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PROMOTING AND POLICING RELIGIOUS SPECULATION: THE VERNACULAR LITERATURE OF THE CARMELITE ORDER IN MEDIIEVAL ENGLAND

Bergström-Allen Johan

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**PROMOTING AND POLICING RELIGIOUS SPECULATION:
THE VERNACULAR LITERATURE OF
THE CARMELITE ORDER IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND**



Johan Bergström-Allen

Doctoral Thesis – Université de Lausanne – 2017



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The Vernacular Literature of
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Cover image:

A Carmelite friar brandishing books.

Opening initial of a fourteenth-century (?) manuscript copy of Gerard of Bologna.

Rome, Centro Internazionale Sant'Alberto (CISA), Archives of the Carmelite Order, Ms. II PERS 27 (2), fo. 1.

THESIS SUMMARY

This thesis highlights the role of Carmelite friars in the composition and circulation of religious texts in the vernacular in late medieval England, a mission undertood with energy but also consternation, because of the vexed religious and social climate of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A particular theological concern to the Carmelites were the teachings of Oxford theologian John Wyclif (c.1328-84) and his ‘Lollard’ followers. Carmelite writers of ‘vernacular theology’ in the years 1375-1450 trod a fine line in balancing their Order’s reputation for, on the one hand, promoting religious renewal, and on the other hand the rooting out of heresy.

The first two chapters set out the context in which medieval English Carmelite writers and their audiences lived. Chapter One considers the interactions between Carmelites and pious laypeople, notably the testimony offered by Margery Kempe (c.1373-1438+) in her *Book*, and the symbolic imagery contained in the so-called *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*. Chapter Two surveys early Carmelite history and historiography, with a particular focus on the Whitefriars’ approach to vernacularity, apostolate, education, and bibliographic culture.

The following chapters present in roughly chronological order the Carmelites known to have written in the vernacular, making reference to others who may have done so, or had a demonstrable interest in vernacular theology. Each Carmelite is first put in his social and literary context, before his life and work are considered. Chapter Three presents Carmelite theologian Richard Maidstone (d. 1396), comparing his Latin works with his Middle English poem *The Penitential Psalms*. Chapter Four considers parallel interests in the *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* by Richard Lavenham (fl. 1399). Chapter Five considers the work of Thomas Ashburne and Richard Spalding, and a manuscript scribe who may well have been an East Midlands Carmelite. Chapter Six concerns Richard Misyn, who in the 1430s translated into English the *De Emendatio Vitae* and *Incendium Amoris* by Richard Rolle of Hampole (c.1290-1349), clearly articulating in a preface addressed to an anchorite the tension Whitefriars felt in promoting and policing religious thought in the vernacular. Misyn’s work is compared with confrere Thomas Fishlake, who translated Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection* into Latin. Chapter Seven examines Thomas Scrope’s activities as a writer, translator, bibliophile, and promoter of Carmelite spirituality in both the Latin and English languages.

The conclusion traces the extraordinary experience of Carmelite Provincial John Milverton, provides a broad chronological survey of major themes and individuals, and presents a broad resumé of findings, suggesting areas for further research.

Appended to the thesis are: a chronology of Carmelite vernacular writers in medieval England; a list of their surviving, lost, doubtful, and rejected writings, including all known manuscripts, editions, and translations; the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert* in Latin and Modern English versions; and a comprehensive bibliography.

Richard Rolle, *Incendium Amoris*, Chapter 5

<i>Latin</i>	<i>Middle English translation of the Latin</i>	<i>Modern English translation of the Latin</i>
<p>Unde iam plures in tanto incendio sciencie non amoris flagrant, quod penitus quid sit amor uel cuius saporis sit ignorent. Cum tocius studii sui ad hunc finem deberent extendere ut in diuino amore possint ardere. Proh pudor, uetula plus experitur de Dei amore et minus de mundi uoluptate quam theologus, cuius studium uanum est, quia pro uanitate studet ut sciatur et gloriosus appareat, ut redditus et dignitates adquirat qui stultus non doctus meretur reputari.</p>	<p>Wharfore many now sauours in so mykyll in brynnynge of connyng, and no3t of lufe, þat playnly what luf is, or of what sauour, þai know no3t, þof all þer laboure of all þer stody þame aght to sprede vnto þis ende þat þai my3t byrne in goddis lufe. Alas, for schame! an olde wyfe of goddis lufe is more expert, and les of warldly likynge, þen þe grete devin, whos stody is vayne; ffor why, for vanite he studys, þat he glorius may apere, and so be knawen, þat rentis and dignites he mo gett; þe whilk a foyle, and not wis, is worþi to be halden.</p>	<p>Nowadays too many are consumed with a desire for knowledge rather than for love, so that they scarcely know what love is or what is its delight. Yet all their study should have been directed to this end, so that they might be consumed with the love of God as well. Shame on them! An old woman can be more expert in the love of God – and less worldly too – than your theologian with his useless studying. He does it for vanity, to get a reputation, to obtain stipends and official positions. Such a fellow ought to be entitled not ‘Doctor’ but ‘Fool’!</p>
<p>Deanesley edition, 160.</p>	<p>Misyn translation (ed.) Harvey, 13.</p>	<p>Clifton Walters translation, 61.</p>



Decoration of a choir book with Carmelite saint and praying donor, created by illuminator Pacino di Bonaguida. Body colour on parchment, 26.4 x 8.2 cm. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Min 6059.

DEDICATION

To my Carmelite Family,
past, present, and future,
and in thanksgiving to Mary,
Our Lady of Mount Carmel and of Einsiedeln.

COMMENTS AND CORRECTIONS

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ABBREVIATIONS

Andrews, *The Other Friars*

Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006).

Bale, *Catalogus*

John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant: Catalogus*, 2 vols (Basel, 1557-59, reprinted Farnborough, Hampshire: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1971).

Bale, *Index*

John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum (John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers)* (eds.) Reginald Lane Poole, Mary Bateson, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series*, 9 (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1902, reissued with new introduction by Caroline Brett, James P. Carley, (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990).

Bale, *Summarium*

John Bale, *Illustrium maioris Britannie Scriptorum ... Summarium* (Wesel, 1548).

Calendar of Papal Letters

Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland – Papal Letters, 19 vols (London and Dublin: 1893-).

Copsey, *Biographical Register*

Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register of Carmelites in England and Wales 1240-1540* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming).

Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3*

Copsey, Richard, *Carmel in Britain 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2004).

DNB

Dictionary of National Biography, 21 volumes plus supplements (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1882 onwards, reprinted).

Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*

Vincent Gillespie, 'Chichele's Church: Vernacular Theology in England after Thomas Arundel', in Vincent Gillespie, Kantik Ghosh (eds.), *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, *Medieval Church Studies* 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 3-42.

Handbook of British Chronology

E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, I. Roy (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Third Edition, 1996).

IMEP (Index of Middle English Prose) / IMEV (Index of Middle English Verse); NIMEV (New Index); DIMEV (Digital Index)

Index of Middle English Prose, 20 vols to date (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984-). Carleton Brown, Rossell Hope Robbins, (eds.), *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943); Rossell Hope Robbins, John L. Cutler, (eds.) *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); online version at www.dimev.net.

De Instytucionys

Valerie Edden (ed.), *De Instytucionys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys: Edited from London, Lambeth Palace, MS 192*, Middle English Texts 54 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016).

Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*

Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Lagorio *et al*, 'English Mystical Writings'

J. Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), vol 9 – Part 23 (1993): Valerie M. Lagorio, Michael G. Sargent (with Ritamary Bradley), 'English Mystical Writings'.

(e-)LALME

Angus McIntosh, Michael Benskin, Margaret Laing, M. L. Samuels, Keith Williamson, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986); electronic version online at <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>.

ODNB

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), with subsequent updates available online at www.oxforddnb.com.

Patrologia latina

Jacques-Paul Migne, (ed.), *Patrologia latina* [*Patrologiæ cursus completus ... Series Latina*] 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844-55). Available online via: Google Books; <http://patristica.net/latina/>; www.archive.org; <http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>.

P.R.O.

Public Record Office, now part of The National Archives at Kew, London.

Reg.

Register (normally of a bishop, whose name follows)

S.C.

Summary Catalogue

Smet, *The Carmelites*

Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites – A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Volume I, ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, revised edition 1988).

Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*

Adrian Staring (ed.), *Medieval Carmelite Heritage: Early Reflections on the Nature of the Order*, Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 16 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989).

STC

A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, (eds.), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books printed abroad 1475-1640*, (1926), second edition revised by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, K. F. Pantzer, 3 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976-91).

TNA

The National Archives of the United Kingdom at Kew, London.

van Zutphen, *Litil Tretys*

J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956).

Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*

Bartolomé Maria Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus Scholasticis Saeculi XIV ex Ordine Carmelitarum*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Fascicule 6 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1931).

Introduction: THE CARMELITE TEXTUAL COMMUNITY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Two thyngys owyth every clerk
 To advertysyn, begynnyng a werk,
 If he procedyn wyl ordeneelly;
 The fyrste is “what,” the secunde is “why.”

Friar Osbern Bokenham, O.S.A.

Prologue to *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* (1443-47)¹

The aim of this thesis is to highlight the role played by the Carmelite friars (also known as Whitefriars) in the composition and circulation of religious texts in the vernacular in late medieval England, as part of the Order’s wider commitment to its contemplative charism of promoting the life of prayer, both within the fraternity and more broadly in the spiritual education of the laity, through writing and preaching, a missionary task of evangelisation that Carmelites undertook with great energy but also considerable consternation because of the vexed religious and social climate of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In an age when the writing, reading and circulation of certain religious texts, particularly those in English, could be taken as indication of heretical leanings, and indeed was legislated against by episcopal authority in 1407, the medieval Carmelite writers of ‘vernacular theology’ – a modern term that will need careful nuancing – trod a fine line over the *longue durée* in balancing their Order’s reputation for, on the one hand, promoting religious renewal (ideas such as contemplation, mysticism, popular piety, asceticism, prayer, and eremitism), and on the other hand the rooting out of heresy and the suppression of theological speculation among those the Church’s hierarchy deemed unequal to the task.

In the three quarters of a century between 1375-1450, the Carmelites were keen to use the vernacular ‘mother tongue’ when they felt it would help them achieve their goal of promoting the meditative element of the Christian life. Though one of the smaller mendicant orders, and constantly striving in the medieval period to establish their identity and defend their legitimacy, in the years

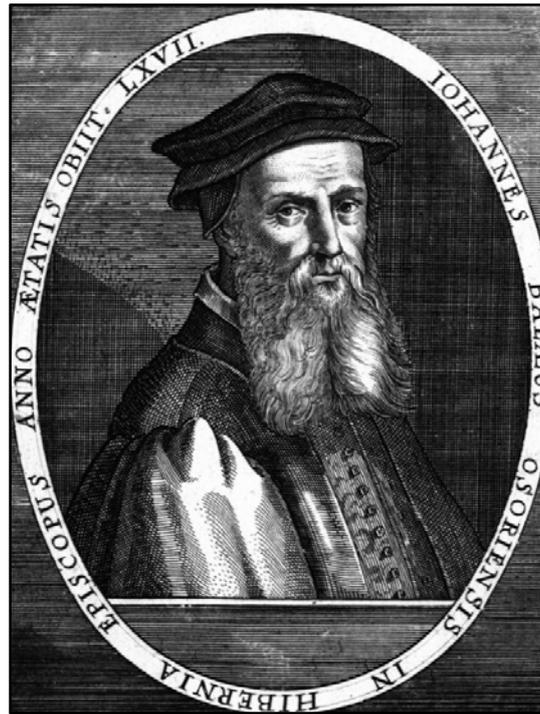
¹ Osbern Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* (ed.) Mary S. Serjeantson, Early English Text Society Original Series 206 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938 for 1936), 1. Quoted in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 66, lines 1-4. See also: Osbern Bokenham, *A Legend of Holy Women: A Translation of Osbern Bokenham’s Legendys of Holy Women* (trans.) Sheila Delany, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992).

1375-1450 the Carmelites were probably at their most numerous and influential in England. Today the Carmelites are established as one of the most significant ecclesiastical institutions and spiritual traditions within the Western Christian Church. Christianity is a faith dedicated to proclaiming ‘The Word’, spoken and written, and Carmelites have played a major role in producing a body of writings that participate in this mission. The legacy in this area of the sixteenth-century Spanish Carmelites Teresa of Jesus (of Avila) and John of the Cross is well known, but this thesis focuses upon the vernacular – specifically English – literature produced before them by Carmelite individuals and communities in late medieval England, and argues for these to be accorded a more prominent place in our understanding of the development of English religious writing, and in the cultural patrimony of the Order.

From the time of the Carmelites’ arrival in England in 1242 until their suppression during the English Reformation of the 1530s, the Whitefriars produced over 1,200 known written works, predominantly in Latin. John Bale (1495-1563) was a Carmelite friar before becoming a Protestant polemicist and eventually a post-Reformation bishop. Bale was a keen antiquarian, and his notes are a major source of information about the medieval Carmelites.² Bale observed of the Order: ‘That so

² Amongst numerous critical studies of John Bale and his bibliographic activities see: John N. King, ‘Bale, John (1495–1563)’, *ODNB*; Peter Happé, *John Bale* (New York: Twayne, 1996); Oliver Wort, *John Bale and Religious Conversion in Reformation England*, *Religious Cultures in the Early Modern World*, 11 (London: Pickering and Chatto, reprinted Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); James P. Carley, ‘The dispersal of the monastic libraries and the salvaging of the spoils’, in Elisabeth Leedham-Green, Teresa Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I To 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 265-91; James P. Carley, ‘“Cum excuterem puluerem et blattas”: John Bale, John Leland, and the *Chronicon Tinemutensis coenobii*’, in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 163-87; Susan Royal, ‘Historian or Prophet? John Bale’s Perception of the Past’, in Peter D. Clarke, Charlotte Methuen (eds.), *The Church on its Past*, *Studies in Church History* 49 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press for The Ecclesiastical History Society, 2013), 156-67; James Simpson, *The Oxford English Literary History – Volume 2: Reform and Cultural Revolution 1350-1547* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), especially 564-65, and the opening chapter on ‘The Melancholy of John Leland and the Beginnings of English Literary History’; Anne Hudson, ‘*Visio Baleii*: An Early Literary Historian’, in Helen Cooper, Sally Mapstone (eds.), *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 313-29; Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 234-5, 244, 272 n., 328; John Leland, *Commentarii De Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1709), 434-5; Brett and Carley’s introduction [xi-xviii] to John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum (John Bale’s Index of British and Other Writers)* (eds.) Reginald Lane Poole, Mary Bateson, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series*, 9 (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1902, reissued with new introduction by Caroline Brett, James P. Carley, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990); J. Christopher Warner, *John Bale’s Catalogue of Tudor Authors: An Annotated Translation of Records from the Scriptorum illustrium maioris brytanniae ... Catalogue (1557-1559)*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 375 (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2010); Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, *Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin*, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), Entry 576, 210-11; W. T. Davies, ‘A Bibliography of John Bale’, *Oxford Bibliographical Society: Proceedings and Papers*, V (1936-9), 201-79; Richard Copsey, ‘The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings’, *Carmelus*, 43 (1996), 175-224 [188-202]; Richard Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham: Saint Albert’s Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2004), *passim*; and forthcoming *Biographical Register of Carmelites in England and Wales 1240-1540*, introductory notes and entry on Bale. For a full listing of Bale’s works, including his Protestant compositions, see: W. T. Davies, ‘A Bibliography of John Bale’, *Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings and Papers*, 5 (1940) (4) 203-279. Of particular note among Bale’s manuscript writings on Carmelite literature in medieval England are: *Anglorum Heliades*, a history of the English

many learned divines and erudite writers should have followed each other so quickly and within so short a time and from within such a small fraternity seems almost miraculous, like the rhinoceros's nose.³ Whether referring to an actual rhinoceros or a miraculous unicorn (the term is ambiguous in early usage), Bale was clearly deeply impressed by the prolific and prestigious nature of Carmelite literary accomplishment in England.



John Bale, source of much information about the Carmelites of medieval England.⁴

Carmelite province written in 1536, now extant in a scribal copy corrected by Bale up to 1529 and a transcript c.1715 both in the British Library (Mss. Harley 3838, fo. 3-117, Harley 7031); *De preclaris ordinis Carmeli scriptoribus...*, a catalogue of Carmelite writers from 1200 onwards, written c.1536-38 (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 156-256); and notebooks with excerpts from various Carmelite works (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1819, and Ms. Cotton Titus D. x., fo. 101-194; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, Ms. Selden supra 41, and Ms. Selden supra 72). A description of each is given in John P. H. Clark, 'Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology and the English Contemplative Tradition', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, Volume V*, 1992 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), 1-16 [8 n. 47].

³ 'Miraculo namque asribi poterit rhinocerontis nasum habentibus tot Theologos totque eruditos Scriptores, in tam parva morula, tempore tam stricto, tamque exiguo familiaritio floruisse.' John Bale, *Anglorum Heliades*, in London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 5. Translated in 'The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings', in Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3*, 341-429 [341]. This article by Copsey gives a comprehensive listing of Carmelite texts from medieval England. A complete modern English translation of Bale's *Anglorum Heliades* has been prepared by Richard Copsey for his collection of *Early Carmelite Documents* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming).

⁴ This engraving on copper by Klemens Ammon, c.1650, in *John Bale (1495-1563), Dramatiker, Theologe*, obtained from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Bale1.JPG> [accessed 11th March 2016]. Other images include a line engraving by Passe in the British Museum, reproduced in H. Holland, *Herōologia* (1620), and engravings reproduced as frontispieces in Peter Happé (ed.), *The Complete Plays of John Bale*, 2 vols, Tudor Interludes Series (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985-86, reprinted 2011).

A selection of highlights from this impressive corpus of writing justifies Bale's admiration of the Carmelite Order's literary and bibliographic prowess: Roger Alban's (d. c.1453+) *Progenies regum Brytanniae*, a chronological tracing of descent from Adam, through Christ, to the popes, emperors, and kings of England down to Henry VI; academic *Questiones* between Carmelites and other scholars at Oxford and Cambridge; the astronomical writings of mathematician John Avon (d. 1349) and Nicholas of Lynn (fl. 1386); John Baconthorpe's (d. 1345+) commentaries on the Scriptures and histories of the Order; Nicholas Cantelupe's (d. 1441) legendary history of Cambridge University; Robert Populton's (d. 1368) collection of texts on Scottish history; William Coventry's (fl. 1340/60) histories of the Order in England; John Haynton's (fl. 1446) sermons; John Hothby's (d. 1487) music and treatises on counterpoint and notation; John Keninghale's (d. 1451) sermon at the Council of Basle; John Kynyngham's (d. 1399) statements against John Wyclif; Richard Lavenham's (d. 1399+) philosophical treatises; Alan of Lynn's (d. 1432+) scholarly tables and indices; Richard Tenet's (fl. 1421) *tractate* on the medicinal uses of herbs; and Thomas Netter's (d. 1430) magisterial defence of Catholic teaching, the *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei ecclesiae Catholicae*.⁵ This substantial body of texts demonstrates the culture of learning and climate of spirituality which the pre-Reformation Carmelite Order sought to promote within its own ranks and in the wider world.

