translated in the Middle English versions B and C, by de Montibus's and Wetheringsett's list of the articles suggests a kind of amalgamation of both compendia of catechetical instruction in the fifteenth-century communal consciousness. Both compendia assembled texts from the *Somme le roi* tradition, such as works on the Ten Commandments, on the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the seven deadly sins.

In the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript, London, British Library, MS Royal 8. F. VII, version D appears within a clerical miscellany that contains tracts on scriptures, confession (Jolliffe E.4), resurrection, and the canonical hours, as well as the *Speculum peccatoris* and a part of William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis*. Amid this clerical miscellany, one finds a collection of basic catechetical material, containing a treatise on the seven deadly sins, the Ten Commandments, the twelve articles of the faith, and the sacraments, drawing either on Edmund of Abingdon's *Mirror* D or on Wetheringsett's *Summa*.[71] This catechetical sequence begins with the Latin headline, 'Here is written in English how priests, who are entrusted with the cure of souls, must inform their

[70] Joseph Goering, 'The *summa Qui bene presunt* and its Author,' in *Literature and Religion in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. R. G. Newhauser and J. A. Alford (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), 143–59, at 143–144.

[71] On clerical miscellanies, see Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion.'

parishioners in the faith and the commandments of God.'[72] Such an injunction, which suggests a guide for preachers, points not only to Wetheringsett's *Summa*, but also to the growing function of fifteenth-century versions of Edmund's *Mirror* as works of pastoralia. The twelve articles are introduced by a short Middle English admonition:

> Her begynnyth þe twelfe artycles of þe fayth in wyche cristen men schal be levyn and stedfastly holdyn and doute in all þynge and all þeir mystake aȝeynes any of þeis poyntes hastly go to þe Trynyte, in whom þu schalt schryfte with sorow in hert.[73]

Every single point of the articles of faith is a theological truth which to measure one's life by. The injunction 'doute,' from the Middle English verb 'douten,' to fear, invites the audience to check their lives 'aȝenes any of þese poyntes,' and then promptly go to confession. The articles, in this manner, keep priests and parishioners accountable to their respective duty towards the confessional. The overtly clerical context of MS Royal 8. F. VII, which includes theological treatises, texts on the priesthood, and a homily, is unique among versions D, as other manuscript contexts mainly take on a devotional nature while including basic catechetical material.[74]

However, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 75, a scriptural miscellany from the first half of the fifteenth century, could have been in clerical hands. Its Wycliffite translation of the New Testament (EV/LV), and its paratexts, such as a table of readings for the liturgical year, some prologues to both Old Testament and New Testament books, and lessons and epistles from the Old Testament, could suggest both a textual community comprising

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[72] 'Hic notatur in Anglicis quomodo sacerdos quibus committitur regimen animarum debent suos parochianos in fide et mandatis dei breviter informare.' London, British Library, MS Royal 8. F. VII, fol. 41v.

[73] Ibid., fol. 44r.

[74] MS Royal 8. F. VII would not fit easily in C. A. Martin's categories of manuals of religious instruction (perhaps on account of its overtly Latin nature), which does not discriminate texts addressed to the clergy for the accomplishment of their priestly duty, including sacramental and pastoral responsibilities. C. A. Martin, 'Middle English Manuals,' 287–289.

Lollards or orthodox clergy, as the manuscript would have appealed to orthodox, Lollards, clergy, and lay alike.[75] The liturgical tables and Edmund's articles of the faith that were copied alongside the General Prologue of the Wycliffite Bible, which contains polemical passages against opposition to the dissemination of the vernacular Scriptures and against certain abuses that occurred at the University of Oxford, preclude any straightforward conclusions regarding the textual community of the manuscript. Eyal Poleg underlines that the Wycliffite Bibles that tended to remove the General Prologue and its marginal glosses often deliberately disassociated themselves from any Lollard ideology.[76] The presence of such a prologue in MS 75, however, alongside liturgical paratexts, agrees with the later tendency to anchor Wycliffite Bibles within the liturgical calendar, as well as within orthodox worship, using common liturgical mnemonics in Latin as headlines, and Latin psalmody.[77] This nestling of liturgical paratexts affirming the liturgical life of the Church and Edmund's articles of the faith professing its sacramental life with the seemingly different ideological stance of the General Prologue forewarns us to consider Tradition 1 (b) as merely orthodox and conservative in its affirmation of the sacraments. Just as the polemical ideological stances of the General Prologue might not have been considered as dissenting in some ecclesiastical reformist circles, the affirmation of the sacramental life of the Church in Middle English versions of the *Mirror of Holy Church* might have been fully endorsed in particular Lollard circles. Readers across the religious spectrum might have

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[75] Anne Hudson suggests that combinations of books from the early version (EV) and the later version (LV) of the Wycliffite Bible are common and probably attests to the scribes' lack of awareness of two different versions. Anne Hudson, 'The Origin and Textual Tradition of the Wycliffite Bible,' in *The Wycliffite Bible, Origin, History and Interpretation*, ed. Elizabeth Solopova (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), 146.

[76] Eyal Poleg, 'Wycliffite Bibles as Orthodoxy,' in *Cultures of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages: Instructing the Soul, Feeding the Spirit, and Awakening the Passion*, ed. Sabrina Corbellini (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 71–91, at 90–91.

[77] Elizabeth Solopova, 'Introduction: New Directions in Research on the First English Bible,' in *The Wycliffite Bible*, 1–8, at 1, 3; Eyal Poleg, *A Material History of the Bible, England 1200–1553* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 80. See the example of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough Eccl. Top. 5 in Elizabeth Solopova, 'The Manuscript Tradition,' in *The Wycliffite Bible*, 223–245, at 240. See also the introduction in Cosima Clara Gillhammer, ed., *The Wycliffite Old Testament Lectionary*, EETS O.S. 358 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

benefited from such ambiguity, enabling each and every one to adopt distinct readings of the same passages based to their belief.

TRADITION 2: THE APOSTLES' CREED

The rapprochement of the latest Middle English version of the *Mirror*, version D, with the Apostles' Creed and Wetheringsett's *Summa*, can be interpreted as a desire to harmonise Edmund's articles of the faith with the more common and significant Apostles' Creed circulating in fifteenth-century England. The Middle English Apostles' Creed and its many variants, whether verbatim translations from the Latin, macaronic versions useful in liturgical contexts, or commentaries on the Creed that were possibly used in sermons, attests to the popularity of Tradition 2, which includes various exemplars in more than fifty different manuscripts. The many Middle English translations of a Creed that was commonly used and known in Latin supposedly by the clergy and laity alike raise questions. In his *Instructions for Parish Priests*, John Mirk admonishes his audience, in an episcopal fashion, to teach their parishioners the Apostles' Creed four times a year in the vernacular.[78] Mirk's insistence on the use of Middle English comes through in the *Festial*'s sermon on the *Pater Noster*:

> Hit ys miche more spedeful and merytabul to ȝow for to sayne ȝowre Paternoster yn Englysse þan in Lateyne, os ȝe doþ. For whan ȝe spek on Englysse, þan ȝe know and vndurstande welle

[78] *Councils & Synods*, vol. 2, 900–905. The decree on lay instruction in the tenets of the faith was rendered popular by John Pecham, with its insistence on four times a year, owing to its status as a provincial legislation rather than a merely diocesan legislation. On previous similar decrees, see the Introduction to Part Three, fn. 20. See also Alexandra Barratt, 'Works of Religious Instruction,' in *Middle English Prose*, 413–432, at 414–415.

> whate ȝe sayne, and so be ȝoure vndurstandyng ȝe haue lekynge and deuocione for to seyghe hit.[79]

As Nicholas Orme underlines, Mirk's emphasis on the vernacular was an attempt to change Latinate habits of prayer among the clergy and laity, who might have perceived English as 'an inferior substitute.'[80] By the 1420s, the great number of Middle English Apostles' Creeds speaks to the efforts of Mirk and others to promote the vernacular as a language for both private and public prayers. The diverse translations and interpretations of the Apostles' Creed reflect textual communities with different theological and ideological agendas. Hence, this tradition is further categorised into three corpora: texts presupposing a mainstream theological and ideological agenda (Strand a), texts with sacramental leanings (Strand b), and finally texts with a Wycliffite or Lollard ecclesiology (Strand c). These taxonomic classifications are not, however, mutually exclusive, as texts from Tradition 2 (a) might have been read as much in mainstream religious communities as in Wycliffite or Lollard communities or in circles with a high view of the sacraments. Similarly, some versions of the Creed from Tradition 2 (b) might have been read in some Wycliffite or Lollard communities.[81] However, as we shall see, it might be unlikely that

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[79] Susan Powell, ed., *John Mirk's Festial*, *Edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.II*, vol. 2, EETS O.S. 335 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 263, l. 8–12.

[80] Orme, *Medieval Children*, 267. Orme's view should be contrasted with another vernacular language of England: Anglo-Norman, and the wide circulation of catechetic material copied in the French of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

[81] Robert Ball holds that Lollards were essentially 'anti-sacramental' which was associated with their anti-sacerdotalism. According to him, their denial of transubstantiation meant that they could not adopt a sacramental perspective. He cites plenty of examples of Lollards who denied the significance of the sacraments, such as Thomas Bikenore, who, in 1443, denied the necessity of baptism, confirmation, and extreme unction, while admiting that confession ought to be to God only, and that marriage did not need to be 'solemnised in Church.' Robert M. Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy in the Later Middle Ages with Particular Reference to the Manuals of Instruction,' (DPhil dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1976), 331–332. However, I hold a more nuanced view, which admits that some Wycliffite/Lollards might have been at ease with references to the sacraments, as long as the doctrine of transubstantiation was not explicitly mentioned. The affinity between Wycliffite scriptural material and the liturgical and para-liturgical texts alongside which it was compiled suggests that some Wycliffites and Lollards adhered to the sacramental setting of the Mass and the Divine Office in its broader sense (here, 'sacramental' as in participating in the heavenly reality of Christ).

writings from Tradition 2 (c), with their Wycliffite/Lollard ecclesiology, would have been read among communities with a high sacramental view of the Church.

The Mainstream Middle English Apostles' Creed

The Middle English versions of the Apostles' Creed fulfilled a variety of functions depending on their audience, an adaptability made possible only by the multiple ecclesiologies of the first half of the fifteenth-century. Fourteenth-century Apostles' Creeds were consistent in their Middle English translation of the Latin Creed, as a singular Middle English verbatim version, professing in its second part faith in the Holy Spirit, Holy Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. This received Middle English translation, in all its simplicity and forthrightness, continued to circulate in the fifteenth century, and is classified as *verbatim* T in the table presented below for Tradition 2 (a). The taxonomic classifications of Tradition 2 are categorised not only on the basis of the form of the creeds, whether verbatim, macaronic, commentary, or versified, but also according to their content, which is classified as the traditional content (T), apostolic authorship (A), faith of Holy Church (F), Scriptures (B), Wycliffite or Lollard (W), or finally sacramental (S).[82]

2. The Apostles' Creed

    a. Mainstream

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 52/29, fol. 43r	*verbatim* T
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 328/715, fol. iv(v)	*verbatim* T
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 4120, fols. 48r–49v	*verbatim* T

[82] These classifications will be expounded more thoroughly in the following paragraphs.

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.6.33, fols. 32v–33v	*macaronic* A
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fol. 63r	*verbatim* T
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.3, fol. 11v	*verbatim* T
Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 55, fol. 48r	*verbatim* T
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 1r–1v	*macaronic* F
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70, fols. 174r–174v	*verbatim* T
Durham, Durham University Library, MS Cosin V. iv. 2, fol. 134r	*verbatim* A
London, British Library, MS Additional 17010, fols. 77v–78r	*verbatim* F
London, British Library, MS Additional 28026, fol. 187r	*verbatim* T
London, British Library, MS Additional 32578, fols. 104r–105v	*commentary* A
London, British Library, MS Additional 39996, fols. 51v–52v	*versified* A
London, British Library, MS Additional 60577, fols. 120r–120v	*verbatim* T
London, British Library, MS Burney 30, fols. 105r–106r	*gloss* B
London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, fols. 1v–2r	*verbatim* T
London, British Library, MS Royal 8. F. VII, fol. 46v	*verbatim* T
Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85, fols. 2r–3v[83]	*verbatim* T
New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Plimpton 258, fols. 1r–1v[84]	*verbatim* T
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 549, fol. 77v	*versified* T
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938, fols. 1v–2r	*macaronic* T
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 99, fol. 139r	*verbatim* T
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 246, fols. 3v–4r	*verbatim* T
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 12, fol. 211v	*verbatim* A
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 12, fol. 211v	*verbatim* T
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 209, fols. 1r–1v[85]	*verbatim* T
Oxford, University College, MS 179, fol. 9r	*verbatim* T
St Albans, St Albans Cathedral Library, MS Catechetica, fols. 1r–1v[86]	*verbatim* T
York, York Minster Library, MS XVI. L. 12, fols. 73v–74r	*verbatim* T
York, York Minster Library, MS XVI. L. 12, fols. 74r–75v[87]	*commentary* T
A Christian mannes bileeve[88]	*macaronic* *commentary*

[83] On MS Eng. 85 as an intentional devotional textbook, see Margaret Connolly, 'Books for the "helpe of euery persoone þat þenkiþ to be saued": Six Devotional Anthologies from Fifteenth-Century London,' *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 170–181.

[84] On MS Plimpton 258, see Paul Acker, 'A Schoolchild's Primer (Plimpton MS 258)' in *Medieval Literature for Children*, ed. Daniel T. Kline (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 143–154.

[85] The second folio has been ripped, however it is possible to read the first few words of the eight clause 'and alle holy ch […],' which suggests the *verbatim* T version.

[86] I am thankful for the Whittington's Gift research group who drew my attention to this manuscript at their 2022 Kalamazoo session 'Tracing the "Multiplicatioun of Manye Bookis" of Devotion in Fifteenth-Century London: Codicological Contexts.'

[87] *Commentary* T ends abruptly at the forgiveness of sins clause, without mentioning the resurrection of the body and everlasting life.

[88] *A Christian Mannes Bileeve* is an extended devotional exposition of the Apostles' Creed, in a macaronic form, 12,000 words long. According to Nicole D. Smith, the text is 'an integration of Latin and English, intellect and emotion, and prose and poetry through the image of the thinking heart,' and thus it encourages the audience to undertake 'an affective and experiential process.' Nicole D. Smith, 'The Thinking Heart of Female Spirituality and the Apostles' Creed in *A Christian Mannes Bileeve*,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 48:2 (2018): 227–260, at 229, 237. See also *A Christian Mannes Bileeve*, ed. Nicole D. Smith (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2021), xi–li. It is extant in the following manuscripts: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.1.2, fols. 112v–135v; London, British

Tradition 2 (a) consists mostly of verbatim translations of the Latin Apostles' Creed.[89] The creeds referred to as *verbatim* T most often appear without rubric, headline, introduction, or apostolic connections. In the English liturgical rite, the verbatim Apostles' Creed was said at Lauds, as Sarum Psalters indicate, preceded by the Lord's Prayer and the *Ave Maria*. This combination might have formed the opening preces, suffrages (short petitions sung as versicles and responses) of the service for Lauds.[90] The manuscript contexts of *verbatim* Apostles' Creed are varied, from orthodox Psalters to Wycliffite ones, as in the early fifteenth-century manuscript, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70, to school primers and Books of Hours, such as Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 4120, Oxford, University College, MS 179, the early fifteenth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 246, and miscellanies of religious instructions with connections to the *Somme le roi* tradition, such as Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.3, Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 209.[91] The versions classified as *verbatim* A are also word-for-word translations from the Latin, but they anchor each statement in apostolic authorship, a tradition already seen in Ambrose of Milan (d. 397) and popularised by Pope Innocent III, as mentioned above.

The two versions of *verbatim* F are similar to *verbatim* T, except for the eighth article, which evades a profession of belief in the holy catholic church by stating: 'I bileve

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Library, MS Harley 4012, fols. 83v–100v; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3597, fols. 79v–89v; Washington, Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collections, MS 4, fols. 64r–78r.

[89] *Verbatim* versions of the Apostles' Creed show an unbroken line of descent from the Latin version to its Middle English translation, commonly called a 'perfect linear class.' See D. C. Greetham, 'Models for the Textual Transmission of Translation: The Case of John Trevisa,' *Studies in Bibliography* 37 (1984): 131–155, at 134; Mishtooni Bose, 'Relationships between Text and Translation in Medieval Europe,' in *Translation: An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Paul Armin Frank, et al. (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter Mouton, 2008), 1295–1300, at 1296.

[90] Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 66.

[91] The Apostles' Creed in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.3, fols. 11v–12r, rather than following the usual expression of faith of an individual in the first person singular, unfolds its Creed in the infinitive form: 'To beleve in Godde fadir almyghti maker of heven and erth and alle thinge.' Such a depersonalisation emphasises the universal and canonical nature of each credal statement.

in þe … feiþ of hooli chirche.'[92] The rarity of such wording is equivocal. To profess faith in the 'feiþ of hooli chirche' thus seems to put less emphasis on the ecclesiastical institution than the faith passed down from scripture, generation after generation. London, British Library, MS Additional 17010 is a Book of Hours dating from the fifteenth century, using the later version of the Wycliffite Psalter.[93] The creed is included among other catechetical material in the final quire, possibly to fill the remaining leaves.[94] Hence, it shares a textual proximity with a treatise on the Ten Commandments, which draws on the Wycliffite commentary identified as the 'C. compressed version' by A. L. Kellog and Ernest W. Talbert.[95] Such a translation of the eighth clause and the manuscript context could entail a theological agenda that undermines the authority of the institutional church. However, the other textual witness, the credal version *macaronic F*, is found in an anthology of Middle English religious verse from the 1460s or 1470s, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, which compiles poems of sacramental and liturgical significance.[96] It is thus questionable whether or not belief in the faith of Holy Church would have been a stratagem to elude ecclesiastical authority, and yet it was a fine subtlety that might have alleviated some people's conscience within particular religious networks.

The few macaronic versions, whether in their normal form, *macaronic* T, or with their apostolic authorship acknowledged in each clause, such as in *macaronic* A, despite being compiled alongside catechetical material rather than para-liturgical material, would

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[92] London, British Library, MS Additional 17010, fol. 77v.

[93] Kennedy, 'Reintroducing the English Books of Hours,' 696. For general information on Books of Hours in England, see Nigel Morgan, 'English Books of Hours, c. 1240–c.1480,' in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), 65–95.

[94] Kathleen Kennedy notes that instead of including miscellaneous prayers characteristic of Latin Books of Hours, Middle English Books of Hours mostly included elementary catechisms. Ibid., 703. This shift points to the passing of monastic and clerical para-liturgical material into lay hands or clergy with little education.

[95] A. L. Kellog and Ernest W. Talbert, 'The Wycliffite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments, With Special Reference to English MSS. 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1959/1960): 345–377.

[96] For a description of the manuscript content, see Mooney, 'Scribes and Booklets,' 243; James-Maddocks, 'Scribes and Booklets,'150–151.

have offered ways for people to follow the Latin Creed during the Divine Office.[97] Thus, *macaronic* versions functioned as a form of interlinear glossing. The use of Latin invited the audience to join countless voices across time who had recited the Apostles' Creed in the *lingua franca*, while the Middle English translation enabled them to embrace the mysteries of the faith in their mother tongue. The multilingual context of macaronic creeds was to mirror the multilingual context of the Mass and the Divine Office. It embedded the creed in its initial liturgical context. Each Latin headline functioned as a mnemonic pointer, heard at Sunday Mass or on feast days, an invitation to join the communion of saints across time and space, or a seal of authority for the following verbatim Middle English translation.

Although *gloss* B, found in the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript, London, British Library, MS Burney 30, appears as a unique version of Tradition 2 (a), its variation from *commentary* B in Tradition 1 (a) is worth noticing. Unlike the latter commentaries in Tradition 1 (a), it does not mention the twelve articles, but clearly refers to the Creed that 'þe apostolis counfermed.' This credal version offers a verbatim translation of the Latin Apostles' Creed, in which each clause is preceded by a reference to particular Old Testament prophets, as 'þe crede þat þe profetis seyde beforn þe incarnacion.'[98] The third clause, belief in Christ's conception by the Holy Spirit and the virgin birth, is thus prefaced by 'Ysaye seiþ lo a mayde schal conseyve and bere a sone.'[99] *Gloss* B draws directly on a tradition established by William de Montibus, in a creed found as the final item of his *Tractatus metricus*, where he introduces each credal clause with a reference to an Old

[97] For instance, the macaronic Creed in MS Bodley 938 is copied alongside writings of devotional and moral nature, and so are MS Ff.6.33 and MS R.3.21. Both MS Bodley 938 and MS R.3.21 are considered as miscellanies or manuals of devotional and moral texts by C. A. Martin. Martin 'Middle English Manuals,' 288.

[98] London, British Library, MS Burney 30, fol. 105r.

[99] Ibid., fol. 105v.

Testament prophet. Hence, his third clause goes as such: 'Isaias. Ecce uirgo concipiet.'[100] The manuscript context of MS Burney 30 happens to be mostly scriptural, with later Wycliffite versions of both the Gospel of John and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as a commentary on the *Pater Noster*. Hence, *gloss* B circulated in textual communities that valued both the tradition of *pastoralia* set out by William de Montibus, and a high view of Scripture with a holistic perspective on both Testaments.

The Sacramental Versions of the Apostles' Creed

The following taxonomic category is concerned with those translations, interpretations, and glosses of the Apostles' Creed that put forward the sacramental life of the Church. As mentioned above with Tradition 1 (a), and its translation of 'sanctorum' in the neuter rather than masculine gender, such sacramental interpretation took a new turn in the vernacular in the first half of the fifteenth century, displaying a particular linguistic variation that was heavily influenced by the religious, political, and cultural context of the *ecclesia Anglicana*.

b. Sacramental leanings

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.14.26(3), fols. 38r–39r	*macaronic* S
Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125, fols. 124r–125r	*commentary* S
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.19, fols. 197v–202r	*macaronic commentary* S
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 211, fol. 226r[101]	*versified* S
Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 66, fols. 137r–137v	*macaronic* S

[100] Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 1992), 177–178, at 178.

[101] The Apostles' Creed in MS 211 is copied from John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*.

London, British Library, MS Additional 10053, fols. 103r–105r[102]	*commentary* S
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII, fol. 107r[103]	*gloss* S
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 853, p. 39–40	*gloss* S
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 110, fols. 155v–156r	*macaronic commentary* S
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. B. 408, fols. 4r–4v[104]	*versified gloss* ABC of Devocione
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 913, fols. 7r–8v[105]	*versified macaronic commentary* S
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155, fols. 250r–250v	*verbatim* B S
Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, fols. 45v–46v	*versified macaronic* B S
John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 426–453	*versified* S
The Lay Folks' Mass Book, l. 197–240	*versified* S

The creeds found in John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.19, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 211 (based on Mirk's *Instructions*), Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, and *The Lay Folks' Mass Book* translate the Latin genitive of 'sanctorum' in its neuter form. In these cases, the neuter reading of 'sanctorum' either becomes the sacraments, 'Sanctorum communionem, þis is my trest amonge all seven sacrements,' or the Eucharist, 'And so I trow þat housel es bothe flesshe and blode.'[106] These creeds are all directly connected to a clerical context, where the sacramental life of the Church would have been at the forefront of people's minds, as the primary duty of the clergy. The manuscript context of MS 211 is particularly interesting as

[102] The sacramental Apostles' Creed in MS Additional 10053 is part of a treatise on what is necessary to be known by a priest containing a part of Pecham's catechetical syllabus. 'Sacerdos parochialis tenetur per canonces docere et predicare in lingua materna, in anno.' London, British Library, MS Additional 10053, fol. 99r. Usually the catechetical treatise referred to as *Sacerdos parochialis* contains a list of fourteen articles, rather than the Apostles' Creed, which reflects some flexibility on the part of the scribe in his credal choices.

[103] *Gloss* S ends abruptly with the belief in the transubstantiation doctrine, which replaces belief in the communion of saints. Clauses on belief in the forgiveness of sins, resurrection of the body, and life everlasting are missing.

[104] *ABC of Devocione* is a catechetical and devotional treatise in thirty-six rhyme royal stanzas connected to Godestow Abbey. Raymo, 'Works,' 2276, 2503. Raymo also includes Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 229 in his list of manuscripts of the text. However, MS Douce 229 ends at fol. 7v, and does not contain fol. 8r which Raymo mentions.

[105] The creed is incomplete at the beginning.

[106] Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, fol. 46v; *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, 20–23.

it contains John de Burgh's *Pupilla oculi*, the late fourteenth-century abbreviation of Pagula's pastoral handbook, which was popular among Austin canons, as well as provincial and episcopal legislations, while brief Middle English items have been added on opening and closing folios of quires. The combination of Pecham's Lambeth constitutions on folios 1v to 3r, required to be owned by all fifteenth-century priests, as well as the *Pupilla oculi*, infers a clerical miscellany for the *cura animarum*, belonging to a secular priest. Similarly, MS 3 is likely to have belonged to a secular priest in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.[107]

This intricate connection between the sacramental versions of the Apostles' Creed and the secular clergy can be further perceived in the literary form of the credal statements. Almost half of Tradition 2 (b) happens to be a recasting of the Latin prose into versified form, which appears in only two other creeds from Tradition 2 (a): London, British Library, MS Additional 39996 (*versified* A) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 549 (*versified* T). As Mishtooni Bose underlines, 'by recasting the literary form of the source, a translation could play a part in transforming an audience's perception of that source.'[108] Hence, the popularity of versified creeds in Tradition 2 (b) not only proved itself an ambitious endeavour of turning established credal formulas into verse, it also pointed to the creation of new perceptions of the Apostles' Creed. Versified forms, through mnemonic formulations, where each rhyme functioned as a mnemonic nodal point in order to recall the previous clause and the glossed new doctrinal developments, were to capture anew people's imaginations. As Daniel Sawyer underlines, the tendency among poets of religious instruction to marshal 'balanced rhyme units' while avoiding rhyme-breaking, meant that 'the rhyming patterns in their work tend[ed] to emphasise the messages they

[107] See Chapter One, fn. 34. *MMBL* 4:291–292.
[108] Bose, 'Relationships between Text and Translation,' 1297.

conveyed.'[109] The *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, in an *ABAB* rhyme scheme that weaves together credal clauses, thus notes:

> Wel I trow in þo holi gost
> And holi kirc þat is so gode
> And so I trow þat housel es
> bothe flesshe and blode.
> Of my synnes forgyfnes
> If I wil mende
> Up-rising als so of my flesshe
> And lyf withouten ende.[110]

In this kind of pastoral and didactic writing, rhyme functions not only as an aid for reading purposes and for memory, but also as a means by which to emphasise the meanings conveyed by the text. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155 notes in rhyming couplets markedly linked to one another on the manuscript page with 'rhyme braces:'[111]

> I trow in the haly gaste and halde it gude
> Wele I trowe þat houselt is bothe flesche and blode
> I trowe his mercy be so fre þat is goddes sone
> Þat all my synnes sall be forgifen þat I hafe done
> I trowe to ryse in flesce and fell on domes daye
> And sythen to come to þat ioye þat lastes aye.[112]

To use mnemonic verse in order to refine clauses for believers was a way to anchor new formulations in the communal and individual memory, thus ensuring that the content of the text was fully absorbed and retained by the audience. Belief in the Holy Spirit had to be held 'gude' in order to rhyme with the Middle English translation of *sanctorum communio* as the Eucharist, 'flesche and blode.'

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[109] Daniel Sawyer, *Reading English Verse in Manuscript c. 1350–c.1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 141.

[110] London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII, fol. 6v; *LFMB*, 20, 22, l. 233–240.

[111] For a discussion on 'rhyme braces' also called 'rhyme brackets' see Sawyer, *Reading English Verse*, 123–139. As Mary Carruthers underlines, already in the twelfth century, Hugh of Saint Victor, explained to his students the value of manuscript page layout and decoration as having 'mnemonic utility.' Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 10.

[112] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155, fol. 250v.

Just as rhyming mnemonic verses were popular in Latin pastoral literature and in the elementary school curriculum, they had continued to be favoured among parish priests, as reflected in the *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, and John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*. As Vincent Gillespie notes, 'it is in the nature of preliterate and partially literate societies that their moral values and ethical principles will be enclosed in and transmitted by memorial verse.'[113] Sacramental Apostles' Creeds in verse form were thus privileged by secular clergy who were intensely involved in the *cura animarum*, displaying a genuine pedagogic interest in the spiritual well-being of their parishioners. Consequently, these versified (probably mostly oral) creeds could have had a homiletic function. They might have been used in the confessional, in the context of the elementary and song schools as part of the curriculum, or else in private devotion.

The sacramental interpretation of the Apostles' Creed unveils rather clearly the theological concerns of the secular clergy. Two-thirds of the creeds, rather than offering a sacramental reading of the ninth clause (the communion of saints), read either the eighth clause (belief in Holy Church) or the tenth clause (forgiveness of sins) sacramentally. Such a transition from a genuine translation issue for the ninth clause of the creed to a sacramental glossing of other articles suggests that by the early fifteenth-century, the lack of theological consensus around ecclesiology and soteriology necessitated clearer doctrinal definitions of the articles in question. To offer further clarification and exposition regarding ecclesiology and soteriology in a rather stable text that was 1000 years old indicates the author's real concerns. On the one hand, one found a clerical anxiety towards a possible obsolescence of the confessional, as advocated by some Wycliffites and Lollards.[114] On the other hand, one detected an imperative need to refine people's

[113] Vincent Gillespie, 'Moral and Penitential Lyrics,' in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, 68–95, at 68.

[114] The tenth clauses in both Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 913, 'I byleve in the remyssyon of synnes truly confessed wyth contryssyon of hart and sufferyng of penauns,' and in London,

understanding of ecclesiology.[115] Whereas mainstream creeds from Tradition 2 (a), such as those found in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9 and in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938, translated 'catholicam' as 'general,' many in Tradition 2 (b) found it necessary to translate and gloss *sanctam ecclesiam catholicam* with more precision.[116] Hence, Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 66 states: 'Mattheus: sanctam ecclesiam catholicam. And in Holy Kyrk wiþ al hys vii sacramentis, þat is to sey: baptym, confirmacion, penaunce, þe sacrament of þe auter, order, matrimony, and anoyntyng.'[117] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. B. 408 similarly underlines: 'I bileve also in al holichurch/ with þe seven sacrementis after þe feith,' while Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 913 glosses:

> I byleve in the holy church and of sentes the communion
> the holy sacrement vebo dei dedicate
> In thys holy churche restyth true crysten relygeon.[118]

These further details negotiating new boundaries of ecclesiology are also present in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.14.26(3); London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 110.[119] The affirmation that Holy Church could not be differentiated from its sacraments is a conscious ecclesiological

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Lambeth Palace Library, MS 853, 'Forȝeevenes y bileeve of synne, bi þe holi goost and þe sacrament,' disclose such clerical concern. MS Rawl. D. 913, fol. 8r; MS 853, p. 41.

[115] A previous refinement of the eighth clause had already taken place in the fourth century, when Bishop Nicetas of Remesiana (d. 414) had clarified the clause 'sanctam ecclesiam' as 'sanctam ecclesiam catholicam' to distinguish the orthodox Church, the universal Church across the whole world, from Arian, Donatist, and other heretical conventicles developing locally alongside the Church. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 385–386.

[116] The use of 'general' in MS Bodley 938 and its all-encompassing meaning evades any reference to the institutional church, reflecting the overall sensibility of the Creed, which begins with a rubric containing a Wycliffite trait, associating the Creed with the Holy Spirit's making, rather than the apostles: 'whiche bileve þe holi gost made bi þe xii apostlis of Ihesu Crist.' MS Bodley 938, fol. 1v.

[117] Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 66, fol. 137v.

[118] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. B. 408, fol. 4v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 913, fol. 8r.

[119] The creed in MS Dd.14.26(3) is followed by a Latin levation prayer, 'Ave benignissime ihu criste Nazarene, rex in deorum, verbum patris, filius virginis,' reinforcing the emphasis placed in the manuscript on the significance of the sacramental life. See folios 39r–39v.

statement, which asserts that just as the Holy Spirit makes the Church, the rituals of the sacraments sustain it. This refinement acknowledges too that some believed in Holy Church without believing in the fundamental function of its sacraments in the sustaining of the Church.

It is in the optic of explaining the central nature of sacraments within the field of ecclesiology that Thomas Netter consecrated a great portion of his *Doctrinale* to sacramental theology. Christology is at the heart of his argument. For Netter, it is Christ's presence in the sacramental life of the Church that makes the Church, as believers are incorporated in the very body of Christ through their participation in the sacraments. Netter anchored salvation not so much in the confines of the individual, as Wyclif had done, but rather in the social reality of the visible Church. Hence, to gloss '*sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*' as belief in Holy Church and its sacraments crystallised the ecclesiological issue that was most debated under the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele. It was a direct assertion that the Church, mentioned in the creed, was in fact the visible church with all those who took part in its social reality framed by the sacraments. The acute awareness of diverging views regarding ecclesiology and the imperative need to clarify what was transmitted by the apostolic faith percolated all the way from theologians at the University of Oxford to parish priests, from the most comprehensive Latin works of theology all the way to the simplest vernacular creed.

Versions of the Apostles' Creed Based on Wycliffite and Lollard Ideology

Given that early fifteenth-century theological debates and the developments of doctrines of sacramental theology made their way into the most basic credal formulas, it is not

surprising that other theological and ideological views were expounded within certain clauses of the Apostles' Creed. In Tradition 2 (c), I have classified the variants of the Apostles' Creed which unfold a Wycliffite or Lollard ecclesiology.

c. Wycliffite/Lollard Apostles' Creed

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.4.12, fols. 27r–29v	*commentary* W
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 245, fols. 1r–2r	*commentary* W
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 408, fols. 3v–4v	*commentary* W
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789, fol. 105r	*verbatim* W
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. e. 181, fols. 3v–6r	*commentary* W
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, MS 3390, fols. 24r–27r	*commentary* W
York, York Minster Library, MS XVI. L. 12, fols. 37v–39v	*commentary* W

The most common text of Tradition 2 (c) is the Wycliffite/Lollard commentary on the Apostles' Creed. This commentary might appear familiar to some as it was edited by Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Nolleth as part of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, using the base text of London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 408.[120] However, as Anne Hudson demonstrates and Pamela Greg corroborates in her critical edition of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, the three first treatises on the *Pater noster* (Raymo 33), *Ave Maria*, and the Creed in MS 408 are not part of the *Catechism* but rather are merely writings interpolated at the beginning of the text.[121] *Commentary* W uses common-stock credal sayings in its prologue, such as 'beleve is ground of alle vertues and þerfore eche cristyn man schulde be sad in beleve.'[122] Similarly to the commentary on the Athanasian Creed

[120] On the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, see David Lawton, 'Gaytryge's Sermon, d*ictamen*, and Middle English Alliterative Verse,' *Modern Philology* 76 (1978/1979): 329–343; Anne Hudson, 'A New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism,' *Viator* 16 (1985): 243–258; Anne Hudson, 'The Lay Folks' Catechism: A Postcript,' *Viator* 19 (1988): 307–309; J. Hughes, *Pastor and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge: 1988), 149–155; R. N. Swanson, 'The Origins of "The Lay Folks' Catechism",' *Medium Aevum* 60:1 (1991): 92–100; Susan Powell, 'The Transmission and Circulation of *The Lay Folks' Catechism*,' in *Late-Medieval Religious*, 67–84.

[121] Pamela Greg, *'"The Lay Folks' Catechism": An Edition*,' (PhD Dissertation, The University of Nottingham, 2018), 332. An observation already made briefly by Anne Hudson in her 1985 article on the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. Hudson, 'A New Look,' 251.

[122] Paris, Bibliothèque Geneviève, MS 3390, fol. 24r.

from Tradition 3, it refers to the three creeds of the Church before focusing on the Apostles' Creed 'for it is more comyn and schorter to knowe.'[123] However, as the Creed unfolds, its determinate ideological and theological stance emerges.

The first clear Wycliffite/Lollard view arises in the prologue, which sets the ideological tone for the rest of the commentary. The text is concerned with the instruction of the creed. It laments the lack of credal teaching among and by priests. Such a view was shared across ideological boundaries, among Wycliffites/Lollards and orthodox alike, as the reformist programme of Chichele's church emphasised the necessity for an educated clergy. *Commentary* W however undermines the sacerdotal power conferred on the priesthood. The latter view might not have been shared so easily across the entire ideological spectrum. The first distinct ideological trait arises from the attribution of the creed to the apostles, as Wycliffites and Lollards attributed it to the Holy Spirit rather than to apostolic authority: 'Ne bisie us not what postle made what partie of þis crede and whanne þe postlis gaddern it.'[124] Whereas most creeds anchor the origin of the Apsotles' Creed in a legend where each apostle received a truth to share, Wycliffite and Lollards completely did away with that tradition. Furthermore, it is in regarding the teaching of the creed that the Wycliffite/Lollard ideology is then more fully unveiled: 'If prelates feileþ in þis, Crist seide þat stones schulde crye, as seculer lords schulde in defaute of prelates lerne and teche þe lawe of God in þeire moder tonge.'[125] This biblical reference to Luke 19:40 suggests that if prelates do not undertake their duty, and praise Christ, just as the disciples did, stones will take on the teaching.

John Wyclif was adamant that the single purpose of the clergy was to preach. Hence, the lack of preaching and teaching on the part of prelates points to Wyclif's

[123] Ibid.
[124] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 245, fol. 1r.
[125] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.4.12, fol. 27v.

criticism of the common practice among the English clergy of holding both spiritual and temporal offices, often leading to non-residence as a result of absenteeism or pluralism. As Anne Hudson underlines, the chief Lollard objection towards secular offices was 'to the failure of priests, consequent upon their preoccupation with administrative offices in the human kingdom, to fulfil their proper function of evangelism.'[126] To supplant sacerdotal responsibility with secular authority, as 'seculer lords' are requested to 'lerne and teche þe lawe of God in þeire moder tonge' when the clergy is left wanting, refers to a second Wycliffite ideological stance, which draws on John Wyclif's theory of dominion. Wyclif's rebuttal of the sacramental power endowed to sacerdotal responsibility, the latter of which he reduced to the mere instruction of parishioners in the Christian faith, meant that all people whether the clergy or laity were invested with the same duty of teaching the creed.[127] This claim was addressed specifically in Archbishop Thomas Arundel's *Constitutions*, with the first two constitutions dedicated to the regulation of preachers, as well as the tenth, in an attempt to reinforce the *officium sacerdotum* (the order of priesthood).[128] Later, in the 1447 preaching controversy, Reginald Pecock (d. c. 1459), the bishop of Chichester, relegated the oral and pragmatic cure of souls to lower clerical ranks.[129] Hence he forwent the preaching duty of bishops while turning the apostolic

[126] Anne Hudson, '*Hermofodrita or Ambidexter:* Wycliffite Views on Clerks in Secular Office,' in *Lollard and the Gentry*, 41–51, at 48.

[127] On the weakening of ecclesiastical powers according to Wyclif's theory of dominion, see J.-P. Genet, 'Ecclesiastics and Political Theory in Late Medieval England: The End of Monopoly,' in *The Church, Politics, and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Richard B. Dobson (Gloucester and New York: Alan Sutton and St Martin's Press, 1984), 23–44. As Anne Hudson notes, 'the priesthood of all believers' with sacramental power being invested in all the predestined was further developed in Wyclif's followers such as John Purvey and Hawisia Mone. Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, 325.

[128] Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, vol. 3, 315–318.

[129] These broad brush strokes should be contrasted with Pecock's emphasis on written catechetic instruction, as he perceived Christian education to be an intrinsic component of governance of God's moral law. See Kirsty Campbell, 'Reginald Pecock and the Religious Education of the Laity in Fifteenth-Century England,' *Studies in Philology* 107:1 (2010): 48–73, 51. See also Reginald Pecock, *The Reule of Crysten Religioun*, ed. William Cabell Greet, EETS O.S. 171 (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 288. On more general discussions of Pecock, see Wendy Scase, 'Reginald Pecock,' in *Authors of the Middle Ages*, vol. 3, ed. M. C. Seymour (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 69–146; 'Reginald Pecock's Vernacular Voice,' in *Lollards and Their Influence in Late Medieval England*, ed. Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Evans, and Derrick G. Pitard (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 217–236; Sarah James, 'Revaluing Vernacular Theology:

tradition of shepherding the flock (John 21:15–17) as a 'surveillant et surintendant dans le peuple de Dieu' ('overseer and superintendent amidst the people of God'), as Jean Leclercq puts it, into an intellectual and political endeavour.[130] Whether by extending the duty of oral catechetic instruction to all believers or by confining it to lower clerical ranks, in both cases the *officium sacerdotum* was crippled by an inappropriate view of the priesthood and its mandate on the authoritative teaching of the church, which was ultimately a direct threat to the magisterial role of the church.

In the final part of the creed, which covers the clauses on belief in the Holy Spirit, *Commentary* W unfolds a clear Wycliffite/Lollard ecclesiology relying on Wyclif's doctrine of the 'true church.' The creed in the early- to mid-fifteenth-century manuscript York, York Minster Library, MS XVI. L. 12 glosses the ninth article thus: 'aftir, we shulden trowe þat þer is general holi chirche of aungels and seintis in heven and al þat shal be saved and þis after þe dai of doom shal be with out synne in endless ioie with hir spouse.'[131] Only those in a state of salvation (angels, saints in heaven, and the predestined on earth) are part of Holy Church. *Verbatim* W, found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789, a manuscript from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, affirms even more specifically: 'I bileve in […] holi cherche, þat is oonli þe noumbre þat schal be saved.'[132] This definition corresponds to the orthodox definition of the heavenly Church, although it is reluctantly used among the institutional church to speak of the universal Church; indeed,

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The Case of Reginald Pecock,' *Leeds Studies in English* 33 (2002): 135–169; Mishtooni Bose, 'Reginald Pecock's Vernacular Voice,' in *Lollards and Their Influence*, 217–236; R. M. Ball, 'The Opponents of Bishop Pecok,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48: 2 (1997): 230–262.

[130] Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci e Libro veritatum: passages selected from Gascoigne's theological dictionary illustrating the condition of church and state, 1403–1458*, ed. James E. Thorold Rogers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), 27–28, 35, 144. On preaching as a high calling of the priesthood, see Jean Leclercq, 'Le magistère du prédicateur au XIIIe siècle,' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 15 (1946): 105–147, at 146.

[131] York, York Minster Library, MS XVI. L. 12, fol. 39r. Both MS XVI. L. 12 and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 245 also contain other Wycliffite/Lollard material, for instance in their commentary on the Ten Commandments, where the negative treatment of images suggests Lollard hermeneutics. See Jefferson, 'An Edition,' cv–cvi.

[132] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789, fol. 105r.

it leaves out of the equation the earthly church, which consists of an indistinguishable mixture of the saved and the damned.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, Wyclif's understanding of Holy Church relied heavily on his doctrine of predestination, as membership to the Church is reserved for those who are predestined, the *congregatio predestinatorum*. In his treatise *De ecclesia*, Wyclif wrote, 'I think that we can conceive of [the Church] in its best known sense, namely the congregation of all the predestined.'[133] *Commentary* W then makes clear its indebtedness to Wyclif's doctrine of predestination by affirming that: 'no man here in erthe is part of þis chirche but if he come to heven by his holy lyvynge.'[134] Only the predestined, who consequently live in charity, will be saved. The text continues by saying, 'Ande þus men lackus knowynge wheþer þai be parties of holy chirche for þai schulde not boste of heghnes in hor prelacie. But þai mot lyfe after criste, if þai schul be saved.'[135] This lack of knowledge implies that the Church is invisible, and therefore that the public and communal entity of the institutional church has no more legitimacy as a visible body. The comment about prelates who cannot boast to be part of the Church, but must follow Christ in their way of life, points at Wyclif's recurring argument that many who are part of the institutional church on earth do so without ever being part of the true Church.

> It is clear that a man can be a bishop, a lord, and minister of the Church, even as he is foreknown. That man may exist in a state of grace according to present righteousness, and yet he is still not a member of Holy Mother Church.[136]

[133] 'Suppono [ecclesiam] sumatur ad propositum pro famosiori, scilicet congregacione omnium predestinatorum.' Wyclif, *De ecclesia*, 2.

[134] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. e. 181, fol. 5v.

[135] Ibid., fols. 5v–6r.

[136] 'Et patet quod homo potest esse episcopus, dominus et minister ecclesie, eciam prescitus, existens in gracia secundum presentem iusticiam, sed homo non est cum hoc membrum sancte matris ecclesie.' Wyclif, *De ecclesia*, 140, as translated in Shogimen, 'Wyclif's Ecclesiology,' 216.

As Wyclif underlined and *commentary* W affirms, to be in an ecclesiastical office or to be a member of the institutional church does not make you a member of the true Church. This clear theological stance would have been picked up by educated clergy who would have been aware of the risk of projecting the heavenly Church onto the earthly Church, which could become deterministic in its soteriology, thereby hindering the role played by the institutional church and its administration of sacramental graces. However, such ecclesiological subtlety might have been lost on many, as the manuscript contexts of MS Bodley 789, MS Eng. th. e. 181, and MS 3390, comprising mostly orthodox content, demonstrate.

The third Wycliffite/Lollard ideological stance in *commentary* W takes the form of a recounted anti-papal and anti-clerical bias. Out of the six witnesses of *commentary* W, only Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, MS 3390 omits such forceful anti-clerical sentiment, suggesting a textual community with orthodox opinions, promoting the reform of the clergy. Indeed, by silencing the anti-clerical section, but by including criticism towards priests who do not fulfil their priestly duty, as well as by maintaining an understanding of the Church as those who are saved while affirming the sacramental life of the Church in a credal confession, this manuscript copied in a single hand from the early fifteenth century displays orthodox views with a reformist voice. [137] The presence of anti-clerical sentiments in MS Bodley 789 and MS Eng. th. e. 181, however, suggests a conscious undertaking by their scribes. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. e. 181, a catechetical miscellany containing commentaries on the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*,

[137] On folios 52v to 57r, MS 3390 contains a confession based on catechetic material. It ends with a few sacramental credal statements such as belief in Holy Church and its teaching, which complicates the ideological stance of the miscellany. 'I beleve in þe sacramentes of holi churche þat is a ȝifte of God fader and sonne and holi gost þre persones and o godhede I bileve also in holi chirche techyng I bileve in þe sacrament of goddis flesch and his blod þat he schadde up on þe blessed dereworþe rode tree for me and for al man kynde amen.' fols. 56v–57r. See William P. Cumming, 'A Middle English MS in the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Paris,' *PMLA* 42:4 (1927): 862–864.

commentary W, the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, and a form of confession, and copied in one hand of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, displays some anti-clerical opinions. Similar to MS Bodley 789, MS Nn.4.12, MS 245, and MS XVI. L. 12, the creed in MS Eng. th. e. 181 asserts that:

> Ande as sum men thynken, þese popis ne þese prelatis are no part of holy chirche but of synagog of sathanas, sichen þai mot lyf after criste if þai schul be saved. Þus techis oure bileve how even anticrist gruchis.[138]

Such reference to 'popis' and 'prelatis' who do not belong to the Church but rather to the synagogue of Satan, are taken from the Vulgate in Apocalypse 2:9, 'scio tribulationem tuam et paupertatem tuam sed dives es et blasphemaris ab his qui se dicunt Iudaeos esse et non sunt sed sunt synagoga Satanae.'[139] In the context of the persecution endured by the New Testament Church in Smyrna, opponents to the Church declare themselves Jews. However, as the biblical text underlines, they have no legitimate claim to the name, and rather belong to the synagogue of Satan. Similarly, popes and prelates have no claim to be members of Holy Church, but are rather part of a group of sinful people, unless they follow Christ's example. As Edwin Craun puts it, 'the life, not the name, makes a bishop' according to John Wyclif and his followers.[140]

Similar virulent anti-clerical views are recounted by John Capgrave (d. 1463), the prior of Lynn, in his *Abbrevacion of Cronicles* for year 1401. According to Capgrave, 'In þat same tyme þe Lolardis set up schamful conclusiones,' including that 'the Cherch is þe sinagog of Sathanas.'[141] This anticlerical sentiment reflected in the 'synagog of sathanas,'

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[138] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. e. 181, fol. 6r.

[139] It is translated into Middle English as 'synagoge of Sathanas' in the early version of the Wycliffite Bible. J. Forshall and F. Madden, eds., *The Holy Bible in the Earliest English Versions* (Oxford: 1850), 643.

[140] Edwin D. Craun, *Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 94.

[141] John Capgrave, *Abbreuacion of Cronicles*, ed. Peter J. Lucas, EETS O.S. 285 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 220. The *Lanterne of Liȝt* uses the same term as it describes the great pomp of the

what Anne Hudson defines as 'the stock Lollard antithesis of *holy chirche*,' confirms that *commentary* W is overtly Lollard in its theology and ideology.[142] While its content was adapted in MS 3390 to reflect a reformist voice amidst a theologically orthodox miscellany, its presence in MS Bodley 789 and MS Eng. th. e. 181 underlines the mixture of ideological views in pastoral and catechetical manuals, or perhaps merely the Wycliffite/Lollard leanings of their respective literary communities. Ultimately, the consequence of such theological and ideological views conveyed by *commentary* W was the de-institutionalisation of *ecclesia Anglicana*, by discarding the benefits of the Church's sacramental life, teaching, and mediation for those who were part of the earthly church.

TRADITION 3: THE ATHANASIAN CREED

The Apostles' Creed hence circulated in its canonical form in various textual communities, while glosses were expected to delineate the theological and ideological views that were to be taught to their respective audiences. The clause on ecclesiology being one of the major points of contention, choosing the Athanasian Creed, which was known under its Latin incipit *Quicumque vult*, became a more appropriate alternative in certain textual communities, as it mainly concerned itself with the Trinity and Christ's works, despite its breadth.

3. *Quicumque vult* (Athanasian Creed)

Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library, MS 243, fols. 151r–153v	*commentary* Q
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.1.10, fols. 243v–244v	*verbatim* Q

institutional church's buildings and its services. 'What meneþ þise waast placis of þise hidde ypocritis but to telle men bi her synagogis where Satanas seet is?' *The Lanterne of Liȝt*, 38.

[142] Hudson, 'A New Look,' 257.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 387, fols. 112v–114v	*commentary* Q
Cambridge, St John's College, MS E.14, fols. 69v–76r	*commentary* Q
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.25, fols. 298r–298v[143]	*commentary* Q
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70, fols. 171r–173v	*verbatim* Q
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 195, fols. 105v–107r	*commentary* Q
Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, MS 92, fols. 315v–318v[144]	*commentary* Q
London, British Library, MS Additional 10046, fols. 124r–132r	*commentary* Q
London, British Library, MS Harley 1806, fols. 167v–170v	*commentary* Q
London, British Library, MS Harley 1896, fols. 109v–110v	*macaronic verbatim* Q
London, British Library, MS Yates Thompson 52, fols. 173r–175r	*verbatim* Q
Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 88, fols. 70r–74v	*verbatim* Q
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 288, fols. 267v–270v	*commentary* Q
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 877, fols. 159r–160v	*commentary* Q
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938, fols. 270v–278v	*commentary* Q
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 953, p. 495–502	*commentary* Q
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 258, fols. 39r–46r[145]	*commentary* Q
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 2, fol. 187v	*verbatim* Q
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 174, fols. 31r–37v	*commentary* Q
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 448, fols. 156r–158v	*commentary* Q
Oxford, Magdalen College, MS Lat. 52, fols. 274r–280r	*commentary* Q
Oxford, New College, MS 95, fols. 144r–148r	*commentary* Q
Oxford, New College, MS 320, fols. 44v–45r	*verbatim* Q
Oxford, University College, MS 56, fols. 264r–265r	*verbatim* Q
San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 501, fols. 110v–112r	*verbatim* Q

The most popular version of the Athanasian Creed is by far *commentary* Q, which usually contains each clause of the Creed in Latin, often in a larger hand that is closer to a textura quadrata hand, followed by a Middle English translation or paraphrase, often underlined in red, and then the commentary. It was common for the *Quicumque vult* to be sung antiphonally as a canticle during the Divine Office.[146] As a final Psalm, it was sung on

[143] This is an incomplete commentary as leaves 299–300 are lost.

[144] The canticle *Quicumque vult* is incomplete.

[145] *Commentary* Q in MS Douce 258 is incomplete, as it abruptly ends three-quarter of the way through the creed, and is followed on the same folio by a gospel reading for Easter day.

[146] There are twelve canticles. The first six draw on texts from the Old Testament, *Confitebor* (Is. 12:1–4), *Exo dixi* (Is. 38:10–20), *Exultavit* (1 Kg 2:1–10), *Cantemus Domino* (Ex. 15: 1–19), *Domini audivi* (Hb. 3:2–19), *Audite celi* (Dt. 32:1–43), usually followed by the *Magnificat* (Lk. 1:46–55). They are followed by five canticles drawing on Old Testament and New Testament texts, as well as non-biblical texts: *Benedicte* (Dn. 3:57–88), *Te Deum*, *Benedictus* (Lk 1:68–79), *Nunc dimittis* (Lk 2:29–32), and the *Quicumque vult*. See Anne Hudson, 'Introduction,' in *Two Revisions of Rolle's English Psalter Commentary and the Related Canticles*, vol. 1, ed. Anne Hudson, EETS O.S. 340 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), cxxix–cxxx.

Sundays at Prime and on feast days (both single and double feast) in both monastic and secular usage, after the reading of the Psalms. In the Sarum Use, the Creed had its own particular antiphon and was said daily.[147] As the other versions of *commentary Q*, the one found in the early fifteenth-century liturgical miscellany Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 448 explains the nature of the creed in its first clause:

> þe þridde crede is of þe trinyte þe which is songun as a psalm
> and was maad in Greke speche of oon þat is clepid Athanasie,
> and was aftir turned to Latyn and sundel amendid, and
> ordeyned to be seid at þe firste hour.[148]

It was also often recited by those in minor orders, as the scribe and administrator Thomas Usk's 'deathbed repertoire' indicates. Immediately before his execution in 1388, Usk began to recite repeatedly the *Placebo* and *Dirige* (part of the Office of the Dead), the seven penitential Psalms, *Te Deum*, *Nunc dimittis* and *Quicumque vult*.[149] Privileged in monastic circles as well as among the clergy, whether in major or minor orders, *Quicumque vult* was ultimately a creed for the literate. Having laid out differences between faith that is believed 'expressely' (explicitly) and faith that is believed 'confuseli' (implicitly), where both need to be coupled with love, *Commentary* Q establishes that salvation relies not solely on explicit faith, because then only those with knowledge of Greek and Latin would be saved. The commentary then laments the vernacular's capacity to express pre-linguistic truth: 'And ȝit to us faylis englische to telle þat lytel þat we bileven for bileve is of treuth þat is bifore oure langages.'[150] Such deficiencies found in

[147] Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, 100. Lila Collamore, 'Charting the Divine Office,' in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Sources Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer and Margot E. Fassler (New York: University Press, 2000), 8. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 38–39, 76.

[148] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 448, fol. 156r.

[149] *Westminster Chronicle, 1381–1394*, ed. and trans. L. C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 314–315; Paul Strohm, 'Politics and Poetics,' in *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380–1530*, ed. Lee Patterson (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 89.

[150] Oxford, New College, MS 95, fol. 144r.

Middle English echo throughout the treatise, as evidenced in the commentary section on the clause of the Trinity's unity of attributes: 'þat is sych bot here men may better say in latyn þo sutelte of þis mater for articlis with case gender and noumbre help here for to speke.'[151] The Latin clauses that introduce the Middle English parts are thus crucial for establishing finer theological nuances. However, the commentary nonetheless endeavours to use Middle English as a language of theological refinement.

The place of *Quicumque vult* in our mapping of fifteenth-century creeds that circulated under Chichele's archiepiscopate remains more or less deprived of any particular ideological, theological, and political allegiances. However its manuscript contexts do shed light on the literary communities within which the text was copied. The manuscript contexts of *Quicumque vult* consist mainly of religious manuals of liturgical and scriptural nature such as Books of Hours or Middle English translations of biblical texts with a preponderance of Middle English Psalters. It is therefore not surprising to find *commentary* Q in manuscripts of medium sizes, with a few larger copies such as Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.25 (360×245mm) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 288 (380×255mm), ruled in two columns, which was the most standard biblical layout. *Commentary* Q circulated mostly with the unrevised version and derivative texts of Richard Rolle's English Psalter (with the exception of the commentary in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70, which is a catechetical manual, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938, which is a pastoral manual based on spiritual progression), as well as with Wycliffite translations of the Psalter (as in Cambridge, St John's College, MS E.14; London, British Library, MS Additional 10046; London British Library, MS Harley 1896; Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 88; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 258). Although Rolle did not include *Quicumque vult* in his seven canticles (six derived Old

[151] Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library, MS 243, fol. 152r.

Testament canticles and the Magnificat) that concluded his Psalter, Middle English versions often appended five additional canticles to Rolle's initial seven, a practice already in use in the *Earliest English Prose Psalter*.[152] The production process of the first set of revisions (RV_1) of Rolle's Psalter, with its addition of material, its expansions and elisions, reveals some ideological views that are closely connected to Lollardy, as Anne Hudson and others have demonstrated. The second set of revisions (RV_2), however, which is less consistent in its production practice, does not seem to have had a uniform ideological stance, as it removed some Lollard and inoffensive comments alike.[153] Hudson's observations on Rolle's Psalter provide us with a Lollard context for *commentary* Q, which is corroborated by the transmission of the creed alongside parts of the later version of the Wycliffite Bible.

However, to ascribe the adjective 'Wycliffite' to *commentary* Q (as is common practice in catalogues) merely based on its manuscript contexts seems unproductive, as the origins of the treatise remain obscure. *Commentary* Q's overall content is orthodox, and often refers to the learning of the clergy. On the clause of Christ's status 'Filius a patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus,' the commentary explains: 'and here clerkys might wake þer wyttes and understande two borthes.' Concerned that its audience might follow other clerical people in their mistake, 'as errour of clerkys has oft seyd,' the commentary takes extra care to explain clearly Christ's eternal status and his earthly birth. This care for using accurate theological language in Middle English permeates the text, while references to educated clergy, rather than being polemical, almost take up their learning as an example, thereby pointing to either a clerical or a lay audience. Anne Hudson holds that *commentary* Q is Lollard for two main reasons: its use of 'triuauntis' in its clause on Christ's equality with the Father in his godhead and inferiority in his

[152] Hudson, 'Introduction,' cxxxi.
[153] Ibid., cxviii–cxix, cxxvi–cxxvii.

manhood (a distinctive Lollard word), and its closing formula, which acknowledges that the Creed is fitting 'vnto prestis,' but then adds that it is likewise fitting for higher prelates.[154] This final point seems to echo both Wycliffite/Lollard rhetoric, but also reformist discourse emanating from the Council of Constance, and later on responses to Pecock's 1447 preaching controversy, as seen above. As Elizabeth Solopova notes, in her study of manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible in Oxford libraries, 'many Bibles were in clerical hands and many were probably made for clerical patrons.'[155] The presence of the Athanasian Creed, whether in commentary or verbatim forms, alongside scriptural material should thus warn against hasty conclusions.

As the early fifteenth-century manuscript (written between 1400–1439), Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70 demonstrates, the *Quicumque vult* could be as well accompanied by the later version of the Wycliffite Psalter as by some catechetical treatises, including the elementary material of the primer, the seven deadly sins (Jolliffe F.19; Raymo 109), seven works of bodily and ghostly mercy (Raymo 50; 51), seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (Raymo 127), and the seven sacraments. While Michael Kuczynski underlines that the hand used throughout corresponds to a 'distinctive script' involved in copies of the Wycliffite Bible, and other Middle English theological works, the certainty of its Wycliffite affiliation should remain questionable, as its content would have been sympathetic to a wide spectrum of readers.[156] Similarly, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938, a religious miscellany of pastoral and devotional material dating from the mid-fifteenth century, defies any explanation by containing *commentary* Q—orthodox pastoral material—

[154] Ibid., cxxxiii.

[155] Elizabeth Solopova, *Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible in the Bodleian and Oxford College Libraries* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), 27.

[156] Michael P. Kuczynski, 'An Important Lollard Psalter in Trinity College Library,' *An Irish Quarterly Review* 99:394 (2019): 181–187, at 183. On vernacular prose tracts found within Hudson's 'grey area,' see Jill C. Havens, 'Shading the Grey Area: Determining Heresy in Middle English Texts,' in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison, and Anne Hudson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 337–352.

alongside Wycliffite views in a passion text and a commentary on the Ten Commandments.[157] The Athanasian Creed, despite often having been copied alongside Wycliffite scriptural material, should thus be considered more broadly for its appeal within textual communities with a high view of Scripture, and the liturgy (as in Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library, MS 243), who upheld doctrinal rigour, while privileging a credal statement without controversy on ecclesiology and soteriology.

TRADITION 4: MISCELLANEOUS CREEDS

The last tradition of creeds, Tradition 4, is a miscellaneous classification of three different groups: the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, the fourteen articles, and a credal text called *A Short Declaration of Belief*.

The Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed

Strand (a) of Tradition 4 is a rather unique rendition in Middle English of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. The Creed became part of the Mass of the Roman rite only in the eleventh century, which explains its omission from the ferial mass.[158] The whole text had to be sung chorally at mass by everyone. Despite its prevalence in Latin in the liturgy of the Mass, I have been able to trace only a single Middle English translation of this particular Creed from the fifteenth century.

[157] See Kelly, and Perry, 'Devotional Cosmopolitanism,' 368, 373–374.
[158] Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 148.

4. Miscellaneous creeds

    a. Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed

Oxford, University College, MS 179, fols. 96r–96v

The mid-fifteenth-century manuscript, Oxford, University College, MS 179 is a bilingual English primer (in the Book of Hours sense, rather than the elementary school primer sense), in which both Latin clauses or verses are presented in full with their Middle English translation. As Annie Sutherland observes, this primer 'not only presented [its] readers with material for ordered, quasi-liturgical vernacular prayer but also with the opportunity to expand their Latin vocabulary.'[159] Hence, MS 179 functioned both as a devotional aid and as a linguistic instrument for developing one's knowledge of Latin. The presence of a Middle English Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, preceded by its Latin equivalent, in this bilingual primer reflects a desire to embrace fully the Latinity of the Church, as the Latin Creed was inherent to the liturgy of the Mass, according to the Sarum rite.

In contrast to most Books of Hours, MS 179 was not created to be aesthetically pleasing; instead, it was 'a functional volume, a devotional and catechetic notebook.'[160] While the translation of the Psalter belongs neither to the *Metrical* nor to early or late Wycliffite versions, the vernacularisation of the Psalms might have originated from a practice in the art of translation, where the Latin source text was constantly re-engaged with to create an active relationship between the Latin and the Middle English.[161] In this context of linguistic proximity and affinity, Middle English was deemed worthy to be used

[159] Annie Sutherland, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages, 1300–1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 31.
[160] Ibid., 247.
[161] Ibid., 248.

so to translate the Mass Creed. Whereas the writer of *commentary Q* acknowledges, 'us failiþ Englissh to telle þat litil þat we bilevyn,' the scribe of MS 179 thinks otherwise. Nevertheless, the paucity of Middle English translations of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed presupposes that few shared a similar view. Whether it was a question of retaining the sacred character of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed in its Latin form, pointing to God's transcendence, or a pastoral awareness of the theological complexities expressed in the clauses on consubstantiality ('substancyally to þe fadyr be') and on the filioque ('comyne forþ of þe fadyr and þe son'), which could have easily been misinterpreted by believers, the Creed did not attain any valence in Middle English.[162] Besides, its intentional merging with the Apostles' Creed to form the common twelve articles of the faith, while simplifying the consubstantial and filioque clauses, implies that the possible misunderstanding of both doctrines was indeed the source of pastoral anxiety.

Pecham's Fourteen Articles

Tradition 4 (b) consists of the fourteen articles of faith, which are merely a reordering and expansion of the twelve articles, with seven articles pertaining to the Godhead and seven to the humanity of Christ. This version of the articles can be traced to Philip the Chancellor and Hugh of Saint-Cher, both of whom mentioned it in their *summas* written around 1230.[163] This tradition of the articles, which was popular in the Parisian schools, was taken up by John Pecham in the synodal statutes of 1281, which led to a particular prominence of the fourteen articles in England. Pecham's syllabus very much resembles those expounded

[162] Oxford, University College, MS 179, fol. 96v.
[163] Goering, 'Christ in Dominican Catechesis,' 130.

in the work of pastoral instruction of Walter of Bruges, who was his master in Paris.[164] However, despite the resonance of the Frenchmen's influence on Pecham, his division of the fourteen articles, rather than corresponding to Hugh of Saint-Cher, follows Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas, who added in their fourth clause, namely belief in the works of nature, 'creatio caeli et terrae.'[165] Pecham's syllabus and its exposition of the fourteen articles was then disseminated in the northern province by Archbishop John Thoresby (d. 1373), who commissioned a Benedictine monk, John Gaytryge, to translate the syllabus into Middle English, which became the *Lay Folk's Catechism*. *Ignorantia sacerdotum* continued to circulate in the southern province as John Stafford (d. 1452), the bishop of Bath and Wells, ordered another translation to be held by every church and every member of the clergy in his diocese.[166]

b. The fourteen articles

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fols. 95v–96r	*gloss*
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 211, fols. 226r–226v	*versified gloss*
Durham, Durham University Library, MS Cosin V. iv. 2, fols. 134v–135v	*gloss*
Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 512, fols. 25v–28r[167]	*gloss*
London, British Library, MS Harley 172, fol. 18r	*gloss*
London, British Library, MS Harley 2383, fols. 61v–62r[168]	*gloss*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, fols. 222v–224r	*LFC*

[164] Decima L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 134–135.