Hidden amid this 'almost miraculous' prolific output of largely scholastic writings in Latin, half a dozen Carmelite texts in the English language have survived the ravages of time, what we might dub just the 'tip' of the rhinoceros' nose! Though deprived of much scholarly attention over the centuries, these vernacular texts are as informative as their Latin contemporaries in revealing the interests and concerns of medieval Carmelite writers, their communities, and their audiences.

These vernacular texts, their authors, and audiences are the focus of this thesis, which begins with a chapter that uses the example of Margery Kempe, a pious laywoman in fifteenth-century East Anglia, to highlight some of the issues of promoting and policing religious speculation that faced the Carmelite Order in late medieval England. The first chapter also considers the notion of 'vernacularity', and specifically 'vernacular theology', to place this thesis within the broader academic trends of recent times.

The second chapter presents information about the historical development of the Carmelite Order with a particular focus upon its ministries and bibliographic activities, set against some of the major cultural, political, and social issues within English society generally in the dodranscentennial period

⁵ Some of these Carmelites will receive further consideration in due course of this thesis. Most have entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [henceforth *ODNB*]. For an analysis of the major features of Carmelite history and spirituality that emerge in the Order's literary output of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see: Emanuele Boaga, 'Tra Storia e Spiritualità: gli autori Carmelitani medievali', in Fernando Millán Romeral (ed.), *In Labore Requies*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana Volumen 26 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2007), 63-73.

1375-1450. Setting Carmelite writings within the context of the Order's history and spirituality is particularly illuminating, and hitherto rarely done because of most literary scholars' relative ignorance of the Carmelite tradition.

In the chapters which follow I address the six medieval English Carmelites known to have written in the vernacular, making reference to others who may have done so, or who had a demonstrable interest in vernacular theology. In each instance, the Carmelite is first put in his social and literary context, before considering his life and work. The Whitefriars are presented in roughly chronological order of their vernacular writings.

Most likely the earliest surviving vernacular text by an English Carmelite, produced about 1375, is *The Seven Penitential Psalms* of Richard Maidstone (d. 1396), who is the subject of Chapter Three of this thesis. Maidstone has been better known among medievalists for his Latin poem celebrating the 'reconciliation' between the City of London and King Richard II, and for his sermon against the Wycliffite cleric John Ashwardby. This sermon was delivered in Oxford, where Maidstone was most likely a contemporary of the second Carmelite known to have written in English, Richard Lavenham (d. 1399+) who is the focus of Chapter Four of this thesis. His *Littel Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* survives in more manuscripts than any other vernacular Carmelite text (an eighteenth came to light c.2007).

By contrast, there is now no known copy of the longer vernacular writings penned by Carmelite Thomas Ashburne (fl. 1384), though there is one extant copy of a short allegorical poem attributed to him, beginning *Lyst you all gret and smale, I shall yow tell a lytell tale*. Likewise, only one copy survives of an alliterative *Hymn to Saint Katherine* composed by friar Richard Spalding sometime around 1399, seemingly written for a guild in the East Midlands. Ashburne and Spalding will be considered in Chapter Five.

Questions of audience will also be significant in Chapter Six on Richard Misyn (d. 1462). His *De Mendynge of Lyfe* and *De Fyer of Lufe*, both translations of works by northern holy man Richard Rolle, were intended for a more limited audience (at least initially), specifically an anchorite in York, Margaret Heslyngton. His confrere Thomas Fishlake produced a translation in the other direction, making Walter Hilton's Middle English *Scale of Perfection* available to a wider Latin-reading audience.

The anchoritic vocation was adopted for many years by the last known Carmelite author of vernacular literature, and the subject of Chapter Seven, Bishop Thomas Scrope (d. 1492), who undertook to translate the *Decem Libri* of fellow Carmelite Felip Ribot as *Pe Instytucionys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys*.

The conclusion will draw together issues highlighted in the course of the thesis by looking at the case of the unfortunate Carmelite Provincial John Milverton. The thesis concludes by pointing out some of the links between Carmelite vernacular writers, and making suggestions for further research.

Manuscripts and modern editions relating to these texts will be referred to when appropriate and are listed in an appendix to this thesis. For fear of being accused of making outlandish claims on behalf of the Order (I would not be the first!) I have restricted my considerations to texts which are generally acknowledged by scholarly consensus to be ‘Carmelite’ in origin, though it is my hope that this initial exploration of the general terrain of medieval Carmelite vernacular literature will establish some guideposts which will allow future scholars to better recognise the characteristic features of the Order’s literary output and thus perhaps attribute hitherto anonymous works to the possibility of Carmelite provenance with some greater certainty.

Interesting though they are, and meriting further attention, I have not considered within this thesis texts which are of demonstrably Carmelite origin, translated from Latin into the vernacular, but which are not known to have been translated by Carmelites themselves, such as the Middle English reworking (c.1400) of German Carmelite Johannes de Hildesheim’s *Historia Trium Regum* (*Three Kings of Cologne*),⁶ and Alexander Barclay’s 1515 translation into English verse part of a *Life of Saint George* from the *Eclogues* by the Carmelite Baptist Spagnoli of Mantua.⁷

My methodology in this thesis will be to examine each author in his own right, as well as part of the wider textual community of his Order and the religious and cultural context of late medieval England to consider how the Carmelites both promoted and policed religious reflection. Examining the contribution of each Carmelite known to have written in English, I will study the vernacular texts individually within their social and literary context, respecting the idiosyncrasies of each whilst testing the networks and issues which connect them. I will analyse the contents of the text to a greater or lesser degree; of equal significance, however, will be any contextual information that can be drawn

⁶ *The Three Kings of Cologne: An early English translation of the “Historia Trium Regum” by John of Hildesheim* (ed.) Carl Horstmann, Early English Text Society Original Series 85 (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1886). Hildesheim (1310/20-75) generated a broad literary opus of poetic, theological, and philosophical works. Some modern historians question the attribution of the *Historia Trium Regum* to Hildesheim, but the subject matter is of obvious appeal to a member of a religious order interested in its Holy Land roots and professed antiquity. Hildesheim is widely accepted as the author of writings in defence of the Carmelite Order (*Dialogus inter directorem et detractorem de ordine Carmelitarum*), and a treatise on the nature of life known as *The Mirror of the Source of Life*. On Hildesheim see: ‘Ioanes de Hildesheim’ in Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 326-94; Alexander Markus Schilling, *Mögliches, Unwahrscheinliches, Fabelhaftes: Die “Historia trium regum” des Johannes von Hildesheim und ihre orientalischen Quellen*, Jenaer mediävistische Vorträge 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014). In Chapter 4 I will briefly consider the suggestion that Richard Lavenham may have translated excerpts of Hildesheim’s *Historia Trium Regum*.

⁷ Alexander Barclay, *The Life of St. George* (ed.) William Nelson, Early English Text Society Original Series 230 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).

out about what might be conveniently (if simplistically) broken down into the *Eight Cs* (my own term) of medieval textual culture:

Commissioning: who requests a text and why

Composition: the writing or translation of a text

Creation: the production of texts by scribes and scriptoria

Contact: the reception, reading, or performance of a text

Compilation: the placing of texts alongside each other in a manuscript or book

Collection: the amassing of texts in libraries, by individuals or institutions

Circulation: disseminating texts between individuals and communities

Control/Censorship: setting limits on access to texts⁸

In terms of the wider textual community served by texts in the vernacular, I will analyse what Carmelite literature can tell us about the nature of the vernacular as a tool of both socio-theological unity and division in medieval communities, both religious and secular.

In the course of this thesis I hope to cast light on one aspect of the Carmelite Order's prominence in medieval cultural history, namely as promoters and policers of religious thought and practice. Analysis of half a dozen texts cannot construct a comprehensive literary history of the Carmelite Order in England, but can be a contribution towards such a study which would be beneficial, given the place that medieval Carmelite literature merits both among present-day Carmelites, and among medievalists of several disciplines.

⁸ Useful introductions to many of these issues of medieval textual cultures include: Alexandra Gillespie, Daniel Wakelin (eds.), *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Michael Johnston, Michael Van Dussen (eds.), *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).



A medieval glass roundel depicting an unknown Carmelite Doctor of Theology in the library of Queens' College, Cambridge, formerly a Carmelite friary. I find this image emblematic of the Whitefriars in my study: though we cannot put a name to the face of this anonymous Carmelite – perhaps it depicts one of the authors considered in this thesis – the legacy of the medieval Carmelites continues to cast light and shade in the world.⁹

⁹ 'In the century before the Reformation, at least, the English White Friars, in following the example already set by the Dominicans, were commonly using the roundel form, but probably without naming their exemplars': Hilary Wayment, 'Ten Carmelite roundels at Queen's College Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 82 (1994 for 1993), 139-56 [155].

Chapter One: SITUATING MEDIEVAL ENGLISH CARMELITE TEXTS IN CONTEXT (PART 1) – THE CASE OF MARGERY KEMPE, AND THE GROWTH OF THE VERNACULAR

This thesis aspires to demonstrate that Carmelite friars in late medieval England were simultaneously keen yet also anxious to promote religious devotion and theological speculation amongst their own Order and the broader Church through a variety of means, including the production and circulation of texts in English that constitute an attempt to articulate ‘vernacular theology’ (a term to be defined in the course of this chapter). Writing both catechetical and meditative texts in a variety of styles – including the affective and ruminative, prose and verse – Whitefriars used the vernacular to encourage and explore both the basics of Christian doctrine as well as more complex and sophisticated spiritual experiences.

To sketch out the parameters of this hypothesis, this introductory chapter and the next will set out the context in which medieval English Carmelite writers and their audiences lived. I will begin by presenting the information we can learn about Carmelite promotion and prohibition of vernacular theology from a particular case-study: the testimony offered by the pious fifteenth-century East Anglian laywoman Margery Kempe in her *Book*. This autobiography written in the third-person casts light on many of the most pressing and pertinent social and religious issues in fifteenth-century England, not least those pertaining to the Carmelite interest in vernacular theology. Kempe’s interaction with Whitefriars serves as an emblematic test-case against which Carmelite vernacular literature in late medieval England can be put into its proper perspective.

Having presented the case of Margery Kempe, in the second part of this chapter I will consider the growing significance of ‘the vernacular’ as an idea in late medieval English society, and the impact that the mother tongue had upon theological thought and religious practice, and vice versa. In this section we will consider the modern scholarly designation of ‘vernacular theology’, and review some of the recent trends in academic approaches to the late Middle Ages.

1. The testimony of Margery Kempe and her *Book*

The desire of the Carmelites in medieval England – broadly speaking – to promote theological speculation and active engagement in spiritual matters through their writing and preaching in the vernacular (as well as through other ministries), coupled with a simultaneous fear in so doing, is testified to in the first known autobiographical text in English, *The Book* relating the life story of the

devout and mercantile East Anglian laywoman Margery Kempe (c.1373-1438+).¹ A text known only partially in the Early Modern era through early printings of excerpts,² the uncovering in 1934 of an early manuscript copy has brought to light a highly significant source of information on life in late medieval England.³ An analysis of Kempe's more-than-passing references to her interaction with Carmelite friars will help us to put into context their attempts to promote and police the spiritual life through their literary output, and set the scene for following chapters of this thesis.

Margery Kempe's *Book* chronicles her adult life story with a particular emphasis upon her religious experiences, which included such pious acts as making pilgrimages in Britain and abroad, reflecting upon the Bible and other spiritual texts, taking a vow of virginity, engaging in religious conversations with a wide variety of interlocutors, receiving visions and other divine intimations, and imitating key episodes in the lives of Christ and the saints.⁴ As Anthony Bale describes her, Margery Kempe was not only 'a bourgeois wife and failed businesswoman', but also 'serial pilgrim, exuberant socializer, religious controversialist, and would-be saint'.⁵ Her account not only gives an insight into the social and economic realities of a medieval bourgeois woman seeking to participate in the

¹ Quotations and references are from Barry A. Windeatt (ed.), *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Harlow, Essex: Longman Annotated Texts, 2000). Other editions and translations include: Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (trans.) Barry A. Windeatt, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1985); Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (eds.) Sanford Brown Meech, Hope Emily Allen, Early English Text Society Original Series 212 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940); Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (ed.) Lynn Staley, TEAMS Middle English Texts (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996); Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (ed. and trans.) Lynn Staley, Norton Critical Editions (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 2001); Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe, 1436, A Modern Version* (trans.) W. Butler-Bowdon (London: Jonathan Cape 1936); Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe: An Abridged Translation* (trans.) Liz Herbert McAvoy (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003).

² Cambridge University Library and Huntington Library, San Marino, California, *A shorte treatyse of contemplacyon* (1501?), STC 14924. See: Sue Ellen Holbrooke, 'Margery Kempe and Wynkyn de Worde', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.) *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England – Exeter Symposium IV: Papers read at Dartington Hall, July 1987* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), 27–46.

³ The manuscript of the *Book* discovered by Hope Emily Allen in the private library of the Butler-Bowden family is probably a copy made from the original which Kempe dictated to a priest in Lynn. Notations and inscriptions suggest that this copy was owned by the Carthusians at Mount Grace Charterhouse in Yorkshire. Since its purchase in 1980 this codex is now preserved as London, British Library, Ms. Additional 61823, and can be viewed online at

- http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_61823

- <http://english.selu.edu/humanitiesonline/kempe/index.php>

⁴ Among the prolific commentary on Margery Kempe see: the introductions to the editions and translations listed above; Felicity Riddy, 'Kempe [*née* Brunham], Margery (b. c.1373, d. in or after 1438)', *ODNB*; Clarissa W. Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim: The Book and the World of Margery Kempe* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983); Barry Windeatt, 'Margery Kempe', in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 83-97; Anthony Goodman, *Margery Kempe and her World* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2002); John H. Arnold, Katherine J. Lewis (eds.), *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004); Bernard McGinn, 'The Fifteenth Century' in *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism (1350-1550)*, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* 5 (New York: Crossroad, 2012), 471-90; Valentina Castagna, *Re-reading Margery Kempe in the 21st Century* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011); Marea Mitchell, *The Book of Margery Kempe: Scholarship, Community and Criticism* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005); 'Lay Piety' in Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995, reprinted London: Phoenix Press, 2002), 222-39.

⁵ Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (trans.) Anthony Bale, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), xi.

Christian devotional life of late medieval England, it also records some of the tensions in that time and place between the institutions of religious orthodoxy/normativity – such as the episcopal hierarchy, universities, and religious orders – and the religious dissenters of the age, especially those followers of the Oxford theologian John Wyclif, branded ‘Wycliffites’ or ‘Lollards’, who from the 1370s in particular were increasingly vocal in their criticisms of the established Church and professional religion.⁶ Margery Kempe’s *Book* exposes the complexity of the English religious landscape in the late-fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and the difficulty in defining the seemingly binary poles of ‘orthodoxy’ and ‘heresy’ with precision and impartiality. Kempe herself, though essentially conservative (if eccentric) in her religious faith and practices, was frequently accused of Lollardy because of her highly demonstrative piety and outspokenness on spiritual matters.⁷ Contrary to the conventions of her day, Kempe effectively created a public ministry for herself by telling of her visions and seeking to correct problems in the Church by speaking truth to power. As Christopher Manion puts it, ‘Margery aggressively engages spiritual topics as a woman and as a layperson, and provokes figures within the *Book* to confront the most charged issues of the day.’⁸ Her case thus demonstrates how carefully we must ‘use the loaded terms of conventional history’⁹ to speak in simplistically dualist terms of ‘orthodoxy *versus* heterodoxy’, or ‘authorities

⁶ On the ways in which Kempe’s ability to question authority and dissent from the institutional Church was framed by Lollard discourse, see: Ruth Shklar, ‘Cobham’s Daughter: *The Book of Margery Kempe* and the Power of Heterodox Thinking’, in *Modern Language Quarterly*, 56:3 (September 1995), 277-304.

⁷ The term ‘Lollard’, pejorative in origin and derived from the Germanic *lollen* (‘to sing’) was generally and often indiscriminately used to indicate ‘heresy’ in a broad and imprecise sense. Wycliffite texts and the records of heresy trials reveal the wide range of varying ‘Lollard’ beliefs, as demonstrated by J. Patrick Hornbeck II, *What is a Lollard? Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). On the difficulties of defining ‘orthodoxy’ and ‘heresy’ in late medieval England, see: Anne Hudson, ‘“Who Is My Neighbour?” Some Problems of Definition on the Borders of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy’, in Mishtooni Bose, J. Patrick Hornbeck II (eds.), *Wycliffite Controversies*, Medieval Church Studies, 23 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 79-96, and the introduction to that volume by the editors. For a broader consideration of the growing idea (not always fact) of heresy in the Middle Ages, see: Mishtooni Bose, ‘Religious Authority and Dissent’, in Peter Brown (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c.1350-c.1500* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 40-55 [with specific reference to Kempe and Carmelites 47-49]; R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy: Faith and Power in Medieval Europe* (London: Profile Books, 2012); Christine Caldwell Ames, *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). On Wycliffite spirituality see: Fiona Somerset, ‘Wycliffite Spirituality’, in Helen Barr, Anne Hutchinson (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 375-86; J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, Fiona Somerset (eds. and trans.), *Wycliffite Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2013). On the interrogations made into Kempe’s religious views see: ‘Confessing Margery Kempe, 1413-1438’, in Genelle Gertz, *Heresy Trials and English Women Writers, 1400-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 48-77.

⁸ Christopher Edward Manion, *Writers in Religious Orders and their Lay Patrons in Late Medieval England*, Doctoral Thesis, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 2005), 31.

⁹ Anne Hudson, ‘Which Wyche? The Framing of the Lollard Heretic and/or Saint’, in Caterina Bruschi, Peter Biller (eds.), *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, York Studies in Medieval Theology IV (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press/The Boydell Press, 2003), 221-37 [221].

versus heretics' in this period of social and religious upheaval, when many areas are not black or white but rather grey.¹⁰

Margery Kempe's multiple references to her relationships with Carmelite friars provide a context in which to judge the Whitefriars' efforts at the simultaneous promotion and restriction of 'vernacular theology'. The Carmelites trod a fine line: on the one hand encouraging freedom of spirit, the employment of reason, and following one's informed conscience, whilst on the other seeking to keep souls within the bounds of Church teaching and deferring to what they held to be legitimate religious authority deemed to be based on divine revelation and the deposit of faith.¹¹ From a twenty-first century European secular perspective, the religious debates of the late Middle Ages may seem somewhat esoteric, but in an age in which religion played a central and intrinsic role in social and political life, heresy was perceived by all protagonists, as Eamon Duffy puts it, as 'a kind of spiritual murder ... a moral cancer that ruined lives, corrupted the young, dissolved the bonds of truth and morality, and undermined the fabric of Christian society.'¹²

In her *Book* Margery Kempe makes it clear that she eschewed heresy and aspired to the 'contemplative' state of intimate union with Jesus Christ, expressed through spiritual and corporal acts of piety, asceticism, mystical experiences, and the receipt of heavenly graces. Whilst Kempe's degree of success might be debated, her basic desire to live in fidelity to Christ would have been shared by all her committed Christian peers, and particularly those members of monastic and mendicant orders sworn to a life of 'religious perfection'. Whilst all the baptised were called upon by the Church to live the Gospel message of Christ, in late medieval Christianity the belief was widespread that only those professing the religious life – monks, friars and nuns – could aspire to the highest levels of spiritual perfection. Despite her status as a married lay woman, Kempe and others in her social class aspired to this perceived perfection, to be 'brides of Christ outside the cloister',¹³ and it was particularly the mendicant orders that encouraged such 'spiritual ambition'.¹⁴

¹⁰ See: Jill C. Havens, 'Shading the Grey Area: Determining Heresy in Middle English Texts', in Helen Barr, Anne Hutchinson (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 337-52.