[165] Goering, 'Christ in Dominican Catechesis,' 131.

[166] Duffy, *The Stripping*, 54. Stafford was a protégé of Chichele, who nominated him to be his successor over the Province of Canterbury. A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 1750–1752.

[167] The Creed in MS Hunter 512 is incomplete as it stands. It misses the first seven articles on the Godhead, as folio 26 has been torn. The tear could be related to article six, which affirms belief in the sacraments. However, the initial choice of the fourteen articles in a primer over the more common Athanasian Creed in such context, reinforces the desire of the compiler of this bilingual primer to abide by the Latinity of the liturgy. See the similar case of Oxford, University College, MS 179 above.

[168] The fourteen articles in London, British Library, MS Harley 2383 are similar to the fourteen articles in *Memoriale credencium*, although the latter does not contain a commentary on each article. *Memoriale credencium* and MS Harley 2383 must have shared an exemplar, or one or the other was inspired by the other.

John Mirk's *Instructions to Parish Priests*, l. 454–525	*versified gloss*
The Lay Folks' Catechism, l. 74–165[169]	*commentary*
Memoriale credencium[170]	*commentary*
Sacerdos parochialis[171]	*macaronic*

While Pecham's ninth canon *De informacione simplicium*, most commonly known under its incipit *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, was influential in disseminating the fourteen articles in England, despite retaining the order of the clauses, Tradition 4 (b) does not include any verbatim Middle English translations of his creed in fifteenth-century England. Even the fourteen articles in *Memoriale Credencium*, an early fifteenth-century work of *pastoralia* that does not go beyond Pecham's syllabus according to Nicholas Watson, differs from the creed in *Ignorantia sacerdotum*.[172] The incipits of the creeds under scrutiny diverge from Pecham's opening lines suggesting a fifteenth-century textual transmission through the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. Pecham's *De Septem articulis fidei* begins with 'It should thus be known that there are seven articles of faith pertaining to the mystery of the Trinity; of which four pertain to the instrinsic qualities of the divinity, three to its effects.'[173]

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[169] Greg, 'The Lay Folks' Catechism,' 168–171.

[170] J. H. L. Kengen, *Memoriale Credencium: A Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay People Edited from Bodley MS Tannner 201.* PhD Dissertation, Nijmegen, 1979, 201–203. The fourteen articles of *Memoriale Credencium* can be found in the following manuscripts: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.1.1, fols. 288v–289v; London, British Library, MS Harley 535, fols. 95v–97r; London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fols. 57v–58v; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 201, fols. 89r–90r.

[171] The fourteen articles of *Sacerdos parochialis* (Raymo 22) follow the structure of the Apostles' Creed but add the first four articles found in Pecham's Creed at the beginning. They can be found in the following manuscripts: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.12.69, fols. 25v–26v; Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 285, fols. 51v–52v; London, British Library, MS Additional 10053, fols. 100r–115r; London, British Library, MS Burney 356, fols. 44r–44v; London, British Library, MS Harley 4172, fols. 2r–3r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 110, fols. 155v–156r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 913, fols. 10v–11r; and Oxford, Trinity College, MS 7, fols. 165v–166v. London, British Library, MS Additional 10036 which contains *Sacerdos parochialis* omits the fourteen articles. On the *Sacerdos Parochialis*, see Niamh Pattwell, '*Sacerdos Parochialis* Edited from British Library MS Burney 356 & Exornatorium Curatorum edited from Cambridge Corpus Christi Sp. 335.2,' (PhD Dissertation, Trinity College Dublin, 2003), x–lxii; 'Canons and Catechisms,' 381–393.

[172] Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409,' *Speculum* 70:4 (1995): 822–864, at 833.

[173] 'Sciendum est igitur, septem esse fidei articulos pertinentes ad mysterium trinitatis; quorum quatuor pertinent ad divinitatis intrinseca, tres vero ad effectus.' Wilkins, *Concilia*, 2: 54; *Councils and Synods*, 2: 900; Reeves, *Religious Education*, 184.

Memoriale Credencium and the others texts classified above begin their fourteen articles as such: 'Of þe byleve þer beþ xiiii articles of þe whiche vii ben of þe godhede and oþer vii beþ of cristes manhode.'[174] This similarity with the *Lay Folks' Catechism*'s incipit demonstrates that fifteenth-century lists of fourteen articles originated from Archbishop Thoresby's incentive rather than the thirteenth-century constitution in Pecham's syllabus.

Pecham's list of fourteen articles reflects a theological sophistication not always replicated in fifteenth-century Middle English appropriations. The scribal decision to omit completely parts of a complex doctrine or to use a simplified vocabulary to explain it is characteristic of the lists of fourteen articles. For instance, the fourth article of his list, belief in the Holy Spirit, includes the *filioque* clause of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, 'the Holy Spirit is God, neither begotten nor unbegotten, but equally proceeding from the Father and the Son' ('nec genitum nec ingenitum esse Deum, sed a Patre et Filio pariter procedentem'). While *LFC* follows Pecham's list somewhat closely, without offering a verbatim translation of the Latin, it parses complex theological definitions and simplifies them without forming new words. Hence, *LFC* parses the filioque clause thus: 'þe Haly Gaste/ þat samnely comes of bath þe Fadir and þe Son/ Is soothfast God and euen to þaim bathe.'[175] By omitting the mode of origin of the Holy Spirit, which the text already did for the Father and the Son in the previous two articles (uncreated, begotten, proceeding) by asserting that each member of the Trinity is 'sothfast God,' *LFC* simplifies the clause for the sake of clarity, in order to avoid error.

The late fifteenth-century religious miscellany London, British Library, MS Harley 172 creates confusion by stating the mode of origin of Christ, 'the sone that ys the same God, passynge forthe fro the Fadyr,' but neglects to state the full clause regarding the Holy

[174] London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fol. 57v. See also Kengen, *Memoriale Credencium*, 201.

[175] Reeves, *Religious Education*, 184; *Councils and Synods*, 2: 900; Greg, 'The Lay Folks' Catechism,' 168–169.

Spirit: 'the Holy Goste, not getyne and eythere passynge forthe, and the same God.'[176] This omission creates a disparity between the status of Christ and the Holy Spirit. On the contrary, Durham, Durham University Library, MS Cosin V. iv. 2 and the *Memoriale Credencium* both maintain a close translation of Pecham's fourth article, translating the mode of origin, respectively 'not gettyn, commamdyt furth of þe fader and of þe son' and 'nouȝt bygete ne unbygete bot goynge forþe of þe fader and of þe sone.'[177] Interestingly, none of the versions above translated Pecham's use of *procedere* in his fourth article with the Middle English verb 'proceden,' which was already in use in the 1380s.[178] The early version of the Wycliffite Bible translated John 15:26 as the Holy Spirit, 'the whiche procedith, or cometh forth of the fadir,' and so did Chaucer in his *Second Nun's Tale*, 'The Goost, that fro the Fader gan procede.'[179] Even Margery Kempe uses the verb 'proceden,' as she notes that 'þe Holy Gost hath þe same propirteys euyn wyth þe Fadyr and þe Sone, procedyng of hem bothyn.'[180] As these Middle English examples from outside credal contexts suggest, translations of the fourteen articles intentionally adapted their vocabulary or elided parts of the clauses to suit the knowledge of their audiences, without teaching them doctrines too complex to comprehend, which could lead to errors.

One of the main characteristics of Tradition 4 (b) is the sacramental nature of Pecham's sixth clause, which is consistently translated, adapted, and amplified, retaining its sacramental nature. This harmony suggests that the lists of fourteen articles were anchored in a stable textual transmission, which possibly had to do with its origins.

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[176] London, British Library, MS Harley 172, fol. 18r.

[177] Durham, Durham University Library, MS Cosin V. iv. 2, fol. 135r; London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fol. 57v; Kengen, *Memoriale*, 201.

[178] *MED*, University of Michigan, May 2022, v. *proceden*, n. 5. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED34752/track?counter=1&search_id=20221056>

[179] Forshall and Madden, eds., *The Holy Bible*, 281; Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, 266, l. 328.

[180] Kempe, *The Book*, 374, 86.7116. *The Book* might have been drawing on the Sarum rite liturgical version of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed which was recited at Mass, and which states, 'qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.' See *The Sarum Rite*, 112.

Pecham's expounding of the sixth clause, which consists of the works of grace, reduces belief in the holy catholic Church, in the communion of saints, and in the forgiveness of sins found in the Apostles' Creed into one single clause:

> The sixth is the sanctification of the Church through the Holy Spirit and sacraments of grace, and all the other things in which the Christian Church communes. In which it is understood that the Church, through its sacraments, is sufficient for the salvation of every human no matter how great a sinner; and that outside the Church there is no salvation.[181]

This sacramental interpretation of the communion of saints is similar to that of Abelard, Grosseteste, and Edmund of Abingdon, as seen in Tradition 1 and 2. MS Cosin V. iv. 2, which dates from 1477, offers an almost verbatim translation of this sixth clause by including a part elided in all of the other Middle English versions: 'Haly Kyrke with hys lawys and hys sacrements is remedy enoght for all synfull men how synfull þat ever þai be.'[182] According to Niamh Patwell, MS Cosin V. iv. 2 is a Middle English translation of the catechetical material found in William of Pagula's *Dextera pars* of his *Oculus sacerdotis*, which enjoyed an independent circulation.[183] This suggests that another source for the circulation of Pecham's syllabus in the fifteenth century might have been the *Oculus sacerdotis*. Another manuscript from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, MS Harley 172, in its habit of reducing every clause to its bare minimum, notes: 'The vi is to beleve in the vii sacramentis of Holy Chyrche.'[184] Beinecke MS 317, the religious miscellany originating at Sheen or Syon Abbey between 1470 and 1480, while being pastoral and emphatically sacramental in its overall content, elides the word 'sacrament' in

[181] 'Sextus est, sanctificatio ecclesiae per Spiritum Sanctum, et gratiae sacramenta, et caetera omnia, in quibus communicat ecclesia christiana. In quo intelligitur, quod ecclesia cum suis sacramentis et legibus, per Spiritum Sanctum omni homini quantumcunque peccatori, sufficit ad salutem; et quod extra ecclesiam non est falus.' Reeves, *Religious Education*, 184; *Councils and Synods*, 2: 900

[182] MS Cosin V. iv. 2, fol. 135r.

[183] Pattwell, *Sacerdos Parochialis*, xxxxiv.

[184] London, British Library, MS Harley 172, fol. 18r.

its fourteen articles found in the *LFC*. Instead, one finds 'a communynge togedir of all crysten creaturys, þer men receyve of her maker herynge of Goddes servyse, prayenge of orysonys, wedloke and beryenge, and many oþer thynges yn salvacyon of mannys sowle.'[185] These three renderings of the sixth, which belong to a later period than the one under scrutiny in this study, nevertheless point to the popularity of Pecham's list towards the end of the century, and its continued emphasis on the sacramental life of the Church.

Memoriale credencium, however, which dates from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, is revealing of our period's concerns. After having listed every single sacrament that 'þurgh virtue of þe Holy Gost sufficeþ to every man and women he never so syngul to salvacioun,' the treatise affirms that 'wiþ oute unite of Holy Churche no man may be savyd.'[186] The unity of the Church, which was especially sought after under the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele, was anchored in the very sacraments, in which one had to participate in in order to reach salvation.[187] Such an emphasis on unity in *Memoriale credencium*, which is absent in Pecham's list and in the other treatises, unveils the preoccupations of a particular theological, cultural, and political moment. As mentioned earlier, as fifteenth-century priests were required to own a copy of Pecham's syllabus, the vernacular list of fourteen articles would have been a convenient possession in clerical hands. Thus to favour the list of fourteen articles over other creeds was not only a way of anchoring one's text in a tradition of episcopal legislation, as the Middle English list of articles does in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 210, a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript that

[185] Beinecke MS 317, fol. 30v.

[186] London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fol. 58r; Kengen, *Memoriale*, 202.

[187] To include the unity of the Church under the works of grace did not originate in the *Memoriale Credencium*, Thomas Aquinas, in his *De articulis fidei et ecclesiae sacramentis*, had already mentioned it: 'Quartus articulus pertinet ad effectus gratie per quam iustificamur a Deo […] Et sub hoc articulo comprehenduntur omnia sacramenta Ecclesie, et quecumque pertinent ad Ecclesie unitatem […]' Thomas Aquinas, *De articulis fidei et ecclesiae sacramentis, ad Archiepiscopum Panormitanum*, ed. H.-F. Dondaine (Paris: Editions Léonine, 1979), 247, as quoted in Goering, 'Christ in Dominican Catechesis, 137.

begins with Pecham's Latin constitutions of 1281, but it was also a conscious way of affirming a sacramental system that was questioned in other credal statements.

A Short Declaration of Belief

Strand c of Tradition 4 differs from the credal statements expounded up to now as it is not a creed per se. The text projects itself as a credal statement as established in its proem: 'Here sueþ a schort declaracioun of bileve in general.'[188] However, it is more like a didactic short treatise on the reasons and means of true belief. Two of the manuscripts in this corpus contain a shorter creed in earlier sequences, which possibly explains the lack of discussion on the credal statements, perhaps implying that *A Short Declaration of Belief* was intended to be compiled alongside a basic creed that it complemented.[189] The possession of both manuscripts by lay owners, as traced by Margaret Connolly, would explain the necessity of having the minimal theological knowledge supplemented by more developed theological writings allowing spiritual progression.[190] *A Short Declaration of Belief* belongs to a tripartite framework (prayer, faith, and the commandments) of a textual sequence that connects the five manuscripts of this corpus. While Connolly traces a sixth manuscript produced in fifteenth-century London with this same sequence, London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus D. XIX, it however omits the middle section on faith, and thus is not included here.

[188] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 23, fol. 60v.

[189] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 9r–9v; Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85, fols. 2r–3v.

[190] Connolly, 'Books for the "help of euery persoone þat þenkiþ to be saued",' 179. Connolly traces MS O.1.74 and MS Laud misc. 23 respectively to a religious woman and a priest. The lack of the basic creed in these manuscript contexts could be explained as an intentional omission in light of the intended audience.

c. *A Short Declaration of Belief*

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.74, fols. 26v–32r	
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 9v–10r	*abbreviated*
Durham, Durham Cathedral Library, MS A. iv. 22, p. 103–104	
Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85, fols. 24v–25v[191]	*abbreviated*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 23, fols. 60v–61r[192]	*abbreviated*

A Short Declaration of Belief begins with Peter Lombard's three types of belief, which he drew from Augustine and Bede, and which was taken up by most commentators on the *Sentences*, as well as Thomas Aquinas.[193] 'Also touchinge þe crede we shal undirstonde þre maners of bileeve, oon is to bileeve in to God, the secunde is to bileeve God, þe þridde is to bileeve to God.'[194] The treatise begins by expounding belief into God (only true Christians do so), before looking at belief in God (Christians and pagans alike believe that God exists), and finally to believe God (those who believe God's word but do not live accordingly).[195] The author explains, 'For to bileeve to God is to cleve to him bi love fulfillynge hise comaundementis.'[196] Referring to the two evangelical commandments, *A Short Declaration of Belief* anchors true belief, as do its scholastic predecessors, in the love of God and neighbour. This emphasis echoes the *Quicumque vult* treatises of Tradition 3 which stipulate that both explicit and implicit faith must be coupled with love. The text goes on admonishing the audience to stand firm in the faith of the creed while facing adversity:

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[191] Vincent Gillespie argues that there are two catechetic sequences that appear back to back in MS Eng. 85. The first one is a brief exposition of the catechetic syllabus, while the second one offers further detail on the same material. These texts were originally conceived as a 'self-contained structural unity.' Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books,' 325.

[192] On MS Laud misc. 23, see Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry, '"Citizens of Saints": Creating Christian Community in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 23,' in *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations,* ed. Nicole R. Rice (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 215–237.

[193] Peter Lombard draws here on Bede's commentary on James 2:19, Augustine, *In Ioanem*, tr. 29, n. 6, as well as the ordinary gloss. See Peter Lombard, *The Sentences, On the Incarnation of the Word*, vol. 3, ed. and trans. Giulio Silano (Toronto, ON: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2007), 98, 23.4.

[194] Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85, fol. 24v.

[195] See Schmitt, 'Du bon usage du « Credo »,' 339.

[196] Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85, fol. 24v.

> Also it is needful to þis bileve þat þu stidefastly purpose to defende and stonde bi þe articlis of þi bileve to liif and deeþ. In so ferforþ þat if ony man cristen or heþen wolde conpelle þee to forsake þe articlis of þi bileve, þou mostist have very purpos in þi soule raþer to suffir losse of alle þi goodys and kynnesse men and in þyn owne bodily persoone suffir al maner of turment, and at þe laste þe deeþ, þan forsake þe articlis of þi bileve.[197]

The context of persecution alluded to here would relate more closely with the religious experience of Lollards in the first half of the fifteenth century; however, there are no references to Wycliffite/Lollard ideology nor theology in the text. One can presume then that the description of such an antagonistic context for the Christian faith is referred to in order to instil the weightiness and gravity of belief.[198] This is evidenced by the following injunction that affirms belief in all the clauses of the creed, and not just one or the other: 'Also the artycles of thy crede thow most beleve withoutyn any dowtyng, nat beleve that oon artycle ys trew, and suppose that another ys nat trew, but every artycle to beleve without dowtyng.'[199] This affirmation points to the significance of adhering to the creed as a whole, without picking and choosing clauses that better fit one's ideological and theological views, for 'þou mostist passe feendis bileeve if þou purposist to be saved and come to blis.'[200]

While the abbreviated versions of *A Short Declaration of Belief* end with these solemn words, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.74 goes on expounding the meaning behind the love of God. Both the emphasis on persecution and the marrying of belief with

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[197] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.74, fols. 27r–27v.

[198] The pastoral treatise *Ignorancia sacerdotum*, which summarizes *Disce mori*, also emphasises such gravity in light of faith. 'The þrid maner of forsakyng is whan a man bileeveþ oþer wise þan hooli chirche techeþ as doon þise wicches and charmeresses and alle þoo that bileeve on her werkes, of þise forsakynges ben gilty þei þat ben lollardes or þat bileeve on þe devels doctrine, which ever doþ his peyne to corrupte þe christen feiþ and to brynge alle þat serve hym out of þe bileeve þat þe chirche of Rome holdeþ and out of Petres boot, which shal never lye in his power to drowne.' Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57, fol. 45r.

[199] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fol. 9v.

[200] Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85, fol. 25v.

love are themes favoured by Lollard texts, while the lack of explicit Lollard ideology in the remaining part of the treatise suggests that both themes were valued in distinctive literary communities. Apart from MS Eng. 85 and MS Laud misc. 23, both of which contain some Lollard opinions in their overall content, *A Short Declaration of Belief* is another tract that defies our understanding of set reading communities, as it could have been appreciated in religious and lay circles, as well as in orthodox or Lollard religious communities. Overall, Tradition 4 (c) offers an insight into the critical nature of 'true belief' in the first half of the fifteenth century.

CONCLUSION

As shown by the taxonomic descriptions of the four main traditions of fifteenth-century creeds, the production of credal statements in the vernacular did not slacken after Archbishop Thomas Arundel's 1409 *Constitutions*. On the contrary, the plural contexts of Christian believers in England fostered a new impetus in credal translations, where ideological and theological beliefs were openly unveiled—shading and nuancing the 'grey areas'—and theological debates in the academic context permeated the simplest of creeds addressed to religious and lay alike.[201] Chapter Four has developed a new taxonomy of fifteenth-century Middle English creeds, tracing 131 versions, and more than 200 witnesses of credal statements in the vernacular.

The breadth and pervasive nature of the creeds in fifteenth-century manuscripts forces us to reassess the place of communal belief and its practices within the liturgical

[201] This is particularly vivid in ecclesiological and soteriological discussions of creeds in Tradition 2, as well as in references to the learning of 'clerkis' in Tradition 3. On Anne Hudson's helpful terminology of 'grey area,' see 'Some Problems of Identity and Identification in Wycliffite Writings,' in *Middle English Prose*, 81–90; *The Premature Reformation*; Havens, 'Shading the Grey Area.'

context of the Mass and the Divine Office, as well as within private devotional settings. As Nicole D. Smith notes in her introduction to her edition of *A Christian Mannes Bileeve*, 'Despite their presence in […] seminal works of medieval religious instruction, Middle English versions of and commentaries on the creed have for the most part escaped scholarly consideration.'[202] The taxonomic classifications here presented offer to remediate this gap in scholarly perception of late medieval religious culture in England.[203] It has identified four main traditions within the credal corpus of fifteenth-century Middle English religious literature: creeds based on the twelve articles, and their affiliation with Edmund of Abingdon's *Mirror* versions; creeds based on the Apostles' Creed, with mainstream, sacramental, and Wycliffite/Lollard leanings; creeds based on the Athanasian Creed; and finally miscellaneous creeds, such as the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, the fourteen articles, and *A Short Declaration of Belief*.

The diverse assortment of creeds, whether verbatim translations of Latin versions, or elided, amplified, and clarified adaptations, was a particular response to the plural religious contexts of the English church in the first half of the fifteenth century. The acknowledgment of credal material known in the vernacular in heresy trials does beg the question: 'What was really at stake in such knowledge in Middle English?' In the 1429 heresy trial of John Baker, also known as Ussher de Tunstale, the carpenter from east Norfolk admitted having a book from John Bunge from Beighton, which contained the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the Creed written in 'lingua Anglicana,' the English

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[202] *A Christian Mannes Bileeve*, xii.

[203] This taxonomy also hopes ultimately to foster further work on the basic catechetical vernacular material of the fifteenth century, such as the one undertaken by Judith Jefferson in her PhD thesis at the University of Bristol on the catechetical commentaries on the Ten Commandments. It is by uncovering more information on material that draws very little attention to itself, such as the creeds, that our understanding of fifteenth-century medieval religious culture will be less prone to scholarly turns, and more anchored in the mundane and commonplace reality of religious writings, their dissemination and representations of devotional practices. See Judith Anne Jefferson, 'An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary in BL Harley 2398 and the Related Version in Trinity College Dublin 245, York Minster XVI.L.12, and Harvard English 738 together with Discussion of Related Commentaries,' (PhD dissertation, University of Bristol, 1995).

tongue.[204] Another heresy trial, namely that of John Burell, servant to Thomas Mone, examined on 17 April 1429, underlines that the brother of the accused taught him the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the Creed in 'lingua Anglicana.'[205] While these two examples, among many others, seem to suggest an ongoing climate of fear regarding doctrinal knowledge in the vernacular, a sought-after effect of Arundel's *Constitutions*, one ought to ask what kind of Middle English creed was under review.[206] Was it a simple verbatim Apostles' Creed or a Wycliffite/Lollard one with clear ecclesiological and soteriological heterodox positions? Was it a simple list of twelve articles as told by the apostles or was it the *Quicumque vult*? While these questions will remain unanswered, it is important to remember that both John Baker and John Burell had plenty of other allegations of heterodox leanings made against them. Equally, it is important to remember that the Norwich heresy trials took place at a particular time of Henry Chichele's tenure, which is to say after Chichele was suspended from his legatine powers for charges of antipapalism. Forced to collaborate with the pope once reinstituted, at the 1428 convocation Chichele undertook clear measures towards policing heresy.[207] However, these measures did barely

[204] 'Et recognovit iudicialiter se habuisse unum librum de Johanne Bunge de Beghton dicte diocesis, qui quidem liber continebat in se Pater Noster et Ave Maria et Credo in lingua Anglicana script.' *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428–31*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1977), 69.

[205] 'iuratus dixit quod Thomas Burell, frater istius iurati, tribus annis elapsis docuit istum iuratum Pater, Ave et Credo in lingua Anglicana.' Ibid., 73.

[206] This possible climate of fear has to be read within its ecclesio-political context, which undergoes some fast-paced changes within the Chichelean church in the year 1428. According to Anne Hudson: 'Chichele's concern to improve the methods of dealing with heresy, and particularly Lollards, reached its culmination in the July and November meetings of that convocation.' However, Chichele's general lack of interest for heresy trials, which were mainly undertaken at diocesan levels, suggests that the Archbishop was merely reacting to papal incentives. In 1427, Chichele had been suspended from his legatine powers, after charges of antipapalism had been made at the Curia against him by people such as Thomas Polton. While Chichele was restored into his position in 1428, his attitude at convocation that year indicated a different approach to combatting heresy, one more closely linked to papal procedural undertakings. Hence the resurgence of trials in the diocese of Norwich, and elsewhere. See Anne Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 46 (1973): 145–159, 148; Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele*, 52–53.

[207] See footnote above.

reappear in provincial convocations for the rest of his tenure, underlining his lack of enthusiasm towards being perceived as a heresy hunter.

Whereas creeds had always been the beacon of the Church's orthodoxy, the translation process of the creeds into Middle English in the fifteenth century was another opportunity to address the theological concerns of believers and the institutional church. Every credal statement functioned differently depending on its translation as well as on its manuscript context in order to address particular doctrinal perspectives and the pastoral needs of distinct textual communities. Consequently, the same variants of texts could have had different roles contingent on their compilation process. The valance of new fifteenth-century translations, with their own elisions, amplifications, and clarifications, speaks to the plural religious contexts of the Chichelean church, and its relentless quest, whether at the centre or on the periphery, to affirm one's allegiance to the authority of the Christian faith. However, the shape of such authority and the way in which it was exerted was far from being understood in a homogeneous and uniform manner. Consequently, the need to assert one's obedience to ecclesiastical authority, or on the contrary, to bypass such authority, was at the heart of the ever crystallising religious landscape and crosscurrents of Chichele's archiepiscopate.

CHAPTER FIVE

Doctrine and the Magisterial Role of the *ecclesia Anglicana*

'God, truth itself, doth teach it;
Mans witt senckis too farr vnder
By reasons power to reach it.
Beleeve and leave to wonder!'[1]

Doctrines, as expressed in the elementary instruction of the various creeds traced in Chapter Five, were considered the authoritative teaching of the church. By definition, these creeds and the doctrines they represented belonged, and were inherent to, the *magisterium* of the ecclesiastic institution. As an institution, the *ecclesia Anglicana* had to reinvent itself in the early fifteenth century, rebuilding its compromised reputation from the ground up. As mentioned in Chapter One, the general Council of Constance was an opportunity for the English church to reaffirm its orthodoxy at both an international level, projecting itself as a harbinger of unity and reform, and at a national level, with an energetic programme of reform flowing from its newly redefined ecclesiology. These changes in the very fabric of

[1] Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, 187.

the *ecclesia Anglicana* meant that its mechanisms to vouchsafe its orthodoxy were developed anew in order to accommodate the fast-changing religious and cultural landscapes of its time, in which doctrines were open to all, democratised, in the form of expositions of credal statements, and circulated in the university, the cathedral school, or the cloister, as much as in the market place.

Chichele's church, to maintain its magisterial role and its duty to preserve the authoritative teaching of the church, rather than flexing its muscles by regulating theological discourse, promoted the education of its clergy and the art of *doctrina*, 'the craft of instructing the laity in religion.' It did so in order to ensure the well-keeping of its *magisterium* from the highest clerical instances to the simplest parish priest.[2] This renewed emphasis on education, which had been advocated for by countless bishops prior to Chichele, was to reach some new heights of vernacular developments as it was anchored in the public life of the church, bolstering both the role of the priesthood and the sacramental life of the Church.

With a view to gaining a better understanding of the religious, cultural, and political contexts within which the creeds of Chapter Four were anchored, this chapter considers the role of the priesthood as endorsed by the English delegation at the Council of Constance by the English delegation. It then briefly looks at ways in which the church sought to preserve and reinforce its *magisterium* in light of Lollardy, before turning to Margery Kempe, a lay female reformist voice, and examining her allegiance to the *magisterium*. The chapter ends with an assessment of doctrine in the sacramental life of the Church, showing how both in the academy and the parish, doctrines had taken on a sacramental nature so as to become images of Christ.

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[2] Jeremy Catto, 'After Arundel: The Closing or the Opening of the English Mind?' in *After* Arundel, 43–54, at 46.

HENRY ABINGDON AND THE *OFFICIUM SACERDOTIS*

Two days after the battle of Agincourt, on Sunday 27 October 1415, Henry Abingdon (d. 1437), a delegate from the University of Oxford, preached in front of the Council at Constance on the theme of Philippians 1, 'Sitis repleti fructu justicie,' ('that you may be filled with the fruit of righteousness'). Abingdon, who obtained his doctorate in theology by 1410, after having been a Fellow at Merton College since 1390, was a suitable representative of the university's interests. He was also experienced in diocesan matters, as canon of Wells since 1410, and versed in pastoral concerns, considering he had been a parish priest at Weston Zoyland, in Somerset, since 1403.[3]

This particular sermon is of great significance. It came to represent not only the theological magisterium of the University of Oxford, but most of all the magisterium of the *ecclesia Anglicana* and its vision for a reform of the *officium sacerdotis*, the office of the priesthood. Any discussion on the priesthood, according to Abingdon, had to be constructed around Christ, the ideal priest. As he began his sermon, Abingdon was forthright with himself and his audience: Christ lamented the state of the current church. He explained that 'The heavenly ploughman, the Lord Jesus Christ, coming into the world and examining his field, [was] grieved and gravely grieved on account of our sterile and overgrown field which is devoid of any fruit.'[4] The clergy had become unfruitful in its clerical duty. Abingdon thus took on the challenge of casting a new vision of what a

[3] Abingdon would become the warden of Merton College not long after the Council of Constance, as he was elected in 1421, and retained the position until his death. 'Henry Abingdon,' in *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, vol. 1, ed. A. B. Emden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 7–8. See also, Margaret Harvey, 'Henry Abingdon,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12967>, accessed 26 August 2021.

[4] 'Caelestis agricola dominus Iesus Christus, veniens in mundum et cernens agrum suum et nostrum sterilem et incultum et vacuum ab omni fructu, doluit et supra modum doluit.' Henry Abingdon, 'Sitis replete fructu iustitiae,' in *Monimenta medii aevi ex bibliotheca regia hanoverana*, ed. Christian W. F. Walch, 2 vols (Göttingen: 1757–64), I, 183.

priesthood inspired by Christ would look like.[5] Continuing with his agrarian metaphor, Abingdon established that Christ, in the Incarnation, was the first person to plough the field, as he then 'irrigated [it] for many years himself, with tears of suffering and the sweat of labour, he sowed his seed, the seed of the Word, the seed of righteousness.'[6] The teaching of Christ (the seed) having been unveiled, it was now the responsibility of apostles, martyrs, confessors, prelates, monks, and virgins to cultivate the soil, so that the teaching might bear fruit in people. Hence, in one of his compelling pleas, Abingdon invited those present at the Council to imitate Christ the perfect priest: 'O, therefore, honoured prelates and venerable lords, may you follow our Lord and teacher Jesus who gave you such an excellent and precious example of the office as modelled by Christ.'[7] The reform of the priesthood as a means by which to fulfil pastoral duties, such as preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and the religious instruction of the laity, had to draw on Christ's own priesthood and had to be a united effort across the universal Church, in order to renew and to re-establish the magisterial role of the church after a deeply schismatic time further marked by heresy and war.

According to Abingdon, the programme of reform in head and members, in order to transmit the Gospel message that was the *magisterium* of the church, had to begin with the doctrine of authority. Just as bishops had doctrinal authority as they passed down the doctrine of the apostles, which was in turn handed down to them, priests had doctrinal

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[5] This challenge was also undertaken earlier that year by Robert Hallum in a sermon called 'Misereberis Syon quia venit tempus,' where he called for the union and reform of the church hierarchy in head and in members by following Christ's shepherding example. 'Ecce, pater sancta, quia venit tempus, in qua Christus omnipotens cum suis angelis et sanctis omnibus necnon universi reges, principes et prelati ac mundus iste totus indubitanter expectant veritatis, iusticie et pietatis iudicium pro perfecta unione et reformation status ecclesiastice ierarchie tam in capite quam in membris.' Hallum, 'Misereberis Syon quia venit tempus,' 394.

[6] 'cum doloris lacrymis et sudorum laboribus annis pluribus ipsum irrigavuit, demumque adveniente congruo tempore, seminavit semen suum, semen verbi, semen iustitiae.' Abingdon, 'Sitis replete fructu iustitiae,' 183.

[7] 'O igitur, praelati et domini venerandi, sequamini dominum nostrum et magistrum Iesum, qui tale et tam pretiosum vobis exemplavit officium.' Ibid., 199.

authority as they were teaching and preaching in the name of Christ.[8] This doctrine of ecclesiastical authority was rooted in God's own authority, and the obedience due by the creature to the creator in the order of nature. To anchor the doctrine of authority scripturally, Abingdon asked a series of leading questions:

> How is it that by Ezekias' prayer the sun withdrew from its orbit? Did not the tongue of Elisha close the sky for three years and then opened it? [...] How has the water of the sea solidified for Peter's feet, or his body lightened, in order for him to walk towards the Lord? [...] Who shut the jaws of the lions in hunger for seven days and tamed their wildness to be harmless for Daniel, if not by God's will through the owed obedience of the creature to the creator?[9]

These questions led to the heart of Abingdon's sermon. To reform the priesthood, and more globally Christian society in head and members, obedience had to be revalorized. Christ's own obedience was set as the exemplar, as he 'is said to have obeyed so humbly his inferiors.' Obedience was first of all owed to God, as shown in the examples of the order of nature and Christ's life and passion, for 'just as the greatest disobedience displeases, so the greatest obedience pleases God.'[10] Drawing here on Hebrews 11:6, which says that without faith it is impossible to please God, a common saying in fifteenth-century creeds, Abingdon established that to have faith was to obey God. Thus obedience was also owed to the teaching of the church, and those disseminating it. Prelates therefore had to live exemplary lives, where their holy living and character had as much importance as their cure of souls, for their very lives manifested the *magisterium* passed down to them.

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[8] Karl Rhaner, 'Magisterium,' in *Encyclopedia of Theology, A Concise Sacramentum Mundi*, ed. Karl Rahner (London: Burns and Oates, 1975), 871–880; Leclerq, 'Le magistère,' 145.

[9] 'Qualis ad votum Ezechiae recessit sol in suo circulo? Non ne lingua Elisaei caelum clausit annis tribus et apervit? [...] Quomodo aqua maris Petri pedibus solidatur, aut corpus eius levigatur, ut ambularet versus dominum? [...] Quis fauces leonum in fame reficit diebus septem et eorum feritatem Danieli innocuam domesticavit, nisi deo volente obedientia debita creaturae ad creatorem?' Abingdon, 'Sitis replete fructu iustitiae,' 188–189.

[10] 'sicut inobedientia maxime displicet, ita obedientia maxime deo placet.' Ibid., 190.

A tendency observed among the clergy was the pride that emanated from obtaining privileges, which then led the clergy to show unwillingness to submit to any form of authority. Among the clergy, Abingdon lamented, one found prelates who were merely interested in 'quarrelsome and gainful knowledge' rather than the discernment of the Catholic faith, prelates who supported themselves from 'the profits of prebends and from expulsions of properties,' and prelates who had no regard for morals and the fighting of heresy. Abingdon reminded his audience that every clerical rank and position had its own function and responsibility over the spiritualities and temporalities of its community. Therefore, the authority of superiors should not be bypassed, but similarly those in authority were responsible for their subordinates, as their behaviour prejudiced the *magisterium* of the church. In Henry Abingdon's frame of reference, obedience and the *magisterium* were intricately connected, so much so that one could not exist without the other. To adhere to the *magisterium* was to submit to the authority of the church, and to be obedient to such authority was to adhere to its teaching.

Another theme of Abingdon's sermon was the preservation of the *magisterium*, which reflected the pressures felt by the English church nationally with the dissenting voices following Wyclif, as well as internationally, as Wyclif's views were disseminated in Bohemia. To disagree with the teaching of the church, the doctrine of the apostles about Christ passed down by apostolic transmission, was to be called a 'haereticus.'

> These are called heretics, who, as it were foxes, dig in the field of the Lord. For they undermine and subvert the scriptures by means of deceits and diverse equivocations. They seek logical fallacies. They corrupt philosophy and do everything to twist the scriptures according to their own sense. They deceive the simple people. They corrupt the faith and the seed of the Word, which is sown in the field of the Lord, so that they may destroy and suppress it through their evil seeds.[11]

[11] 'Hi vocantur haeretici, qui tamquam vulpes fodiunt in agro domini. Nam per fallacias et aequivocationes varias suffodiunt et pervertunt scripturas, sophismata quaerunt philosophiam pervertunt et

Contrary to Geoffrey Schale, the Augustinian preacher who explicitly denounced 'the emerging Lollardy' that led to schism in the body (as seen in Chapter Two), Abingdon did not narrow down the definition of the inculpated heretics by calling them Lollards. Heretics were those who subverted both the word of God, and the people of God, and those who committed evil deeds. However, Abingdon's own English context, which was challenged by John Wyclif's theological and ideological views, precludes any doubt that he had Lollards in mind. To preserve the *magisterium* of the church was to ensure that Christ's seed, his teaching, was not dug up by foxes (heretics), and that the *populus simplex* would have access to it. The task of the priesthood was thus refined to the preservation of the *magisterium*, and *doctrina*, the art of instructing the laity in such doctrinal teaching. Both sacerdotal duties were contingent on one another as Abingdon underlined by quoting Augustine in his *Contra epistulam Manichaei*: '"By no means,'" he said, "would have I believed the Gospel unless the authority of the church would have moved me towards it."'[12] On the basis of this argument, Abingdon attributed the passing down of the truth of the Christian faith—the centuries-old doctrinal truth called the *magisterium*—to the authority of the Church, which had to preserve it and vouch for its credibility generation after generation, as a 'powerful chain.' His emphasis on apostolic continuity— 'the succession of priests holds through the faith itself of the Apostle Peter, to whom the Lord gave charge to feed his sheep, down to the present episcopate'—and the

totum agunt, ut scripturas ad proprium sensum retorqueant, populum simplicem decipiant, fidem corrumpant et semen verbi, quod in agro domini seritur, per sua maledicta semina perimant et confundant.' Ibid., 196.

[12] 'Non, inquit, crederem evangelio, nisi ad hoc commoveret me ecclesiae auctoritas.' Ibid. Adapted slightly from Augustine, *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti*, in *PL*, vol. 42, Chapter V, item 6. Col. 176. <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:pld&rft_dat=xri:pld:ft:all:Z300050920>

sacerdotal power invested in priests to teach the *magisterium*, was spurred on by some main points of contention that were raised by Lollardy.[13]

Henry Abingdon's sermon was an articulated response to both the schismatic and dissenting climate infused across England and the continent. With his emphasis on Christ as the ideal priest, the doctrine of authority, and the preserving of the *magisterium* with *doctrina*, Abingdon laid out some of the main themes that came to shape the implementation of the *ecclesia Anglicana*'s reformist programme in England.

LOLLARDY AND THE PRIESTHOOD

As Mishtooni Bose puts it, 'clerical castigation was common among both orthodox reformers and obdurate heretics.'[14] Abingdon's lament on the state of the priesthood, as seen above, was a widely shared views across reformist mentalities, both orthodox and Lollards alike.[15] However, the importance attributed to the morality of priests, which Lollardy anchored in each individual's state of sanctification based on the doctrine of predestination, meant that most Lollards' understanding of the doctrine of authority was contingent on the virtue of those invested with sacerdotal power. Not all Lollards were antisacerdotalist (desiring the abolition of the clergy). Some were hyperclericalist, as they 'subscribed to traditional theologies of the priesthood but desired the restoration of ideal

[13] 'Tenet ab ipsa fide Petri apostoli, cum pascendas oves dominus tradidit usque ad praesentem episcopum successio sacerdotum.' Abingdon, 'Sitis replete fructu iustitiae,' 197. Abingdon is still quoting a loose copy of Augustine's *Contra epistulam Manichaei*.

[14] Mishtooni Bose, 'Writing Heresy, and the Anticlerical Muse,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 276–296, at 277. See also, Harvey, 'English Views on the Reforms,' 23–24.

[15] For another Constance sermon that lamented the corruption of the clergy, see, for instance, Richard Fleming's 'Accipiant qui vocati sunt' preached on 28 March 1417, in which he advocated for reform by denouncing the corruption that has permeated the prelates' religious life. Chris Lee Nighman, '"*Accipiant Qui Vocati Sunt"*: Richard Fleming's Reform Sermon at the Council of Constance,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51 (2000): 1–36.

standards of behaviour among clergymen.' [16] 'Hyperclericalism' was not constrained within Lollard circles, but what demarcated orthodox reformers from Lollards was that they never veered towards Donatist perspectives. Whereas Lollardy stood by the clause *ex opere operantis* (the validity of the sacrament relies on the celebrant's morality), orthodox reformers stood by *ex opere operato* (the validity of the sacrament is contingent to its correct celebration), as held by the institutional church throughout the centuries. This did not mean that orthodox reformists abided by antinomian principles (the belief that Christians are released from any observance of the moral law on account of grace).

As seen in Abingdon's sermon, the morality of the priesthood enabled the preservation of the *magisterium*, and was therefore strongly emphasised. Alastair Minnis, summarising Jean Leclercq's view on those with the cure of souls, notes that 'the emphasis was thereby placed […] on the dignity of the function and on the obligation of the person to act in accordance with it.'[17] Reformist views of the priesthood upheld an ideal of the *officium sacerdotis* bound to the *ordo caritatis*, the law of charity epitomised in the Great Commandment of the New Testament (love of God and love of neighbour). *Sanctitas* and *doctrina* were thus key to the office of priesthood as underlined by Abingdon, two values similarly shared by Lollards.

Lollardy held higher *sanctitas*, as the outcome of a predestined state, than the sacerdotal power to share the Gospel by those in the *officium sacerdotis*. The Middle English version of the *Rosarium Theologie*, which is the summarised text of the encyclopaedic theological Wycliffite manual *Floretum*, encapsulates this questioning of the nature of sacerdotal power in its entry on 'Pope.' It underlines that 'Pope, þof al he be þe vicarie of Petre, neuþerles þer ow noȝt liȝtly to be had of hym presumpsioun,' and that

[16] See definitions of antisacerdotalism and hyperclericalism, given by Patrick Hornbeck, to veer the conversation away from the now mostly sterile term anticlericalism. Hornbeck, *What Is a Lollard?*, 144.

[17] Alastair J. Minnis, *Fallible Authors: Chaucer's Pardoner and Wife of Bath* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 51.

'he owe to haue more zele into þe worchip of God þan Cristen men,' and also that 'noȝt euery pope is seynt or holy.'[18] Here, papal power is questioned as inherent source of virtue. The role and the authority that comes with it do not make one virtuous, rather these things are independent of each other. Papal power, just as much as episcopal or sacerdotal power, should flow out of one's virtuous state, as those entrusted with cure of souls should lead by example.

Similarly, *commentary* W of Tradition 2 (c) of the Middle English creeds affirmed that popes and prelates had to 'lyf after criste if þai schul be saved.'[19] While such statements upheld standard clerical expectations across the religious landscape, their presence in *commentary* W and their absence in other credal statements raises questions. These concerns about the virtuous state of the papacy and its clergy were also perceived in orthodox reformist voices as that of Richard Ullerston, in the first article of his *Petitiones*, in which he emphasised that the pontiff had to model Christ in morality and in pastoral ministry.[20] Such upholding of morality over the sacramental nature given to a ritual, the teaching of doctrine, or sacerdotal power was a clear point of contention between the *ecclesia Anglicana* and Lollardy. By anchoring the life of the Church in morality, Wycliffite theology denied that the ritual of the sacraments, doctrine, and sacerdotal power all participated in the mystery of Christ, the hidden reality to which they pointed, but considered them as merely symbols.[21]

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[18] Christina von Nolcken ed., *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979), 79. This statement echoes the eighteenth conclusion of the *Potestacio* considered erroneous by Pope Gregory XI, which concerns the fraternal correction of clerics by all: 'Ecclesiasticus, etiam Romanus Pontifex, potest in casu a subjectis corripi, et ad utilitatem Eccleiae, tam a clericis quam a laicis, accusari.' Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 1, 208.

[19] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. e. 181, fol. 6r.

[20] 'Ex praedictis patet, quod, sicut *Petrus* non fuisset a Christo electus, ut ejus Vicarius, nisi ad exequendum ea, quae ipsemet inchoarat, et ut pariformiter se haberet ad Magistrum suum Christum, praedicando videlicet et docendo, et necessitatibus proximorum subveniendo.' Ullerston, 'Petitiones,' 1135.

[21] I do not use the word 'mystery' in its modern sense, but in its medieval and patristic sense which refers to realities that cannot be perceived by human senses; these realities cannot be fully grasped nor comprehended. Mystery, in its medieval sense, thus implies sacrament, and reveals a sacramental character of reality. See Boersma, *Heavenly Participation,* 21–22.

The attributes of the priesthood, according to the institutional church, were not contingent on the morality of individual priests, but rather on the validity of their very nature, as they were the true image of Christ's mystery (e.g. the baptismal rite is the image and presence of Christ as the baptised participates in Christ's reality through the rite). Reduced to symbols, the attributes of the priests would not point others to Christ, but priests by living in charity could. Immoral priests could therefore not lead others to live in charity, as their own lives might turn them to sin. Sinful clergy should therefore face punitive action such as disendowment according to John Wyclif and his followers.[22] This theme of the morality of the priesthood was intricately connected with Wycliffite and Lollard views on the doctrine of authority which could not be separated from the doctrine of predestination. As Patrick Hornbeck underlines, 'profound concern on many lollards' part for the proper exercise of authority in the church' raised questions such as 'Who rightly wields authority, in what ways, and under what conditions'?[23] Such questioning of the doctrine of authority intricately connected to being in a state of grace was at the heart of John Wyclif's theories of dominion, which were then taken up by Wycliffites and Lollards alike.

To assess whether Wycliffites and Lollards submitted to the authority of the institutional church was not always an easy task. As Anne Hudson has pointed out, before 1428, when Lollards were asked about their beliefs, most often they would recite the articles of the faith, the Ten Commandments, the seven sacraments, as well as the seven works of mercy and the seven cardinal virtues. Such was the case, for instance, with the

[22] On Wyclif's fraternal correction, see Craun, *Ethics and Power*, 86–100.

[23] Patrick J. Hornbeck, Mishtooni Bose, and Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2016), 135. Such concern for clerical authority was not new with the arrival of Wycliffite and lollard thought, it can be found in earlier writings, whether in Latin or vernacular, clerical or lay.

examination that took place at Bristol in 1417.[24] Although the people examined were undoubtedly Lollards, all of their answers complied with orthodox views. One could affirm the mainstream credal statements of the faith without having to display openly one's theological and ideological views connected with the controversial topics of ecclesiology and soteriology by reciting creeds from Tradition 1 (a), Tradition 2 (a), Tradition 3, and Tradition 4 (a). These creeds enabled those who wished it to bypass demonstrating a clear obedience to ecclesiastical authority.

By 1428, after Henry Chichele's strengthening of provincial legislations concerning heresy, lists of questions were recorded to unearth any Lollard leanings in suspects.[25] As briefly mentioned in Chapter Four, the first four questions of both examination lists for jurists and theologians, found in Thomas Polton's register, contained matters of eucharistic theology, while detecting 'any Donatist leanings.'[26] Another list of questions for the examination of Lollards is found in Bishop William Alnwick's courtbook, which dates from the autumn 1428 to spring 1431. Hudson underlines that this list, which was used in the diocese of Norwich, began with questions on the sacraments, before being followed by views on the priesthood and unction, and then tackling questions on fast and feast days, oaths, pilgrimages, images and tithes, as well as on excommunication, the nature of the church, and the position of the pope.[27]

These forthright questions would have made one's views on the sacraments, soteriology, and the magisterial role of the church clear to a perceptive audience, whereas the reciting of a mainstream creed would have been deficient in revealing heterodox

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[24] Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards,' 127; *Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1407–1424: From the Original in the Registry at Wells*, ed. T. Scott Holmes, Somerset Record Society, vol. 29 (London: Harrison and sons, 1914), 283–290.

[25] This reinforcing of heresy regulation was of a short duration at provincial level, as shown by following convocations, see Chapter Two, fn. 55. On the reason of this strengthening, see Chapter Four, fn. 205.

[26] Hudson, 'The Examination of Lollards,' 126.

[27] Ibid., 130–131.

leanings. Although Hudson underlines that in the case of many examinations, the clergy failed 'to ask the necessary eliciting question,' such lists were a step forward in finding ways to preserve the *magisterium* of the institutional church against dissenting views.[28] By determining whether Lollards submitted to the authority of the church, its doctrines (such as transubstantiation), its clergy (such as the authority of the pope or the priesthood), its tradition, and its practices, examinations were themselves public demonstrations of the *magisterium* of the church and a blunt assertion of the doctrine of authority, which did not necessarily enthuse Chichele. However, papal orders promoted the assessment of dissenting beliefs in order to maintain church authority and the passing down of its authoritative teaching, which was a cause dear to Chichele's pastoral agenda.

MARGERY KEMPE'S OBEDIENCE TO THE CHURCH

The combination of the above themes of ecclesiastical authority and clerical morality, as well as Lollard examinations, are all gathered in the account of Margery Kempe's life. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, which traces religious experiences in England, spanning from the later years of Thomas Arundel's archiepiscopate up to the 1430s, is a particularly insightful example of lay devotion within the realm of pastoral ministry in England during Chichele's church.

In the summer of 1417, Margery Kempe waited in Bristol for six weeks for a ship to take her on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. She found herself in a place and at a time when doctrinal policing was at its highest. However, as she was summoned to Thomas Peverell (d. 1419), the Bishop of Worcester, who was once a Carmelite friar at

[28] Ibid., 131.

Lynn's priory, she was not examined, as one would expect based on the records of heresy trials in Bristol that summer. Her acquaintance with Peverell prevented her from being examined as in other episcopal sees.[29] Not long after, Margery was examined at the chapterhouse of Beverley minster, where a Dominican friar admits that 'sche can hir feyth wel inow.' However, the friar also noted that reciting the articles of the faith was often not sufficient to detect heterodox leanings, as seen in the examination lists and the taxonomic classifications above. Despite Margery's orthodox confession of the faith, the friar maintained that she was a lying Lollard associated with John Oldcastle, who was relentlessly chased by the Duke of Bedford for political reasons, while his brother, Henry V, was away in France.[30] Facing such accusations, Margery's response was one of obedience to ecclesiastical authority and its magisterial role. She submitted willingly to the judgement of the Archbishop of York, Henry Bowet: 'My Lord, yyf it lyke yow to examyn me, I schal ben aknowe the trewth, and yf I be fowndyn gylty, I wyl abeyn yowr correccyon.'[31]

This submission is reminiscent of the scriptural twelve articles in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54 and London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, which admit in their final lines: 'Neþeles if ony man can fynde in þis crede ony errour or eresie and grounde him holi writ, y wole mekely revoke it and lerne to bileeve bettir.'[32] However, MS B.14.54 and MS Harley 2343 anchor their potential correction in scripture rather than in the magisterial role of the church as Margery did. Margery's recognition of the sacerdotal responsibility of correcting false doctrine is a testimony to her obedience to the

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[29] See Barry Windeatt, 'Margery Kempe and the Friars,' in *The Friars in Medieval Britain, Proceedings of the 2007 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nicholas Rogers (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), 125–141, at 129.

[30] Margery is accused by John Rickinghall, the Duke of Bedford's confessor, to have advised Lady Greystoke–Bedford's niece–to leave her husband, reflecting possible Lollard opposition to the sacrament of matrimony.

[31] Kempe, *The Book*, 264/53.4460–4462.

[32] London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, fols. 11v–12r. See also, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54, fols. 17r–17v.

ecclesiastical institution, when in fact both MS B.14.54 and MS Harley 2343 do not submit to such authority. As glossed by both creeds in the exposition of the clause on belief in the Holy Catholic Church, ecclesiastical authority resides in the *congregatio predestinatorum*. According to the texts, one should profess that: 'I bileve in holichirche and as holichirche bileveth […] as all othre men and women þat shul be rightful and holy […] and as þis chirche that may not erre bilevith.'[33] To affirm one's faith using a creed was an act of obedience to Christ and to his church. [34] It was an act of submission. However, as seen in Chapter Five, the nature of the Church to which one submitted to could come in variable shapes and colours. The plurality of views on ecclesiology at the time meant that in order to hold orthodox belief, as the more detailed creeds above have shown, one had to believe in the Church, its institution, its sacraments, and its sacerdotal power as passed down through apostolic continuity. Despite lay and clerical accusations of Lollardy, *The Book* reiterated extensively that the lay woman from Lynn was not only obedient to Christ, Holy Church, her confessors, and clerical figures, but also sought to uphold the magisterial role of the church by fully embracing its teaching and practices.[35]

Public worship is a central component of *The Book*, as demonstrated by Laura Varnam in her work on Margery's affiliation to her parish church.[36] Margery's obedience to the magisterial role of the church is thus first and foremost perceived in her participation in the life of the Church. Her active commitment to the sacramental system of the Church, approved by Henry Chichele in a letter dating from 1417 or 1418, meant that she went to confession twice to three times a day, and that she partook of the Eucharist every Sunday.[37]

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[33] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54, fols. 8r–9r.

[34] Andrew Reeves notes that 'a medieval canonist or theologian understood faith as a trust in Jesus Christ: a large part of that trust was a desire to humbly submit to Christ and His Church.' Andrew Reeves, 'Education and Religious Instruction,' in *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity, 1050–1500*, ed. R. N. Swanson (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 103–115, at 103.

[35] Kempe, *The Book*, 95/13.901; 229/46.3691; 248/52.4116; 258/53.4318,4324; 268/55.4539.

[36] Laura Varnam, 'The Importance of St Margaret's Church in *The Book of Margery Kempe*: A Sacred Place and an Exemplary Parishioner,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 61 (2017): 197–243.

[37] Kempe, *The Book*, 270/55.4588–4589.

Such a commitment speaks not only to Margery's knowledge and submission to the tenets of the faith, but also to the church's practices, tradition, and authority.[38]

To be severed from communion with the Church seems to be one of Margery's greatest afflictions. Expelled from the Hospital of St Thomas of Canterbury, in Rome, Margery is 'ful hevy,' filled with sorrow and weeping for 'sche myth not be schrevyn ne howselyd.'[39] While being 'hyly belovyd wyth the mastyr of the hospital and wyth alle hys brethyr,' her expulsion, caused by a respected English priest, which separated her from the communion of the Church, threatened her status of belonging, and her life's meaning. Participation in the sacramental system of the Church ultimately meant belonging to the Christian community, which was ritually instituted through baptism. By being driven out of St Thomas', while John Thomason (perhaps a layman) was its *custos*, and Robert Cipeldon was its *camerarius*, Margery's status as member of the English Christian community was questioned, the hospital being its core representative in Rome.[40] The hospital's close affiliations with both the papal *Curia* and the highest ecclesiastical instances in England meant that Margery's sense of belonging was compromised within both the *ecclesia Anglicana* and the universal Church.[41]

The way to amend her membership within the Christian community was to partake in the sacraments, which were withheld from those who were excommunicated. *The Book*'s emphasis on divine provision for Margery's ensuing confessors in Rome, Saint John the Evangelist, the confessor of women lacking confessors, and then a German priest who spoke no English, not only confirms the importance of Margery's sacramental communion with and obedience to the church, but also provides divine affirmation of her

[38] Ibid., 63/3.368–369; 70/4.475–477; 72/5.512–513.
[39] Ibid., 182/32.2619, 2626–2628.
[40] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, 62; Anthony Kenny, 'From Hospice to College,' in *The English Hospice in Rome,* ed. John Allen, rev. ed. (Leominster: Gracewing, 2005), 218–273, at 265.
[41] Harvey, *The English in Rome*, 53–54.

status of belonging.[42] This divine affirmation is an ongoing theme of *The Book*, as earlier in her pilgrimage, when partaking in two masses at the church of the Tomb of the Virgin, in the Valley of Kedron, by Jerusalem, Christ affirmed Margery's obedience to the Church and its institution: 'I am wel plesyd wyth the, dowtyr, for thu stondist undyr obedyens of Holy Cherch.'[43] While Margery is often portrayed as existing in the margins of the Christian community, her active and persistent sacramental participation in the life of the Church anchors her at its core and thwarts social perceptions.

Margery's allegiance to the institutional church, its authority, and its practices, is also perceived in her support of the movement of pastoral reforms across the clergy that began in the 1380s and which culminated in the post-Constance era. Her active rebuking of sin among the clergy, on account of her seeing herself as a corrector, echoed Abingdon's programme for the reform of the order of priesthood in England. Rather than being pitted against the clergy as a dissenting figure, Margery embraced the pastoral voice of reform, and held any monks, priests, bishops, and archbishops she came across accountable to this renewed ideal of the priesthood.[44]

The *locus* of Margery's reformist voice, which implemented the pastoral agenda of the *ecclesia Anglicana*, originated in Christ. Indeed, Christ assured Kempe that when interacting with the clergy, he would enable her to answer 'every clerke in the love of God.' This assurance was consolidated by her active participation in the life of the Church, both locally and abroad. Rather than calling for reform from an external ideological standpoint, Margery, as a devout parishioner of St Margaret's church in Bishop's Lynn, called for reform from the inside, as her life abided by the institutional church, its

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[42] As Barry Windeatt notes, both Elizabeth of Hungary and Marie of Oignies have Saint John the Evangelist as a confessor. Kempe, *The Book*, 183.

[43] Ibid., 170–171/29.2359–2360.

[44] On Kempe as a dissenting figure pitted by Christ against the clergy, see Ruth Shklar 'Cobham's Daughter: *The Book of Margery Kempe* and the Power of Heterodox Thinking,' *Modern Language Quarterly* 56:3 (1995): 277–304.

orthodoxy, authority, and practices. A recurring pattern in *The Book* is Margery rebuking clerical figures who disliked and opposed her for their sins. Thus, when visiting a monastery, the lay woman was warmly welcomed by all, apart from a monk 'whech bar gret offyce.' He 'despysed hir and set hir at nowt.'[45] Margery rebuked the man for his lechery, despair, and withholding of worldly goods. After inviting him to confess and sin no more in a pastoral voice calling for the centrality of the penitentiary so to amend sinners, she asked him to leave his priestly responsibilities outside of the monastery.

This injunction, minor in appearance, reflects the essence of Margery's understanding of the magisterial role of the Church. The monk was not asked to leave his priestly duties all together, but rather to contain them within the monastery, thereby ensuring oversight.[46] However, any pastoral care among the laity is constrained so to ensure that the sinful living of the priest might not hinder the *magistrum* inculcated to lay people. *The Book* tells us that the next time Margery visited the place, the monk had repented and turned his life around, and eventually had become 'suppriowr' of the monastery.[47]

In another case, at her first examination by the Archbishop of York at Cawood, the doctor who previously examined her accused her of slandering the priesthood with a priest's tale she told about a pear tree and a bear. A pear tree in bloom was shaken violently by a bear, who then ate its flowers, and defecated by its trunk.[48] The tale encapsulates the pastoral crisis faced by the clergy in the post-Arundelian decades, as underlined by Vincent Gillespie.[49] The flowers are the sacramental graces held by the

[45] Kempe, *The Book*, 90/12.802–803.

[46] Contrary to Wycliffites and Lollards' view on ecclesiastical morality, Margery does not advocate excommunication, but merely clerical supervision.

[47] Kempe, *The Book*, 92/12.854.

[48] Ibid., 255/52.4251–4253. On the tale, or *exemplum*, see Gillespie, 'Building a Bestseller,' 28–31; Craun, *Ethics and Power*, ch. 6.

[49] Gillespie, 'Building a Bestseller,' 30.

order of priesthood, mostly found in the Eucharist, while the bear is those among this same order who were negligent and not devout with their sacramental duties. While the Archbishop approved of the tale, the doctor, who is now referred to as a mere 'clerk,' was overwhelmed by compunction: 'Ser, this tale smytyth me to the hert.' Margery then, by invoking the words of a 'worshipful doctowr, prechar' in her hometown, indirectly confronted the clerk's guilt. We are told that afterwards, the clerk asked her for forgiveness for opposing her and urged her to pray for him, a blunt recognition of Margery's pastoral voice, as noted by Edwin Craun.[50]

Margery's pastoral voice is used throughout the first part of *The Book* to chastise the clergy, calling them to a life of holiness in a tone similar to that of Abingdon's sermon. Margery also undertook a catechetic task of reminding clergy and laity alike of the tenets of the faith. At her first examination by the Archbishop of York at Cawood, Margery began by responding to the accusations of the Archbishop's men, by reproving of their swearing of oaths, which, unless they repented, would lead them to hell, for it is one of God's Ten Commandments.[51] While in that case, Margery presumably addressed only members of the clergy, she did not confine this catechising to religious people, but extended it to lay people as well.

Thus, this previous rebuke echoed Margery's disapproval of the men of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, in 1413. When visiting Lambeth Palace and hearing squires and yeomen swear oaths and using reckless words, Margery rebuked them, and then boldly held the Archbishop accountable for his men's behaviour: 'Ye schal answer for hem les than ye correctyn hem or ellys put hem owt of yowr servyse.'[52] This statement not only condemns the making of oaths and swearing as encompassed in

[50] Craun, *Ethics and Power*, 141.
[51] Kempe, *The Book*, 248/52.4119–4121.
[52] Ibid., 111/16.1176–1181.

catechetic texts, but also underlines the priestly responsibility—even held by the archbishop—to catechise his own people. While the condemnation of oath swearing is often associated with Lollardy, Margery here is simply putting into practice the teaching on the Ten Commandments, which states in the exposition of the second commandment: 'thou schalt not take the name of thy lorde in vayne.'

The pastoral handbook *Speculum Christiani*, for instance, admonishes its audience: 'Dere frendes, be-forne alle thynge be not in wyl to swere, nothyr be heuen, ne be erthe, ne [be] any othyr thynge othe for noght or in vayn, *that* ȝe falle not vndyr the dome of veniaunce here or in *that* othir worlde.'[53] Margery's insistence that all, whether religious or lay, should uphold the commandments reflects the breadth of her catechetic knowledge, which she internalised, and which imbued and catalysed her pastoral voice. Margery's pastoral voice thus directly served the *magisterium* of the Church and reflected the lay implementation of the pastoral reforms of Henry Chichele's church, as set out at the Council of Constance. As Gillespie puts is 'Margery is a paradigm of the new, orally instructed laity envisaged by the English episcopacy at this period, though she often encounters severe shortcomings in the local implementation of that policy.'[54]

[53] *Speculum Christiani*, 20, l. 1–4. *The Lay Folks' Catechism* also entreats in its treatment of the second commandment: 'þerfore be war þat neuer þou swere fals, ne ydyl, ne be ony creature, but only be god in tyme of nede.' *The Lay Folks Catechism,* 39, l. 591–594. Whole treatises and lyrics were dedicated to the theme of swearing, see for example the iterative Middle English lyric, 'Al day we preche: al day we use to teche/ Good lyf to eche: and stroye the othys of wreche,' in London, Lambeth Library, MS 78, fol. 271r. This was compiled before a Latin lyric on the lament of the Virgin Mary, in William of Chartham's Latin compilation, written between 1403 and 1448, as he was a monk at Christ Church Canterbury.

[54] Gillespie, 'Chichele's Church,' 32–33.

THE SACRAMENTAL NATURE OF DOCTRINE

Doctrine holds a distinctive role in the religious and cultural landscape of Chichele's church. It connects both the themes of eucharist and the liturgy, discussed in the previous chapters. Through the active profession of the 'rule of faith,' the use of credal statements within public worship, and the eucharistic nature that it took on in the fifteenth century, doctrine was reaffirmed as an essential part of the life of the Church, and more specifically its sacramental life. The convergence of doctrine, eucharist, and liturgy in the creeds was the fruit of a renewed sacramental worldview in the first half of the fifteenth century, displaying not only a return to patristic sources, but also an increased emphasis on Christ's presence as the divine mystery contemplated at Mass.

Robert M. Ball, in his 1976 University of Cambridge DPhil thesis, affirmed that the decline of the significance of the confessional in *pastoralia* in the fifteenth century corresponded to the growing significance of the Mass.[55] Similarly, in the seminal 1985 book chapter on Henry V's reign, Jeremy Catto underlined the 'vitality and importance of public communal worship' as a direct response to the religious unrest of the time.[56] Both scholars draw our attention to a fifteenth-century phenomenon that is often neglected, but that formed the backbone of Chichele's reformist agenda: the sacramental life of the Church. According to Ball, the increasing emphasis on the mass turned priests into intercessors, with the exponential growth of chantries, rather than curates who focused on the cure of souls.[57] Such analysis fails to take into account vernacular material of *pastoralia*, based mostly as it is on the circulation of Latin pastoral manuals of instruction (drawing on William of Pagula' *Oculus sacerdotis*), and the decline in popularity of its

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[55] Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy,' 275.
[56] Catto, 'Religious Change,' 109.
[57] Ball, 'The Education of the English Parish Clergy,' 275, 363. On chantries, see Harvey, *Lay Religious Life*, especially Chapter 8; Richard B. Dobson, *Church and Society*; Kreider, *English Chantries*.

sections on the penitential in the fifteenth century in order to prioritise the sections on the sacramental life of the Church.