¹¹ On this fraught position generally see: Joseph Ziegler, 'Faith and the intellectuals I', and Michael Stolz, 'Faith and the intellectuals II', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 372-93, 394-404; Alexander Murray, *Conscience and Authority in the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹² Eamon Duffy, 'More or less', *The Tablet*, 31 January 2015, 4-5 [4].

¹³ A term used by Nancy Bradley Warren, *The Embodied Word: Female Spiritualities, Contested Orthodoxies, and English Religious Cultures, 1350-1700*, Reformations Medieval and Early Modern Series (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 154.

¹⁴ On this notion see: Nicole R. Rice, 'Spiritual Ambition and the Translation of the Cloister: *The Abbey and Charter of the Holy Ghost*', *Viator*, 33 (2002), 222-60.

Kempe's *Book* bears testimony to the significant role of these 'begging brothers', including the Carmelites, in supporting the theological enquiries and pious activities of laypeople. As Barry Windeatt observes, 'it is the friars who may be seen to have offered Kempe the most support', and especially important among these were The Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, with whom 'whether in Lynn or elsewhere, Margery Kempe seems by her own account to have enjoyed a productive, fruitful interaction'.¹⁵ It is likely that the Carmelite brothers were a significant influence on Kempe from even before the years she describes in her *Book*.¹⁶

In some respects, Kempe's *Book* articulates her accordance with the Carmelite view of life expressed in the Catalan Whitefriar Felip Ribot's *Decem Libri (Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites)*, a text compiled c.1385 which Margery Kempe may have known thanks to its being owned at the Whitefriars' convent in Norwich (and eventually translated into English there by Thomas Scrope, as will be discussed in Chapter Seven). The *Decem Libri* recognised two essential and complementary aspects in achieving religious perfection, namely personal effort coupled in harmony with God's free gift of grace:

The goal of this life is twofold. One part we acquire by our own effort and the exercise of the virtues, assisted by divine grace. This is to offer God a pure and holy heart, free from all stain of sin ... The other goal of this life is granted to us as the free gift of God, namely, to taste somewhat in the heart and to experience in the mind the power of the divine presence and the sweetness of heavenly glory, not only after death but already in this mortal life.¹⁷

This understanding of contemplation as a collaboration between, on the one hand, personal effort towards good works and an open spirit of disposition, and on the other hand, God's freely bestowed grace, is what Kempe attempted in her life as described in her *Book*, and no doubt her spiritual ambition is what attracted her to the Carmelites (an order renowned for its insights into contemplation)

¹⁵ Barry Windeatt, 'Margery Kempe and the Friars', in Nicholas Rogers (ed.), *The Friars in Medieval Britain*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 19 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), 125-41 [125, 128].

¹⁶ Margery Kempe's maiden name was Burnham or Brunham. This suggests that Kempe's paternal family, whose dignity she asserts numerous times in her *Book*, originally hailed from one of the several hamlets named Burnham on the North Norfolk coast. Among the earliest Carmelite foundations in England was the hermitage and later friary at Burnham Norton, established 1242-47. Though there is no evidence of Kempe's contact with this community, the widespread Carmelite presence in medieval East Anglia implies that she would probably have grown up with some awareness of the Order as a significant part of the rich religious fabric of the county of Norfolk.

¹⁷ Felip Ribot, *The Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites* (ed. and trans.) Richard Copey, Early Carmelite Spirituality 1 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2005, second edition 2007), 9.

and vice versa. The Carmelite charism – that is, the particular characteristics and vocation gifted to the Order by God – has always been understood as essentially contemplative, that is, seeking friendship and union with the divine.¹⁸

Seeking to grow in contemplative union with God, Margery Kempe was a frequent visitor to the Whitefriars' Church in the Norfolk town of Bishop's (now King's) Lynn, in which she experienced divine intimations:

Than, as sche went on a tyme in the White Frerys Cherch at Lynne up and down, sche felt a wondyr swet savowr and an hevynly, that hir thowt sche myth a levyd therby wythowtyn mete or drynke, yyf it wolde a contynuyd.¹⁹

Kempe the consummate pilgrim claims to have experienced such graces in a number of places across England and abroad, but in a Carmelite friary there may have been a particular receptivity to those who 'felt a wondyr swet savowr and an hevynly', thanks to a spirituality informed by texts such as Ribot's *Decem Libri* which spoke of tasting in heart and experiencing in mind 'the sweetness of heavenly glory, not only after death but already in this mortal life'.

The Carmelite friars in Lynn provided Margery Kempe with hospitality, not only in the use of their chapel but also in their personal interactions with her elsewhere in the town. Kempe's *Book* bears testimony to the fact that the Carmelites – who as preaching friars and teaching academics sought to supply the laity with both basic catechesis and opportunities for more sophisticated meditative experience – were keen to support her in her theological enquiries and religious activities.²⁰ Indeed, it was the Carmelite friars whom Kempe credited with encouraging her to set down her life story in

¹⁸ The Carmelite Order is currently engaged in an academic study of what Carmelites have understood by the term 'contemplation' through the centuries. Regarding Thomas Netter (to be encountered shortly) on the subject see: Kevin Alban, 'Thomas Netter on Contemplation in the *Doctrinale*', in Giovanni Grosso, Wilmar Santin (eds.), *Memoriam Fecit Mirabilium Dei: Scritti in onore di Emanuele Boaga, O.Carm.*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 31 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2009), 513-32. On the notion of charism see: Giancarlo Andenna, *et al* (eds.), *Charisma und religiöse Gemeinschaften im Mittelalter*, Vita Regularis Abhandlungen 26 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005); Petrus Bsteh, Brigitte Proksch (eds.), *Das Charisma des Ursprungs und die Religionen. Das Werden christlicher Orden im Kontext der Religionen*, Spiritualität im Dialog 3 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2011).

¹⁹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 71.

²⁰ On the interaction of Margery Kempe and the Carmelites specifically, see: Margaret Gallyon, *Margery Kempe of Lynn and Medieval England* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1995), 123-38; Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, *Margery Kempe's Meditations: The Context of Medieval Devotional Literature, Liturgy and Iconography*, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages series (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007); Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, 'Veneration of Virgin Martyrs in Margery Kempe's Meditation: Influence of the Sarum Liturgy and Hagiography', in Denis Renevey, Christiania Whitehead, (eds.), *Writing Religious Women: Female Spirituality and Textual Practices in Medieval England* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 177-95; Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, 'Carmelite Spirituality and the Laity in Late Medieval England', in Catherine Innes-Parker, Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa (eds.), *Anchortism in the Middle Ages: Texts and Traditions*, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), 151-61.

the first place. In the shorter and earlier preface to Book One of her autobiography, Kempe mentions that ‘a Whyte Frere proferyd hire to wryten freely yf sche wold’.²¹ In offering to be Kempe’s amanuensis, at least one member of the Carmelite Order in late medieval England seems to have articulated his confreres’ more broadly held interest in supporting and promoting lay women’s religious experience and encounter with God. A more cynical interpretation is that the unnamed Carmelite wished to record Kempe’s life story as a test of her orthodoxy, which – in an age when religious experimentation aroused an increasingly conservative backlash – might account for Kempe’s decline of his services, her fearing to commit her actions and thoughts to vellum.²²

Margery Kempe and Whitefriar William Southfield

Although Margery Kempe declined the initial offer of a Carmelite amanuensis, and would not have her thoughts set down for more than twenty years, in her quest for a more meaningful spiritual life she received pastoral support from a number of the Order’s brethren. In Chapter 18 of Book 1, before her meeting with Julian of Norwich (probably around the year 1413 when she was summoned before the Bishop of Norwich’s officers), Kempe records receiving a divine intimation in Norwich that she should consult the holy Whitefriar William Southfield:

²¹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, second (original and shorter) preface; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 85. The complex sequence of events by which Kempe’s *Book* was set down is explained in its preface, and commented upon by, among others, Julia Boffey, ‘Women authors and women’s literacy in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England’, in Carol M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, Second Edition 1996), 159-82 [162-65]. Boffey draws attention to the fact that the one extant Kempe manuscript was produced by a scribe named Salthows. It is interesting to note that a man named Salthouse was Prior of the Carmelites in Norwich in 1334. This is long before Kempe was born, let alone seeking to set down her *Book*, but it is tempting to speculate that the scribe may have been of the same family as the Carmelite Prior of Norwich. On the vexed question of the distinctions to be drawn between the protagonist – ‘this creature’ Margery Kempe – and the collaborating authorial quill behind the *Book*, see: Lynn Staley-Johnson, ‘The Trope of the Scribe and the Question of Literary Authority in the Works of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe’, *Speculum*, 66:4 (1991), 820-38; Lynn Staley, *Margery Kempe’s Dissenting Fictions* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 1994); Nicholas Watson, ‘The making of *The Book of Margery Kempe*’, in Linda Olson, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (eds.), *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); Anthony Bale’s translation of *The Book of Margery Kempe*, xvii-xx. On the broader context of clerical collaboration in, and control of, women’s religious writing, see: John Coakley, ‘Women’s Textual Authority and the Collaboration of Clerics’, in Alastair Minnis, Rosalynn Voaden (eds.), *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c.1100-c.1500*, Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 83-104.

²² In the longer and later preface to her *Book*, Kempe states that a number of clerks offered to write her experiences but ‘sche was comawndyd in hir sowle that sche schuld not wrutun so soone’, hence ‘it was xx yer and mor fro that tym this creatur had first felyngys and revelacyons, er than sche dede any wryten.’ Kempe’s suspicion of a clerical amanuensis is suggested by Claire Sponsler, ‘Drama and Piety: Margery Kempe’, in John H. Arnold, Katherine J. Lewis, *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 129-43 [140]. A number of scholars have argued that Julian of Norwich’s *Showings* may have been set down as part of an enquiry process prior to her anchoritic enclosure; towards the end of her life a Margery Kempe, possibly the same as the protagonist of the *Book*, was admitted to the prestigious Guild of the Most Holy Trinity in Lynn. It is tempting to speculate (but speculation it must remain) that the *Book* might likewise have been written to fulfil some sort of admission requirement, if not of the Guild, then possibly some form of affiliation with the Carmelite Order or another ecclesiastical institution.

Thys creatur was chargyd and comawndyd in hir sowle that sche schuld go to a Whyte Frer in the same cyte of Norwych, which hyte Wyllyam Sowthfeld, a good man and an holy lever, to schewyn hym the grace that God wrowt in hir ... The befor-seyd creatur was mech comfortyd bothe in body and in sowle be this good mannys wordys and gretly strengthyd in hir feyth.²³

According to Kempe's own recollection of the meeting, Friar Southfield was supportive of her religious desires and experiences, giving thanks to Jesus having heard her relate 'hir meditacyons and swech as God wrowt in hir sowle'.²⁴

Margery Kempe certainly sought out one of the Carmelite Order's most prestigious and revered divines. A century later, the Carmelite antiquarian John Bale recorded that Friar William Southfield (d. 1414) was devoted to studying the Scriptures and a life of prayer. Given over to pious deeds and meditation, Southfield apparently received visions of the Virgin Mary who could be seen praying the Divine Office with him in his cell.²⁵ In his encounter with Margery Kempe, William Southfield seems to have exercised the gift of *discretio spirituum* (the discernment of spirits), declaring her experience to be 'the Holy Gost werkyng plentyvowsly hys grace in yowr sowle'.²⁶ Echoing strongly the disposition of the would-be-contemplative described by Felip Ribot in the *Decem libri (Ten Books)*, Southfield declares to Kempe:

²³ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 18 (Windeatt edition 117-19).

²⁴ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 18 (Windeatt edition 118). On Kempe's relationship with Southfield see: Barry Windeatt, 'Margery Kempe and the Friars', 128-29; Joachim Smet, *The English Carmelite Province* (Aylesford: St. Albert's Press, undated), 4; Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites – A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Volume I, ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, revised edition 1988), 58.

²⁵ John Bale, *Anglorum Heliades*, London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 34v-35. For further discussion of Southfield, see: Copsey, *Biographical Register*; Richard Copsey, 'Cum Nulla: From a Group of Hermits to a Carmelite Family', in Johan Bergström-Allen (ed.), *Relocating Carmel in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Carmel in Britain 5 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming). On visionary experience in general see: Gwenfair Walters Adams, *Visions in Late Medieval England: Lay Spirituality and Sacred Glimpses of the Hidden Worlds of Faith*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 130 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

²⁶ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 18 (Windeatt edition 118). Discernment of God's will and the action of the Holy Spirit in a soul (as opposed to demonic or human forces) was a key theological concept undergoing significant development in medieval Christianity, and particularly important in Carmelite spirituality. See, among others: Vincenzo D'Alba, 'La *discretio* nella Regola del Carmelo', *Carmelus*, 60 (2013), 167-206; Emanuele Boaga, *Come pietre vive ... nel Carmelo – Per leggere la storia e la vita del Carmelo* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1993), 80-81. As Windeatt points out in his commentary, 'Southfield's counsel overlaps with advice in *The Chastising of God's Children* on meekness and virtuous living as among the 'tokens' in discernment of spirits'. On this text (to be discussed later in this thesis), see: Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge (eds.), *The Chastising of God's Children* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957).

‘And therfor, syster, I cownsel yow that ye dispose yow to receyvyn the yyftys of God as lowly and mekely as ye kan, and put non obstakyl ne objeccyon ayen the goodness of the Holy Gost, for he may yevyn hys yyftys wher he wyl, and of unworthy he makyth worthy, of synful he makyth rygtful ... And therfor belevyth fully that owyr Lord lovyth yow and werkyth hys grace in yow.’²⁷

According to Margery Kempe’s account of her encounter with William Southfield, she was just one of several ‘good creaturys among us’ the Carmelite was cognisant of, and whose spiritual development he sought to test and encourage.²⁸ Indeed, in Kempe’s recollection of their encounter, Southfield expressed gratitude to her and such as her, recognising a spiritual indebtedness:

‘Thankyth hym [God] heylly of hys goodnes, for we alle be bowndyn to thankyn hym for yow, that now in owyr days wel inspir hys grace in yow, to the help and comfort of us alle which arn supportyd be yowr preyers and be swech other as ye ben. And we arn preservyd fro many myschevys and dysesys which we schuld sufferyn and worthily for owyr trespas, ne wer swech good creaturys among us.’²⁹

Southfield exemplifies the Carmelite Order’s flourishing interest in, and support of, mystical experience in later medieval England, and the Whitefriars’ interaction with pious individuals as well as ‘communities of ecstasies’.³⁰

The Carmelites of Lynn

The Carmelite who most enduringly supported Margery Kempe in her pursuit of the devout life of spiritual perfection was a contemporary townsman, Master Alan of Lynn (c.1348-1432), an academic friar active in pastoral work and literary output.³¹ Lynn was a notable and prolific scholar,

²⁷ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 18 (Windeatt edition 118-19).

²⁸ In the afterword to their *Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), John H. Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis [218] point out that Kempe reports Southfield as knowing several women who tried to lead a similar life to hers. See also: Yoshikawa, *Margery Kempe’s Meditations* (2007), 65.

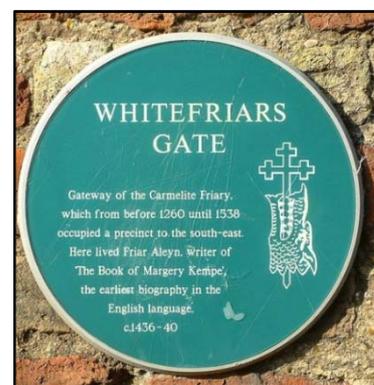
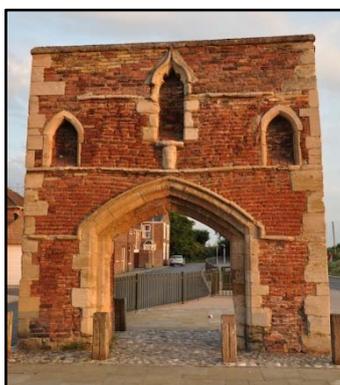
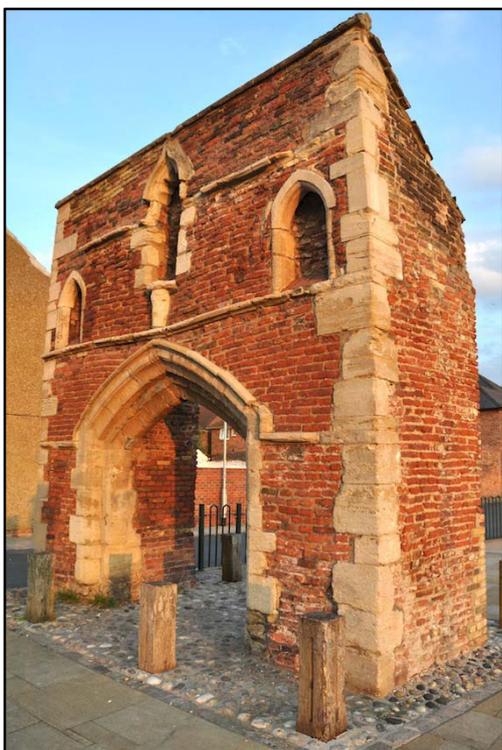
²⁹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 18 (Windeatt edition 118).

³⁰ A term employed by Diane Watt in describing Kempe’s relationship with Southfield and others: Diane Watt, ‘Saint Julian of the Apocalypse’, in Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 65-74 [71].

³¹ See: Richard Copley, ‘Lynn, Alan (1347/8–1432)’, *ODNB*; Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, 381-2; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 58-59; Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 91 n. 135; Sharpe, *Handlist of the Latin Writers*, Entry 75, 33; John P. H. Clark, ‘Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology and the English Contemplative Tradition’, in Marion Glasscoe, *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, Volume V, 1992* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), 1-16 [13-14]; Copley, ‘The Carmelites... Surviving Writings’, 200, and Additions and

born in the eponymous East Anglian town where he entered the Carmelite friary, presumably (judging from the dates of his later career) in the 1360s.

The Priory of the Whitefriars in Lynn was a place where Carmelites were in frequent interaction with the laity, as witnessed by Margery Kempe who, as we have noted, walked in the brothers' church. Established in South Lynn before 1260, Whitefriars developed into one of the largest religious precincts in the town with two gateways giving access to two stretches of cloister and a garden. Lynn was an important and busy port, and as a thoroughfare for travellers (including pilgrims en route to England's foremost Marian shrine at Walsingham) it is likely that the Lynn Carmelites had frequent interaction with a wide range of people.³²

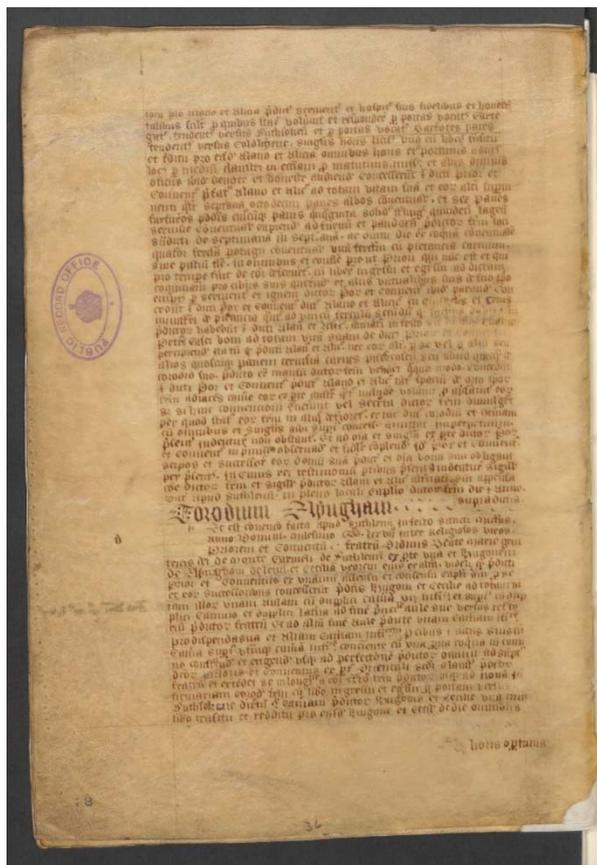


The 15th-Century 'Whitefriars Gate' (photographed in 2013) and the suburb's nomenclature of *The Friars* are all that remains of what must once have been a very large and impressive Carmelite priory in Kings Lynn. The three niches would once have held statues, as it was common for medieval Carmelite gateways to be places of popular devotion. A modern plaque on the Gate confidently identifies 'Friar Aleyn' as the 'writer of *The Book of Margery Kempe*'.

Corrections 1, 196-7; John Bale, *Anglorum Heliades*, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 92; John Bale, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2, 119. On Kempe's relationship with Alan of Lynn see: Barry Windeatt, 'Margery Kempe and the Friars', 129-31.

³² See: Howard Fears, 'The Pilgrimage Routes from Lynn to Walsingham and the Nar Valley', in *Walsingham – Richeldis 950 – Pilgrimage and History*, Proceedings of the Richeldis 950 Historical Conference March 2011 (Walsingham: Roman Catholic National Shrine, 2012), 81-96. On the medieval town in general see: Dorothy M. Owen (ed.), *The Making of King's Lynn: a Documentary Survey*, Records of Social and Economic History, New Series, IX (London: Oxford University Press, 1984). On the Carmelite friary see: Richard Copsey, *The Medieval Carmelite Priory at Lynn: A Chronology* (private printing, 2000); Keith Egan, 'Medieval Carmelite Houses: England and Wales', *Carmelus*, 16 (1969), 142-226, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 1-85; Deirdre O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs 23 (Leicester: School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2013), 186-87; J. Charles Cox, 'The Carmelite Friars of Lynn', in William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of Norfolk* (London: Victoria County History, 1906, reprinted 1975), ii, 427, available online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/norf/vol2> [accessed January 2014].

Further evidence of interaction between Carmelite religious and laity in Lynn is found in a corrody (an allowance of food and clothing) agreed in 1377 between the prior and community on the one hand, and on the other Hugh of Ellingham (Hugonem de Elyngham) and his wife Cecilia.³³ The corrody granted Hugh and Cecilia the right to construct a small dwelling adjacent to the friars' refectory, presumably in return for (an unspecified sum of) money or a bequest of land. From this they had 'free passage on any day at appropriate hours through the middle of the cloister in order to get into the church to attend mass or other divine services.'³⁴



The 1377 corrody between the Carmelites of Lynn and Hugh and Cecilia Ellingham.
Kew, The National Archives, Ms. E. 135/2/50, fo. 32v.

³³ The corrody is recorded (at fo. 32v) in the Lynn Priory's cartulary, that is, the community's register of documents relating to their foundation, privileges and legal rights, now preserved as Kew, The National Archives, Ms. E. 135/2/50. The Latin text was transcribed by A. G. Little, 'Corrodies at the Carmelite Friary of Lynn', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 9:1 (April 1958), 8-29 [18-20]. A translation was published on Stephen Alford's *Florilegium Urbanum* internet resource, available at www.the-orb.net [accessed January 2014]. The text is included by Richard Copsey in his collection of *Early Carmelite Documents* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming).

³⁴ Access to the cloister of religious communities was the subject of strict regulation in the Middle Ages, as Manion discusses with direct reference to Margery Kempe and the Carmelites at the beginning of the first chapter of *Writers in Religious Orders and their Lay Patrons in Late Medieval England*, 25 ff. His statement that 'Carmelite religious communities ... [were] carefully monitoring and mediating a laywoman's access to the religious life under controlled circumstances' [26] is true not just in terms of physical access to the cloister, but also as regards the laity's participation in the spiritual life of the Order. Kempe's reference to going 'up and down' at 'the White Frerys Cherch' might have been not to the chapel but to the cloister, the traditional place for walking in a conventual building.

The married couple were to be given a large garden, and to share the friars' fresh-water supply. The Carmelite brothers were to provide them with food and the convent's best ale. In return, the couple undertook not to make any profit from the sale of food and drink provided them, nor 'invite in any guests other than good and honest folk'. Hugh and Cecilia agreed to 'likewise promise that they will conceal the secrets of the friary, and not divulge any so that the friary's interests are in any way threatened'. In an interpolation to the document Hugh also promised that in the event of Cecilia's death he would not take another wife. On the same day, a second contract was entered into between the Carmelite friary and another townsman, Thomas Paynot, along with his wife Joan. They were likewise granted the right to build a dwelling within the friary precinct, and provision of food and drink, as well as a share of the spiritual benefits of the Order. The friars undertook to provide a chaplain who would celebrate daily Mass for them and their benefactors, and whilst not imposing the Order's *Rule* on the couple, the brethren expected the laypeople to participate with them in the *Opus Dei* of regular worship.³⁵

Such forms of legal and pastoral undertaking were common in various Carmelite friaries across medieval Europe.³⁶ In return for a financial consideration, the Whitefriars would offer both physical and spiritual care to lay people with whom they presumably had some pre-existing social bond or religious affinity. As well as being insurance against old age and sickness on the part of the laity, and a source of expansion for the friars, the contract offered the lay men and women participation in the pastoral outreach and liturgical prayer of the Carmelites, and a shared responsibility in protecting the friary's interests.³⁷ People granted such an intimate bond with the Order in Lynn were Margery Kempe's historical and social contemporaries. Hugh de Ellingham, a mercer (textile trader) and vintner (wine merchant), was – like Kempe's own father – involved in borough government, first as chamberlain in Lynn in 1364, and later, mostly during the 1370s, as a jurat (sworn officer) and

³⁵ The *Corrodium Paynot* and its partial extension of Carmelite identity/participation to the lay couple involved is discussed by Nicole R. Rice, 'Spiritual Ambition and the Translation of the Cloister: *The Abbey and Charter of the Holy Ghost*', *Viator*, 33 (2002), 222-60 [227-28].

³⁶ Patrick Thomas McMahon has shown that such contracts were undertaken in medieval Florence, which incurred married couples taking the religious habit and professing to live as members of the Carmelite community within the convent precincts: see his article 'Laity in Carmel before *Cum Nulla*: The experience of the Florentine Carmelite *Pinzocheri*', in Johan Bergström-Allen (ed.), *Relocating Carmel in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Carmel in Britain 5 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming). For a broader consideration of the ties between religious houses (monastic not mendicant) and their lay patrons and associates see: Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c.1300-1540*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007).

³⁷ Francis Robin Houssemayne Du Boulay cites the example of the Lynn corrodies as evidence of the decline of the Carmelite Order's observance and its financial poverty, with the friars 'virtually becoming *hôteliers* to layfolk who had bought the right to have bedrooms, sitting-rooms and food within the friary: F. R. H. Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel between the Carmelite Friars and the Secular Clergy of London, 1464-1468', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, VI (1955), 156-74 [166]. However, this is to see the transaction as purely financial and to overlook the mutual spiritual benefits to the Order and its lay associates.

constable, a post also held by fellow Whitefriars resident Thomas Paynot. The corrody – one of several such contracts issued around the time – stands alongside Kempe’s *Book* in witnessing to the ways in which strong bonds existed between members of the mercantile classes and the Carmelites of Lynn.

Further evidence of this is given by John Bale, who records that an anchorite, Joanna Catfelde, lived in a cell at the Carmelite house in Lynn c.1420.³⁸ As we shall see in later chapters, the relationship between the Carmelite Order and recluses was particularly strong in the early fifteenth century.

As well as being a place of hospitality for the laity, the Carmelite Priory in Lynn seems to have been a lesser *studium*, a particular centre of learning within the Order, with Doctors of Theology and Lectors visiting the house for periods of study. East Anglia was an important region in the intellectual life of the medieval Carmelite Order. In addition to having students attend the university at Cambridge, and having an official *studium* (centre for advanced studies) at the priory in Norwich, it would seem – from signatories of corrodies in the house’s cartulary – that the Carmelite priory in Lynn not only instructed its own novices but also offered intellectually-talented Whitefriars from elsewhere a course of advanced studies for a fixed but limited time.³⁹ Among the names of 40 Carmelite friars resident in Lynn – a very sizeable community – appended to the 1377 corrody are a number of known students and scholars.⁴⁰

Margery Kempe and Whitefriar Alan of Lynn

Alan of Lynn’s name does not appear among the signatories in 1377, suggesting that, if he had entered the Order by that stage, he was studying elsewhere. His scholarly career was typical of many of the Carmelite writers of vernacular theology who will be encountered in this thesis, progressing from his native convent to regional study centres of the Order, and from there to university. Lynn studied in Cambridge, eventually lecturing at the university on patristics and the Bible, and incepting

³⁸ John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant: Catalogus*, 2 vols (Basel, 1557-59, reprinted Farnborough, Hampshire: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1971), vol 1, 565. Rotha Mary Clay notes in Lynn a Carmelite friar living as an anchorite who acted as a resident chaplain at a grammar school: Rotha Mary Clay, ‘Some Northern Anchorites – with a Note on Enclosed Dominicans’, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 33 (1955), 202-217 [215]. This information she takes from Henry James Hillen, *History of the Borough of King’s Lynn*, 2 vols (Norwich: East of England Newspaper Company, 1907), vol 1, 230, but Hillen’s source is untraced. Hillen also makes reference to other anchorites living in a cell at the Lynn Carmelite friary: ‘John with the broken back’ in 1367 and William Clays in 1510 [250].

³⁹ On the Carmelite house at Lynn as a centre of learning see: Kate Parker, ‘Lynn and the Making of a Mystic’, in John H. Arnold, Katherine J. Lewis, *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 55-73, [65]. Several mendicant houses in England are known to have acted as lesser *studia*, accepting not only members of the Order but sometimes also secular clergy, and possibly even lay students towards the end of the Middle Ages.

⁴⁰ 1377 was also the year of England’s first poll tax returns, which reveal that Norfolk was England’s most populous county with 89,000 inhabitants. See: Brian Williams, *Medieval England*, *The Pitkin History of Britain* (Stroud: Pitkin Publishing, 2004), 90.

as Doctor of Theology before 1410. He is recorded as having been *lector* (reader) at Cambridge from before 1407, lecturing in that year in the *studium* (study house) of the Norwich Carmelite convent.⁴¹ There he worked primarily as a compiler of numerous indices or *tabulae* (tables of contents) for the large Carmelite library, probably for the benefit of his students.⁴²

John Bale's antiquarian research tells us that Alan of Lynn composed numerous treatises and exegetical works in Latin, now lost, as well as indices of, among others, the writings of the Church Fathers, Bernard of Clairvaux, the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Stimulus Amoris*, and fellow Carmelites John Baconthorpe and Felip Ribot.⁴³ In compiling indices, Lynn clearly desired to facilitate access to literature of a patristic and Carmelite bent, and seems to have had a voracious appetite for cataloguing works of monastic/mendicant mysticism. Though Lynn seems to have written only a comparatively small amount of original work himself, his 'notable sermons' were recorded by Bale.⁴⁴

Though only two of Lynn's indices survive – an alphabetical index to Pierre Bersuire's *Reductorium Morale* commentary on the Bible,⁴⁵ and a *tabula* of Birgitta of Sweden's *Revelations*⁴⁶ – their subject matters are significant in what they tell us about the Carmelite promotion of pastoral work and theological speculation. By indexing Bersuire's thirty-four book moral redaction of the entire Bible – 'the greatest achievement in systematic tabulation of the period'⁴⁷ – Lynn effectively promoted his brethren's use of this text in their preaching of Scripture. As will become increasingly

⁴¹ On the post of *lector* in medieval universities and convents (it was considered ideal that each house should have its own) see: Bert Roest, 'The Role of Lectors in the Religious Formation of Franciscan Friars, Nuns, and Teriaries', in *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo – Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001*, Atti dei Convegni Nuova serie 12 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2002), 83-115; Mariken Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual life in the Middle Ages*, Etudes sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Age 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 85-87.

⁴² A medieval 'tabula', 'registrum' or 'index' was a listing of subjects, chapters, incipits, etc. of a literary work designed to facilitate intellectual study. They were particularly developed by the Cistercian and mendicant orders from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. For further discussion of the genre see: Mariken Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual life in the Middle Ages*, 348-50.

⁴³ Bale says he saw over fifty works by Lynn in the Carmelite convent in Norwich, and knew of others in libraries he had not visited: Bale, *Scriptorium*, I, 551-3. Bale recorded the incipits of each of Lynn's works in his notebook: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2, 40, 197v, 200v, 204v-205.

⁴⁴ His two major original works, now lost, were recorded by Bale [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 139, 208] and included *Sermones notabiles*. To have his homilies recorded Lynn must have enjoyed the reputation of a worthy preacher. As discussed below, Kempe records attending Master Alan's 'divinely inspired' sermons: *Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 89.

⁴⁵ *Tabula super 'Reductorio morali tocius Bible' Petri Berchorii*, London, British Library, Ms. Royal 3 D III, fo. 1-44. Noted by David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948, 1955, 1959), vol 2, 152. On Pierre Bersuire (or Peter Bercheur or Berchorius, c.1290-1362), a French Benedictine translator, author, and encyclopaedist, see: 'Pierre Bercheure' in Charles Herbermann (ed.), *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton, 1913).

⁴⁶ Oxford, Lincoln College, Ms. Lat. 69, fo. 197-234.

⁴⁷ G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926, reprinted New York 1965, reprinted Cambridge 2010), 307. Quoted in Ryan Perry, Lawrence Tuck, "[W]heþyr þu redist er herist redyng, I wil be plesyd wyth þe": Margery Kempe and the Locations for Middle English Devotional Reading and Hearing', in Mary C. Flannery, Carrie Griffin (eds.), *Spaces for Reading in Later Medieval England*, The New Middle Ages (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 133-48 [141].

clear in this chapter, pondering God's Word in the Bible was (as it remains) a key feature of Carmelite spirituality, and it would be a false dichotomy to imagine that Lynn's scholarly interests were in competition with – rather than complementing – his pastoral interests.⁴⁸ In tabulating the contents of St. Birgitta's *Revelations*, Lynn promoted access to the mystical experiences of a contemporary and somewhat controversial female saint (1303-73) who had been canonized within his lifetime in 1391; such promotion was to prove important for Margery Kempe who attempted to emulate the spiritual life of 'Saint Bride' in her vow of chastity, her visionary revelations, and pilgrimage to Rome.⁴⁹ As we shall see in Chapter 4, the Carmelite Richard Lavenham also lectured on Birgitta, and recent scholarship has highlighted the interest of various English mendicants in promoting the sanctity of continental women in the late medieval Church.⁵⁰

The Carmelite Order's general interest in 'vernacular theology', contemporary mysticism, and the religious experience of the laity is seen in microcosm in Alan of Lynn's examinations of popular spirituality, which were not restricted to the 'authorised' mystics found in the Whitefriars' library at Norwich. His conversations with Margery Kempe suggest his strong interest in, and support for,

⁴⁸ Medieval scholars were often involved in promoting the pastoral needs of the wider populace. Perhaps the most famous example in England is Robert Grosseteste (c.1175-1253), Bishop of Lincoln, who as well as writing works on scholastic philosophy and science composed manuals on pastoral care. His influence, including on the Carmelite Order, will be considered in more detail in Chapter Five.

⁴⁹ Many scholars have noted the significant place of Birgitta in Kempe's self-modelling, and some have commented on how Lynn seems to have regarded Kempe as a home-grown answer to the Swedish mystic. According to Yoshikawa it was probably Alan of Lynn who instructed Kempe in Alfonso of Jaén's defence of St. Birgitta [*Margery Kempe's Meditations*, 2007, 64]. On Birgitta of Sweden and the theological uncertainties regarding her in medieval England see: *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, translated by Denis Searby, introductions and notes by Bridget Morris, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006-15); *Birgitta of Sweden: Life and Selected Revelations* (ed.) Marguerite Tjader Harris, (trans.) Albert Ryle Kezel, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1990); Roger Ellis, 'Text and Controversy: In Defence of St. Birgitta of Sweden', in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 303-21; the chapter on Bridget of Sweden in Carole Hill, *Women and Religion in Late Medieval Norwich*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010); Diane Watt, 'A Prophet in her Own Country: Margery Kempe and the Medieval Tradition', in *Secretaries of God: Women Prophets in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997); Martha W. Driver, 'Poetry as Prayer: John Audelay's *Salutation to St. Bridget*', in Nicole R. Rice (ed.), *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 91-112. Birgitta will also be considered in relation to Richard Lavenham in Chapter Four. Another influence on Kempe's religious self-fashioning was Marie d'Oignies (1177-1213), a Beguine who received mystical graces (including compunction) and whose *Life* was written by her confessor Jacques de Vitry. Kempe's amanuensis records (Book 1, Chapter 62) that seeing her weep prompted him to read about Oignies, as well as other texts including Elizabeth of Hungary; if Alan of Lynn was Kempe's amanuensis, this would be further proof of his interest in women's mystical experiences. On Oignies, see: Windeatt's edition of *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 14-15.