The mere taxonomic classification of the creeds in Chapter Five points to more than 200 credal witnesses. The plethora of extant credal material in fifteenth-century England points to an apogee of Middle English pastoral instruction, on the grounds of the non-normative nature of the creed, promoting an ever-growing search for expounding the truth in the vernacular. Such pastoral momentum around credal statements was intricately integrated within the developing emphasis on the mass. The Apostles' Creed as the baptismal formula, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed as the Mass Creed sung chorally, and the Athanasian Creed as a canticle, all had an integrated role in the Mass and the Divine Office. Clergy and laity alike were to recite them as proclamations of belief, which anchored all believers in the faith and tradition of the universal Church. The act of conscious profession of the creeds, rather than pointing to the *verba* (i.e. the textual form of the formulas, or their elided, corrected, or expanded parts) pointed to the *res* of faith, the pre-linguistic truths signified by each formula and embodied in the Mass. The doctrines expounded in the creeds were sacraments participating in (as in sharing with) the mystery of Christ to which they pointed. The significance of fifteenth-century creeds in their communal and devotional religious contexts derived their being and value from the very mystery in which they participated: Christ.

To return to Henry Abingdon's sermon, 'Sitis repleti fructu justicie,' preached at Constance in 1415, we find the same frame of reference given to doctrine. In a section of his sermon on the duty of the clergy, Abingdon underlines that 'in every prelate and curate there must be both good teaching and good living.'[58] Whereas good living is for his own good, good teaching is on account of the people. For 'life is his very own' when in fact

[58] 'In omni praelato et curato debent esse duo: bene docere et bene vivere.' Abingdon, 'Sitis replete fructu iustitiae,' 198.

'true doctrine is not his own, but another's.'[59] Abingdon continues to declare that this doctrine 'can be called the image of Christ.'[60] To assimilate doctrine to the image of Christ was to affirm that the truth of the teaching conveyed, the truth of doctrine, participated in the mystery of Christ, just as much as the art of *doctrina*, the craft of teaching the laity the Christian faith, participated in Christ's sacerdotal reality. This passage is fundamental for our understanding of the *ecclesia Anglicana* and its religious context.

The creeds as true doctrine participated in Christ's mystery. Creeds were the image of Christ, and the image of the mystery of his heavenly reality. They were given a sacramental status, for doctrine was a sacrament (*sacramentum*), and as created form (referred above as *verba*) it participated in the sacramental reality (*res*) of Christ. The numerous translations of the creed from the Latin to Middle English, refining, correcting, expanding, and eliding the *verba*, were the fruit of a constant effort to co-inhere with the *res* in which it participated. The lack of normative Middle English creeds that were clearly defined with a fixed form and meaning indicates the search for the exactitude of doctrinal truth. What used to be embedded in the field of scholarly disputations had thus become, in the first half of the fifteenth century, the realm of pastoral theology and more specifically the cure of souls.

The fact that the creeds were more than words on the page or words spoken out loud (*verba*) but were also an image of sacramental truth and an image of Christ, meant that the exactitude of their use amongst the clergy and laity alike was essential. Just as much as the validity of sacraments in orthodox circles was contingent on their correct celebration, commonly known under its Latin formula *ex opere operato*, the validity of the creed was contingent on its correct profession (by opposition to *ex opere operantis*, which relied on the holiness of the celebrant). In his version of the *Virtues of the Mass*, John

[59] 'Unde vita sui ipsius propria est; doctrina vero sua non sua est.' Ibid.
[60] 'Ut instar christi dici possit.' Ibid.

Lydgate reminds his audience that after the Gospel reading at mass, one ought to recite the creed with precision:

> The gospel rad, A Crede aftyr he seyth
> Solempne days for a remembraunce,
> Of twelfe Artycles longyng to our feyth,
> Whyche we ar bownde to leeue in our creaunce
> Rather to dy than Any varyaunce
> In any point were in our herte founde,
> For feythe with werke to God doth gret plesaunce,
> Lat vs therfore beleue as we ar bounde.[61]

Both the insistence on being 'bownde to leeue,' and the injunction 'Late vs therfore beleue as we are bounde,' not only reiterate the necessity of abiding by the *magisterium* of the church, but they also both emphasise the vital role of belief in the Christian life. As the translation of the first clause of the *verbatim* Q version of *Quicumque vult* underlines, 'Who þat evere wole be saaf, it is nedeful bifore alle oþere þingis þat he holde þe comun bileve. That but ech man kepe it hool and undefoulid, wiþouten doute he schal perische wiþouten ende.'[62]

Similarly, John Audelay, in his *Virtues of the Mass*, admonishes his audience to know the creed: 'Ellis esavyd ye may not be;/ Bot ye con your beleve, truly,/ Ye stond in gret dred.'[63] Lydgate's statement that he and his audience are bound to believe in the articles of faith correlates with both Audelay's warning and the opening line of *verbatim* Q, 'who þat evere wole be saaf.' Without faith in the truth contained in the creed, truths about the Trinity and Christ's natures, the Christian life is obsolete. The biblical source for this statement comes from various places in the Gospels, such as John 17:3, in which Christ states that eternal life (salvation) is to know the only true God and Jesus Christ. To know God, the *Quicumque vult* underlines, is to keep the creed and its beliefs 'hool and

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[61] Lydgate, *Virtues of Mass*, 98–99, l. 265–272.
[62] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70, fol. 171r.
[63] Audelay, *Poems and Carols*, 83, l. 118–120

undefoulid,' but compromising on the beliefs, by distrusting one or the other, or by corrupting their meanings, leads to hell.[64] The same solemnity is given by Lydgate as he notes, 'Rather to dy than Any varyaunce/ In any point were in our herte founde.' The act of professing belief is more than an oral exercise; it is an integrated process involving speech, intelligence, and devotion. Lydgate's understanding of a profession of faith calls for a conformity of mouth, mind, and heart, which are inseparable from one another. If any part of the creed is said, thought, or expressed untruthfully, without 'good entent,' its contingency on a correct, true, profession falls apart. Hence, the public function of the profession is intricately connected with inward devotion, as the two go hand in hand.

The critical nature of professing true belief evokes some resonances with eucharistic beliefs. True belief in transubstantiation was at the heart of fifteenth-century eucharistic theology, as Chapter Three demonstrates. Hence, as we have seen, even dramaturgists would go so far as to dramatise the doctrine of transubstantiation, as put forward in the N-Town cycle.[65]

> Bretheryn, be þe [vertu] of these wordys þat [re]hercyd be,
> Þis þat shewyth as bred to ȝoure apparens
> Is mad þe very flesche and blod of me,
> To þe weche þei þat wole be savyd must ȝeve credens.[66]

[64] Natalie Calder uses a passage from *A Short Declaration of Belief*, found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 23, in order to demonstrate that unbelief was inherent to medieval religious culture. According to her, these injunctions to believe in all the clauses presuppose cases of unbelief. See Natalie Calder, 'Unbelief and the Problem of Heresy: A Late Medieval Context,' in *Reading Heresy: Religion and Dissent in Literature and Art*, ed. Gregory Erickson, and Bernard Schweitzer (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2017), 67–82, at 72–73.

[65] The importance of the creed for fifteenth-century religious culture also permeated mystery plays, with the now lost Creed Play for which the York Corpus Christi Guild was responsible. The Creed Play was performed publicly, outside, in York, in order to instruct and inform those of lesser learning in the Christian faith. See Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: The Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play,' *Speculum* 50:1 (1975): 55–90, at 57.

[66] Stephen Spector, ed., *The N-Town Play: Cotton MS Vespasian D.8*. EETS S.S. 11 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 278.

Without 'credens' in the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into flesh and blood, one could not be saved. The inclusion of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the tenth clause of the Apostles' Creed as a replacement for communion of saints, or else a fruit of Holy Church, such as in the *LFMB*, 'And so I trow þat housel es/ bothe flesshe and blode,' was in itself the assimilation of fifteenth-century eucharistic belief into the credal canon of the faith.[67] While this was not a novelty, as we have seen in Chapter Four, it was a bold move of translation following the *magisterium* of the church, as Lydgate reminds us that variances in the creed generated death.[68]

The convergence of faith, considered a sacrament, and the eucharist is perhaps best expressed in the two levation prayers that formed part of the focus of Chapter Three: John Audelay's *De salutacione corporis Christi Jhesu* and the lyric 'An Orison of the Sacrament and Creed.' In these two levation prayers, which begin respectively with 'Hayle, gracious Lord in thi Godhede' and 'Ihu, my lord, welcome þu be,' the profession of credal statements is intricately connected with the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. To contemplate Christ in the host is to affirm one's faith in the beliefs of the Church, and to profess the Creed is to believe that Christ is sacramentally present. The first stanza of Audelay's *De salutacione* corresponds to the first clause of the twelve articles, which is belief in the Trinity, as well as to the first clause of the Apostles' Creed, which is belief in the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth:

> Hayle, gracious Lord in thi Godhede,
> Hayle, faithful Fygur in forme of bred,
> Hayle, matryal Mater in thi Monhede,
> Worchip mot thou be.

[67] *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, 20., l. 235–236.

[68] However, one needs to take into account the assumption that the *magisterium* of the church could not err as it received its teaching from scriptures, and tradition passed down from the apostles, who received it directly from God in Christ. *Commentary* S, the Apostles' Creed with a sacramental leaning, which is found in Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125, fol. 124r affirms that as each clause of the creed comes from 'þe autorite of God þat seyþ hem and may nat lyȝe ne erre,' the text admonishes its audience, 'þu most take hem as for trewe and ȝyve ful credence to hem and hold þe mor siker of þat þat God þi sovereyn seiþ þe, þan of eny oþer þyng þat þu seest or herest biside.'

> Hayle, Fader and Son and Holé Gost,
> Hayle, Maker of medylerd of myghtis most,
> Hayle, Halnere of this holé Host,
> Thre Persons in Trenité.[69]

The merging of credal belief 'gracious Lord in thi Godhede,' 'Fader and Son and Holé Gost,' and 'Maker of medylerd of myghtis most,' with the beholding of the host, 'Fygur in forme of bred,''matryal Mater,' and 'holé Host' creates a beholding of the truth that is Christ. By gazing at the host, the believer beholds the mysteries of the Trinity unfolded in the credal truths. The real presence of Christ is as tangible in the Eucharist as in the Creed and its doctrinal truths.

This beholding advocated by John Audelay is a synthesis of Christian belief as it developed under the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele. It is an affirmation that Christ's presence in the Eucharist cannot be demarcated from credal truth, for the creeds participate in the reality of the mystery of Christ to which they point. By professing the creeds, Christians actualise their union with Christ, just as such a union is actualised in the partaking of the Eucharist. Similarly, 'An Orison of the Sacrament and Creed,' which is addressed to Christ beheld in the Eucharist, combines eucharistic grammar with credal truths:

> Þis haly flesh and þis blode,
> Of a mayden mylde of mode,
> Þu resaued for oure gode,
> And þat þu kid opon þe rode.[70]

The length of both of these lyrics made it almost impossible to recite the prayers at the elevation of the host at the heart of the canon of the Mass, although this possibility should not be entirely excluded. However, it is more likely that both *De salutacione* and 'An

[69] Audelay, *Poems and Carols*, 77–78, l. 1–8.
[70] Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, 182, l. 5–8.

Orison' recreated the liturgical context of Christ's real presence in the host for a devotional setting outside the timeframe of the Mass. The audience was invited to profess credal beliefs while bearing in mind Christ's real presence, triggered by the host of eucharistic grammar and images proliferating all throughout the prayers, and captivating the imagination.

CONCLUSION

At a time when the magisterial role of the church was threatened by new perspectives in ecclesiology and soteriology, bypassing and boycotting the mediating role of priests, the promotion of the doctrine of authority was paramount. In order for this doctrine to be widely accepted and the *magisterium* of the church to be preserved, those in charge had to be worthy of such deference. In essence, Henry Abingdon's 1415 Constance sermon 'Sitis repleti fructu justicie' was a call to the reforming of the priesthood in Christ. Abingdon's emphasis on the importance of the cure of souls and priestly obedience to Christ and his Church explicitly affirmed the doctrine of authority in a turbulent context of heresy and priestly depravity. The Lollard examinations, which reached their peak in the late 1420s and early 1430s, were themselves public demonstrations of the *magisterium* of the church and a blunt assertion of the doctrine of authority, which did not necessarily enthuse Chichele, but with which he had to comply, obligated by papal orders.[71]

As we have seen, Margery's own deliberate submission to sacerdotal power and her call for the reform of priestly morals meant that the doctrine of authority was widely understood, among the clergy and laity alike, as one of the intact bulwarks of orthodoxy

[71] For Chichele's stance on heresy trials, see Chapter Four, footnote 205.

according to the *ecclesia Anglicana*. While Margery had to face frequent examinations that were part of a more coercive affirmation of the doctrine of authority, her dependability on and loyalty to the sacramental life of the Church as well as her pastoral voice were both fruits of the Chichelean church's reformist agenda, which promoted the unity of the English church through sacramental participation.

From Henry Abingdon's academic definition of doctrine as *instar Christi* (the image of Christ), addressed to an array of the most eminent scholars assembled at the general Council of Constance, the sacramental understanding of the creeds made it all the way into lyrics and drama addressed to a lay audience, with some of the most lucid accounts of real presence found in Audeley's poetry. Far from being disinvested with the cure of souls, Chichele's administration and its emphasis on the sacramental life of the Church advocated that *cura animarum* had to start in the very liturgy, which was to form believers from the inside out. Chichele's church also brought academic disputations within the boundaries of parishes, where creeds were considered signs of God's grace, flowing from the fount of all grace, namely Christ's real presence in the Eucharist.

Teaching doctrine, professing it, understanding it, and experiencing it were all central components of the understanding of belief within the Chichelean church. Doctrine, by means of its significance at a time when credal truths were contested, was put forwards as a remedy for the unity of the Church. Whether doctrine meant the entire content of theology, or the irreducible essence of Christian truth compiled in the creeds, or *doctrina* as the art of instructing the laity in the Christian faith, the vernacular was an effective instrument in the percolation of credal truths among all strata of society. Such percolation was essential in the continued affirmation of the magisterial role of the church in society, as the *ecclesia Anglicana* was found to be in great need of efficacious responses to the newly arisen perspectives on ecclesiology and soteriology.

The emphasis on the sacramental life of the Church, as shown in Chapters Two, Three, Four, and this current one, was one of the main effective responses produced under Chichele's archiepiscopate. The visual and verbal heightening of liturgical ceremonies, coupled with the promulgation of the sacraments' vital nature, as disseminated by creeds with a sacramental leaning (comprising almost one-third of the credal statements classified in the previous chapter), cultivated a sweeping movement around the real presence of Christ among clergy and laity alike. Consequently, it was not long before a scholarly idea of doctrine as the image of Christ permeated pastoral manuals, catechetical literature and religious lyrics addressed to lay audiences. For fifteenth-century believers, religious and lay, men and women, educated and 'lewed,' who were obedient to the *magisterium* of the church, creeds were understood in light of Christ's real presence, for Christ was doctrine.

CONCLUSION

‘Quid ultra debuit facere/ Þat lorde þat dyed for þe & me?’ We find ourselves back with the initial question posed by the fifteenth-century religious lyric that began our discussion. ‘Quid ultra debuit facere?’ ‘What more should Christ have done?’ The lyric, which begins with the crib, as ‘Cryste made mane yn þis maner of wyse,’ continues with baptism ‘And by feythe And baptyme restored þe,’ and ends with the grave as the precursor to eternal bliss, ‘by merytes of hys passyoun browȝt þe to felicite.’[1] Life was thus permeated by sacramental rites, which were perceived as an encounter with the divine, an encounter with Christ.

The significance and meaning of Christ for fifteenth-century religious culture, in light of the historical, theological, and social developments of the time unveils first and foremost that Christ was at the heart of liturgical and devotional practices. Whether through the liturgy of the Mass, through levation prayers, or credal professions, Christ was encountered. Fifteenth-century Christology, as advocated for by mainstream pastoral and catechetical writings that were written, copied, and circulated during the archiepiscopate of Henry Chichele, was sacramental. This Christology, which relied heavily on the

[1] Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, 163–164.

Incarnational theology of the early church and the cruciform piety of the late Middle Ages, put forward Christ's presence in the sacraments, and more generally in the sacramentality of practices, performances, professions, and writings. 'Sacramental,' in its polysemous fifteenth-century nature, came to encompass forms of liturgical practices called for by the laity, as well as devotional practices expanding outside the usual realms of clerically mediated public worship. Christ's real presence in the consecrated host permeated all aspects of life, as the entire cosmos was invested with new meaning through the Incarnation.

The multivalent dynamics at play in the fifteenth-century sacramental understanding of reality can perhaps be best expressed in a liturgical practice that was commonly referred to as *In principio*, a practice connected with the second reading of the Gospel of John. As the *Virtues of the Mass* text O in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 268 puts it:

> At verbum caro factum est
> Þat worthy worde
> Þen shuld al knele both most and lest
> To benke or borde
> To stoke or stone to stole or tree
> To erth or wall quat so hit be
> And kis hit lifly
> A twelmoneth pardoun haf shal ȝe
> And days faurty.[2]

While a reading or chanting of the Gospel lesson would have already taken place in the first part of the Mass, before the offertory, the first fourteen verses of John's Gospel were read a second time immediately after the priest's dismissal or at his unvesting at the

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 268, fol. 145v. The indulgence attached to the practice, as noted by Eamon Duffy, was 'in order to encourage the laity to remain to the end of Mass, even after the climactic moment of the elevation.' Duffy, *The Stripping,* 158.

conclusion of the service.[3] At this second reading, the congregation was invited to kiss wood, iron, stone, or ground as a symbol of the Incarnation. John Lydgate went to great lengths to encode and translate the liturgical practice in his poem 'On Kissing at *Verbum caro factum est*.' As in much of his religious poetry, Lydgate took on the role of a pastoral figure invested in making religious material accessible and comprehensible, material which often used to be confined to monastic and highly clerical milieux. Describing his role as a vernacular poet, Shannon Gayk underlines that 'Lydgate both authorizes the vernacular as a mode of theological instruction and reasserts the importance of clerical mediation of lay spirituality.'[4]

Extant in eight different manuscripts dating from the first half of the fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century, the pastoral and pragmatic poem 'On Kissing at *verbum caro factum est*' catalyses the modes of Christological encounters made widely available to the clergy and laity alike throughout Chichele's tenure as Archbishop of Canterbury. This liturgical poem combines the three christological emphases of fifteenth-century English theology mentioned above. By interpreting a liturgical practice that relied on somatic movements, habituation, and material artefacts, as the congregants had to bow, kneel, and kiss matter, Lydgate stressed the significance of the Incarnation through experiential knowledge, affirming the congregants' own situatedness in creation through Christ's human form: '*Et verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis*.'

By translating the spiritual meaning of the material artefacts involved in the liturgical practice, Lydgate reinforced the cruciform christology that permeated fifteenth-century religious discourse. Each material artefact represents a component of the scene of

[3] The first mention of this second reading is in a canon of a council held in Seligstadt, near Mainz, in 1022. In England, the province of Canterbury adopted such practice by 1305, which was still deeply anchored in Canon Law by the fifteenth century, as William Lyndwood glossed the practice in his *Provinciale*.

[4] Gayk, *Image, Text, and Religious Reform*, 86.

the passion, which ought to be beheld and remembered. The earth symbolises Christ's taking human form in the Incarnation, without which humanity could not have been redeemed at the cross. The stone symbolises Christ's sepulchre, from which he rose from the dead, emphasising the new life in Christ. The spear and nails represent the large wounds, implying the suffering of Christ, and, by extension, human self-surrender to God in trials and suffering. The wood of the cross, Lydgate told his audience, was made up of four different trees. The cedar symbolised people of high estates, the cypress people of low estates, the olive tree symbolised peace, and the European juniper signified contemplation. The four kinds of wood are combined 'in-to oon,' assembling thus *all* of society around the peace brought about at the cross.[5] Through such material aesthetics, Lydgate spurs his audience on to assimilate the memorial of Christ's passion, to have always in mind Christ's passion, for, according to him, the crucifixion is the way to salvation.

Finally, the third christological emphasis propounded by Lydgate is sacramental Christology. The poem urges its audience eight times to behold, to remember, to have in mind, or to engrave in their memory. Memory is not a passive act of mechanical registration; rather, it is an ongoing interpretation of reality. Hence, it is a temporal activity, as a scene of the past, in this case Christ's passion, which is activated in the present, to become part of the very reality of the beholder. Lydgate's multi-layered temporality relied on Christ's real presence among his people, '*habitavit in nobis*,' of which the Eucharist was the epitomic revelation. In the act of kissing 'stone or tre, erthe or yron,' the congregation was invited to encounter Christ sacramentally, through the means of an embodied liturgical practice.[6] By beholding the divine truth behind the materiality of the passion scene remembered and physically experienced, Lydgate's audience was invited

[5] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, 117, l. 17.
[6] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, 116, l. 2–3.

to encounter Christ sacramentally within the material world that Christ invested with divine meaning, as 'with grete humylyte he toke one hyme manhede.'[7]

Lydgate's poem 'On Kissing at *verbum caro factum est*' is an unequivocal example of the breadth of sacramental encounters that were promoted in pastoral and catechetic literature. Such an interpretation of a liturgical rite to promote liturgical literacy, with an emphasis on religious practices anchored in a 'communitarian, liturgically oriented model of inwardness' as Jennifer Bryan puts it, expands our understanding of the ways in which Chichele's and his bishops' pastoral programme of reform came to permeate lay religious practices.[8] By highlighting the context of the mass (as in public worship), as the locus *par excellence* of sacramental encounter with Christ as advocated for by Lydgate's poem, the *Virtues of the Mass* treatises, levation prayers, and more indirectly the creeds, fifteenth-century pastoral and catechetic texts—most of which were associated with the *ecclesia Anglicana*—rallied people around an established form of organised piety that aimed to bring unity and stability across the spectrum of religious and civic life throughout England.

The findings of this study, as put forward by the taxonomies of the three corpora under scrutiny, as well as their contextualisation within the programme of pastoral reforms of the Chichelean church, challenge contemporary conceptions of fifteenth-century piety as personal, privatised, and inwardly focused. They do so by uncovering the significance of public and communal forms of worship and their preponderance in the religious literature and culture of the time, while acknowledging their porousness and adaptability to different devotional locales. These same corpora confront the scepticism found among some scholars with regard to lay agency in clerically mediated forms of religious practice in the late Middle Ages in England, while affirming that Christ could be encountered in all strata of society through the lived experience of the liturgy, and not exclusively among those

[7] 'What More Could Christ Have Done?' in *Religious Lyrics*, 163, l. 22.
[8] Bryan, *Looking Inward*, 59.

living a contemplative life promoting mystical union. The pastoral and pragmatic nature of these texts, as well as their historical and political contexts, have demonstrated the dynamic incentives within the *ecclesia Anglicana* to improve the religious education of its clergy and its parishioners, while democratising the mysteries of the faith to rally the English people around Christ as a form of 'collective social praxis.'[9]

Part One considered the ways in which Christ reveals himself through his Church. Rather than examining the ecclesiastical institution of the church, it took into account the gathering of the community at prayer, during the celebration of the Mass. By their wide dissemination in the literary culture of the first half of the fifteenth century with 107 extant witnesses, *Virtues of the Mass* texts, which comprise the textual foundation of this particular part, crystallise the role of public worship in English religious and civic society. The taxonomic work in Chapter One displays pastoral endeavours to improve liturgical literacy, as well as the more transactional benefits associated with Mass attendance, thereby bringing to light the modalities at work in *Virtues of the Mass* texts, which unfold within two axes: the centrality of the mass and its collective redemptive nature. The findings of this chapter force us to reassess the asymmetric yet pervasive nature of *Virtues of the Mass* texts in light of the literary networks that were copying, transmitting, and circulating devotional writings during Chichele's archiepiscopate, demonstrating the need for further attention to be given to the literary communities involved in their dissemination.

Chapter Two traced the articulation of the *ecclesia Anglicana*'s ecclesiology at Constance, and its programme of pastoral reform, of which the *Virtues of the Mass* can be read as an articulation/application of such reformist efforts towards unifying the Church and the nation. By displaying a close proximity between the ecclesiastical pastoral agenda promoted at provincial and diocesan levels and the religious literature circulating among

[9] I borrow the term from Amy Appleford, see *Learning to Die*, 219.

the secular clergy and the laity, Chapter Two compels us to reconsider previously assumed premises that offer a dichotomic reading of the period, detaching the intellectual theology of the university/ecclesiastical institution and the theology conveyed in simpler registers of devotional practice, presumably referred to as 'vernacular theology.' Just as Vincent Gillespie argued that 'the membrane between the registers and lexis of clerical Latin and those of the English vernacular seems to have become increasingly permeable in the early fifteenth century,' the assumed boundaries between theology developed in Latin in intellectual spheres and the theology written in the vernacular are likewise penetrable, if not indistinguishable. Theological discourse written both in Latin and in Middle English seems in fact to reflect similar preoccupations.[10] This chapter and the rest of the study thus proposes to see Latinate and vernacular theological discourses as mutually bound by a shared religious culture rather than pitted against one another in dichotomic terms.

Part Two explored the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, according to levation prayers affirming that Christ is the Eucharist. Eucharistic piety, which has received a great deal of attention in recent scholarship, took on various forms and theological developments in the fifteenth century. The polysemous nature of Eucharistic participation has meant that this part has focused exclusively on sacramental participation through the beholding of the host at the time of the elevation, as bolstered by levation prayers.

Chapter Three differentiated the various functions and contexts of levation prayers, demonstrating a flourishing of the genre across literary registers, manuscript contexts, and religious practices, pointing at a percolation of sacramental participation within expansive spatio-temporal realities. By positing levation prayers as sacramentals, by which I mean ways of encountering Christ sacramentally, this chapter invites us to consider other

[10] Vincent Gillespie, 'Vernacular Theology,' in *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 401–420, at 418.

corpora, such as the *Fifteen Oes* or treatises on the seven sacraments, as witnesses of a broader culture of sacramental encounter with Christ.

Part Three considered the expansion of sacramental encounters with Christ in catechetic literature. While the *Pater noster* and the *Ave Maria* would have been propitious terrains for such exploration, credal statements, owing to their doctrinal diversity, were the ideal corpus to examine in order to broaden the scope of this study. By considering texts that were widely disseminated both by the *ecclesia Anglicana* and religious communities with a shared agenda, as well as Wycliffite and Lollard communities with diverging theological views, Part Three assessed how sacramental encounters with Christ were negotiated among religious groups that held conflicting ideologies and doctrinal standpoints.

Chapter Four, and its taxonomic work that classified more than 200 witnesses of credal statements, put into perspective the two previous corpora under scrutiny so to reveal a greater heterogeneous doctrinal landscape than the one positioned by genres promoted by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. By unveiling sacramental creeds in manuscript contexts with a Lollard leaning, and creeds containing Lollard ecclesiological views within orthodox and highly clerical manuscripts, this chapter calls us to lay aside any of our assumptions of what 'orthodoxy' and 'dissent,' 'clergy' and 'laity,' might have meant, in order to complicate our understanding of the religious landscape of the time.[11] Whereas the utility of such paradoxical religious anthologies and devotional compilations is mostly lost to us, further research should be undertaken to untangle the theological sensibilities, the lexis, and semiotic systems called upon, as well as the codicological nature of each manuscript

[11] Clive Burgess' example of 'A layman, habited in the choir and singing the psalm with the other chaplains' at the church of All Saints in Bristol, in 1457, is a striking example of the need to reconsider 'clergy' and 'laity' within all the complexity the terms might entail in fifteenth-century religious life. Burgess, *'The Right Ordering of Souls'*, 411–412.

and its textual network, in order to let the manuscripts speak for themselves in their own sophisticated contexts.

Chapter Five assessed the role of doctrine within the *ecclesia Anglicana* as a symbol and an authentication of ecclesiastical authority. By considering the *magisterium* of the church and its upholding in religious and civic contexts, this chapter disclosed the close proximity and dependence of sacramental encounters with Christ on ecclesiastical oversight and obedience to the latter. While the fifteenth century has been characterised by a growing opposition towards the magisterial role of the church, which was wrestling to uphold its spiritual powers among ravenous temporal powers and dissenting mentalities, this chapter has reminded us that a vast majority of textual witnesses (often considered unattractive for their 'dullness') endorsed the doctrine of the church that was put forwards, maintained, and promoted by the *ecclesia Anglicana*, thus denoting a greater religious stability than it is often admitted.

Overall, this study has introduced new insights into the pastoral and catechetic material of the late Middle Ages in England, by shedding light on new or renewed modes of encounters with Christ, whether it was through the Church, through the Eucharist, or through doctrine. Another mode of encounter that could have been included in this study would have been through the Holy Scriptures. With over 250 manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible surviving in complete or partial forms, the abundance of textual witnesses dating from the fifteenth century speaks to the popularity of the vernacular biblical text. However, this mode of encounter has already been the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Stephen Pink.[12] Moreover, the lack of pastoral and catechetic material explicitly referring to the Bible (beyond the Psalms and sermons) as a means of sacramental encounter across the fifteenth-century religious spectrum has meant that such subject matter was excluded from

[12] Pink, 'Holy Scripture.'

this study.[13] As Pink has demonstrated, whereas in Wycliffite and Lollard circles scripture held a sacramental status, in mainstream religious communities in communion with the *ecclesia Anglicana*, the biblical text was merely 'an adjunct to the Cult of the Mass.'[14]

Further research into vernacular pastoral and catechetic texts circulating in fifteenth-century England and their relationship with Scripture would nonetheless shed light on and further disentangle the complex affiliations of religious communities, and their textual witnesses, which at times blur any pre-conceived theological boundaries. The steady scholarly work on biblical translation in the vernacular culminating recently in Elizabeth Solopova's, Anne Hudson's, and Jeremy Catto's brilliant volume *From the Vulgate to the Vernacular* for example has opened new avenues to think about vernacularity, Scripture, and pastoral material, an interrelation already hinted at by Nicholas Watson in his book chapter 'The Ignorance of the Laity, Twelve Tracts on Bible Translation.'[15] Closer looks at the 1401 Oxford Bible translation debate and its generated momentum will continue to force us to engage and re-engage with the status of the vernacular in religious writings, a debate which took on both Latin and vernacular forms.

Resonances of discussions on the vernacularity of Scripture do permeate other genres of religious writing, hence opening new avenues to think through the status of Middle English across genres. This study has thus focused on the vernacularity of pastoral and catechetical discourses and their interrelation with their Latinate theological contexts. By contextualising vernacular corpora of pastoral instruction alongside sermons, theological discussions, and episcopal decrees conveyed in Latin, I have shown how the

[13] Wycliffite sermons and John Wyclif's theological treatises are profuse with references to the sacramental nature of Scripture and Scripture as a means of encountering Christ. However, such views did not seem to permeate mainstream religious discourses.

[14] Pink, 'Holy Scriptures,' 197–198, see also 168–178.

[15] Nicholas Watson, 'The Ignorance of the Laity, Twelve Tracts on Bible Translation,' in *Truth and Tales: Cultural Mobility and Medieval Media*, ed. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2015), 187–205.

official Latin policy and the English theological environment of Chichele's church went hand in hand with the vernacular pastoral literature circulating mostly in the 1420s and 1430s. The pastoral and theological agendas expressed in the writings under scrutiny in both Latin and the vernacular functioned as a cognate bilateral nexus where movements of thoughts and ideologies circulated freely and were not constrained by linguistic frameworks.

Such 'hospitable' context was made possible by Henry Chichele's church which was very much comfortable with a 'wide' Church, a big tent where ideological and theological differences could cohabit.[16] In light of this, one of the initial questions of this thesis, 'was there such a thing as a vernacular christology?' still needs to be answered. Christological sensibilities, as put forward in the *Virtues of the Mass*, levation prayers, and credal statements did not come across as 'vernacular' or 'Latinate,' rather, they were very much embedded within the theological milieux of their time, which promoted pastoral reforms across linguistic communities.

While the term 'vernacular theology,' put forward by A. I. Doyle in 1953 and popularised by Nicholas Watson in his seminal 1995 *Speculum* article, has laudably contributed to the 'religious turn' in Middle English scholarly research in the last three decades, its current viability and applicability for religious writings circulating during Chichele's church has to be questioned anew. Now that Middle English religious writings have been acknowledged as innovative, theologically meticulous, and intellectually challenging alongside their usual perception as traditional, simple, and pragmatic, discussions need perhaps to veer away from considering them as embedded within a 'single field or arena of discourse,' due to their political nature.[17] Rather than belonging to

[16] The term 'hospitable' here draws on Stephen Kelly's and Ryan Perry's work on 'hospitable reading' in fifteenth-century religious miscellanies. 'Devotional Cosmopolitanism,' 365; 'Citizens of Saints,' 233.

[17] Nicholas Watson, 'Cultural Changes,' *English Language Notes* 44:1 (2006): 127–137, at 130.

linguistic monoliths targeting particular audiences based on needs and competences, *Virtues of the Mass* texts, levation prayers, and credal statements have demonstrated the breadth of theological discourses of the Chichelean church and their fluid transmission across linguistic fields. Consequently, the christologies put forward in these three corpora should be more adequately considered Chichelean christologies rather than vernacular christologies. Indeed, they should be understood as reflections of a specific religious ecosystem rather than a linguistic situatedness.

Contextualised christology as a field of study, and the more specific examination of the transmission of Christian belief through the lens of encounter with Christ was, and will continue to be, a fertile ground for research on the multivalent fifteenth-century religious landscape of Chichele's church. Indeed, Christ was meant for all: religious and secular, clergy and laity, trilingual, bilingual, and monolingual, man and woman, pro-*ecclesia Anglicana* or anti-establishment (and those in the grey areas in between), for Christ was the cornerstone of the Christian life.

Appendix 1

Tradition 1 (a): Manuscripts containing lists of benefits assigned to Saint Augustine

A Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59, fols. 67r–67v 7 virtues

DIMEV: 3813[1]

In verse. Incipit: 'Here next floweþe þe wrytinge of þe doctoure Saint Austyne. What mede man resceyveþe þat devoutely hereþe his messe.'

Edition: Peter J. Lucas, 'The Versions by John Shirley, William Gybbe and Another, of the Poem "On the Virtues of the Mass": A Collation, *Notes & Queries* 28:5 (1981), 397.

Date: No later than 1449/1450 (Lydgate's death).[2]

T Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fol. 214v 7 virtues

DIMEV: 3746

In verse. Incipit: 'Seynt Austyne noteth howe the angell of heven delcaryd to hym the merytes of the masse that men receve in heryng devoutly a masse.'

Facsimile: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.3.21/UV#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=241&r=0&xywh=935%2C-109%2C1925%2C1320

Edition: *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, vol. 2, ed. H. N. MacCracken and Merriam Sherwood, EETS E.S. 107 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1911), 115.

Date: 1474–1477
Origins: Scribe A is part of a metropolitan scriptorium.[3]

R Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 118, fol. 118v 7 virtues

DIMEV: 3746

In verse. Incipit: 'Here may every man lern boþe more & lesse'

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[1] See the *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (*DIMEV*), https://www.dimev.net/index.html.

[2] See Margaret Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998), 152.

[3] Ibid., 181.

Edition: Peter J. Lucas, 'The Versions by John Shirley, William Gybbe and Another, of the Poem 'On the Virtues of the Mass': A Collation,' *Notes & Queries* 28:5 (1981), 397.

Date: s. xv[3]

B Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, p. 429–430 7 virtues

DIMEV: 3179

In verse. Incipit: 'Loke on þis wrytyng, man, for þi devocion/ Walk here be-side, yf you can esspye'

Facsimile: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/e0d10554-db39-4b58-a944-45da5e66248e/

Edition: *Songs, Carols, and Other Miscellaneous Poems, from the Balliol MS. 354, Richard Hill's Commonplace-Book*, ed. Roman Dyboski, EETS E.S. 101 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1908), 69–70.

Date: 1500–1525
Origins: Richard Hill's commonplace book (London merchant).

Y New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fol. 28r 9 virtues

In prose. Incipit: 'And þat for ix thynges as Seyn Austyn sayeth be grauntyd and geven unto þeym þat seeth and devoutly worshippyth þe blyssyd sacrament of þe awter.'

Facsimile: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2013989

Date: 1470–1480
Origins: Possibly copied at Sheen, or at Syon Abbey.[4]

C Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fols. 54r–54v 9 virtues

In prose. Incipit: Here is of divers grete merites and grette prophites that bene had in þe devoute hiring of masse and in þe devoute seing and vision of sacrament of the auter.'

Date: s. xv med.

H London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fol. 76r 6 virtues

DIMEV: 3244

[4] Miles, 'Beinecke MS 317,' 6.

In verse. Incipit: ‘Augustinus in libro De civitate de vii virtutibus missarum. Illo die quo videtur corpus Christi, victus necessarius tribuitur, ignorata iuramenta delentur, levia colloquia dimittuntur, lumen oculorum confortatur, morte subitania non moritur, et si quis subito decesserit, pro communicatione habetur.’

Facsimile: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_3954_fs001r

Edition: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 367–368.

Date: s. xv^{2}

O_2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 268, fols. 145r–145v 7 virtues

In verse. Incipit: ‘Saynt Austyn sais if ȝe ta tent/ Þat quo ses þe sacrament’

Date: s. xv^{1}
Origins: fol. 36v, ‘constat domino Gylbarti Barton’ (mark of ownership).

L_2 London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fols. 162r–162v 7 virtues

In verse. Incipit: ‘Saynt Austen says yf ȝe tak tent/ Þat wo so sees þat sacrament’

Date: s. xv^{1}

Y_6 New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 27r–27v 5 virtues

In verse. Incipit: ‘Seynt Austyn sayeth yef ye take tente/ That whoso seeth þe sacramente’

Facsimile: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2013989

Date: 1470–1480
Origins: Possibly copied at Sheen, or at Syon Abbey.

P Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 1047, fol. 23v[5] 5 virtues

In prose. Incipit: ‘To hym that herys his masse and seys the blyssed Lord/ In form of brede as sayth Seynte Austyn’

Edition: *Stere Hit Well: A Book of Medieval Refinements, Recipes and Remedies, from a Manuscript in Samuel Pepys's Library*, ed. Gerald A. J. Hodgett (London: Cornmarket Press, 1972), 46.

[5] Rosamond McKitterick, and Richard Beadle, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, vol. 5, part I (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), 8–9.

Date: After 1471

X_2 London, British Library, MS Royal 17. A. I, fols. 28r-28v 5 virtues

In verse. Incipit: 'As Seynt Austyn telluth ful ryht/ þat day þou syst goddus body'

Facsimile: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_17_a_i_fs001r

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

S Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society Library, MS M.J.B. 14, fol. 168v
4 virtues

In prose. Incipit: 'Ihesu for thy mercy hav mercy, for in thy I trust fully. These bene the virtues of the masse.'

Date: s. xv ex./xvi in.

J Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, fol. 2r -

DIMEV: 5397

In verse. Incipit: 'The meritis of mas who Austin expresse/ Most gracious meane to the glorius Trinité'

Facsimile: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00006-00002/9

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: Circulated in Suffolk and Norfolk in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

John Lydgate, 'Wordys of Seynt Augustyne in fascicul[us] mor[um] of the medys of the masse,' in 'The Interpretation and Virtues of the Mass,' l. 593–656
15 virtues

DIMEV: 6820

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 174/95, p. 451–452
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 213v–214r
London, British Library, MS Additional 31042, fols. 109v–110v
London, British Library, MS Arundel 396, fols. 129r–130r
London, British Library, MS Harley 2251, fols. 187r–188r[6]
Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, p. 328–330
Oxford, St John's College, MS 56, fols. 82v–83v

[6] MS Harley 2251 does not contain a marginal title attesting to the new section based on Saint Augustine. Although the text appears in full, it is still under the headline 'The vertu of heryng of masse after Seynt Bernard.'

In verse. Incipit: ‘That day a man deuoutly hereth masse,/ Whyl he ys present he shall nat wexe[n] olde’

Edition: John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, vol. 2, part 1, ed. H. N. MacCracken and Merriam Sherwood, EETS E.S. 107 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1911), 112–114.

Date: Between 1431–1449/1450
Origins: Commissioned by the Countess of Suffolk, Alice Chaucer.

John Mirk, *De festo corporis Cristi sermo*, in *Festial*, l. 47–55 7 virtues

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.10.50, fol. 106r
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.3.10, fol. 70v
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 168/89, p. 190
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 201, fols. 22v–23r
Durham, Durham University Library, MS Cosin V. iii. 5, fol. 48v[7]
Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection MS 502, fol. 30r
London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. II, fols. 79r–79v
London, British Library, MS Harley 2247, fols. 126r–126v
London, British Library, MS Harley 2250, fol. 84r
London, British Library, MS Harley 2371, fol. 46v
London, British Library, MS Harley 2391, fol. 43r
London, British Library, MS Harley 2403, fols. 108r–108v
London, British Library, MS Harley 2420, fol. 63v
London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 392, fol. 75v
London, British Library, MS Royal 18. B. XXV, fol. 77r
London, Dr William’s Library, MS Ancient 11, p. 210
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, fol. 133v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 108, p. 190–191
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough Eccl. Top. 4, fol. 98v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 96, fols. 126r–126v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. A. 381, fol. 38v
Oxford, University College, MS 102, fol. 87r
Southwell, Southwell Minster Library, MS 7, fol. 92v

In prose. Incipit: ‘Furste for mannus grete helping boþe in lyfe and in deth.’

Edition: John Mirk, *Festial: Edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.II*, vol. 1, ed. Susan Powell, EETS O.S. 334 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 155–156.

Date: Later 1380s
Origins: Lilleshall Abbey, Shropshire.

[7] In such instance, the virtues of the mass are attributed to Saint Gregory.

John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 314–329 6 virtues

DIMEV: 1581

London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. II, fols. 132v–133r
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fol. 69r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, fols. 153r–153v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 103, fols. 126r–126v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Greaves 57, fols. 7v–8r

In verse. Incipit: 'For so mykyle gode doþ þat syȝt,/ As seynt Austyn techeth a-ryȝt'

Edition: John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Gillis Kristensson (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1974), 85, 185.

Date: s. xiv ex.
Origins: Lilleshall Abbey, Shropshire.

Memoriale credencium 7 virtues

London, British Library, MS Harley 535, fols. 81r–81v
London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fol. 49v
London, British Library, MS Sloane 1009, fol. 7v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 201, fol. 77r

In prose. Incipit: 'For þe man oþer þe woman þat seȝeþ a day goddus body in þe auter'

Edition: *Memoriale Credencium, A Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay People*, ed. J. H. L. Kengen (Nijmegen: Department of Middle English, 1979), 177.

Date: s. xv[1]
Origins: Southern Gloucestershire.[8]

Sacerdos parochialis[9] 7 virtues

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.12.69, fol. 32r
Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 285, fol. 56v
London, British Library, MS Additional 10053, fol. 111v
London, British Library, MS Burney 356, fols. 49r–49v
London, British Library, MS Harley 4172, fol. 9r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 110, fol. 161r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 913, fol. 15v
Oxford, Trinity College, MS 7, fol. 171r

[8] Ralph Hanna, 'The Text of Memoriale Credencium,' *Neophilologus* 67:2 (1983): 284–92, at 284.
[9] The benefits are found in the section on the seven sacraments, under the headline of the eucharist. Only one of the *Sacerdos parochialis* manuscripts acknowledges Saint Augustine as the source text for the benefits of the eucharist/mass: London, British Library, MS Additional 10053.

In prose. Incipit: 'As Seint Austyn techith in a boke that he makith *De trinitate dei*'

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$
Origins: South-east of/and London.[10]

Tradition 1 (b): Manuscripts containing a list of benefits assigned to various saints and doctors of the church

N Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 36, fols. 6r–9v 20 virtues

DIMEV: 573

In verse. Incipit: 'Hec sunt dicta sanctorum de virtute sacramenti altaris. Ac ffructu et effectu misse provt infra patet.'

Edition (partly edited): *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 368–370.

Date: s. xv med.–ex.

E Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Hh.3.13, fols. 111v–112r[11] 20 virtues

DIMEV: 6817

In verse. Incipit: 'Þe cristen peple baptised in the faithe/ Preesthode to honoure ensample take ye'

Date: s. xv^{2}

K Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.5, fols. 53r–54r[12] 20 virtues

In prose. Incipit: 'Her begynnis the vertewis of the mess, apprewyt be the haly wryt, baith be our Lord Jhesu Cristis wordis, and uthir haly sanctis and doctouris of þe cristyne faith.'

Edition: *Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse*, ed. J. Rawson Lumby, EETS O.S. 43 (London: Trübner and CO., Paternoster Row, 1870), 113–115.

Date: s. xv

[10] As three of the nine manuscripts of *Sacerdos parochialis* can be linked to Austin Canons, Niamh Pattwell argues that all the manuscripts belong to a network of readers connected to canons regular in south-east England. Pattwell, 'Canons and Catechisms,' 383–384.

[11] Margaret Connolly, *Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Dd–Oo)* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 2009), 201–202.

[12] Ibid., 254.

F **Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, fols. 43r–45v**[13] 22 virtues

In prose. Incipit: 'Her folowes a frutfull and a compendius treytys specially schewyng wat meryte of pardon it is to her a messe'

Date: 1484 (*Expliciunt merita misse mccccclxxxiiij*)
Origins: Might have belonged to a priest in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, based on bidding prayer for use of such diocese in the MS, fols. 47r–49r.

Y_3 **New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 3v–4v** 16 virtues

In prose. Incipit: 'Yette moreovire ynto the confirmacyoun of thise vertues aforesaid. Hit is reddy yn the first book of Holy Scripture how some tyme Melchisedech bothe prest and kynge of Jerusalem offered unto Abraham for victorye bothe bred and wyne.'

Facsimile: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2013989

Date: 1470–1480
Origins: Possibly copied at Sheen, or at Syon Abbey.

S_2 **Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society Library, MS M.J.B. 14, fols. 168v–169v** 16 virtues

In prose. Incipit: 'Ihesu for thy mercy hav mercy, for in thy I trust fully. These bene the virtues of the masse.'

Date: s. xv ex./xvi in.

I **London, British Library, MS Additional 39323**[14] 12 virtues

In prose. Incipit: 'First Saynte Austen *De civitate dei* sayeth that the vertu of the masse is more profyit to hym that heryth yt then yf he went all hys lyffe days and gave all his goddys in almes.'

Date: s. xvi in.

[13] *MMBL*, 4:290–292.

[14] London, British Library, MS Additionnal 39323 is a single sheet of vellum (19 7/8×13 1/8 in.) which might have been intended to be hung on a wall. At the top, it contains a Flemish miniature of Christ in glory which has been affixed to the sheet. Although the text only numbers 12 virtues, it contains the exact same sixteen benefits attributed to the same saints and doctors of the church as S_2.

Y_4 New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 27v–30r 13 virtues

In prose. Incipit: 'Hert hir more yn confirmacyon of þe medys and merytes of theym þat devoutly her þeir masse.'

Facsimile: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2013989

Date: 1470–1480
Origins: Possibly copied at Sheen, or at Syon Abbey.

H_2 London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fols. 76r–77v[15] 12 virtues

In verse. Incipit: 'Xii vertuewys þere be mo/ I xal hem tellyn or I goo'

Facsimile: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_3954_fs001r

Edition: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 367–368.

Date: s. xv^2

V_2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 302v 7 virtues

In verse. Incipit: 'Of Austin, Ambrose, Bernard, and Bede/ ȝit heore resons wol I rede'

Facsimile: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/52f0a31a-1478-40e4-b05b-fddb1ad076ff/surfaces/d7576784-345b-4a0c-969d-c055d960f774/

Editions: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: Trübner and CO., 1879), 131–132; *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript, Part 2*, EETS O.S. 117, ed. Frederick James Furnivall (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1901), 496.

Date: 1390s

H_4 London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fol. 74v 6 virtues

In verse. Incipit: 'Jerom, Ambrose, Bernard, and Bede/ With ryth resound as I rede'

Facsimile: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_3954_fs001r

Date: s. xv^2

[15] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 832, a manuscript from 1460s–1470s compiled by John Longe, contains a Latin numbered version of the *Virtues of the Mass* in prose (fols. 168v–169v) explaining the same virtues, in the same order than H_2, apart from H_2's last saying by Bede on righteous priests who refuse to say mass.

Tradition 1 (c): Manuscripts containing a numbered list of benefits

G **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 32, fols. 35v–37v** 30 virtues

DIMEV: 5651

In verse. Incipit: 'Xxx vertews schal have he/ That wolle the masse hire or se'

Date: s. xv med./ex.

Y_5 **New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 1v–3v** 34 virtues

DIMEV: 5651

In verse. Incipit: 'The needs and graces of the masse beholde/ … Yonge and olde'

Facsimile: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2013989

Date: 1470–1480
Origins: Possibly copied at Sheen, or at Syon Abbey.

S_2 **Spalding, Spalding Gentlemen's Society Library, MS M.J.B. 14, fols. 168v–169v** 16 virtues

M **Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 514, fols. 71r–71v**[16] 11 virtues

In prose. Incipit: 'Thes foloynge bene the peticions of the masse. The firste is qwo sume ever heris masse þat day.'

Date: s. xv ex./xvi in.

C **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fols. 54r–54v** 9 virtues

Y **New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fol. 28r**

9 virtues

[16] James Simpson, *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Parisian Libraries* (Woodbridge and Wolfeboro, NH: D. S. Brewer, 1989), 16–17.

Tradition 2: Manuscripts containing an exposition of the ceremony of the Mass

V Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fols. 302v–303v

DIMEV: 6871

In verse. Incipit: 'Her techeþ þys tretys þenne,/ Hou mon scholde here hys masse'

Facsimile: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/52f0a31a-1478-40e4-b05b-fddb1ad076ff/surfaces/d7576784-345b-4a0c-969d-c055d960f774/

Editions: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 128–147; *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript, Part 2*, EETS O.S. 117, ed. Frederick James Furnivall (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1901), 493–511.

Date: 1390s

D Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302, fols. 10v–12r

DIMEV: 3242

In verse. Incipit: 'De meritis misse, quomodo debemus audire missam.'

Edition: John Audelay, *Poems and Carols: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 302*, ed. Susanna Fein (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009), 80–91.

Date: s. xv^2

H_3 London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fols. 74r–76r

DIMEV: 3242[17]

In verse. Incipit: 'Lordyngs and ȝe wyl lythe/ Of o thing I xal ȝu kythe'

Facsimile: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_3954_fs001r

Date: s. xv^2

[17] I see a discrepancy here in *DIMEV* records, as both D and H_3 are included under the same entry, whereas V has its own entry (no. 6871). Either all three poems should be included under the same entry, or each should have their own.

Q London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. XXVI, fols. 154r–157r

In verse. Incipit: ‘God of hewine, that shoope Erthe and helle/ ȝyf me grace svme word to telle’

Edition: *The Lay Folks’ Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 148–154.

Date: s. xv

O Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 268, fols. 139r–145v

DIMEV: 5128

In verse. Incipit: ‘That blesset barn in bedlem borne/ Þat let his brayne be thrille with thorne’

Date: s. xv[1]
Origins: fol. 36v, ‘constat domino Gylbarti Barton’ (mark of ownership).

X London, British Library, MS Royal 17. A. I, fols. 24r–29r

In verse. Incipit: ‘Now y pray ȝow take good hede/ Ffor þys ȝe moste kenne nede’

Facsimile: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_17_a_i_fs001r

Date: s. xv[1/2]

L London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fols. 155v–162v

In verse. Incipit: ‘Þat blysful barne in bedlem borne/ Þat lete hys brayne be thyrled with thorne’

Date: s. xv[1]

W Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125, fols. 97r–98v[18]

In prose. Incipit: ‘For þis sacrament offreþ holy chirche when she wul þank God þe fader of hevene by his dere sone Ihesu Crist and þe Holi Gost’

Date: s. xv[1]

[18] Rosamond McKitterick, and Richard Beadle, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalen College Cambridge,* vol. 5, *Manuscripts (Medieval)* (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 1992), 54–61.

Y_2 New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 22r–27v

DIMEV: 5128

In verse. Incipit: 'Her folowyth þe medys and grace þat is gevyn unto theym þat devoutly heryth þe masse'

Facsimile: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2013989

Date: 1470–1480
Origins: Possibly copied at Sheen, or at Syon Abbey.

John Lydgate, 'The Interpretation and Virtues of the Mass'

DIMEV: 6820

Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 174/95, p. 451–453
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 205v–214r
London, British Library, MS Additional 31042, fols. 103r–110v
London, British Library, MS Arundel 396, fols. 121r–130r
London, British Library, MS Harley 2251, fols. 179r–188r
Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, p. 317–330
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 73, fols. 4r–9v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 683, fols. 30v–31v[19]
Oxford, St John's College, MS 56, fols. 75v–83v

John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 234–345

In verse. Incipit: 'Also thow moste thy god [to] pay/ Teche thy paresch þus and say'

Edition: John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Gillis Kristensson (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1974), 80–86, 183–185.

Date: s. xiv ex.
Origins: Lilleshall Abbey, Shropshire.

The Lay Folks' Mass Book

DIMEV: 5537

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.5.31, fols. 1r–5v
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fols. 55v–60r
Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 84/166, p. 173–179
Cambridge, Newnham College, MS 4, fols. 104v–109v

[19] MS Laud misc. 683 contains Lydgate's levation prayer which originates in the *Virtues of the Mass*. In that instance, the prayer appears independently from the rest of the treatise.

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 19. 3. 1, fols. 57r–58v
Liverpool, Liverpool University Library, MS F.4.9, fols. 203v–207v
London, British Library, MS Additional 36523, fols. 88r–93r
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII, fols. 3r–13r
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155, fols. 252v–268r[20]

In verse. Incipit: 'Þo worthyest þing, most of godnesse,/ In al þis world, [hit] is þo messe.'

Edition: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 2–60.

Date: s. xiv ex.[21]

[20] MS 155 also contains an exposition of the Mass, in Latin, by Hugh of Saint-Cher (fols. 24r–39r) which could be another source of inspiration for Tradition 2 texts.

[21] For the dating of *LFMB*, see Smith, 'The Manuscripts.'

Appendix 2

Tradition 1 (a): Manuscripts containing levation prayers for liturgical use, within liturgical contexts

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, fols. 102v-103r *version* 13A[1]

DIMEV: 2871

In verse. Incipit: 'O Ihu lord welcom thu be/ In forme of brede as y the se'

Facsimile: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00006-00002/9

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse,' *Modern Philology* 40 (1942), 137–8.

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: circulated in Suffolk and Norfolk in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, fol. 103v *verse copied in prose*

DIMEV: 2871

In verse. Incipit: 'O Ihu lorde welcome thu be in fforme of bred as y the se'

Facsimile: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00006-00002/9

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: circulated in Suffolk and Norfolk in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

London, British Library, MS Additional 27924, fols. 231r–231v *verse*

DIMEV: 2871

In verse. Incipit: 'Iesu, my lord, welcome thou be/ In forme of brede as I the se'

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The Authors of the Middle English Religious Lyric,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 39 (1940), 237-238.

Date: s. xv med.

[1] For any levation prayer classified as 'version' henceforth, these numbered versions refer to Robbins' own taxonomy established in his article 'Levation Prayers.'

London, British Library, MS Royal 17. A. I, fol. 27r *verse* A

In verse. Incipit: 'Ihu lord welcome þou be/ Yn forme of bred as y þe se'

Facsimile: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_17_a_i_fs001r

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fols. 81r–86r *prose*

In prose. Incipit: 'O dere Ihu her present in sacremente entirlie now'

Date: s. xv$^{3/4}$

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. liturg. e. 3, fols. 125v–126r *prose*

In prose. Incipit: 'Lorde Ihu Crist þat comest oute of heven to fede me and fulfil me with the'

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

York, York Minster Library, MS Addit. 2, fols. 206r–207r *version* 3

DIMEV: 2878

In verse. Incipit: 'Ihu my lord welcome þu be/ In flesch and blode þer I þe see'

Facsimile:
http://collections.yorkminster.org/GetMultimedia.ashx?db=Catalog&type=default&fname=fa%5cd6ec85-2d8a-4761-827a-0230350539b8.pdf

Date: 1407-1420[2]
Origins: produced in York, Dominican workmanship, 'Johannes nominee felix' (scribe's possible name on fol. 122v); commissioned by Margaret Blackburn.[3]

[2] Jones, and Riddy, 'The Bolton Hours of York,' 223.

[3] Patricia Cullum, and P. Jeremy Goldberg, 'How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours,' in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 217–236, at 219, 225.

John Lydgate, 'levation prayer,' in 'The Interpretation and Virtues of the Mass,' l. 321–392[4] v*ersion* 9

DIMEV: 6820

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 210r–210v
London, British Library, MS Additional 31042, fols. 106v–107r
London, British Library, MS Arundel 396, fols. 125r–126r
London, British Library, MS Harley 2251, fols. 183v–184v
Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, p. 323–324
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 73, fols. 9r–9v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 683, fols. 30v–31v[5]
Oxford, St John's College, MS 56, fols. 79v–80r

In verse. Incipit: 'Hayle holy Ihu our helthe oure goostly foode/ Hayle blyssyd lord here in forme of brede'

Edition: John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, vol. 2, part 1, ed. H. N. MacCracken and Merriam Sherwood, EETS E.S. 107 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1911), 101–104.

Date: Between 1431–1449/1450
Origins: Commissioned by the Countess of Suffolk, Alice Chaucer.

John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 290–301 *verse* A

DIMEV: 1581

London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. II, fol. 132v
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fol. 69r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, fols. 152v–153r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 103, fol. 125v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Greaves 57, fol. 7r

In verse. Incipit: 'Ihu lord welcome þow be/ In forme of bred as I þe se'

Edition: John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Gillis Kristensson (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1974), 83–84, 184.

Date: s. xiv ex.
Origins: Lilleshall Abbey, Shropshire.

[4] Lydgate's levation prayer in nine octaves as part of his 'Interpretation and Virtues of the Mass' can be found in the following manuscripts: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 3. 21, fols. 210r–210v; London, British Library, MS Additional 31042, fol. 106v–107r; London, British Library, MS Arundel 396, fols. 125r–126r; London, British Library, MS Harley 2251, fols. 183v–184v; Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, p. 317–330; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 73, fols. 9r–9v (first seven stanzas); Oxford, St John's College, MS 56, fols. 79v–80r.

[5] In that instance, the levation prayer circulates independently from Lydgate's *Virtues of the Mass*.

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.5.31, fol. 4r *LFMB* 1

DIMEV: 6195

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome lorde in forme of brede/ Ffor me you sufferd hard dede'

Date: s. xv in.
Origins: Northern dialectal affiliation.[6]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fol. 58v *LFMB* 1

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome lorde in forme of bred/ For me thou suffryd harde dede'

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: possible connection with East Anglian secular priests.[7]

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 84/166, p. 177[8] *LFMB* 2

In verse. Incipit: 'Lowod be þou kyng/ And blessud be þou kyng'

Edition: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 41.

Date: s. xv

Cambridge, Newnham College, MS 4, fols. 107r–107v[9] *LFMB* 1

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome lord in fourme of brede/ For me thu tholedest a pyneful dede'

Edition: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 41.

Date: s. xv med.

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[6] *LALME*, vol. 1, 67 (LP 478).

[7] A. I. Doyle, 'A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings,' (DPhil dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1953), vol. 2, 56. Nicole Rice suggests that the manuscript is connected with the East Anglian hospital. Nicole R. Rice, 'Lay Spiritual Texts and Pastoral Care in Two Fifteenth-Century Priest's Collections,' in *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations,* ed. Nicole R. Rice (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 149–177, at 150.

[8] See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), 79–84.

[9] For a manuscript description, see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 2, *Abbotsford–Keele* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 239–240.

Liverpool, University Library, MS F.4.9, fol. 206r[10] *LFMB* 1

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcom lorde in fourme of brede/ Ffor me þou sufferede harde dede'

Date: s. xiv/xv

London, British Library, MS Additional 36523, fol. 91r *verse* A

In verse. Incipit: 'Iesu lorde welcome þu bee/ In forme of breed as I þe see'

Date: s. xv med.

London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII, fol. 10r *LFMB* 2

In verse. Incipit: 'Loued be þou kyng/ And blessid be þou kyng'

Edition: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 40.

Date: s. xiv ex.
Origins: perhaps fifteenth-century ownership marks on fol. 106v 'Edward Banyster,'; on fol. 107r, 'Ninch. Anger de Hiclilgham de parochia de Halys'; 'John Carlet'; 'Kattryng Houses off Moullyne in Kent, and John Radclyff (on fol. 107v). In the hands of John Lumley in the sixteenth century (fol. 3r).

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155, fol. 257r *LFMB* 1

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome lorde in fourme of brede/ For me þou sufferde herd deede'

Edition: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 40.

Date: s. xv in.
Origins: possible ownership mark on fols. 2v and 274v, 'Liber beate Marie de Rievalle ex procuracione domini Willelmi Spenser abbatis eiusdem.'[11]

Tradition 1 (b): Manuscripts containing levation prayers for liturgical use, within devotional contexts

[10] See manuscript description in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 3, *Lampeter–Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 308–309.

[11] See Rodney M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College Oxford* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), 82.

Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O. iv. 14, fol. flyleaf, back cover
version 12

DIMEV: 1743

In verse. Incipit: 'Eyl my lord in wom ich leve/ Sothfastliche god and man'

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse,' *Modern Philology* 40 (1942), 137.

Date: s. xv[1]
Origins: On fol. 226v in a fifteenth-century hand, 'Liber ecclesie cath. Hereford'; 'Ex dono Magistri Iohannis Bayly' (a canon and precentor of Hereford, 1460-1479).[12]

London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245, fol. 185r *version* 1

DIMEV: 2288

In verse. Incipit: 'I þank þe Ihu of al þy goodnesse/ I cry þe mercy for al my wickidnesse'

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The Gurney Series of Religious Lyrics,' *PMLA* 54:2 (1939), 374.

Date: s. xv[1]

London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245, fol. 185r *version* 4

DIMEV: 6195

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome lord in forme of bred/ Ffor me þu þolifist peynful ded'

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The Gurney Series of Religious Lyrics,' *PMLA* 54:2 (1939), 373–374.

Date: s. xv[1]

London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245, fols. 185r–185v *verse*

In verse. Incipit: 'Lord God as þu art al good/ And of myht he þat al may/ And as I am wirmis food/ Mad of slim and clay'

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The Gurney Series of Religious Lyrics,' *PMLA* 54:2 (1939), 374.

Date: s. xv[1]

[12] R. A. B. Mynors, and Rodney M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 31.

London, British Library, MS Egerton 3245, fols. 192r–192v *verse* B

DIMEV: 2871

In verse. Incipit: 'Ihu lord welcome þow be/ In forme of bred as I þe see/ Ihu for thyn holy name/ Schyld me to day fro sinne and schame'

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The Gurney Series of Religious Lyrics,' *PMLA* 54 (1939), 378.

Date: s. xv[1]

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, fols. 24v–25r *version* 10

DIMEV: 3991

In verse. Incipit: 'O merciful Iesu for mercy to the/ I crie, swete Iesu have merci on me/ Lord Iesu forȝeve me mi misdede'

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse,' *Modern Philology* 40 (1942), 135–136.

Date: s. xv

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, fols. 33r–33v *prose*

In prose. Incipit: 'Hayle Ihu Crist the worde of the fadur, sone of the virgine, the lombe of God, the helthe of the worlde and holi sacrifise'

Date: s. xv

New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56, item 5 *verse*

In verse (copied in prose). Incipit: 'Hayle holy bodye of Criste Ihu/ Bore of mayden Mary by goddys oracion'

Facsimile: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/16371232

Edition: Mary Morse, 'Two Unpublished English Elevation Prayers in Takamiya MS 56,' *Journal of the Early Book Society* 16 (2013), 273.

Date: 1435–1450[13]

[13] Mary Morse, 'Two Unpublished English Elevation Prayers in Takamiya MS 56,' *Journal of the Early Book Society* 16 (2013): 269-277, at 269.

Origins: Possibly near Tewkesbury Abbey.

New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56, item 6 *verse*

In verse (copied in prose). Incipit: 'Hayle precious blode of God Cryst Ihu/Schadde on the holy crosse for owre redempcion'

Facsimile: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/16371232

Edition: Mary Morse, 'Two Unpublished English Elevation Prayers in Takamiya MS 56,' *Journal of the Early Book Society* 16 (2013), 273.