⁵⁰ In his doctoral research David Russell has highlighted that Catarina Benincasa (St. Catherine of Siena) had direct links with two Augustinians, William Flete (often regarded as a 'mystic') and Giovanni Tantucci. Interestingly, both of these scholars were contemporaries of Alan at Lynn at Cambridge. See: David William Russell, *Reciprocal management of religious virgin mothers*, Doctoral Thesis (Southampton: University of Southampton, School of Humanities, 2011); 'Margery Kempe and Caterina Benincasa: Female Mystics in England and Italy', *Textus – English Studies in Italy*, XXIV:3 (2011), 449-61; 'Religious Mystical Mothers: Margery Kempe and Caterina Benincasa', in E. A. Jones (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England – Exeter Symposium VIII* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 75-92.

contemporary female expressions of spirituality in fifteenth-century East Anglia.⁵¹ Given Lynn's interest in the cataloguing of religious experience, it seems likely that he was the 'Whyte Frer [who] proferyd hir [Kempe] to wryten freely yf sche wold' her 'tribulacyons and hir felingys'.⁵² Though Margery Kempe declined the Carmelite's services, and would not dictate her experience until prompted by God more than two decades later (and then at first unsuccessfully), it is possible that she eventually asked Alan of Lynn to record her story.⁵³ Master Alan certainly had an interest in recording Kempe's unusual spiritual experiences, initiating an enquiry into her seemingly-miraculous survival after being hit by a falling stone and beam.⁵⁴ Alan of Lynn acted as one of Margery Kempe's spiritual advisors, and since he 'supportyd hir in hir wepyng and in hir crying' he seems to have accepted and appreciated her spiritual gift of compunction (holy tears wept for sins and in empathy with the sufferings of Christ).⁵⁵ Kempe's rather esoteric brand of emotional spirituality was elaborate but not unfamiliar to Lynn, who – if Kempe's account is accurate – seems to have been intrigued by her.⁵⁶ The relationship was (if the *Book's* testimony is to be believed) symbiotic and reciprocal; just as Margery Kempe benefitted from Alan of Lynn's spiritual direction and theological teaching, so the

⁵¹ On the context of female religious experience in this region see: Carole Hill, *Women and Religion in Late Medieval Norwich*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010); Christopher Harper-Bill (ed.), *Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005).

⁵² *The Book of Margery Kempe*, second (original and shorter) preface; Wogan-Browne, et al (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 85.

⁵³ Commentators have widely accepted as Kempe's probable amanuensis either Alan of Lynn or her confessor Robert Spryngolde.

⁵⁴ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 9. On the incident see: Katherine J. Lewis, 'Margery Kempe and Saint Making in Later Medieval England', in John H. Arnold, Katherine J. Lewis, *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 195-215 [201].

⁵⁵ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 69. Interestingly, the medieval Carmelite liturgy included a Mass of thanksgiving for the 'gift of tears'. The Carmelite Felip Ribot's *Decem Libri (Ten Books)* – with its various references to tears and compunction – might well have influenced Margery. Of particular significance in this regard is Chapter 1 of Book 2 of the *Decem Libri* which discusses how the prophet Elijah, prototype of the Carmelite way of life, was fed by God with bread and meat carried by ravens. Ribot states that in a mystical sense Elijah was fed 'the bread of sorrow and repentance and the meat of true humility'. Having tasted the sweetness of contrition, 'it was so that he would not pine away with grief at his loss of that inexpressible joy that the ravens brought him bread, of which it was written: "You will feed us with the bread of tears".' The vocabulary is highly reminiscent of Kempe's experience in Lynn Carmelite Priory, a wonder tasting so sweet and heavenly 'that hir thowt sche myth a levyd therby wythowtyn mete or drynke' (Book 1, Chapter 71). However, the gift of tears was also a matter requiring clerical discernment, on which see: Kimberley-Joy Knight, 'Lachrymose Holiness and the Problem of Doubt in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Hagiographies', in Frances Andrews, Charlotte Methuen, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Doubting Christianity: The Church and Doubt*, Studies in Church History 52 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for The Ecclesiastical History Society, 2016), 118-34.

⁵⁶ Lynn seems to have accorded Kempe both validation of her behaviour within the traditional expectations of female mysticism, but also appreciated her unique qualities and 'singularity', as commented on by Alcuin Blamires, 'Individuality', in Elaine Treharne, Greg Walker (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 478-95 [488-89].

friar allegedly found the laywoman's conversation 'gostly and fruteful'⁵⁷ and was aided by divine grace in his preaching through her prayerful intercession.⁵⁸



The Virgin of Mercy with Carmelite Friars.

Late 15th-Century painting of oil on oak. 129.5 x 65.6cm.

Workshop of the Master of the Holy Kinship (active in Cologne c.1470/80-1510).

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts).

⁵⁷ *Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 69.

⁵⁸ 'sche thowt in hir hert sche wolde that God of hys goodnes wolde makyn Maistyr Aleyn to seyyn a sermown as wel as he cowde', *Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 89. On Kempe's spiritual intercession on behalf of Lynn, see: Manion, *Writers in Religious Orders and their Lay Patrons in Late Medieval England*, 61-63.

The intervention of Thomas Netter

Despite the mutual support that existed between Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn, their friendship also exposes a fundamental dilemma that faced those English Carmelites of the late Middle Ages who wished to produce religious texts or discuss spiritual experiences in the vernacular for the education and edification of their brothers in religion or their brothers and sisters in the wider public, namely, the risk of being charged with impropriety and even heresy. Margery Kempe's *Book* bears witness to the fact that Carmelites policed as well as promoted the laity's spiritual activities.

In the case of Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn, the disapproval of the Church authorities was expressed by Lynn's religious superior, the Carmelite prior provincial (senior brother in England) Thomas Netter, who declared – according to the *Book* – that Lynn 'schulde no mor spekyn wyth hir [Kempe], ne enformyn hir in no textys of scriptur'.⁵⁹ It is worth reading Kempe's description of the incident in full, to understand the nature of the relationship between her and Lynn, and the complex religious climate they inhabited:

So owr Lord of hys mercy, liche as he had promysyd the seyd creatur that he schulde evyr provydyn for hir, steryng the spiritys of tweyn good clerkys the which longe and many yerys had knowyn hir conversacyon and al hir perfeccyon, made hem mythy and bolde to spekyn for hys party in excusyng the seyd creatur, bothyn in the pulpit and besyden, wher thei herd anythyng mevyd ayen hir, strengthyng her skyllys be auctoriteys of holy scriptur sufficiently, of whеч clerkys on was a White Frer, a doctowr of divinite. The other clerk was a bachelor of lawe canon, a wel labowrd man in scriptur.

And than sum envyows personys compleynyd to the Provincial of the White Frerys that the sayd doctowr was to conversawnt wyth the sayd creatur, for-as-mech as he supportyd hir in hir wepyng and in hir crying, and also enformyd hir in qwestyons of scriptur, whan sche wolde any askyn hym. Than was he monischyd, be vertu of obediens, that he schulde no mor spekyn wyth hir, ne enformyn hir in no textys of scriptur, and that was to hym ful peynful, for, as he seyde to sum personys, he had levar a lost an hundryd pownd, yf he had an had it, than hir communicacyon, it was so gostly and fruteful.

Whan hir confessowr percevyd how the worthy doctowr was chargyd be obediens that he schulde not spekyn ne comownyn wyth hir, than he, for to excludyn al occasyon, warnyd hir also, be vertu of obediens, that sche schulde no mor gon to the frerys, ne spekyn wyth the sayd doctowr, ne askyn hym no qwestyons as sche had don befor. And

⁵⁹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 69.

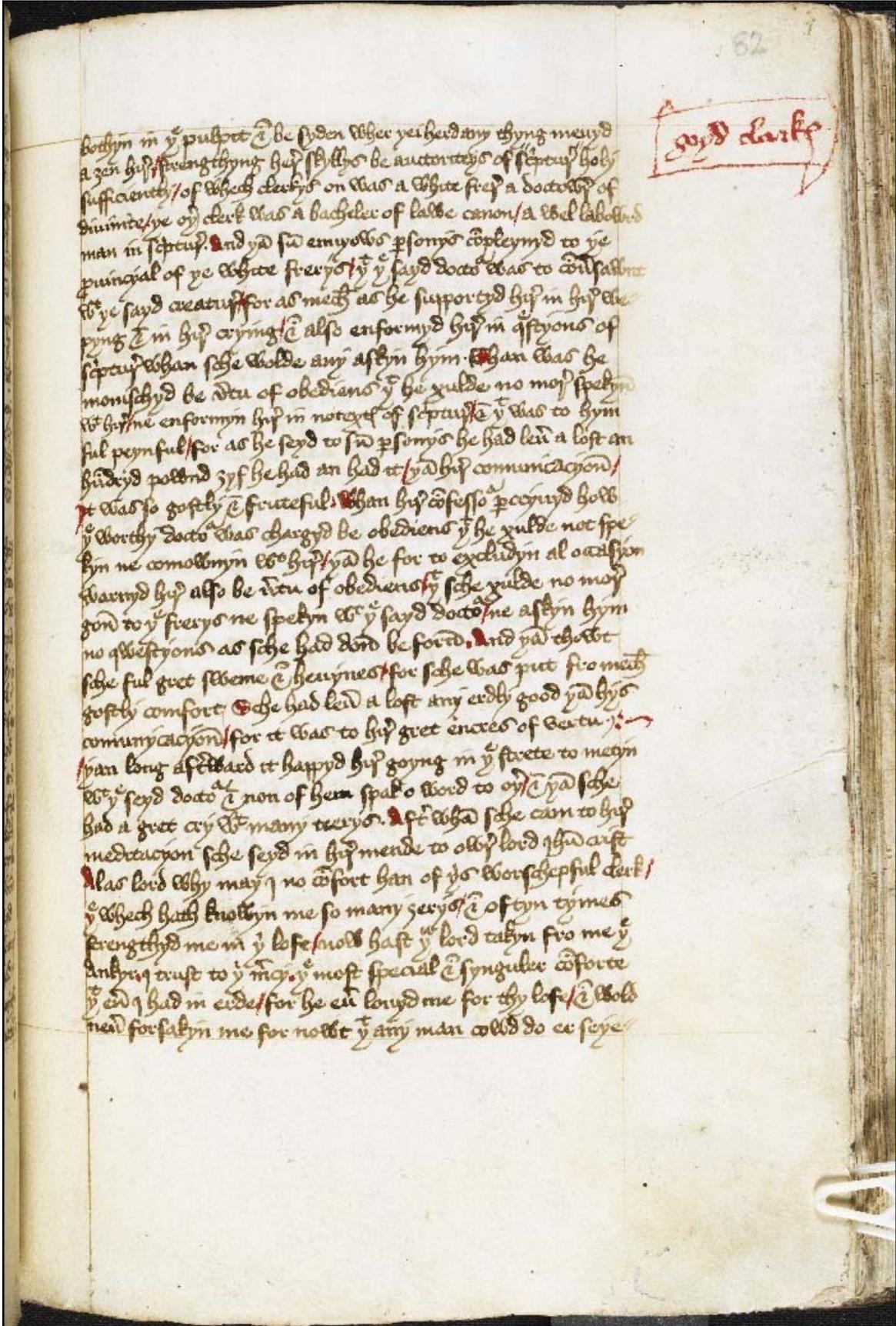
than thowt sche ful gret sweme and hevynes, for sche was put fro mech gostly comfort.
Sche had levar a lost any erdly good than hys comunycacyon, for it was to hir gret ences
of vertu.⁶⁰

If the *Book's* testimony is trustworthy, Alan of Lynn was Margery Kempe's defender both in and out of the pulpit, calling on the 'auctoriteys of holy scriptur' to justify her spiritual behaviour, and instructing her in the Bible. It is likely that their sharing and discussion of 'qwestyons of scriptur' was as much oral as textual.⁶¹ However, their 'conversacyon' and 'comunycacyon ... so gostely and fruteful' was interrupted by Lynn's prior provincial, Thomas Netter, and this intervention provides a perfect snapshot of the dilemma facing Carmelites in England between 1375 and 1450: how to appropriately promote the spiritual life of perfection and, in particular, the pondering of God's Word in Holy Writ, without transgressing the boundaries of what Church and Society deemed proper and decent.

The pondering of Scripture had become precarious in England following the furore prompted by the Oxford theologian John Wyclif (c.1328-84). As we shall consider more deeply in subsequent chapters, Wyclif and his followers (usually dubbed 'Lollards') called for the Bible to be made accessible to all, especially through access to it in the vernacular. Centuries later in our age of European religious liberty, we might well be puzzled by the fallout generated by Wyclif's teachings, and why Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn were separated from each other, but in late medieval England few people were in a better position to understand the precariousness of Master Alan's situation than his religious superior, the Carmelite provincial Thomas Netter (c.1372-1430).

⁶⁰ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 69 [313-15 in Windeatt's edition].

⁶¹ As Barry Windeatt points out, Kempe's 'account of visiting Julian of Norwich underlines how much of the giving and taking of spiritual counsel was through dialogue rather than by means of reading and writing': Barry Windeatt, 'Constructing Audiences for Contemplative Texts: The Example of a Mystical Anthology', in Stephen Kelly, John J. Thompson (eds.), *Imagining The Book*, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 159-71 [159]. See also: Barbara Zimbalist, 'Christ, Creature, and Reader: Verbal Devotion in *The Book of Margery Kempe*', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 41:1 (2015), 1-23.



Margery Kempe's account of Thomas Netter's prohibition on Alan of Lynn's conversations with her, as preserved in the one manuscript of her *Book*, London, British Library, Ms. Additional 61823, fo. 82.

Thomas Netter has been dubbed by David Knowles ‘the last great medieval theologian’ and ‘the most distinguished friar of any order between the age of Ockham and the Dissolution’.⁶² As we shall see at various points in this thesis, Netter was a great promoter of theological speculation and religious experimentation in certain circumstances (primarily but not exclusively the academic sphere), who helped give shape to the English Church at a time of crisis. He did this pre-eminently through his writing of the multi-volume *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei ecclesiae Catholicae*, a text that expounded Catholic teaching in opposition to the reformers John Wyclif and Jan Huss, which effectively became for centuries the Church’s ‘official anti-Wycliffite statement’.⁶³ Recent scholarship has highlighted the subtleties of Netter’s thought and the variety of his pastoral interests, beyond the classic designation of him as the ‘*Malleus haereticorum*’ (‘hammer of heretics’).⁶⁴ However, it cannot be gainsaid that through his writings, his participation in heresy trials, and his firm control of his Carmelite brethren, Thomas Netter also delineated the boundaries of religious speculation and formulated tests by which heresy could be detected and rooted out. Netter’s national and indeed international reputation for policing theological matters was attested to at the end of the 15th Century in a poem about him written by the French Carmelite Laurent Bureau:

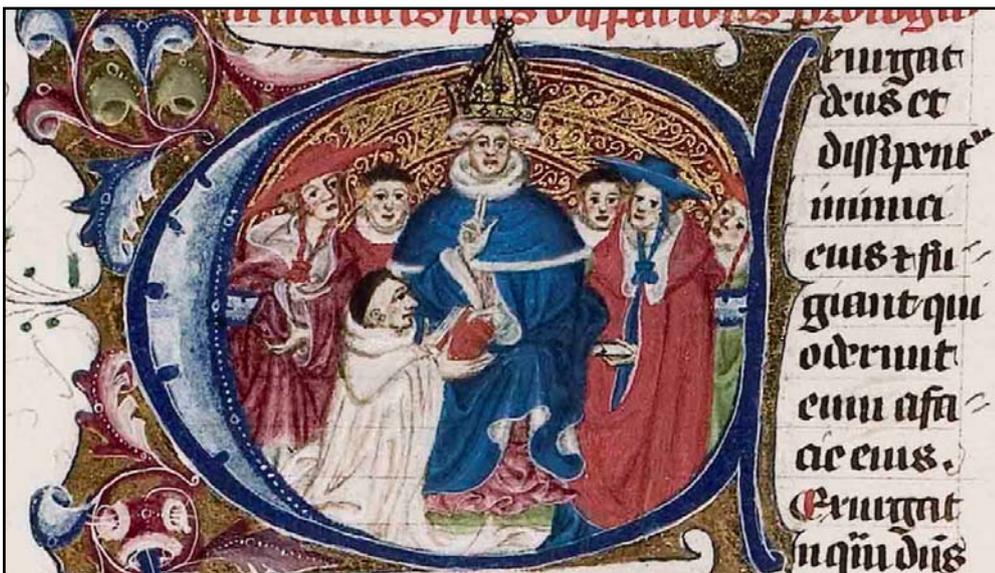
⁶² David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 2, 146. Only quite recently has Netter attracted the greater attention he deserves from medievalists. On Netter see: Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*; Johan Bergström-Allen and Richard Copsey (eds.), *Thomas Netter of Walden: Carmelite, Diplomat and Theologian (c.1372-1430)*, Carmel in Britain 4 (Faversham: Saint Albert’s Press, 2009); Kevin J. Alban, *The Teaching and Impact of the ‘Doctrinale’ of Thomas Netter of Walden (c.1374-1430)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Kantik Ghosh, ‘Thomas Netter and John Wyclif: hermeneutic confreres?’, in *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 174-208; Margaret E. Poskitt, ‘Thomas Netter of Walden’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 166-70; Lancelot C. Sheppard, *The English Carmelites* (London: Burns Oates, 1943), 45-46; W. W. Shirley (ed.), *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico, Ascribed to Thomas Netter of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth*, Rolls Series [Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland] (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), lxx-lxxii; John Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 349-75 [352]; *Wyclif and His Followers: An Exhibition to mark the 600th anniversary of the death of John Wyclif, December 1984 to April 1985, Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), 13 no. 13, 56 no. 89; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols (Washington D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1967, reprinted with supplements, 1981), vol 10, 363; Margaret Embree Turner, *Some aspects of the English Carmelites in the first half of the Fifteenth Century*, Masters Thesis (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1933), especially Chapter 4; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 1343-4; Sharpe, *Handlist of the Latin Writers*, Entry 1799, 671-72; Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), *passim*; J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), *passim*.

⁶³ Jean-Philippe Genet, ‘Ecclesiastics and Political Theory in Late Medieval England: The End of a Monopoly’, in Barrie Dobson (ed.), *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984), 23-43 [31]. On the structure, content, and compilation of the seemingly unfinished *Doctrinale*, see: Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*.

⁶⁴ According to the epitaph on Netter’s tomb in Rouen, the Carmelite ‘was not only a defender of the Catholic faith, but bequeathed innumerable works to posterity for the defeating of heresies. For this reason, everyone called him *the hammer of heretics*’. The text can be found in Latin and in translation in Bergström-Allen and Copsey, (eds.), *Thomas Netter of Walden*, 21, 108. On Netter’s place within the broader intellectual culture of his day, see the analytical survey by Mishtooni Bose, ‘Intellectual Life in Fifteenth-Century England’, *New Medieval Literatures*, 12 (2010), 333-70.

Hic prior Anglus erat per quem provincia gesta est
 Atque fides per quem candida nostra manet.
 Hic truncos heresum invasit rapidissimus ignis,
 Consilium testis Basiliense fuit.
 Exurgat Deus sevos qui dissip[a]t hostes,
 Sumpto principio perfida monstra necat.
 Scripseras at Thoma quam clara volumina, sedis
 Dicat apostolice que probat illa gradus.

*This prior was English by whom his province was directed,
 And through whom our faith remains shining.
 Like the fastest fire, he attacked the bodies of heresies/heretics
 As the Council of Basle bears witness.
 May God rise up, who puts such cruel enemies to flight,
 [?] With clear reasoning / Through a good beginning, he destroys these evil monsters,
 And Thomas, you wrote such wonderful volumes,
 The Holy See gave them its full approval.⁶⁵*



This miniature initial from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, Ms. 90, fo. 8v depicts Thomas Netter presenting a copy of his *Doctrinale* to Pope Martin V. Such images suggest a Carmelite awareness of the power of literature to uphold as well as to challenge religious orthodoxy.

⁶⁵ Laurent Bureau (Laurentius Burellus), *Catalogus de illustribus Carmeli patribus*, in Christine Jackson-Holzberg, *Zwei Literaturgeschichten des Karmelitenordens: Untersuchungen und kritische Edition*, Erlanger Studien Band 29 (Erlangen: Verlag Palm und Enke, 1981), 170-205 [197]; translated by Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*, with alterations and alternatives suggested by Roger Ellis and Valerie Edden.

Of particular concern to Thomas Netter – as recorded by Margery Kempe – was the discussion of the Bible in the vernacular, which he passionately believed had undermined the Church since its encouragement by John Wyclif and his followers, because – as he states in the *Doctrinale* – ‘Garrulous old women, doting old men and wordy sophists rend the Scriptures in pieces and teach them before they have learned them’.⁶⁶ His fear seems to have been not access to the Scriptures *per se*, but that the contemporary laity in general did not have the sufficient level of learning necessary to properly scrutinise, discuss, and teach the Bible. The question of lay teaching and preaching was of considerable concern to Netter, declaring in the *Doctrinale* that even monks and religious who have not been ordained may not ‘take up the honour of a preacher’. In the same section, he states that women may read and teach basic Scriptural texts to their families, but they must in no way do so in church. Those who do so, he concludes, are mistaken or deluded by dark powers.⁶⁷

Thomas Netter’s prolific correspondence likewise reveals his concerns about inappropriate access to and sharing of the Scriptures by an uneducated laity.⁶⁸ One of his correspondents was Thomas Rudborne (or Rodeburne), Archdeacon of Sudbury until 1417 when he succeeded the Carmelite Stephen Patrington as Bishop of St. Davids.⁶⁹ In 1411 Rudborne had been appointed by the University of Oxford to examine Wycliffite doctrines, which Kevin Alban suggests is perhaps the context in which the Carmelite provincial and archdeacon came into contact. In a letter to Rudborne, written

⁶⁶ Netter, *Doctrinale*, as translated by Alastair Minnis, *Translations of Authority in Medieval English Literature: Valuing the Vernacular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 113. On Netter’s attitude to women reading the Bible, see: Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 65. On Netter’s awareness of the different pastoral remits of clergy and religious, see: Mishtooni Bose, ‘Writing, Heresy, and the Anticlerical Muse’, in Elaine Treharne, Greg Walker (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 276-96 [285-86].

⁶⁷ Netter, *Doctrinale*, Blanciotti edition column 641, quoted by Manion, *Writers in Religious Orders and their Lay Patrons in Late Medieval England*, 45-46. On Netter’s intervention in what the author dubs ‘Margery’s Kempe’s Urban Ministry’, see: Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 256 ff. On some of the contemporary issues of sex and gender in the debate over teaching authority, see: Judith M. Bennett, Ruth Mazo Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Shannon McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy: Women and Men in Lollard Communities, 1420-1530*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1995); David Lavinsky, ‘“Knowynge Cristes Speche”: Gender and Interpretive Authority in the Wycliffite Sermon Cycle’, *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 38:1 (2012), 60-83; Kim M. Phillips, ‘Gender and sexuality’, in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 309-21; Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995, reprinted London: Phoenix Press, 2002).

⁶⁸ Thomas Netter’s correspondence is extremely helpful in gleaning details of medieval Carmelite life and work. John Bale quoted extracts from a collection of 164 *epistolae* in his notebook [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 94v-103v; Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 671]. Some of the letters have been translated: Kevin Alban, ‘The Letters of Thomas Netter of Walden’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 343-80.

⁶⁹ R. J. Schoeck, ‘Rodeburne, Thomas (d. 1442)’, *ODNB*.

presumably after Rudborne's Oxford appointment in 1411 and before his episcopal ordination in 1417, Netter stated:

Dear Master, you know how fervently I wish to expurgate the Wycliffite depravities which like a scorching fire devastate almost all the fruits of the Christian world; I know too of your holy zeal and constant fervour for the sacred flock of the fold. I am sending you a little book entitled *De Divinatione* which I wrote on the request of the lords, and which accounts for the prominence of Scripture.⁷⁰

Netter's *De Divinatione* is now lost, but from its citation elsewhere as *De Divinatione ad Principes* it would seem that it was a Latin *vade mecum* ('go with me' handbook) written for an aristocratic (and therefore presumably educated) lay audience interested in divination / discernment. The inference of his letter is that Netter equated 'the Wycliffite depravities' with 'the prominence of Scripture', that is, that Wycliffite ideas had been fomented by widespread (and in Netter's view inappropriate) access to the Bible. As will become evident, this was an idea shared by many contemporary prelates and scholars, both critics and supporters of John Wyclif. However patronising or possessive the Carmelite Provincial's attitude may appear to his critics, as Kevin Alban observes, this letter demonstrates 'Netter's genuine concern for orthodoxy amongst the laity'.⁷¹

Whilst Thomas Netter may have had misgivings about Margery Kempe personally, his specific prohibition against Alan of Lynn's discussion of Scripture with her articulates a more general fear on Netter's part that his friars were promoting Bible reading amongst the laity in a language they could understand but which they did not have the learning to properly interpret. As will become clearer in the course of this thesis, access to Holy Writ amongst uneducated laypersons was a major concern for the authorities of the medieval Church, keen to suppress the rise of the Lollard heresy, a trait of which was doctrinal authority claiming a basis in Scripture alone (*sola scriptura*).⁷² Certainly Margery Kempe herself hungered for access to the Scriptures more deeply than any other spiritual nourishment, declaring in prayer:

⁷⁰ Letter V in Alban, 'The Letters of Thomas Netter', 346. On the lost works of Thomas Netter, see: Anne Hudson, 'Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)', *ODNB*.

⁷¹ Kevin J. Alban, *The Teaching and Impact of the 'Doctrinale' of Thomas Netter of Walden (c.1374-1430)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 51.

⁷² On this notion and Carmelite opposition to it, see: 'Scriptura Sola' in *Wyclif and His Followers: An Exhibition to mark the 600th anniversary of the death of John Wyclif, December 1984 to April 1985, Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), 18-21.

‘Alas, Lord, as many clerkys as thu hast in this world, that thu ne woldyst sendyn me on of hem that myth fulfillyn my sowle wyth thi word and with redyng of holy scriptur, for alle the clerkys that prechyn may not fulfillyn, for me thynkyth that my sowle is evyr alych hungry ... thi word is mor worthy to me than alle the good in this world.’⁷³

Alan of Lynn had been an answer to Margery Kempe’s prayer, until Thomas Netter’s intervention.

Prohibited access to the Bible

As we shall consider at greater length in due course, the English Church – under the leadership of Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1397 and between 1399 and 1414 – sought to stop the spread of John Wyclif’s heretical ideas by prohibiting or controlling access to the Bible in English. In the now infamous *Constitutions* drawn up by theologians at Oxford in 1407 and promulgated by Thomas Arundel in 1409, the translation of the Bible from St. Jerome’s Latin Vulgate into English and the possession of the text (either in complete form or in short passages) were forbidden, and to be considered evidence of heresy if not accompanied by the licence of the local ordinary (such as a bishop or prior provincial); ‘so from then onwards it was difficult, if not impossible, for male spiritual advisers to recommend unequivocally the reading of scripture, without risking charges of unorthodoxy and imperilling their spiritual daughters’.⁷⁴ Since few lay men and even fewer lay women in fifteenth-century England were able to read the Sacred Scriptures in Latin unaided, Margery Kempe was reliant upon clergy such as Alan of Lynn to ‘enformyn hir in ... textys of scriptur’, and their Bible discussions must have taken place in English since she states herself that she did not understand Latin (Book 1, Chapter 47).⁷⁵ Without the permission of Thomas Netter as his ordinary, Alan of Lynn’s engagement in vernacular discussion of the Bible with Margery Kempe could have laid them both open to the charge of heresy, even a decade or two after Arundel’s *Constitutions*.

Such a charge had become a matter of life and death after 1401 when the passing of the anti-Lollard parliamentary act *De haeretico comburendo* (*Of the Burning of Heretics*) legislated for the

⁷³ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 58 (Windeatt edition 278).

⁷⁴ Alexandra Barratt, ‘“Take a Book and Read”: Advice for Religious Women’, in Cate Gunn, Catherine Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 193-208 [196]. On the impact of Arundel’s *Constitutions* upon lay piety in particular see: Nicole R. Rice, *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline in Middle English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 69.

⁷⁵ On Latin literacy amongst medieval women, see: Barratt, *op. cit.*, 196. On Kempe’s reading of the Bible see the chapter ‘Two Norfolk Ladies: Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe’ in Henry Wansborough, *The Use and Abuse of the Bible: a Brief History of Biblical Interpretation* (London: T&T Clark/Continuum, 2010).

execution of relapsed heretics.⁷⁶ The act is evidence that by the fifteenth century heresy had effectively become a thought-crime requiring the surveillance and censorship of, first, the established Church, then officers of Church and State at national and local levels. The act was certainly enforced in the first quarter of the fifteenth century when East Anglia and the East Midlands (especially Norwich and Leicester) saw a number of Lollard heresy trials.⁷⁷ Of particular local impact upon Kempe must have been the burning as a Lollard of William Sawtre(y), Rector of St. Margaret's Church in Lynn, in March 1401.

⁷⁶ The act is considered in more depth in Chapters Two and Four. For a general overview of heresy, its early manifestations within Christianity, and its suppression in the late Middle Ages, see: Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c.1250-c.1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, reprinted 1999); Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1977, Third Edition 2002); Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links Between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); Edward Peters (ed.), *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980); Peter Biller, 'Christians and heretics', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 170-86; Peter Biller, 'Heresy and Dissent', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 251-64; Andrew P. Roach, James R. Simpson (eds.), *Heresy and the Making of European Culture: Medieval and Modern Perspectives* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); John H. Arnold, 'Repression and power', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 355-71; David J. Collins, 'The Christian Church, 1370-1550', in Hamish Scott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750: Volume 1 – Peoples and Place* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the Work of R. I. Moore*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Carol Lansing, 'Popular Belief and Heresy', in Carol Lansing, Edward D. English (eds.), *A Companion to the Medieval World* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 276-92; Carter Lindberg (ed.), *The European Reformations Sourcebook* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, Second Edition 2014); Nadia Margolis, 'Heresy', in Elizabeth Emery, Richard Utz (eds.), *Medievalism: Key Critical Terms*, Medievalism Series (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014); the chapters 'Heresy and Its Repression' and "'Morning Stars" or Heretics? Wyclif, Jus, and Followers', in Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Joseph F. Kelly, 'Heresy in Early and Medieval Christianity', in Robert Benedetto, et al (eds.), *The New SCM Dictionary of Church History*, Volume 1 From the Early Church to 1700 (London: SCM Press, 2008), 301-02.

⁷⁷ On the trials, particularly those ordered by Bishop William Alnwick (whose interaction with Carmelites will later be discussed in relation to Richard Misyn), see: Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428-31*, Camden Fourth Series 20 (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1977); Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 38 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), Text 5 and accompanying notes; Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 71-99; 'Heresy Trials' in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, Fiona Somerset (eds. and trans.), *Wycliffite Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2013), 319-66; 'Their Trials' in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 159-87. Bishop Alnwick was in possession of a copy of Netter's *Doctrinale*, showing a probable link between Carmelite theology and diocesan prosecution of heresy: Margaret Harvey, 'The Diffusion of the *Doctrinale* of Thomas Netter in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in Lesley Smith, Benedicta Ward (eds.), *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Margaret Gibson* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1992), 281-294 [291].



The Carmelites' involvement in heresy trials is depicted in their attendance at Mass (detail) during 'The burning at the stake of the heretic Nicolaus' (1425) by Stefano di Giovanni Sassetta (1392-1450).
Tempera and gold leaf on wood panel, 24.6 x 38.7cm. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.

Though generally seen as part of the established Church, even members of religious orders could find themselves on the wrong side of the 1401 legislation. Various texts and paintings (such as that above) from the early fifteenth century depict Carmelites siding very much with the conservative forces of religious orthodoxy against heretics (the debateable usefulness of this dualist terminology acknowledged). Whitefriars generally, including Alan of Lynn, were renowned as opponents of Wyclif and the Lollards in England, and of other heresies on the Continent.⁷⁸ However, the Carmelites' pastoral urge to share the Word of God with ordinary people could lead to accusations of impropriety, such as those laid against Alan of Lynn in his dealings with Margery Kempe.

It is pertinent to mention here, by way of illustration, the legacy of three early Carmelites who imbued the Order with a reputation for upholding religious orthodoxy. The first is Saint Angelus of Sicily (1185-1220), who according to early hagiographies was called by God to leave the hermitage on Mount Carmel to preach in Italy against the heretical movements of Albigensians, Bulgara, and Patarini. In Sicily Angelus sought to convert a Cathar knight called Berengarius, who along with 'impious infidels' had the preacher killed by blows to the head. Angelus' tomb in Licata became a site of pilgrimage, and his cult grew, with papal approval, following the circulation of a *vita* and a

⁷⁸ Carmelite opposition to the Lollards will be a major theme in this thesis. On the topic see also: J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretyz on the Seven Deadly Sins* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956), xxx; Walter Hilton, *Walter Hilton – The Scale of Perfection* (eds. and trans.) John P. H. Clark, Rosemary Dorward, Classics of Western Spirituality (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1991), 19; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 35; Anne Hudson, 'John Purvey: A Reconsideration of the Evidence for his Life and Writings', in *Lollards and their Books* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985), 85-110 [97]; Mishtooni Bose, 'The Opponents of John Wyclif', in Ian Christopher Levy (ed.), *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 407-55.

Carmelite *catalogue of saints* in the late fourteenth century. Devotion to Angelus spread among the Carmelites to the extent that he was dubbed one of the ‘Fathers of the Order’, and the General Chapter of 1498 prescribed that a daily commemoration of him be made in all convents. Angelus was regarded by the Carmelites as a martyr who gave his life in defence of the truth against heresy.⁷⁹



Saint Angelus (detail) is depicted in Fra Filippo Lippi's painting (1429-1432) *Madonna Trivulzio* (Our Lady of Humility with angels and Carmelite saints). Tempera on wood transported on canvas (62x167.5 cm). Milan, Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco.

The second Carmelite whose work against heresy left a particular impression on the Whitefriars was Gui Terreni (c.1270-1342), a friar from Catalonia who became Prior General of the Order (1318-21), General Inquisitor of Majorca, and eventually the first Whitefriar to be made a bishop (of Majorca 1321-32, then Elna 1332-42).⁸⁰ He studied in Paris, becoming *magister theologiae* (Master of

⁷⁹ On Angelus and his cult see: see: Ludovico Saggi (ed.), *Santi del Carmelo: Biografie da vari dizionari* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1972), translated in Louis Saggi et al, *Saints of Carmel: A Compilation from Various Dictionaries* (trans.) Gabriel Pausback (Rome: Carmelite Institute, 1972).

⁸⁰ Also known as Guido Terrena/Terrana and Guy de Perpignan (*de Perpiniano*). On Terreni see: Alexander Fidora (ed.), *Guido Terreni, O.Carm. (†1342): Studies and Texts*, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 78 (Barcelona – Madrid: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d' Études Médiévales, 2015); Bartolomé María Xiberta, *Guiu Terrena, Carmelita de Perpinyà* (Barcelona: Institució Patxot, 1932); Jorge J. E. Gracia, 'The Convertibility of Unum and Ens According to Guido Terrena', *Franciscan Studies* 33 (1973), 143-70; Thomas Turley, 'Guido Terreni, heresy, and the reconstruction of tradition: 1317-1342', in Nancy Van Deusen (ed.), *Tradition and Ecstasy: The Agony of the Fourteenth Century*, Claremont Cultural Studies (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), 51-68; Takashi Shogimen, 'William of Ockham and Guido Terreni', *History of Political Thought*, 19:4 (1998), 517-30; Francisco Bertelloni, 'Guido Terrena', in Jorge J. E. Gracia, Timothy B. Noone (eds.), *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Blackwell Companions to Philosophy 24 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 291-92; C. Schabel, 'Early Carmelites between Giants: Questions on Future Contingents by Gerard of Bologna and Guy Terrena', *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 70 (2003), 139-205; Takashi Shogimen, 'William of Ockham and conceptions of heresy, c.1250-c.1350', in Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen, Cary J. Nederman (eds.), *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern*

Theology) in 1312. He wrote treatises on theology, philosophy and canon law, and commentaries on works of Aristotle, Gratian's *Decretum*, and Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (the basic theology textbook of medieval Christendom). Teaching canon law and scholastic philosophy in Paris and Avignon, Terreni promoted the notions of papal infallibility and the authority of the Church over the interpretation of Scripture, by which the Carmelite effectively expanded notions of what constitutes heresy.⁸¹ Discerning and opposing heresy was a major preoccupation for this Carmelite scholar, who published against Islam *Errores Sarracenorum* (*The Errors of the Saracens*), and a *Summa de Hæresibus et earum confutationibus* (*Summary of Heresies and their Confutations*, c.1338-42).⁸² This *Summa* was a catalogue of all known heresies and ripostes to them, published in the year of Terreni's death, 1342, and continued by others. This catalogue, much overlooked by historians until recently, listed the errors that Terreni perceived in the beliefs of antiquity (Jews, Greeks, Manicheans, Muslims, Georgians, Armenians, and so on), and more contemporary persons and movements (Waldensians, Cathars, Joachim of Fiore, the Beguines, and Peter John Olivi). Living at the court of Pope John XXII, Terreni became embroiled in supporting the life and ministry of the papacy. An inquisitor at the Avignon papal court, Terreni served on commissions as theological advisor during periods of enquiry into the works of Meister Eckhart and others. Terreni made pronouncements in the conflict between the Franciscan Spirituals and Pope John XXII,⁸³ gave judgments on magical practices, was the first to condemn as heretical the writings of Joachim of Fiore, and was asked to judge the apocalyptic writings of Peter John Olivi.⁸⁴ As teacher of the eminent Whitefriars John Baconthorpe from England

Europe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 59-70; Guiu Terreni, *Confutatio errorum quorundam magistrorum* (eds.) Alexander Fidora, Almudena Blasco, Celia López Alcalde (Barcelona: Obrador edendum, 2014); Irene Bueno, 'Guido Terreni at Avignon and the "Heresies" of the Armenians', *Medieval Encounters* 21:2-3, 169-89.