Date: 1435–1450
Origins: Possibly near Tewkesbury Abbey.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 30, fol. 300v *verse* B

DIMEV: 2871

In verse. Incipit: 'Ihesu Lord wel come þe be/ In forme of bred as I þou see'

Date: completed by 1441 by J. Graseley (fol. 300r).[14]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 1830, fol. 137r *verse* B

DIMEV: 2871

In verse. Incipit: 'Ihu welcome mote þow be/ In forme of bred as I þe se'

Facsimile: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8529521j/f282.item

Edition: Alexandra Barratt, 'A Middle English Lyric in an Old French Manuscript,' *Medium Ævum* 5 (1983), 229.

Date: s. xv
Origins: Sixteenth-century ownership by king François I (1494–1547). Fifteenth-century owners might have been his grandfather, Jean d'Angoulême (1399–1467), or his great uncle, Charles d'Orléans (1394–1465).[15]

[14] de la Mare, *Catalogue*, 61.
[15] Barratt, 'A Middle English Lyric,' 227.

'The Shepherd's Play', in *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, l. 552–583[16] *verse*

San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS HM 2[17]
London, British Library, MS Additional 10305, fols. 54v–55r
London, British Library, MS Harley 2013, fol. 64v
London, British Library, MS Harley 2124, fol. 44r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 175, fols. 59r–59v

In verse. Incipit: 'Hayle, kinge of heavon soe hye,/ borne in a crybbe;/ mankynd unto thee/ thow hast made full sybbe'

Edition: R. M. Lumiansky, and David Mills, eds., *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, vol. 1, EETS S.S. 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 150–151.

Date: s. xv[18]
Origins: Chester.

London, Lambeth Palace, MS 559, fols. 32r–32v *version* 2

DIMEV: 2292

In verse (copied as prose). Incipit: 'Lorde I the honoure wit all my myght/ In forme of bred as I the see'

Date: s. xv

Oxford, Balliol College, MS 316A, fol. 110v[19] *version* 2

DIMEV: 2292

In verse. Incipit: 'I the honour with al might/ In forme of brede as y þe see'

Facsimile: https://www.flickr.com/photos/balliolarchivist/sets/72157637313191683/

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Private Prayers in Middle English Verse,' *Studies in Philology* 36:3 (1939), 472–473.

Date: no earlier than 1410[20]

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[16] Lumiansky, and Mills, eds., *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, 150–151.

[17] Unfortunately, I have not been able to access this manuscript and therefore the foliation remains incomplete.

[18] The first reference to a play happening at Chester is in some 1422 town records, it continues being mentioned until 1472, and then is mentioned next in 1539.

[19] For a description of the manuscript, see Mynors, *Catalogue*, 333–334.

[20] A. S. G. Edwards, 'Reading John Walton's Boethius in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,' in *Spaces for Reading in Later Medieval England*, ed. Mary C. Flannery, and Carrie Griffin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 35–49, at 36.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 115r *version* 2

DIMEV: 2292

In verse. Incipit: 'I þe honoure wiþ al my miht/ In fourme of bred as I þe se'

Facsimile: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/52f0a31a-1478-40e4-b05b-fddb1ad076ff/

Edition: *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript, Part 1*, EETS O.S. 98, ed. Carl Horstmann (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1892), 25.

Date: 1390s

Oxford, Christ Church College, MS 151, fol. 127v *version* 2

DIMEV: 2292

In verse. Incipit: 'I the honour wit all myght/ In forme of brede as y þe see'

Facsimile: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/1ee70bea-2479-40d2-b734-98aa27878200/surfaces/d35b255d-b156-45dd-94fe-a448077d33a1/

Date: no earlier than 1410[21]

Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 197, fols. 135r–135v *version* 2

DIMEV: 2292

In verse. Incipit: 'I the honour wit al my myȝt/ In forme of brede as y þee see'

Facsimile: https://colenda.library.upenn.edu/catalog/81431-p3dn3zx22

Date: s. xv inc.

Tradition 2 (a): Manuscripts containing levation prayers for devotional use, within mainstream context

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fols. 95r–95v *prose* 1

In prose. Incipit: 'Heyle holest body of our Lord Ihu Cryste þat art now sothfastly conteynyd he in þis most excellent sacrament'

[21] Ibid.

Date: xv med.
Origins: possible connection with East Anglian secular priests.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, p. 372 *prose*

In prose. Incipit: 'Lord God almighty fader and sone and holy goste thre persones in trinite and on God þat made al þe worlde of nought, by þe preest nowe mynistred uppon þe awter verray God and man onder þe fourme of bred and wyne in flesshe and blode'

Facsimile: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/uv/view.php?n=R.3.20&n=R.3.20#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-163%2C-462%2C3245%2C4624

Date: c. 1430 (completed by the end of 1432)[22]
Origins: manuscript compiled by John Shirley.

London, British Library, MS Additional 37787, fols. 12r–12v[23] *version* 14

DIMEV: 2292

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome be þu soule fode/ Boþe Ihesu God and manne/ Ffor me þu honge apon þe roode/ Þi bodi blike ande wonne'

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse,' *Modern Philology* 40 (1942), 138–139.

Date: s. xv inc.

London, British Library, MS Arundel 197, fol. 47v[24] *prose* 1

In prose. Incipit: 'Hayle holy bodi of owre Lorde Ihesu Criste þat arte now sothefastly conteynid here in this moste excellent sacrament'

Date: s. xv[3]

[22] Connolly, *John Shirley*, 77.

[23] According to Wendy Scase, the prayer belongs to the composite manuscript's first unit (out of three). Wendy Scase, 'John Northwood's Miscellany Revisited,' in *Insular Books*, 103–104. See also Sheri Smith, '"When is a Man Proude. When He Wol not Beknowen scuhe as He Is": Knowing Oneself in London, British Library, MS Additional 37787,' in *Late Medieval Devotional Compilations*, 255–270.

[24] On MS Arundel 197, see Margaret Connolly, 'Public Revisions or Private Responses? The Oddities of BL, Arundel MS 197, with Special Reference to "Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God",' *The British Library Journal* 20:1 (1994): 55–64.

London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fol. 98v *prose*

In prose. Incipit: ‘Ihu Lord þat noȝt only wold offer þi selfe for us on þe crose bot ȝit þu offer þi self ilka day for us in þe sacrament of þe awter for to be fully wit us and in us Lord’

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fol. 98v *version* 11

DIMEV: 1721

In verse (copied as prose). Incipit: ‘Hayle Ihesu Godys sone in þe forme of bred/ Borne of Mary withowtyn syn/ Þu sawe me Ihesu fro endeles dede/ And ye to worcheppe lat me never blyn’

Edition: Rossell Hope Robbins, ‘Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse,’ *Modern Philology* 40 (1942), 136–137.

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 328, fols. 168r–168v *prose* 1

In prose. Incipit: ‘Heyle holiest body of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste þåt art now soþefastly contined here in þis most excellent sacrament’

Date: s. xv

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302, fols. 10r–10v *version* 7

DIMEV: 6473

In verse. Incipit: ‘When thou seyst the sacrament,/ Worchip hit with good entent’

Edition: John Audelay, *Poems and Carols: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 302*, ed. Susanna Fein (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009), 77–79.

Date: s. xv^{2}

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 683, fols. 30v–31v *verse*

DIMEV: 6820

In verse. Incipit: ‘Heyl hooly Ihesu our helthe our goostly fode/ Heil blissed Lord here in forme of bred/ Heil for mankynde offred on the roode/ For our redempcioun with þi blood maad red’

Date: s. xv$^{3/4}$
Origins: Possibly connected to Suffolk and East Anglia.[25]

Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, 238–239[26] *prose*

In prose. Incipit: '[H]Eyle holiest bodye of oure lorde Jesu criste þat art nowe soþefastly contynede here in þis moste excellent sacrament'

Edition: Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004), 238, l. 6–41, 239, l. 1–6.

Date: 1409
Origins: Written by Carthusian monk Nicholas Love, prior of Mount Grace from its incorporation into the order until an unknown date.

***Speculum Christiani*, 160, l. 1–21** *prose*

In prose. Incipit: 'Hayle, moste benigne Ihesu Cryste of Naȝareth borne kynge of Iues, son of the fader, maydens son, lombe of God, holy hooste, sacred verrey flesche, hele of the worlde, welle of pyte!'

Edition: Gustaf Holmstedt, ed., *Speculum Christiani: A Middle English Religious Treatise of the 14th Century*, EETS O.S. 182 (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 160.

Date: s. xv^{2}

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS IV. 231, fols. 136r–137r *version* 5

DIMEV: 6196[27]

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome lord in form off breed/ In the ys bothe lyfe and deed/ Ihus ys thy name/ Thou that art God in Trynyte'

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

London, British Library, MS Additional 37787, fol. 160r[28] *version* 5

DIMEV: 6196

[25] Bale, '"House Devil, Town Saint",' 190.
[26] Love's *Mirror* being extant in sixty-four manuscripts, to trace and compare the levation prayer within that corpus is outside the scope of this study.
[27] The foliation in *DIMEV* is incorrect.
[28] Scase posits that the prayer belongs to the third unit of the manuscript, which is more sumptuous than the other parts. Scase, 'John Northwood's Miscellany,' 109.

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome Lord in forme of bred/ In þe is boþe lyf and ded/ Ihesus is þi name/ Þou þat art God in Trinite'

Edition: Nita Scudder Baugh, *A Worcestershire Miscellany, Compiled by John Northwood, c. 1400, Edited from British Museum MS Add. 37,787* (Philadelphia, 1956), 149–150.

Date: s. xv inc.
Origins: Possibly from the West Midlands based on dialect.[29]

London, British Library, MS Harley 5396, fols. 273r–273v *version* 5

DIMEV: 6196

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome Lord yn forme of brede/ In þe ys boþe lyfe and deth/ Ihu ys þy name/ Thou þat art God in Trynyte'

Date: s. xv med.; with date 1456 in the same collection of verse on fol. 306r (next to the Middle English poem *The Tournament of Tottenham*)
Origins: On fol. 311v, in a late fifteenth-century hand, 'Iste liber constat Johannes app…'; on fol. 280v in a similarly late hand, 'Wylyam Northe of Yorke.'

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, fols. 25r–26v *version* 5

DIMEV: 6196

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcum Lord in forme of bred/ In the is bothe lyfe and dede/ Ihus that is thi blissid name/ Thou that art God in Trinite'

Date: s. xv

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 61, fols. 26r–26v *version* 5

DIMEV: 6196

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome Lord in forme of bred/ In þe is both lyffe and ded/ Ihu is þi name/ Thow arte God in Trinyte'

Edition: George Suffelton, ed., *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), 80–81.

Date: c. 1500[30]

[29] Ibid., 113–114.
[30] George Suffelton, 'Introduction,' in *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, ed. George Suffelton (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), 3.

Origins: fish drawing at the end of the poem could be connected to the badge of Leicester's Corpus Christi Guild.[31]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 115r *version* 5

DIMEV: 6196

In verse. Incipit: 'Welcome Lord in fourme of bred/ In þe is boþe lyf and ded/ Ihc is þi nome/ Þou þat art in Trinite'

Facsimile: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/52f0a31a-1478-40e4-b05b-fddb1ad076ff/

Edition: *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript, Part 1*, EETS O.S. 98, ed. Carl Horstmann (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1892), 24–25.

Tradition 2 (b): Manuscripts containing levation prayers for devotional use: developments

London, British Library, MS Additional 39574, fols. 88r–88v *prose*

In prose. Incipit: 'Heyl Ihu Crist worde of þe fadir, sone of þe virgin, Lomb of God, heelþe of this world, sacrid oost, welle of pyte'

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 410, item 4 *verse*

DIMEV: 2840

In verse. Incipit: 'Ihu for thyne holy name/ And for thy bytter passyon/ Save us from synne and shame/ And endeles dampnacyon'

Facsimile: https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10269867

Date: s. xv^{4}

[31] Lynne Sandra Blanchfield, '"An Idiosyncratic Scribe": A Study of the Practice and Purpose of Rate, the Scribe of Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61,' (PhD dissertation, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1991), 151–157.

Appendix 3

Tradition 1 (a): The twelve articles of the faith told by the apostles

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.3, fols. 11v–12r *sacramental*

In prose. Incipit: 'To beleve in Godde fadir almyghti maker of heven and erth and alle thinge. To beleve in Ihesu Crist his onely getyn sone oure Lorde'

Date: s. xv

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54, p. 1–33 *commentary B*

In prose. Incipit: 'Alle manne men and wommen shulden sothfastly bileve in oon almightly God lyvenge'

Facsimile: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/B.14.54/UV

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: Hand used throughout the manuscript belongs to Stephen Dodesham, professional copyist of the London book trade, who became a Carthusian in the 1460s, residing both at Witham and then at Sheen.[1]

Durham, Ushaw College Library, MS 28, fols. 22r–23r *macaronic sacramental*

In prose. Incipit: 'Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem creature celi et terre. I beleve in God fadir almighty maker of heven and of erþe.'

Date: s. xv med.[2]

London, British Library, MS Additional 10106, fols. 42v–44r[3] *sacramental*

In prose. Incipit: 'The first is to beleve in the persone of God þe fader and þis article made Seynt Petir thapostel seying I beleve in God fadir almighty maker of heven and erthe'

Date: s. xv$^{3/4}$

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[1] A. I. Doyle, 'Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen,' in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. Pamela Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), 94–115.

[2] *MMBL*, 2:537–538.

[3] The articles of the faith are part of the late fifteenth-century comprehensive pastoral text *A Good and a Profitable Table of the Feyth of Christian People*, which appears in a single copy in MS Additional 10106, folios 39v–44r.

Origins: The binding, with its particular binder's stamps, can be traced to a single 'Caxton' binder.[4]

London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, fols. 2r–12r *commentary B*

In prose. Incipit: 'Alle maner men and women schulden stidefastli bileve in oon almyȝti God lyvynge'

Date: s. xiv ex./xv in.
Origins: Use of East Midlands dialect throughout the manuscript.[5]

London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fol. 130r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'What ys feyth? Feyþ as Poul seyþ is þe substaunce holly of alle þyng þat longeþ to byleve and an argument of þynges þat appereþ nouȝt'

Date: s. xv[1]
Origins: Possibly connected to Gloucestershire, with dialectal variants located near the area of Mitcheldean.[6]

London, British Library, MS Harley 2403, fols. 191v–194r *macaronic sacramental*

In prose. Incipit: 'These byn þe xii articulis of þe feyth. Peter seyt: Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre. The secunde þing þat þu scholde know God by þat is þe articul of þe feyth'

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: Dialectal affiliation with Warwickshire.[7]

Norwich, Norwich Castle Museum, MS 158.926/4.g.3, fols. 78v–82v *commentary B*

In prose. Incipit: 'Credo. Alle maner of men and wymmen shulden stydfastliche bileve on almiȝtty God lyvynge'

Date: s. xv med.[8]

[4] Alexandra Gillespie, 'Bookbinding and Early Printing in England,' in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*, ed. Vincent Gillespie, and Susan Powell (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), 75–94, at 82.
[5] Madrinkian, 'New Findings,' 230.
[6] *LALME*, vol. 1, 112 (LP 7200).
[7] *LALME*, vol. 1, 112 (LP 517).
[8] *MMBL*, 3:521–522.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 98, fol. 255v[9] *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'Þes ben þe articles of þe faith þe much þe aposteles maden after þe ascensione of our lorde'

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57, fols. 16r–23r *scriptural sacramental*

In prose. Incipit: 'For as moche as the cristen feith is the foundement and þe grounde of oure hele, withoute which no creature may be saved like as it is seide in þe psalme Quicumque vult, bothe in þe begynnyng and at þe ende, therfore I wol declare unto you the xii articles of þe feith'

Date: s. xv med.[10]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 656, fols. 117r–118r *commentary B*

In prose. Incipit: 'Genesis 15.6 Abraham bileved in God and it was reckned to hym to riȝtusnis. First God made heven and erþe'

Date: s. xv^{1}

Oxford, University College, MS 97, fols. 125r–127r *sacramental*

In prose. Incipit: 'Here bigynnen þe twelve articles of the feith. Thise been the articles of the feith of cristene men þat every cristene man schulde bileeve stedefastly'

Date: s. xv

Disce Mori *scriptural sacramental*

Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39, p. 374–385
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 99, fols. 150v–154v

In prose. Incipit: 'For asmoche as þe christen feith is þe foundement and þe grounde of oure hele withoute whiche no creature may be saved lyke as it is seide þe psalme quicumque vult'

Date: s. xv^{2}

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[9] See description of manuscript in Patrick J. Horner, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist III, A Handlist of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the Digby Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986), 49–50.

[10] Ralph Hanna, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XII, Smaller Bodleian collections: English miscellaneous, English poetry, English theology, Finch, Latin theology, Lyell, Radcliffe Trust* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 9.

Origins: South-East Midland.[11]

Stephen Scrope's translation of *Epistle to Othea*, xxiii–xxxiv[12] *allegorical*

Prose. Incipit: 'And, for to brynge to mynde the articules of the feith to oure purpos, withoute the which a good spirite may litel avayle'

Edition: Stephen Scrope, *The Epistle of Othea*, ed. Curt F Bühler, EETS O.S. 264 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 35–46.

Date: c. 1440

***A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen*, 81–83**[13] *sacramental*

In prose. Incipit: 'Aftirward þe twelue stremes of mylk þat springeþ out of þe secounde tete of oure moder Holy Chirche beþ as is aforseide þe twelue articles of þe feith and oure byleue or trouthe'

Edition: Venetia Nelson, ed., *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen: A Prose Version of the Speculum Vitae, Ed. from B.L. MS Harley 45* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1981), 81–83.

Date: c. 1400

***Pore Caitif*, l. 23–360**[14] *sacramental*

In prose. Incipit: 'The ground of al goodnes is stidefast feiþ eiþir bileeue for þere þoru grace and mercy is purchasid of God'

Edition: *Pore Caitif, A Middle English Manual of Religion and Devotion*, ed. Karine Moreau-Guibert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 111–121.

Date: s. xiv ex.

[11] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 74.

[12] Stephen Scrope's translation appears in three manuscripts: Cambridge, St John's College, MS H. 5; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 755; Bath, Collection of the Marquis of Bath, MS Longleat 253.

[13] The *Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen* is extant in four manuscripts: London, British Library, MS Harley 45; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania University Library, MS English 3; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 35; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. A. 356.

[14] Tracing the creed and its different variants within the *Pore Caitif* fifty-seven manuscripts would yield significant information, however it is beyond the scope of this particular study.

***Speculum Vitae*, l. 1229–1452**[15] *sacramental*

In verse. Incipit: 'On þe tothir syde shewes þe New Lawe/ Twelf Articles of þe Trouth to knawe,/ Þe whilk þe twelf apostels made/ Þat þe grace of 'þe' Haly Gast habade'

Edition: *Speculum Vitae: A Reading Edition*, vol. 1, ed. Ralph Hanna, EETS O.S. 331 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 44–51.

Date: s. xiv^{3}

***The Book of Vices and Virtues*, 6–9**[16] *sacramental*

In verse. Incipit: 'Þese ben þe articules of þe feiþ of cristen men, þat euery cristen man schulde bileue stedfastly, and elles he may not be saued'

Edition: *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed. W. Nelson Francis (London: Humphrey Milford and Oxford University Press, 1942), 6–9.

Date: c. 1370[17]

***The Doctrine of the Hert*, 68–73, l. 18–201**[18] *sacramental*

In prose. Incipit: 'Because feith is nedful to þe stabelyng of oure undirstonding, þerfor, be þe grace of God, sumwhat I shal sey of þe twelve articles of þe feyth, after þe nombre of þe twelve apostelis þat made þe twelve articles'

Edition: *The Doctrine of the Hert: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. Christiania Whitehead, Denis Renevey, and Anne Mouron (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), 68–73.

Date: c. 1400

[15] It is unfortunately outside the scope of this appendix to trace the forty-five variants of the creed in *Speculum Vitae*.

[16] *The Book of Vices and Virtue* can be traced to three extant manuscripts: London, British Library, MS Additional 17013; San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS HM 147; London, British Library, MS Additional 22283.

[17] Watson, 'Censorship,' 861.

[18] To trace the different variants of the creed in the manuscripts of the *Doctrine of the Hert* is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

Tradition 1 (b): The twelve articles of the faith according to Saint Edmund

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 395D, fols. 167r–167v version 'D'

In prose. Incipit: 'Lordes ȝhe sul understonde whiche ben þe xii articles of þe holy fey þat is þe first vertu of ys vii to fore wreten.'

Date: s. xv in.
Origins: meant for public or semi-public instruction.[19]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.2.38, fols. 33r–33v version 'D'

In prose. Incipit: 'Here suen þe xii articlis of þe beleeve. The fyrste artycle of these twelve ys þat God ys oon substaunce þre persones in hymselfe'

Date: s. xv ex./xvi in.[20]
Origins: Dialectal affiliation with Leicestershire.[21]

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 9r–9v version 'D'

In prose. Incipit: 'Here begynneth the xii artycles of the ffeythe. The furst article of the feythe ys that God ys oon in substaunce and in persones in hymsylf'

Facsimile: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.3.21/UV#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=241&r=0&xywh=935%2C-109%2C1925%2C1320

Date: 1474–1477

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 75, fols. 253v–254r version 'D'

In prose. Incipit: 'The ffirste article of oure bileve is þat God is oo substaunce and þre persoones in him silf ffadir and sone and hooli goost'

Date: c. 1450[22]
Origins: Composite manuscript kept among a mid-fifteenth-century Lollard textual community.[23]

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[19] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 45.
[20] Connolly, *Manuscripts in the University Library*, 129–132.
[21] *LALME*, vol. 1, 67 (LP 531).
[22] John Scattergood and Guido Latré, 'Trinity College Dublin MS 75: A Lollard Bible and Some Protestant Owners,' in *Texts and Their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society*, ed. John Scattergood and Julia Boffey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 229.
[23] Ibid., 230.

Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, MS 93, fols. 80v–81v[24] version 'D'

In prose. Incipit: 'Here bigynnyth þe xii articlis of þe feith after þe crede, þe whiche every man and woman must bileve if þei wil be savyd as Crist hym silf witnessith'

Date: s. xv
Origins: Manuscript possibly for the use of a lay person.

Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, MS 5 (A. 1. 17), fols. 197r–209v *Mirror* 'B'

In prose. Incipit: 'Dere frende, here sall þou wyte whilke are þe twelve artycles of þe trouthe. The firste es þis þat godde es ane in hym selfe and thre in persons'

Edition: *Yorkshire Writers, Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers*, vol. 1, ed. Carl Horstman (London: Swan Sonneschein and CO, 1895), 227.

Date: s. xiv ex.[25]

London, British Library, MS Additional 10053, fols. 13v–14v *Mirror* 'D'

In prose. Incipit: 'Here schalt þu knowe whyche been þe xii articlys of þe feyþ of holy cherche þe Wyche eche cristin man schuld beleve and if he trespass only þyng aȝeny hem he schold schryve hem þer of. Þe firste is þat God is oo substance and iii personys in hymself'

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: made for an Austin canon of Holy Trinity, Aldgate.[26]

London, British Library, MS Additional 22283, fol. 32r[27] *The Spore of Loue*

In prose. Incipit: 'Þen schaltou wite as I þe say whuche ben þe xii articles of þe fay. Ffurst God is on in hymself for to lende and þre persones withouten ende'

Facsimile: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_22283_fs001r

Date: s. xiv ex.
Origins: Possibly North Worcestershire.

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[24] For a description of the manuscript, see Catherine R. Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1916), 149–150.

[25] Rodney M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), 5–6.

[26] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 46.

[27] See A. I. Doyle, 'The Shaping of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts,' in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies*, 328–341.

London, British Library, MS Additional 22283, fol. 163v *Mirror* 'B'

In prose. Incipit: 'Þe furst poynt of holy beleeve ys ffader and sone and holigost. Þese þres persones ben on God with oute begynnyng'

Facsimile: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_22283_fs001r

Date: s. xiv ex.

London, British Library, MS Additional 28026, fol. 189v version 'D'

In prose. Incipit: 'The firste article is þat God is oon substaunce and þre persones in hym silf with outen bygynnynge and withouten endynge'

Date: c. 1400[28]
Origins: late fifteenth-century ownership mark on fol. 71v 'John Thoms os thys boke.'

London, British Library, MS Additional 60577, fols. 139r–141r[29] *Mirror* 'D'

In prose. Incipit: 'Also see we nowe whiche bene the twelfe artycles of the beleve of holy chyrche. The ffurste article of these twelfe ys that God y soon substaunce and thre persones in hym selfe'

Facsimile: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_60577_fs001r

Date: c. 1487[30]
Origins: Produced at Winchester, due to multiple connections between the manuscript content and the diocese of Winchester, its bishop, William Waynflete, and one of its scribes, a monk of St Swithun's Priory.[31]

London, British Library, MS Royal 8. F. VII, fols. 44r–44v version 'D'

In prose. Incipit: 'Her begynnyth þe twelfe artycles of þe faith in wyche criste men schal belevyn and stedfastly holdyn and dente in all þynge'

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: East Anglian sacerdotal volume.[32]

London, Westminster School, MS 3, fols. 190v–191r *Mirror* 'D'

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[28] Anne Hudson, ed., *Doctors in English: A Study of the Wycliffite Gospel Commentaries* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), xxx.
[29] For a description of the manuscript, see *The Winchester Anthology*, 1–16.
[30] Ibid., 8.
[31] Ibid., 9–10.
[32] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 37.

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here schalt þou knowe whiche ben þe twelve articles of þe feiþ of holi chirche þe which ech cristene man scholde bileve and ȝif he trespace ony þing aȝens hem, he scholde schryve him þerof’

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: ownership mark on fol. 231r ‘Ricardo Cloos’ (churchwarden at St Mary-at-Hill, in London) dated to 1472.[33]

Madresfield Court, MS in possession of Earl Beauchamps[34] *Mirror* ‘B’

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 416, fols. 124r–125r *Mirror* ‘D’

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here shaltow knowe whuch ben þe twolve articulis of þe feiþ of holi chirche þe whuch eche cristene man shulde bileve and ȝif he trespasseþ ony þing aȝens hem he shulde be sori þer of’

Date: s. xv in.
Origins: possibly from the West Midlands.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 25, fols. 28r–33r *Mirror* ‘C’

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here þou schalt knowe whiche ben þe xii articlis of feiþ and þe vii sacrementis and wite þou þat þe firste article of feiþ is þis þat þe fadir and þe sone and þe hooligoost ben oon God and þre persones’

Date: s. xv in./med.
Origins: London provenance.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 232, fols. 39r–41v *Mirror* ‘C’

In prose. Incipit: ‘Her þu schalt know whiche bene þe xii articles of feith and þe vii sacrementis of holy churche and witt þu þat þe first article is þat fadre sonn and holy goste bene oo God and thre persons’

Date: s. xv in.
Origins: possible scribal affiliation on fol. 62r ‘Jon Flemmyn.’

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fols. 229v–230r *The Spore of Loue*

[33] Doyle, ‘Survey,’ vol. 2, 27; Moss, ‘A Merchant’s Tales,’ 157.
[34] Unfortunately, I have not been able to access this manuscript, which is classified by Valerie Lagorio and Michael Sargent as the B version of the *Mirror*. Lagorio, and Sargent, ‘English Mystical Writings,’ 3460.

In verse. Incipit: ‘Þe twolve articles of þe fey. Þen schaltou wite as I þe sei/ whuche ben þe xii article of þe fei/ Ffirst God is on in himself for to lende/ and þre persones wiþ outen ende’

Facsimile: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/52f0a31a-1478-40e4-b05b-fddb1ad076ff/

Date: 1390s

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 357v *Mirror* ‘B’

In prose. Incipit: ‘Of þe twelve articles of þe ffei. Þe ffurste poynt of holy be seene is ffader and sone and holygost. Þeose þreo persones ben on God withouten begynnynge and wiþouten endynge’

Facsimile: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/52f0a31a-1478-40e4-b05b-fddb1ad076ff/

Date: 1390s

San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS HM 501, fols. 145v–146r version ‘D’

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here bigynnen þe xii articlis of oure bileeve. The firste article of our bileeve is þat God is oo substaunce and þre persones in himsilf fader sone and holy goost’

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 87, fols. 73r–74r version ‘A’ or ‘B’

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here is now to speke of the crede. And here is to understand þat aftir sentence and grounde of mynd auctours þat bene said iiii credis of þe firste to speke of hit is used and said at masse aftir þe custum of the churche’

Date: s. xv$^{3/4}$

Tradition 2 (a): The mainstream Apostles’ Creed

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 52/29, fol. 43r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: ‘Ich ileve in God fader allmiȝtinde scheppare of hevene ant eerthe’

Date: s. xv in.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 328/715, fol. iv(v) *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'Yc bileve in God fadir almythti ythat makede hevene and urthe of noght'

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$
Origins: The manuscript might have belonged to William Lyndwood, as it includes on fol. 175v a letter from Archbishop Chichele addressed to Lyndwood, dated Croydon, 10 March 1419, giving him power over a suit between two rectors of the London diocese.[35]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 4120, fols. 48r–49v *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I beleve in God the father almighty maker of heven and erth'

Date: s. xv ex./xvi in.[36]
Origins: Scribal hand of the Carthusian monk of Sheen Charterhouse, William Darker (d. 1512/1513).[37]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.6.33, fols. 32v–33v *macaronic A*

In prose. Incipit: 'The xii apostels made the credo. Petyr begon and sey Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre. I byleve in God fadyr almyȝty maker of hevyn and erth'

Date: s. xv ex./xvi in.
Origins: Written by William Darker of Sheen for the nuns of Syon. Dialectal affiliation with Middlesex.[38]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fol. 63r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I byleve in God almyȝthy fadyr maker of heven and erth'

Date: xv med.
Origins: possible connection with East Anglian secular priests.

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1. 3, fol. 11v *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem. That is to say I bileve in Godde fadre almyghty maker of heven and of erthe'

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[35] James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 1, 370, 372.

[36] Hannah Lucas, 'Private Pilgrimages at Syon Abbey? A Note on Cambridge University Library MS Ff.6.33,' *Notes and Queries* 66:2 (2019): 219–222, at 219.

[37] A. I. Doyle, 'William Darker: The Work of an English Carthusian Scribe,' in *Medieval Manuscripts and their Makes and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse*, ed. Christopher Baswell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 199–211, at 200.

[38] Connolly, *Manuscripts in the University Library*, 158–162; *LALME*, vol. 1, 67 (LP 6460).

Date: s. xv
Origins: The manuscript collates many textual units (the creed belongs to section 22), of which section 10 that contains John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* was copied by the Beryn Scribe.[39]

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 55, fol. 48r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I beleve in God fadir all myghty maker of heven and of erthe and in his owne goten sone Ihesu Crist owre Lord'

Date: s. xv

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 1r–1v *macaronic F*

In prose. Incipit: 'Here begynneth the crede ground of crystyn feythe made by the xii aposteles. Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre'

Facsimile: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.3.21/UV#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=241&r=0&xywh=935%2C-109%2C1925%2C1320

Date: 1474–1477

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70, fols. 174r–174v[40] *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I bileve in God fadir almiȝti makere of hevene and of erþe and Ihesu Crist his oonli sone oure Lord'

Facsimile: https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/fn107338m?locale=en

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$
Origins: Anonymous scribe came from Bedfordshire, but supposedly worked at a scriptorium in London.[41]

Durham, Durham University Library, MS Cosin V. iv. 2, fol. 134r *verbatim A*

In prose. Incipit: 'Peter. I crede in to God þe fadyr almyghty maker of not of heven and erde. John. And in to Ihesu Criste hys anely sun our Lorde'

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[39] Linne R. Mooney, and Lister M. Matheson, 'The Beryn Scribe and his Texts: Evidence for Multiple-Copy Production of Manuscripts in Fifteenth-Century England,' *The Library* 4:4 (2033): 347–370, at 353.

[40] For a description of the manuscript, see John Scattergood, *Trinity College Library Dublin, A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English and Some Old English* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2021), 17–23.

[41] Kuczynski, 'An Important Lollard Psalter,' 183.

Date: 1477
Origins: Secular priest's volume, possibly Thomas Olyphant. Dialectal affiliation with neighbourhood of Penrith and Askham.[42]

London, British Library, MS Additional 17010, fols. 77v–78r *verbatim F*

In prose. Incipit: 'I bileve in God fadir amyȝti makere of heven and of erþe and in Ihesu Crist þe sone of him our Lord'

Date: s. xv

London, British Library, MS Additional 28026, fol. 187r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'Þis is þe byleve of cristes chirche. I byleve in God fadir almyȝty of hevene and of erþe and in Ihesu Crist his only sone oure Lord'

Date: s. xv
Origins: Contains in colophon of the long commentary on the Gospel of Matthew 'schort glose on matheu for lewid men,' thus probably addressed to and owned by a lay person.[43]

London, British Library, MS Additional 32578, fols. 104r–105v*versified commentary A*

In verse. Incipit: 'Or Crist into cloudes gan flyez up to swyftly þe pater noster pyght was in boke to be broght. Sone after þe ascencione so swete and so syghty be crafte was þe crede full wysly wroght'

Edition: R. H. Bowers, 'Three Middle English Poems on the Apostles' Creed,' in *Modern Language Association* 70:1 (1955), 217–222.

Date: c. 1405

London, British Library, MS Additional 39996, fols. 51v–52v *versified A*

In verse. Incipit: 'How þe apostles made þe crede. And þen þe apostles togeder went'

Edition: R. H. Bowers, 'Three Middle English Poems on the Apostles' Creed,' in *Modern Language Association* 70:1 (1955), 214–216.

Date: s. xv med.

[42] *LALME*, vol. 1, 87 (LP 389).
[43] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 134.

London, British Library, MS Additional 60577, fols. 120r–120v *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I byleve in oo God fadyr almyghty maker of hevene and of erthe and in to Ihesu Cryst his only sone oure Lord'

Facsimile: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_60577_fs001r

Date: c. 1487
Origins: Produced at Winchester, due to multiple connections between the manuscript content and the diocese of Winchester, its bishop, William Waynflete, and one of its scribes, a monk of St Swithun's Priory.

London, British Library, MS Burney 30, fols. 105r–106r *gloss B*

In prose. Incipit: 'Here bygynnyþ þe Crede þat þe profetis seyde beforn þe incarnacion and also þat þe apostolis confermed aftyrwarde'

Date: s. xv$^{2/3}$

London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, fols. 1v–2r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I bileve into God fader almyȝti maker of hevene and of erþe and into Ihesu Crist his oonli sone oure Lord'

Date: c. 1400
Origins: Dialectal affiliation carried throughout the manuscript can be traced to the central East Midlands, around Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, and Cambridgeshire.[44]

London, British Library, MS Royal 8. F. VII, fol. 46v *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I leve leve in Gode fadur almyty maker of hevene and erthe and to Ihu Cryste hys owne sone our lorde'

Date: s. xv med. (date '1448' on fol. 54v)

Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85, fols. 2r–3v *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I bileeve in God fadir almyȝti, maker of hevene and of erþe and in Ihu Crist his oonli sone oure Lord'

Facsimile: https://www.digitalcollections.manchester.ac.uk/view/MS-ENGLISH-00085/1

Date: s. xiv ex./xv in.

[44] Madrinkian, 'New Findings,' 230.

Origins: Ownership mark on fol. 83v ‘Iste liber constat Iohanni Ade Cum magno gaudio et honore.’

New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Plimpton 258, fols. 1r–1v *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: ‘The Crede. I bileve in to God fadir almyȝti’

Facsimile: http://ds.lib.berkeley.edu/PlimptonMS258_20

Date: s. xv[3]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 549, fol. 77v *versified T*

In verse. Incipit: ‘I beleve in God the ffader all myghty/ Maker of hevene and all erthely thing/ And in Ihesu Crist hys sone lyke wyghty’

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: Creed inserted in different hand (perhaps a Carthusian or a scribe at Syon Abbey) within treatise on the Carthusian order (fols. 31r–85r) copied by Stephen Dodesham.[45]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938, fols. 1v–2r *macaronic T*

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here bigynniþ þe bileve whiche is þe ground of al perfeccioun, for riȝt as a man bilding an hous ordeniþ a good foundement…’

Date: s. xv med.[46]
Origins: part of a commonprofit book with strong Wycliffite opinions.[47]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 99, fol. 139r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: ‘I beleve in God þe fadyr almyhty maker of hevene and of erthe and in Ihesu Crist only sone oure Lord’

Date: s. xiv ex.
Origins: Scribal identity in colophon on folio 156v ‘Frater Iohannes stanys canonicus Thetfordie.’[48]

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[45] A. I. Doyle, ‘English Carthusian Books not yet Linked with a Charterhouse,’ in *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning, Essays in Honour of William O’Sullivan*, ed. Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, and Katharine Simms (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 122–136, at 125.

[46] Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), 142–144.

[47] Doyle, ‘Survey,’ vol. 1, 51.

[48] Andrew G. Warson, William Dunn Macray, Richard William Hunt, Thomas Allen, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues IX: Digby Manuscripts*, vols. 1–2 (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1999), I.113, II.55.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 246, fols. 3v–4r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I bileve in God fadre alle myȝty chapere of hevene and of erþe and in Ihesu Crist his oonleþye Sone oure Lord'

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 12, fol. 211v *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'Þus made þe apostolis þe Crede. Petir. After þe resayvyng of þe haly gost þe apostolis made þe crede. Petir sayd þus I trow in God fader al mighty maker of heven and erth'

Date: s. xiv ex.[49]
Origins: Signs of monastic ownership.[50]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 12, fol. 211v *verbatim A*

In prose. Incipit: 'Þis es þe lawed mens crede. Trow in God Fader almighty maker of heven and erth. And in Ihu Crist anelepy sone our lord'

Date: s. xiv ex.
Origins: Signs of monastic ownership.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 209, fols. 1r–1v[51] *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I beleve in God fadir almyghty maker of hevyn and of erth and in Ihesu Cristis only son oure Lorde'

Date: s. xv$^{3/4}$
Origins: Presumably lay.[52]

Oxford, University College, MS 179, fol. 9r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'Y byleve yn God fader almyȝtty schapper of heven and of erþ and yn Ihesu Cryst his sone owr onely Lord'

Date: 1400–1425[53]

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[49] Ralph Hanna, ed., *Richard Rolle, Uncollected Prose and Verse with Related Northern* Texts, EETS O.S. 329 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), xxxiii–xxxiv.

[50] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 109.

[51] The second folio has been ripped off, however it is possible to read the first few words of the eight clause 'and alle holy ch…', which suggests the *verbatim A* version.

[52] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 53.

[53] Ogilvie–Thomson, *IMEP* 7, 124.

St Albans, St Albans Cathedral Library, MS Catechetica, fols. 1r–1v *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I bileve into God fadir almyȝtte maker of hevene and of erþe and into Ihesu Crist his oonli soone oure Lord'

Date: s. xv

York, York Minster Library, MS XVI. L. 12, fols. 73v–74r *verbatim T*

In prose. Incipit: 'I beleve in God fader almyȝti maker of heven and of erth'

Date: xv in./med.
Origins: Midland copy interpolated with Lollard opinions, perhaps made for secular priest with such affinities.[54]

York, York Minster Library, MS XVI. L. 12, fols. 74r–75v[55] *commentary T*

In prose. Incipit: 'We shullen wete þat þer is o God in þe Trinite þat we clepe iii persones fadir and son and holi gost almyȝti alwitti and al good'

Date: xv in./med.
Origins: Midland copy interpolated with Lollard opinions, perhaps made for secular priest with such affinities.

A Christian mannes bileeve[56] *macaronic commentary*

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.1.2, fols. 112v–135v
London, British Library, MS Harley 4012, fols. 83v–100v
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3597, fols. 79v–89v
Washington, Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collections, MS 4, fols. 64r–78r

In prose. Incipit: 'Here begynneth a cryste mannes byleve declaryd by holy wrytte and doctors sentence.'

Edition: *A Christian Mannes Bileeve*, ed. Nicole D. Smith (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2021).

Date: c. 1400
Origins: Manuscripts connected with female religious communities, except MS Ii.1.2.

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[54] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 34.

[55] *Commentary T* ends abruptly at the clause forgiveness of sins, without mentioning the resurrection of the body and everlasting life.

[56] *A Christian Mannes Bileeve* is an extended devotional exposition of the Apostles' Creed, in a macaronic form, long of twelve thousand words. See *A Christian Mannes Bileeve*, ed. Nicole D. Smith (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2021), xi–li.

Tradition 2 (b): Versions of the Apostles' Creed with sacramental leanings

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.14.26(3), fols. 38r–39r
macaronic S

In prose. Incipit: 'Petrus apostolus. Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre. I beleve in God fader almyȝthy, maker of hevene and of erthe'

Date: s. xv med.[57]

Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125, fols. 124r–125r *commentary S*

In prose. Incipit: 'Broþer be stedfast and trewe of bileeve of þi feyþ. Sine impossibile est placer deo. Fforwithowte trewe bileve hit is impossible a man to plese God as seiþ Seynt Poul'

Date: s. xv[1]
Origins: On fols. 144v–145r, fifteenth-century hands mentions 'Payneswyk in Com. Gloucestre', suggesting a possible Gloucestershire origin, as the dialect is from the West Midland.[58]

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.19, fols. 197v–202r *macaronic commentary S*

In prose. Incipit: 'Articuli fidei. The secunde thing that þou shuldyst knowe God be the articlis of the feyth.'

Facsimile: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/B.14.19/UV

Date: xv med.
Origins: East Anglian booklet for a priest.[59]

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 211, fol. 226r[60] *versified S*

DIMEV: 2211

In verse. Incipit: 'I leve in oure holy dryȝt/ Fader of heven God al might'

Date: 1430–1470
Origins: ownership mark on folio 225r, 'Iste liber constat H trabbulj.'

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[57] Connolly, *Manuscripts in the University Library*, 80–81.
[58] Rosamond McKitterick, and Richard Beadle, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge*, vol. 5, part 1 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), 61.
[59] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 36.
[60] The Apostles' Creed in MS 211 is copied from John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*. On the manuscript and its Middle English content, see Scattergood, *Trinity College*, 115–117.

Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, MS 66, fols. 137r–137v *macaronic S*

In prose. Incipit: 'Paulus ad Galath iii: omnes filii Dei estis per fidem'

Date: xv med.
Origins: Latin sacerdotal collection from the north Midlands.[61]

London, British Library, MS Additional 10053, fols. 103r–105r
macaronic commentary S

In prose. Incipit: 'Crede in deum patrem omnipotentem. I beleve in God fadir almighti þe maister of sentence seiþ'

Date: s. xv med.
Origins: made for an Austin canon of Holy Trinity, Aldgate.

London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII, fol. 107r *gloss S*

In prose. Incipit: 'I byleve stedfastly in my Lord God almyȝty, þat is fadur and sone and holy goost'

Date: s. xv
Origins: On folio 107v, possible ownership mark 'Nich. Anger de Hiclilgham de parochial de Halys.'

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 853, p. 39–40 *gloss S*

In prose. Incipit: 'In þee God fadir I bileeve. Þe firiste persoone ful of myȝt þat al of nouȝt hast maad to meeve boþe heuven and erþe day and nyȝt.'

Date: s. xv

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 110, fols. 155v–156r *macaronic commentary S*

In prose. Incipit: 'Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem. I bi leve in God Fader al mythi in þese wordes buth undirstonde foure of þe furste articules of þe ryȝth bileve'

Date: s. xv$^{2/3}$
Origins: Copied in a Sussex dialect, and bought from London stationer J. Pye in 1463 by a canon of Chichester who later was transferred to Cliff-at-Hoo, in Kent.[62]

[61] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 34.
[62] Pattwell, '*Sacerdos Parochialis*,' 20.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. B. 408, fols. 4r–4v
versified gloss ABC of Devocione

DIMEV: 2138

In verse. Incipit: 'I beleve on God in persones þre/ The fader and sone and holigost/ Maker of heven with angels degree/ And erthely þinges both leste and most'

Edition: Andrew Clark, ed., *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford, Written about 1450*, 3 vols., EETS O.S. 129, 130, 142 (London: K. Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1905), vol. 3, 7–8.

Date: 1467–1480
Origins: Manuscript connected with the Benedictine nunnery of Godstow Abbey, Oxfordshire.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 913, fols. 7r–8v
versified macaronic commentary S

DIMEV: 2139

In verse. Incipit: 'I by leve that Cryst was born of Mari the virgen/ Criste ys exsubstancya patri ante secula gemius'

Date: s. xv

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155, fols. 250r–250v *verbatim B S*

In verse. Incipit: 'Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre. Petrus, I trow in God fader of myghte'

Edition: R. H. Bowers, 'Three Middle English Poems on the Apostles' Creed,' in *Modern Language Association* 70:1 (1955), 213–214.

Date: s. xv^{2}
Origins: made for an Abbot of Rievaulx.

Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3, fols. 45v–46v *versified macaronic B S*

In verse. Incipit: 'Peter. I credo Peter began to saye/ I beleve in Gor verraye/ It mad bothe day and nyȝt/ In deum that us God on hye'

Date: Preceding text dated to 1484 (*Expliciunt merita misse mcccclxxxiiij*)
Origins: might have belonged to a priest in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, based on bidding prayer for use of such diocese in the MS, fols. 47r–49r.

John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 426–453 *versified S*

London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. II, fols. 134r–134v
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fols. 69v–70r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, fols. 155v–156r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 103, fols. 128v–129r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Greaves 57, fols. 10r–10v

In verse. Incipit: 'I be-leue in oure holy dryȝt,/ Fader of heuene, god almyȝt,/ Þat alle thynge made and wroȝt,/ Heuene and erþe and alle of noȝt'

Edition: John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Gillis Kristensson (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1974), 90–92.

Date: s. xiv ex.
Origins: Lilleshall Abbey, Shropshire.

***The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, l. 197–240**[63] *versified S*

Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 84/166, p. 175
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. B. XVII, fols. 6r–6v

In verse. Incipit: 'Men oen to saie þo crede som tyme,/ When þai saie hore, loke þou saie þine;/ Þis þat folouse in englishe letter,/ I wold þou sayde hit for þo better'

Edition: *The Lay Folks' Mass Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, EETS O.S., vol. 71, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons (London: N. Trübner and CO., 1879), 18–22.

Date: s. xiv ex.

Tradition 2 (c): Versions of the Apostles' Creed with Wycliffite/Lollard ecclesiology

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.4.12, fols. 27r–29v *commentary* W

In prose. Incipit: 'þis is þe exposicion of þe crede. Credo in deum patrem. It is sothe þat bileve is grounde of alle vertues and herfore eche cristen man schulde be sad in bileve'

[63] The creed is not included in most versions of the *LFMB*, such as in Cambridge, Newnham College, MS 4, on folio 105v, where the creed is merely mentioned 'After the gospel whiles he seyth the crede,' or in London, British Library, MS Additional 36523, on folio 89r, 'After þe gospell folweth þe crede,' or in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155, on folio 254v, where the text indicates 'After þe gospell ay whil þe crede,' or in Liverpool, Liverpool University Library, MS F. 4. 9, on folio 204v, 'After þe gospell and qeylles þe crede,' or in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 5. 31, on folio 2r, 'Efter þe gospell and syng þe crede,' or else in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates' 19. 3. 1, on fol. 58v, 'Aftur þo gospell und þo crede.'

Date: s. xv[1]

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 245, fols. 1r–2r[64] *commentary* W

In prose. Incipit: 'Crede. It is sooþ þat bileue is grounde of alle vertues.'

Date: s. xv[1]
Origins: admixture of dialects from Warwickshire, Huntingdonshire, and Ely.[65]

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 408, fols. 3v–4v *commentary* W

In prose. Incipit: 'Hyt is soþ þat beleve is ground of alle vertues and þerfore eche cristyn man schulde be sad in beleve'

Edition: Thomas Arnold, ed., *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), 114–116.

Date: s. xv in./med.
Origins: Midland copy interpolated with Lollard opinions, perhaps made for secular priest with such affinities.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789, fol. 105r *verbatim* W

In prose. Incipit: 'I bileve in God fader almiȝti maker of hevene and of erþe, and in Ihesu Crist his onlich sone oure Lord'

Date: xv in./med.
Origins: Manuscript with Lollard content, then 'purged by orthodox ecclesiastical hands.'[66]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. e. 181, fols. 3v–6r *commentary* W

In prose. Incipit: 'Hyt is sothe þat bileve is grounde of alle virtues and þat for niche cristen man schulde be sadde in byleve'

Date: s. xv in.[67]

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[64] For a description of the manuscript, see Scattergood, *Trinity College*, 160–168.
[65] *LALME*, vol. 1, 77 (LP 7990).
[66] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 1, 34.
[67] Ralph Hanna, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XII, Smaller Bodleian Collections: English miscellaneous, English poetry, English Theology, Finch, Latin Theology, Lyell, Radcliffe Trust* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 12–14.

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, MS 3390, fols. 24r–27r *commentary* W

In prose. Incipit: 'It is soth þat bileve is ground of alle oþer vertues and herfore iche a crysten man scholde be sad in bileve'

Date: s. xv[1]

York, York Minster Library, MS XVI. L. 12, fols. 37v–39v *commentary* W

In prose. Incipit: 'Here bigynneþ þe crede. It is soþ þat bileeve is ground of alle vertues'

Date: s. xv in./med.
Origins: Midland copy interpolated with Lollard opinions, perhaps made for secular priest with such affinities.

Tradition 3: *Quicumque vult* (Athanasian Creed)

Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library, MS 243, fols. 151r–153v *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: 'Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It seyde comunly þat þar ben thre credes'

Date: s. xv[2/4]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.1.10, fols. 243v–244v *verbatim* Q

In prose. Incipit: 'Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus Athanasy. Who ever wole be saaf it is needful bifore alle oþer þingis þat he holde commune bileeve'

Date: s. xiv ex.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 387, fols. 112v–114v *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: 'Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. Wat þat ever wele be saaf it is nedful before al thing þat he holde þe comoun beleve'

Date: s. xv med.

Cambridge, St John's College, MS E. 14, fols. 69v–76r *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: 'Quicunque vult. It is seid comunly that ther ben thre credis'

Date: s. xv med.

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.25, fols. 298r–298v[68] *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: 'Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seid counly þat þer ben þre credes. Þe firste is of þe apostles'

Facsimile: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/B.5.25/UV

Date: s. xv

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70, fols. 171r–173v *verbatim* Q

In prose. Incipit: 'Quicumque vult. Who þat evere wole be saif it is needful bifore alle oþer þingis þat he holde þe comun bileve'

Facsimile: https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/fn107338m?locale=en

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$
Origins: Anonymous scribe came from Bedfordshire, but supposedly worked at a scriptorium in London.

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 195, fols. 105v–107r[69] *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: 'Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia. Who that evere wole be saved it is nedeful before all othir thinges þat he holde comyn bileve'

Date: s. xv med./ex.

Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, MS 92, fols. 315v–318v[70] *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: 'Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seyd comenly þat þer ben thre credes. The fyrst is of þe aposteles þat men knowen comenly'

Date: s. xv ex.[71]

London, British Library, MS Additional 10046, fols. 124r–132r *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: 'quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seid communlii þat þer ben þre credis þe firste is of apostlis þat men knowen comynli'

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[68] Incomplete commentary as leaves 299–300 are lost.
[69] For a description of the manuscript, see Scattergood, *Trinity College*, 107–109.
[70] The canticle *Quicumque vult* ends incomplete.
[71] Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter*, 69.

Date: s. xv in.

London, British Library, MS Harley 1806, fols. 167v–170v *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seyde comunly þat þer ben þre creedis. Þe first is of apostils þat men knowen comunely’

Date: s. xv in.

London, British Library, MS Harley 1896, fols. 109v–110v *macaronic verbatim* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. That who evere wolle be sauf it is nedefull before all other thinges that he holde to comoun bileve’

Date: s. xv$^{2/3}$

London, British Library, MS Yates Thompson 52, fols. 173r–175r *verbatim* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult. Þe crede of Athanasy. Who so þat wol be saaf it is needful bifore alle oþir þingis þat he holde þe comyn bileeve. Quam nisi. Þat but ech man kepe it hool and undefoulid wiþouten ony doute’

Date: s. xv inc./med.[72]

Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 88, fols. 70r–74v[73] *verbatim* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult. Who evere wole be saaf bifore alle þingis hym nediþ þat he holde al þe comyn feiþ’

Facsimile: https://www.digitalcollections.manchester.ac.uk/view/MS-ENGLISH-00088/1

Date: s. xiv^{4}

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 288, fols. 267v–270v *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seid comounli þat þer ben þre credis. Þe first is of apostlis þat men knowen comounly’

[72] The border decorations in MS Yates Thompson 52 can also be found in the Chichele Breviary (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 69) probably copied between 1408 and 1414, when Chichele was bishop of St David’s. This suggests that the manuscript was copied and illuminated in the first half of the fifteenth century. See Kathleen E. Kennedy, *The Courtly and Commercial Art of the Wycliffite Bible* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 100–103.

[73] For a description of the manuscript, see *MMBL*, 3:412.

Date: s. xv

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 877, fols. 159r–160v *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seide comunli þat þer beþ þre credes. Þe first is of apostlis þat men knowen comunly’

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938, fols. 270v–278v *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here bigynneþ Wuicumque vult wiþ þe glose. Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seid comynly þat þere ben þre credis. Þe first is of apostlis þat men knowen comynly’

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 953, p. 495–502 *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. Hit is seyd comunly þat þer ben þre credis. Þe first is of apostelis þat men knowen comunly’

Date: s. xiv/xv

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 258, fols. 39r–46r[74] *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus. Who þat ever wele be saaf it is nedful before althyng þat he hold þe common beleve. It is seyd comounly þat þer ben thre credes’

Date: s. xv in.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 2, fol. 187v *verbatim* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Se now Quicumque vult in engliȝssh þe wiche Attanasy a doctor of greke made.’

Date: 1408[75]

[74] *Commentary* Q in MS Douce 258 is incomplete, as it abruptly ends three-quarter of the way through the creed, and is followed on the same folio by a gospel reading for Easter day.

[75] Solopova, *Manuscripts*, 135.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 174, fols. 31r–37v *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seid comely þat þer ben þre credis. Þe first is of apostolis þat men knowen comounly’

Date: s. xv in.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 448, fols. 156r–158v *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seid comunli þat þer ben þre credis. Þe first if of apostlis þat men knowen comunli’

Date: s. xv med.

Oxford, Magdalen College, MS lat. 52, fols. 274r–280r *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seid comunly þat þer ben þre credes þe first is of apostlis þat men knowen comunlye’

Date: s. xv in.

Oxford, New College, MS 95, fols. 144r–148r *commentary* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. It is seyde communly þat þer ben thre credys, þe first is of apostilis þat men knowen communly’

Date: s. xv in.

Oxford, New College, MS 320, fols. 44v–45r *verbatim* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Who þat ever wil be saaf it is nedful by fore alle oþir þingis that he hold þe comyn bileve. That but iche man kepe it hool and undefoulid wiþouten douȝt’

Date: c. 1500[76]

Oxford, University College, MS 56, fols. 264r–265r[77] *verbatim* Q

[76] Solopova, *Manuscripts of the Wycliffite*, 25.

[77] See description of manuscript in S. J. Ogilvie–Thomson, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist VIII, A Handlist of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 105–107.

In prose. Incipit: ‘Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat cartholicam fidem. Who so wol be saaf before alle þinges it is nedeful þat he holde riȝt feiþ’

Date: s. xv[1]

San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 501, fols. 110v–112r *verbatim* Q

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here bigynneþ Quicumque vult salvus esse. Who þat ever wole be saaf it is nedeful bifore alle oþer þingis þat he holde þe comyn bileve’

Date: s. xv[1/2]

Tradition 4 (a): The Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed among miscellaneous creeds

Oxford, University College, MS 179, fols. 96r–96v

In prose. Incipit: ‘Y be leve yn God fadyr al myȝtty maker of hevyn and of erþe and of al sceabyl and unsceabyl and yn o Lord Ihesu Cryst þe onely begetyn sen of God’

Date: 1400–1425

Tradition 4 (b): The fourteen articles

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fols. 95v–96r *gloss*

In prose. Incipit: ‘The ferst point is how I schuld stedfastly trowe in the godhede and byleve sothfastly in oo God and in non oþer to trowe inne’

Date: xv med.
Origins: possible connection with East Anglian secular priests.

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 211, fols. 226r–226v *versified gloss*

DIMEV: 5197

In verse. Incipit: ‘Þe artyculus of þe fay/ Tech þi perichones þus and sey/ Þat seven pertenet to þe godhedde/ And seven to þe manhedde’

Date: 1430–1470
Origins: ownership mark on folio 225r, ‘Iste liber constat H. trabbulj.’

Durham, Durham University Library, MS Cosin V. iv. 2, fols. 134v–135v *gloss*

In prose. Incipit: ‘These er þe xiiii articles of þe trouth þat all men suld stedfastly nowe and seven pertenen to þe God hede and seven to þe man hede of owr Lord Ihesu Crist’

Date: 1477
Origins: Secular priest’s volume, or possibly linked to a Carmelite anchorite in Norwich.[78]

Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 512, fols. 25v–28r[79] *gloss*

In prose. Incipit: ‘Þes ben articlis of bileve. Also it were to knew þe fourteen articlis þat longeþ…’

Date: 1400–1425[80]

London, British Library, MS Harley 172, fol. 18r *gloss*

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here bethe xiiii artycles of the feythe in holy chyrche the whiche vii longethe unto the Godhede and vii unto the manhede’

Date: s. xv[4]

London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fols. 130r–140v *gloss*

In prose. Incipit: ‘What ys feyth? Feyþ as Poul seyþ is þe substaunce holly of alle þyng þat longeþ to byleve’

Date: s. xv[1]
Origins: Gloucestershire, dialectal affiliation with area of Mitcheldean.[81]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, fols. 222v–224r *LFC*

In prose. Incipit: ‘Hic incipient quatuordecim articuli fidei, unde septem pertinent ad deitatem, septem ad humanitatem. Also I pray to almyghti God and to our Lady Seynt Mary and to all the seyntes in heven mercy and foryevenesse’

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[78] Pattwell, ‘Canons and Catechisms,’ 384. Pattwell offers a different narrative than *LALME*, see, in this appendix, fn. 43.

[79] The creed in MS Hunter 512 is incomplete as it stands. It misses the first seven articles on the Godhead, as folio 26 has been torn. The tear could be related with article six which affirms belief in the sacraments. However, the initial choice of the fourteen articles in a primer over the more common Athanasian Creed in such context, reinforces the bilingual primer’s desire to abide by the Latinity of the liturgy. See the similar case of Oxford, University College, MS 179 above. For a description of the manuscript, see John Young, P. Henderson Aitken, et al., *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1908), 419–420.

[80] Raymo, ‘Works,’ 2510.

[81] *LALME*, vol. 1, 112 (LP 7200).

Date: s. xv$^{3/4}$
Origins: Possible scribal affiliation with Herefordshire.[82]

John Mirk's *Instructions to Parish Priests*, l. 454–525 *versified*

London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. II, fols. 134v–135v
London, British Library, MS Royal 17. C. XVII, fols. 70r–70v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60, fols. 156r–157v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 103, fols. 129r–130v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Greaves 57, fols. 10v–12r

In verse. Incipit: 'The artykeles of the fey/Teche þy paresch þus and sey:/ That seuene [perteyneth] to dyuynyte,/ And vii to the humanyte'

Edition: John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Gillis Kristensson (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1974), 92–95, 188–190.

Date: s. xiv ex.
Origins: Lilleshall Abbey, Shropshire.

***The Lay Folks' Catechism*, l. 74–165**[83] *commentary*

In prose. Incipit: 'Oure fadir þe erchebisshop, of his godenes,/ Has ordened and biden þat þai be shewid/ Openly on Inglishe omanges þe folke./ Wharefore anence þe first of þir sex thingis/ Þat is to knawe þe articlis þat fallis to þe trouth,/ Ad grete clerkis techis and shewis in þair bokis'

Editions: Pamela Greg, *'"The Lay Folks' Catechism": An Edition*,' PhD Dissertation, The University of Nottingham, 2018, 168–171; *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, ed. Thomas

[82] Doyle, 'Survey,' vol. 2, 15.

[83] To trace the variants of the creed in the *Lay Folks' Catechism* and its twenty-six manuscripts is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study. Here are the manuscripts and their foliation for the whole *LFC*, rather than merely for the creed: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 6686, p. 362–364; Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.12.39, fols. 1v–2v; Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.5.40, fols. 117v–119r; Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.9, fols. 95v–96r; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 55, fols. 41r–47v; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.10.12, fols. 56r–67r; Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, MS 91, fols., 213v–218v; London, British Library, MS Additional 24202, fols. 35v–36v; London, British Library, MS Additional 25006, fols. 1r–9v; London, British Library, MS Arundel 507, fols. 50r–54r; London, British Library, MS Harley 1022, fols. 66r–73v; London, British Library, MS Harley 6615, fols. 127v–140v; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 408, fols. 1r–17r; Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 60; New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 317, fols. 21v–22r, 30v–34r; Nottingham, Nottingham University Library, MS Middleton LM 9, fols. 248r–256r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789, fols. 51v–68v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. c. 13, fols. 162v–165v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 274, fols. 1r–17v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. e. 181, fols. 6r–10v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 285, fols. 61v–62r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 288, fols. 85r–91r; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155, fols. 239r–250v; Oxford, Queen's College, MS 398B, fragments 24, 25; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, MS 3390, fols. 37v–52v; Tokyo, Keio University, MS 9, fols. 3v–9v; York, Borthwick Institute Register, MS 11, fols. 295r–297v. For a full description of these manuscripts, see Greg, 'The Lay Folks' Catechism,' 5–80.

Frederick Simmons, and Henry Edward Nolloth, EETS O.S. 118 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and CO., 1901), 14–18.

Date: c. 1357
Origins: Mandate by Archbishop of York, John Thoresby requests 'dompno J. de Gaitrik, monacho' to translate the tenets of the faith into Middle English.

Memoriale Credencium *commentary*

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.1.1, fols. 288v–289v[84]
London, British Library, MS Harley 535, fols. 95v–97r
London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fols. 57v–58v
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 201, fols. 89r–90r

In prose. Incipit: 'Of þe bileve þer buþ fourtene articles of which sevene beþ of þe godhed, and sevene beþ of cristis manhed. The furst articul of þe godhed is to bileve þat þe fadur and þe son and þe holy goste beþ þre persons and o God'

Edition: J. H. L. Kengen, *Memoriale Credencium: A Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay People Edited from Bodley MS Tannner 201* (PhD Dissertation, Nijmegen, 1979), 201–203.

Date: s. xv$^{1/2}$

Sacerdos parochialis[85] *macaronic*

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.12.69, fols. 25v–26v
Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 285, fols. 51v–52v
London, British Library, MS Additional 10053, fols. 100r–115r
London, British Library, MS Burney 356, fols. 44r–44v
London, British Library, MS Harley 4172, fols. 2r–3r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 110, fols. 155v–156r
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 913, fols. 10v–11r
Oxford, Trinity College, MS 7, fols. 165v–166v

In prose. Incipit: 'Sequitur symbolum fidei. Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem. I beleve in God fadir almighty þe maister of sentence seiþ'

Edition: Niamh Pattwell, '*Sacerdos Parochialis* Edited from British Library MS Burney 356 & *Exornatorium Curatorum* Edited from *Cambridge Corpus Christi Sp.335.2*,' (PhD dissertation, Trinity College Dublin, 2003).

Date: s xv in.

[84] Folio 288 is missing from the manuscript, and the creed begins in the middle of the second article.
[85] London, British Library, MS Additional 10036 and London, British Library, MS Royal 1. A. X both contain *Sacerdos Parochialis*, however, they do not include the macaronic fourteen articles.

Tradition 4 (c): *A Short Declaration of Belief*

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.74, fols. 26v–32r

In prose. Incipit: 'Here sueþ a schort declaracyoun of byleve in generalle. Also touchynge þe crede we schal undirstonde þre maners of bileeve'

Facsimile: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/O.1.74/UV#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0

Date: s. xv
Origins: London

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 9v–10r *abbreviated*

In prose. Incipit: 'Here sueth a short declaracion of beleve in generall. Also touching the crede, we shull undyrstond iii maneres of beleve.'

Facsimile: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.3.21/UV#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=241&r=0&xywh=935%2C-109%2C1925%2C1320

Date: 1474–1477

Durham, Durham Cathedral Library, MS A. iv. 22, p. 103[86]

Date: s. xv in.
Origins: London, dialectal affiliation with Huntingdonshire.[87]

Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 85, fols. 24v–25v *abbreviated*

In prose. Incipit: 'Here sueþ þe secunde tyme of a short declaracioun of bileeve in general. Also touchinge þe crede, we shal undirstonde þre maners of bileeve'

Facsimile: https://www.digitalcollections.manchester.ac.uk/view/MS-ENGLISH-00085/1

Date: s. xiv ex./xv in.
Origins: Ownership mark on fol. 83v 'Iste liber constat Iohanni Ade Cum magno gaudio et honore.'

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 23, fols. 60v–61r *abbreviated*

[86] Unfortunately, I have not been able to access this manuscript, and therefore cannot provide an incipit.

[87] *LALME*, vol. 1, 78 (LP 461).

In prose. Incipit: ‘Here sueþ a schort declaracioun of bileve in general. Also as touching þe crede we schulen understonde þre mannes of beleeve’

Date: s. xv in./med.
Origins: London.[88]

[88] Kelly, and Perry, ‘“Citizens of Saints”,’ 223.

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