⁸¹ See Gregg Allison, *Historical Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 86.

⁸² Some eight manuscripts survive, listed by John Tolan, 'Summa de hæresibus', in David Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 600-1500*, BrillOnline Reference Works, consulted online on 7th July 2016. Partial editions and translations of the text (also spelt as *Summa de Hæresibus*) include: J. Roch (ed.), *Summa de hæresibus et earum confutationibus* (Paris, 1528); J. Steiner (ed.), *Summa de hæresibus ab initio mundi usque ad a. 1300 et ultra* (Cologne, 1631); Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols (Orléans, 1752, reprinted (ed.) Gabriel Wessels, Rome: 1927), vol 1, columns 581-88. Terreni also wrote *De perfectione Christiana*.

⁸³ On the background see: 'The Spiritual Franciscans and Voluntary Poverty' in Edward Peters (ed.), *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 235-50; 'Tension and Insecurity: Gregory X to John XXII', and 'Spiritual Franciscans and Heretical Joachimites', in Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, Third Edition 2002), 190-93, 208-35.

⁸⁴ Terreni served on a commission of theologians to examine Peter Olivi's *Postilla super Apocalipsim*. Also on the commission was an English Carmelite, Simon Wichingham, who received his doctorate in Paris, and was there for commission meetings in 1318 and 1320, and the Italian Carmelite Gerard of Bologna. On Wichingham and Gerard of Bologna see: Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*. On the condemnation of certain Franciscans' views on poverty and prophecy see: 'The Disputes within the Franciscan order' in Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c.1250-c.1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, reprinted 1999), 51-166.

and Sibert de Beka (of Beek) from Germany,⁸⁵ as well as contemporary of the Franciscan William of Ockham, Terreni and his scholastic discourses on heresy were to have an influence on mendicant thought in England.⁸⁶ Indeed, it has been argued that Terreni’s teachings against heresy may have had an influence on the writers of vernacular theology in England.⁸⁷



Gui Terreni, dressed in Carmelite habit and bishop’s mitre, presents his *Summa de haeresibus* to its dedicatee, Cardinal Pierre Roger (future Pope Clement VI). The codex was produced and illuminated in a prominent atelier in Avignon, most likely during the pontificate of Clement VI (1342-52).

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Cod. guelf. 5.1 Gud. Lat., fo. 1, with detail.⁸⁸

A third Carmelite who exemplifies the Order’s championing of orthodoxy, and one whose time and location was nearer to Thomas Netter, was the Irish Whitefriar Ralph O’Ceallaigh (or Kelly, d.

⁸⁵ Sibert de Beka (1260-1333) – best remembered for his work on Carmelite liturgy, as discussed below – was another member of the Order involved in refuting heresy. See: Thomas Turley, ‘Sibert of Beek’s Response to Marsilius of Padua’, *Carmelus*, 52 (2005), 81-104.

⁸⁶ On the important role of Carmelites, including Alan of Lynn and Thomas Netter, on the suppression of Joachimism, see: “‘Through the Hiding of Books’: The Codicological Evidence for Joachite Franciscanism and Censorship in England before and after Wyclif” in Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*.

⁸⁷ John Henry Blunt argued that the author of *The Myroure of Oure Ladye* had a good knowledge of ecclesiastical history and the heresies put down by the formulations of the Nicene Creed; “this may have been obtained from such early heresiologists as Epiphanius, Philaster, and Augustine; but an important work, “*Summa de Hæresibus omnibus et earum confutationibus*,” had been written by Guido de Perpiniano about the beginning of the 14th century, and it was probably much studied at the time when the Mirror was written.” John Henry Blunt (ed.), *The Myroure of our Ladye*, Early English Text Society Extra Series 19 (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1873, reprinted 1998), 358.

⁸⁸ On this manuscript see: Irene Bueno, ‘Guido Terreni at Avignon and the “Heresies” of the Armenians’, *Medieval Encounters* 21:2-3, 169-89.

1361). After studying in France, O’Ceallaigh was elected Procurator General (senior canon lawyer) of the Order at the General Chapter held at Albi in 1327. However, the General Chapter held at Nîmes in 1333 dismissed him from office at the behest of Pope John XXII, perhaps because O’Ceallaigh judged the pontiff to be a heretic.⁸⁹ After John XXII’s death, O’Ceallaigh was reappointed Procurator General twice more, until he was consecrated Bishop of Leighlin in 1344. O’Ceallaigh acted as suffragan bishop in York, and performed ordinations in Winchester and Southwark, returning to Ireland after being appointed Archbishop of Cashel in 1345. In 1347 Pope Clement VI ordered Archbishop O’Ceallaigh and the Archbishop-elect of Armagh, Richard Fitzralph, to enquire into the charge that the Archbishop of Dublin, Alexander de Bicknor, was sheltering heretics. Heresy was also of concern to O’Ceallaigh when in 1353 his men physically attacked the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Roger Craddock, for burning without the archbishop’s permission two men convicted of blasphemy against the Virgin Mary.⁹⁰ Opposing heresy and improper enquiry into it, scrutinising not only his brother bishops in Ireland but even the Bishop of Rome, O’Ceallaigh gained a reputation as a champion of orthodoxy, described over a century later by John Bale as ‘a man with a clear intellect, pleasing speech, kindly in his gestures, exceedingly learned and fearless in whatever he did.’⁹¹

Thomas Netter seems to have been in no doubt that the Carmelites’ reputation for upholding orthodoxy within the Church, painstakingly earned by men such as Angelus of Sicily, Gui Terreni, and Ralph O’Ceallaigh, would easily be besmirched if his Order’s doctors of theology consorted with the likes of Margery Kempe, whose ‘claim that the Bible gave her leave to speak of God was met with doubt, downright hostility, and frequent accusations of heresy’.⁹² It is highly probable that Netter knew the fate of other women who claimed the right to speak freely of God. In 1310 the French mystic Marguerite de Porète had been burned at the stake after refusing to recant the ‘Heresy of the Free Spirit’ ideas expressed in her book *Le Miroir des Âmes Simples* (*The Mirror of Simple Souls*), written

⁸⁹ John XXII’s opinion on the beatific vision (namely that departed souls would see God only after the final resurrection of all the dead) was widely condemned because it seemed to undermine the Church’s teaching on the intercession of the saints. See: M. Dykmans, ‘Jean XXII et les Carmes: la controverse de la vision’, *Carmelus*, 17 (1970), 151-92 [153, 166 on O’Ceallaigh].

⁹⁰ D. F. Gleeson, ‘A Fourteenth-Century Clare Heresy Trial’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, series 5, vol 89 (1958), 36-42.

⁹¹ Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 72; translated by Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

⁹² Minnis, *Translations of Authority*, 112. On the accusations of heresy made against Kempe, and the contemporary context of Lollard trial and execution, see: John H. Arnold, ‘Margery’s Trials: Heresy, Lollardy and Dissent’, in John H. Arnold, Katherine J. Lewis, *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 75-93; ‘Margery Kempe’s “lollard” shame’, in Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 155-82. Manion comments in his doctoral thesis on how the Carmelite *Constitutions* of 1336 seem concerned with protocols for maintaining the Order’s good reputation, only granting access to the cloister to a woman if she was ‘an honest matron or some other woman of good fame who cannot be denied without scandal’ [25]. This echoes the stipulations made by the corrody of the Lynn Carmelites discussed earlier.

originally in the vernacular of Old French and later translated into Middle English and Latin.⁹³ Among the 21 theologians from the University of Paris who had been charged with examining Porète's orthodoxy in 1309 had been the Carmelite Gerard of Bologna, whom the previous year had served on a similar commission advising King Philip IV of France on the suppression of the Knights Templar.⁹⁴

As we have already noted, Alan of Lynn was very intrigued by contemporary female spirituality, but as a contemporary – the writer of the *Speculum Devotorum* (c.1415-25) – indicated, interest in women's mystical experience could be construed as evidence of dangerous theological speculation, and therefore it was important to cite only 'revelacyonys of approvyd wymmen'.⁹⁵ A year after Netter died, in 1431 Joan of Arc was burned at the stake, her divine intimations branded demonic.⁹⁶ In this climate of suspicion about the laity's Bible reading and inappropriate female religious experience, Netter's restrictions on Alan of Lynn may have been motivated not by an unjust desire to disenfranchise Kempe but a genuine pastoral concern to protect his brother as well as the wider Order.⁹⁷ Thomas Netter had attended the Church's Council of Pisa in 1409 (which had unsuccessfully attempted to end the Western Schism), and perhaps briefly attended the Council of Constance in 1414 (which ended the Schism and sentenced heretics), seeing the fate of those whose theological opinions were condemned. Faced with the threats of heresy, the Carmelite Order was at pains to uphold the status quo of orthodox Christian doctrine among the faithful of medieval England.

⁹³ Margaret Porete, *The Mirror of Simple Souls* (trans.) Edmund Colledge, J. C. Marler, Judith Grant, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture 6 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999). On her condemnation see: 'The Heresy of the Free Spirit' in Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c.1250-c.1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, reprinted 1999), 308-407; Henry Ansgar Kelly, 'Inquisitorial Deviations and Cover-Ups: The Prosecutions of Margaret Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart, 1308-1310', *Speculum*, 89:4 (October 2014), 936-73.

⁹⁴ Paul F. Crawford, 'The Involvement of the University of Paris in the Trials of Marguerite Porete and of the Templars, 1308-10', in Jochen Burgdorf, Paul F. Crawford, Helen J. Nicholson (eds.), *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 129-44 [130, 135].

⁹⁵ Quoted in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 76, line 74. For an edition see: Paul J. Patterson (ed.), *A Mirror to Devout People (Speculum Devotorum)*, Early English Text Society Original Series 346 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016 for 2015). On its composition and audience see: Paul J. Patterson, 'Female Readers and the Sources of the *Mirror to Devout People*', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 42:2 (2016), 181-200.

⁹⁶ On parallels drawn between Joan of Arc and Margery Kempe in the 1930s, the period when Kempe's *Book* was rediscovered and Joan was canonised, see: 'Anchoritic Damsel: Margery Kempe of Lynn, c.1373-c.1440', in David Wallace, *Strong Women: Life, Text, and Territory 1347-1645* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 61-132.

⁹⁷ We need not think that treading a fine line between responding to lay demands for innovative theological texts and maintaining an anxious control over access to vernacular texts is necessarily restrictive. Scholars such as Jocelyn Wogan-Browne have recently argued that such tension led to a 'productive mixture of anxiety and control with which clerisy responded to the demands of vernacular readers' – Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'Time to Read: Pastoral Care, Vernacular Access and the Case of Angier of St Frideswide', in Cate Gunn, Catherine Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 62-77 [77].

Kempe and Lynn reunited

However, upholding orthodoxy within the Church and Carmelite Order was not achieved only by restriction and repression, bullying and burning. Engagement and education were also used to inform the laity in counter-moves against heresy. Eventually Thomas Netter relaxed his restrictions upon Alan of Lynn, showing that whilst he was strict he was not inflexible.⁹⁸ Margery Kempe's narrative implies that her relationship with Master Alan was restored as a result of her prayerful intercession for him during a period of sickness.⁹⁹ A less mystical explanation is that perhaps Netter came to be satisfied of Kempe's orthodoxy; maybe he accepted that if Bible translation was the cause of heretical dissent it might also be the cure; or perhaps he was simply motivated, as a Carmelite, to respond to a laywoman's authentic desire for 'the excellent knowledge of Jesus Christ' (*Philippians* 3:8) in the Scriptures, since as St. Jerome famously warned 'Ignorantia Scripturae ignorantia Christi est' ('ignorance of Scripture is ignorance of Christ').¹⁰⁰



Saint Jerome and an unnamed holy Carmelite.

Two panels from the now fragmented Pisa Polyptych Altarpiece created for the Carmelites by Masaccio in 1426.

Tempera on poplar wood, 38 x 13cm each. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

⁹⁸ Interestingly in 1421 Netter wrote to the Prior General of the Carmelite Order defending himself against allegations made by his coreligionists that he was too strict in pastoral matters. The text is translated in Bergström-Allen and Copsey, *Thomas Netter of Walden*, 73-74.

⁹⁹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 70.

¹⁰⁰ St. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Isaiam libri xviii* prol., in *Patrologia latina*, 24,17B.

Carmelites and God's Word

The genuine desire of Carmelites to promote 'the excellent knowledge of Jesus Christ' (*Philippians* 3:8) in the Scriptures, even at a time of ecclesiastical concerns about heresy, should not be underestimated. Indeed, it was (and remains) at the core of the Carmelite vocation, distinctive even in a Church obliged by its self-understanding to spread God's Word.¹⁰¹

Many commentators on the Order's *Rule of Saint Albert* (a text discussed in the next chapter) agree that at its heart – the very *propositum* (basic thrust and purpose) of the Carmelite Order – is the injunction for Carmelites to 'meditate on the Law of the Lord day and night' ('*die ac nocte, in lege Domini meditantes*').¹⁰² As Christ is 'the fulfilment of the Law' (*Romans* 10:4), this passage of Albert's *Rule* is usually interpreted as meaning the pondering of Christ's life as found in the Bible, and the whole of Holy Scripture in general. Bible study and meditation, particularly in the form of prayer known as *Lectio Divina* ('Holy Reading'), has been a central component of Carmelite life since the Order's origins.¹⁰³ According to a recent study of biblical citation by medieval Carmelite writers, the Whitefriars were 'men of God's Word' whose practice of *lectio divina* explains their considerable familiarity with Holy Scripture.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ On the Church's dissemination of the Bible at this time see: Katherine Jansen, 'The Word and its diffusion' [114-32], and Christopher Ocker, 'The Bible in the fifteenth century' [472-93], in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For a general overview on the use of the Bible in the later Middle Ages see: Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Frans van Liere, 'The Latin Bible, c.900 to the Council of Trent, 1546' [93-109], and Richard Marsden, 'The Bible in English' [217-38], in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England*, Manchester Medieval Studies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

¹⁰² Chapter 10, by the modern numbering system. For the text of the *Rule* see Appendix 2.

¹⁰³ For an overview of *lectio* in both medieval and modern contexts see: Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 212-13; E. Ann Matter, 'Lectio Divina', in Amy Hollywood, Patricia Z. Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 147-56; 'Lectio Divina' in Carl McColman, *The Big Book of Christian Mysticism: The Essential Guide to Contemplative Spirituality* (Charlottesville: Hampton Roads Publishing Company, 2010), 189-97; Gabriel O'Donnell, 'Reading for Holiness: *Lectio Divina*', in Robin Maas, Gabriel O'Donnell (eds.), *Spiritual Traditions for the Contemporary Church* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), 45-54; Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading*, Cistercian Studies, 238 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press for Cistercian Publications, 2011); Thelma Hall, *Too Deep for Words: Rediscovering Lectio Divina* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988); Mariano Magrassi, *Praying the Bible: An Introduction to Lectio Divina* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1998); Mario Masini, *Lectio Divina: An Ancient Prayer That Is Ever New* (Staten Island, New York: Alba House, 1998). On *Lectio Divina* in the Carmelite tradition see: Keith J. Egan, Craig E. Morrison (eds.), *Master of the Sacred Page: Essays and Articles in Honor of Roland E. Murphy* (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1997); Joseph Chalmers, 'The Goal of the Christian Life', in *Mary the Contemplative* (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2001), 19-34; Carlos Mesters, *Defenseless Flower: A New Reading of the Bible* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1989); Roland E. Murphy, *Experiencing Our Biblical Heritage* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2001); Wilfrid Stinissen, *Nourished By The Word* (Chawton, Hampshire: Redemptorist Publications, 1999); Johan Bergström-Allen, 'Lectio Divina and Carmel's Attentiveness to the Bible', in *Climbing the Mountain: The Carmelite Journey* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2010), 253-77.

¹⁰⁴ Henricus Pidyarto, 'The Use of the Bible by Medieval Carmelite Writers', in *Studia Philosophica et Theologica*, [Review of the STFT Widya Sanana College of Philosophy and Theology in Malang, Indonesia], 1:2 (March 2002), 142-152. A summary of the author's findings is given at the beginning of his follow-up article 'How Biblical is the *Ignea*

This familiarity with Scripture was also encouraged by the Order's sense of identity and biblical origins. As shall be considered in due course, the Carmelites had no founding figure such as saints Benedict, Francis, or Dominic. Instead they took two biblical figures as spiritual patrons of the Order: the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Old Testament prophet Elijah. The first Carmelite hermits had formed a community on Mount Carmel, a site hallowed by the memory of Elijah, and their successors came to regard the prophet as their 'leader and father' (*dux et pater*). Elijah was revered as embodying the very spirit of the Carmelite Order, a tradition handed down to Elisha and subsequent disciples, the 'sons of the prophets' described in Scripture. As recounted in the Bible's *Books of the Kings*, Elijah had resided on Carmel some 900 years before the birth of Jesus, and it was there that the Tishbite took a prophetic stand against the worship of the false idol Baal introduced by Jezebel, wife of King Ahab. On Mount Carmel, Elijah's miraculous summoning of fire brought the people of Israel back to the worship of the one true God, and prompted the slaughter of the false prophets (*1 Kings 18*).

Elijah was therefore an important figure of inspiration for Thomas Netter in the Carmelite Order's efforts to oppose 'false worship'. Writing probably in the 1420s to the provincial of the Carmelites in Germany, Thomas Heimersheim, Netter asked:

Where are the writers against heresies, where are the holy preachers? Are there none but those who sit in the seat of Moses like the Pharisees and say much but do precious little, and who preach to others but are found reprobate themselves? Alas Father, that none of our people is found worthy to open the closed book; that no one or scarcely anyone goes before Christ the judge in the strength and spirit of our father Elias [Elijah] in these difficult days. The same Elias dwells in paradise and his spirit our religious profession proclaims; in painful anxiety he looks out to see which of his sons, our brothers, he will have as a companion in the conflict with the antichrist.¹⁰⁵

For Netter and his confreres, the Bible and its characters provided a clear template for the Order in its efforts to promote and police the bounds of religious speculation.

Whilst the Bible was hardly the exclusive possession of the Carmelite Order, that community's tradition did place especially strong emphasis upon its study and preaching. Of the roughly 70 known Bible scholars at the University of Paris in the fourteenth century, 25 of them (almost a third) were

Sagitta?, in Giovanni Grosso, Wilmar Santin (eds.), *Memoriam Fecit Mirabilium Dei: Scritti in onore di Emanuele Boaga, O.Carm.*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 31 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2009), 467-80.

¹⁰⁵ Letter IV, translated by Alban, 'The Letters of Thomas Netter', 345.

Carmelites, as were 8 out of 25 (again almost a third) in the fifteenth. At the University of Oxford, almost half the medieval doctors of theology specifically known for their Bible studies were Carmelite (16 out of 34 in the fourteenth century, and 11 out of 17 in the fifteenth).¹⁰⁶ Not only were medieval mendicant libraries depositories for copies of the Bible, they often contained as preaching aids texts that summarised and harmonised the Gospel accounts, as well as various prose and verse paraphrases of the life of Christ.¹⁰⁷ As John Fleming rightly notes, ‘The life of Christ – not merely the textual Gospels but a whole literary edifice of piously imagined biography in which the Gospel texts were merely the most important, stress-bearing members – is at the centre of most mendicant cultural activity.’¹⁰⁸ Even with its emphasis upon the prophet Elijah and Virgin Mary as patrons of the Order, Carmelite spirituality is radically Christocentric.¹⁰⁹ Despite his evident fears, Thomas Netter could not forget that at the heart of his Order’s ministry was helping people, in the words of the Carmelite *Rule*, ‘whatever their state of life or whatever kind of religious life they have chosen, to live in allegiance to Jesus Christ’.¹¹⁰ In this phrase the foundational ‘vision statement’ of Carmelite life acknowledges the ‘call to perfection’ in Christ that all his followers receive, regardless of their ‘religious’, ‘clerical’ or ‘lay’ status.¹¹¹

Whatever the reason for Thomas Netter’s change of heart, Margery Kempe was eventually reunited with Alan of Lynn when he was due to ‘dinyr in towne wyth a worschiful woman which had takyn the mentyl and the ryng’.¹¹² Lynn’s guidance of this vowess (a widow who vowed never to remarry and exhibited this by the wearing of a particular cloak and ring) is again evidence of Carmelite interest in the spirituality of consecrated lay women (as this thesis will later explore in the cases of

¹⁰⁶ I am grateful to the late Fr. Emanuele Boaga for these figures on what he terms the ‘biblical faculties’ of these universities, but am uncertain of his sources; whatever the precise numbers, it is clear that – in relation to the size of the Order – Carmelites placed tremendous emphasis upon Biblical scholarship.

¹⁰⁷ Mary Raschko points out that the London Carmelites, Exeter Dominicans, and Oxford Franciscans all had copies of *Unum ex Quattuor*, a Gospel harmony composed in the mid-twelfth century by Clement of Llanthony. See: Mary Raschko, ‘*Oon of Foure*: Harmonizing Wycliffite and Pseudo-Bonaventuran Approaches to the Life of Christ’, in Ian Johnson, Allan F. Westphall (eds.), *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, Medieval Church Studies 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 341-73.

¹⁰⁸ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 371.

¹⁰⁹ This has been noted by many commentators, including: Patrick Thomas McMahon, ‘Passing on the Tradition’, in Fernando Millán Romeral (ed.), *In Labore Requies*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana Volumen 26 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2007), 577-98; Donald Buggert, *The Christocentrism of the Carmelite Charism*, Horizons Carmelite Spiritual Directory Project 2 (Melbourne: Carmelite Communications, 1999). On Mary and Elijah as patronal figures of the Order, see: Christopher O’Donnell, ‘The Blessed Virgin Mary and Elijah in the Carmelite Constitutions 1281-1995’, in Giovanni Grosso, Wilmar Santin (eds.), *Memoriam Fecit Mirabilium Dei: Scritti in onore di Emanuele Boaga, O.Carm.*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 31 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2009), 439-65.

¹¹⁰ *Rule* Chapter 2. For the text see Appendix 2.

¹¹¹ This is perhaps a modern interpretation that Netter might not have acknowledged, but he did draw on the *Rule* as a source of authority in his *Doctrinale*.

¹¹² *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 70.

Margaret Heslyngton and Emma Stapleton).¹¹³ Significantly, when Lynn and Kempe were reunited, it was in the context of his meeting a woman who participated in the broadened sense of consecrated life beyond the cloister, and even more significantly the Bible featured prominently when the two friends, Lynn and Kempe, shared a dinner ‘sawcyd and sawryd with talys of holy scriptur’.¹¹⁴ This reunion of friends presumably also took place ‘in towne’, showing that lay people could receive religious instruction from friars in their own domestic settings, as well as by visiting priories.¹¹⁵

Margery Kempe’s relationship with Alan of Lynn and his brethren is a snapshot that shows in microcosm the type of lay religious experience that interested some leading fifteenth-century Whitefriars, the influence they had upon the piety of the mercantile class including the spiritual direction of its pious women, and the complex situation in which Carmelite promoters of vernacular theology found themselves in medieval England by the 1420s. The Kempe-Lynn dynamic shows that at least some Carmelites were keen to instruct the laity in matters of faith, especially Scripture, but that for doing so they risked censure and suspicion from others, including other Carmelites.

Through their preaching, teaching, and writing, medieval English Carmelites demonstrated their awareness of the growing connection between spirituality, literacy, and language. It is interesting to note that if Master Alan was eventually involved in recording Kempe’s story he did so in English rather than in Latin, suggesting that he was less concerned with producing a Latinate account for scholarly consumption than with communicating her experiences in a medium that would be widely intelligible. As Kate Parker has observed: ‘It is pertinent, perhaps, that Friar Aleyn was a member of an order committed to evangelising the unschooled of society. A book in English would be accessible to other unlettered folk, and was probably behind her [Kempe’s] decision to use the vernacular. The

¹¹³ It is possible that the ‘worschipful woman which had takyn the mentyl and the ryng’ had made some form of spiritual bond with the Carmelite Order; as will be considered in later parts of this thesis, *mantellate* (mantle-wearers) was an early term used for women who joined the Carmelite movement, because the Order’s white cloak was one of its principal symbols of membership (hence *Whitefriars*). Part of Netter’s objection to Lynn’s involvement with Kempe may have been that she did not conform to such an accepted model of female religious life. Indeed, a monk at Canterbury told Kempe ‘I wold thow wer closyd in an hows of ston’ [*The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 13], that is to say, her spirituality might have been categorised and recognised if she conformed more closely to the typical life of an anchorite. Wynkyn de Worde printed extracts from her *Book* referring to her as an anchoress: Vincent Gillespie, ‘Dial M for Mystic: Mystical Texts in the Library of Syon Abbey and the Spirituality of the Syon Brethren’, in Glasscoe, Marion (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition, England, Ireland and Wales: Exeter Symposium VI* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 241-68 [247]. As this thesis’ analysis of Carmelite vernacular theology will argue, Netter might well have been less condemnatory of Lynn’s relationship with Kempe had it been more like that of Richard Misyn and his anchorite reader some few years later.

¹¹⁴ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 70.

¹¹⁵ On this see: Perry, Tuck, “[W]heþyr þu redist er herist redyng”, 141; Hwanhee Park, ‘Domestic Ideals and Devotional Authority in *The Book of Margery Kempe*’, *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 40:1 (2014), 1-19.

Book describes crowds of people thronging eagerly to hear visiting preachers, and they used vernacular examples.¹¹⁶

Preaching was one of the most important ways in which Carmelites, and other mendicant orders, could exhort lay people to ponder seriously the life of prayer and religious reflection. Preaching could be used to promote conservative readings of Scripture, or radical new interpretations, and it was partly through preaching at both scholarly and more popular levels that the Carmelites established their reputation as defenders of orthodoxy. Carmelite preaching will be considered in more detail in the next chapter.



Christ in majesty, surrounded by symbols of the Evangelists,
in a missal created c.1390-1400 for the Carmelites of Toulouse.
Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Ms. IL. 122, fo. 142 (detail).¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Kate Parker, 'Lynn and the Making of a Mystic', in John H. Arnold, Katherine J. Lewis, *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 55-73, [66]. It is interesting to note that, although the mendicants in general were renowned for their promotion of the Scriptures, a Carmelite legend current from at least its first written recording in 1466 claimed that the Whitefriars were specially pre-eminent. Saint Angelus the martyr, discussed above, is supposed to have encountered Saints Francis and Dominic in Rome's Lateran Basilica. The Carmelite was able to instruct the two great mendicant founders in the Holy Scriptures, and so they conceded his greater holiness. See: Boaga, *Come pietre vive*, 39.

¹¹⁷ On this manuscript see: Claudia Rabel, 'Sous le manteau de la Vierge: le missal des Carmes de Toulouse (vers 1390-1400)', in Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, Michelle Fournié (eds.), *Le livre dans la région toulousaine et ailleurs au Moyen Âge*, Collection Méridiennes (Toulouse: Université Toulouse II – Le Mirail, 2010), 85-106.

The Carmelite reputation for orthodoxy

Kempe's descriptions of meetings with several Whitefriars demonstrate that she probably knew of the Carmelites' reputation as the most actively anti-Lollard of the religious orders in late medieval England. In constructing her 'autobiography'¹¹⁸ Kempe describes herself surrounded by Carmelites of strong orthodox credentials. When criticised by various clergymen, Kempe called upon the support of 'a worshipful doctowr of divinite, a White Frer, a solem clerk and elde doctowr, and a wel aprevid', presumably Alan of Lynn.¹¹⁹ Kempe's choice of adjectives stresses the Carmelite's reputation as venerable, educated, and respectable, and she basks in this reflected light. Another meeting with Lynn took place significantly whilst Kempe was en route to gain the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter and seal as proof of her orthodoxy.¹²⁰ As we've already noted, in Norwich Kempe visited the Carmelite William Southfield (d. 1414), 'a good man and an holy levar', revered during his lifetime for his mystical but orthodox devotion.¹²¹ In Bristol, Kempe dined with Thomas Peverel, a Carmelite of the Lynn friary, who had attended the heresy trial of Henry Crumpe at the Carmelite friary in Stamford in 1392, and later as 'bisshop of Worcetyr' (1407-19) had been responsible for John Badby's conviction as a Lollard at a trial in Worcester in 1410, attended by the Carmelites Thomas Netter, John Hawley, and Thomas Pentyng.¹²² It is probable from a reference to Smithfield that Kempe was aware of the fate of Badby, the second Lollard to be burned at the London site.¹²³ Kempe's description of her reception of hospitality, gifts, and blessing from Badby's nemesis had the effect, deliberately intended or otherwise (probably the former), of allying herself with the Carmelite forces of religious conservatism. This would certainly seem to confirm a theory I proffer in a later chapter that the very title of *Carmelite* associated with a person or text in fifteenth-century England may have effectively functioned as a badge of theological orthodoxy; it was a reputation which the Order was keen not to besmirch, and which Kempe was keen to shelter behind.

¹¹⁸ Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 84. Cf. Rebecca Krug, 'The idea of sanctity and the uncanonized life of Margery Kempe', in Andrew Galloway (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, Cambridge Companions to Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 129-45.

¹¹⁹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 61 (Windeatt edition 289).

¹²⁰ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 55 (Windeatt edition 270).

¹²¹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 18 (Windeatt edition 117); Smet, *The English Carmelite Province*, 4; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 58.

¹²² *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 45 (Windeatt edition 224; see note to line 3592). Peverel's sentence against Badby is translated by John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments*, fourth edition of 1583, (ed.) Josiah Pratt, 8 vols (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1877), vol 3, 234-39. On Kempe's relationship with Peverel see: Barry Windeatt, 'Margery Kempe and the Friars', p. 129. On the Carmelite bishop see: R. G. Davies, 'Peverel, Thomas (d. 1419)', *ODNB*. On Drs. John Hawley and Thomas Pentyng see: Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

¹²³ Kempe (ed.) Staley, note to Book 1, Chapter 16, line 825. On Badby see: Peter McNiven, *Heresy and Politics in the Reign of Henry IV: The Burning of John Badby* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987); Peter McNiven, 'Badby, John (d. 1410)', *ODNB*.

Kempe's religious orthodoxy, both self-professed and reflected by reference to Carmelites, is further underlined by the theological soundness of the Christian texts she lists twice as having been read to her, in particular by a young priest who did so for seven years: 'Hyltons boke' (Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*), 'Bridis boke' (St. Birgitta's *Revelations*), 'Stimulus amoris' (by pseudo-Bonaventure), and 'Incendium Amoris' (Richard Rolle's *Fire of Love*).¹²⁴ All these texts, indicative of a 'fifteenth-century contemplative culture',¹²⁵ are known to have been circulated by mendicant orders and been owned by contemporary Carmelites, being indexed by Alan of Lynn (in the cases of Birgitta's *Revelations* and the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Stimulus Amoris*) or translated by other Whitefriars (Thomas Fishlake rendered Hilton's *Scale* into Latin and Richard Misyn translated Rolle's *Incendium* into English).¹²⁶ We know that Master Alan and his Order had access to the books Margery Kempe lists, that Lynn met with Kempe to discuss the Bible, that she visited the Carmelite friary, and that young Carmelite scholars studied in the house. It is well within the bounds of possibility that Kempe came to know these and other texts thanks to Lynn or another Whitefriar acting as an *interpretes* (scholarly interpreter).¹²⁷

Extrapolating from the case of Margery Kempe, the presence of these texts in Carmelite libraries demonstrates that the Whitefriars' devotional reading sometimes closely resembled, and probably influenced, that of the laity amongst whom they preached and taught. The educated and literate air Kempe sought for herself by listing texts written and read by Whitefriars may also have impressed any audience familiar with the Carmelites' notable academic reputation (to be discussed in the next chapter).¹²⁸

¹²⁴ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapters 17, 58, 62. On the significance of these texts to Kempe see: Windeatt's introduction to his Middle English edition, 9-18, and his Modern English translation, 15-22. Kempe was not simply the passive recipient of these texts; her amanuensis records (Chapter 62) how seeing her experiences prompted him to read these and other texts by Marie d'Oignies and Elizabeth of Hungary which helped him to recognize their divine prompting. On the ways in which Kempe and her scribe reveal, in their different ways, their exposure to these texts, see: 'From Utterance to Text: Authorizing the Mystical Word' in Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

¹²⁵ Barry Windeatt, '1412-1534: texts', in Samuel Fanous, Vincent Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 195-224 [198].

¹²⁶ On the suggestion that Richard Misyn's translation was a possible source for the obvious familiarity that Kempe or her amanuensis had with Rolle's text, see: David Lavinsky, "'Speke to me be thowt": Affectivity, *Incendium Amoris*, and the *Book of Margery Kempe*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 112:3 (July 2013), 340-64 [345].

¹²⁷ On the role of an *interpretes*, see: 'Readers/Audiences/Texts' in Wogan-Browne, et al (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 109; 'interpretari' in Mariken Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual life in the Middle Ages*, 287-89.

¹²⁸ On Kempe's choice of books see: Jacqueline Jenkins, 'Reading and *The Book of Margery Kempe*', in John H. Arnold, Katherine J. Lewis, *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 113-28. On the question of whether literacy and heresy were perceived as linked in late medieval England, see: Anne Hudson, 'Laicus litteratus: the paradox of Lollardy', in Peter Biller, Anne Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 23 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 222-36.

Margery Kempe had many spiritual guides, contacts and networks beyond the Carmelite Order, but we can say with confidence that in an attempt to assert her orthodoxy, and to promote herself as a well-educated and spiritually-insightful woman, Kempe's public pronouncements about her special relationships and choice of reading/hearing matter place her firmly within an identifiably Carmelite textual community, a community promoting and prohibiting theological speculation through direct and indirect access to vernacular texts of religion.

The witness of the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*

In this community Margery Kempe was far from being the sole bourgeois laywoman. The self-location of other laypersons within a recognisably Carmelite textual community is demonstrated visually in a missal created for (and perhaps with some creative input by) the London Whitefriars c.1375, 'reconstructed' from cut-up fragments in the 1950s, and now preserved in the British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-05.¹²⁹ In its vivid miniatures, the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* literally illustrates the Order's interest in promoting the spiritual life of the laity in late medieval England. Almost certainly paid for by wealthy lay benefactors, to be displayed (probably not used liturgically) by Carmelite friars in the English capital, the missal shows how theological texts were a vital means of interaction between the Carmelites and those to whom they ministered.¹³⁰

A clear example of this is found on folio 100v of the *Reconstructed Missal*, in a miniature which depicts Saint Ambrose instructing two Carmelite friars in the foreground.¹³¹

¹²⁹ The classic study is Margaret Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: An English Manuscript of the Late XIV Century in the British Museum (Additional 29704-5, 44892)* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952). For an art historical analysis see: Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, Part 6 of J. J. G. Alexander (ed.) *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), vol 2, 24-30. The theological and social contexts of the codex are considered by: Valerie Edden, 'A Fresh Look at the Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: London, British Library, Ms. Additional 29704-05', in Stephen Kelly, John J. Thompson (eds.), *Imagining the Book, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 111-26; Valerie Edden, 'Visual Images as a Way of Defining Identity: The Case of the Reconstructed Carmelite Missal', *Carmelus*, 56 (2009), 55-71; Valerie Edden, 'The Mantle of Elijah: Carmelite Spirituality in England in the Fourteenth Century', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition, England, Ireland and Wales, Exeter Symposium VI* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 67-83 [78], available online in the 'Carmelite Studies' section of the website of the British Province of Carmelites: www.carmelite.org. See also: David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 2, 279. A doctoral study of the missal within the context of the historical self-understanding and visual culture of the Carmelite Order was begun by Alexander Collins at the University of Edinburgh's History of Art Department in the autumn of 2011.

¹³⁰ On the broader context of the importance of manuscript imagery in conveying religious truth amongst the laity, see: Aden Kumler, *Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011). An interesting comparison of luxurious manuscript miniatures showing Whitefriars interacting with their benefactors can be seen in a French Carmelite Missal created in Nantes c.1440: Diane Booton, 'Dynastic Identity and Remembrance of Ducal Brittany in a Fifteenth-Century Carmelite Missal (Princeton University Library, Garrett MS. 40)', *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 73:1 (Autumn 2011), 37-67.

¹³¹ On this image see: Valerie Edden, 'A Fresh Look', 115.



Miniature of Saint Ambrose, Whitefriars, and laity, in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*.

London, British Library, Ms. Additional 29704-05, fo. 100v (detail).

Ambrose (c.340-97), as one of the four original ‘Doctors of the Church’, symbolises the highest level of Christian scholarship. He is seated – the traditional position for a teacher in medieval iconography – holding in his lap a book, the pages of which face towards his mendicant students, one dressed in the habit and white cloak of the Order, the other in a liturgical alb, perhaps stressing the ‘external’ and ‘internal’ ministries of the Whitefriars as preachers and meditators. The brothers in turn hold books open in front of them. Behind the Carmelites stand two lay people, a bearded man and a woman with a fine head-covering, most likely (as Valerie Edden suggests) the donors of the missal. Though intent upon looking at the saintly figure of Ambrose, the lay readers are clearly in a position to read or (since they are not holding books themselves) hear the texts proffered by the Carmelites before

them. Indeed, in a metatheatrical gesture, the texts within a text are held open towards the spectator of the manuscript, symbolically inviting him or her likewise to benefit from the learning and wisdom which the Carmelites proffer. At the same time, however, the Whitefriars stand between the laity and Ambrose, in a position that can bridge, but also block access. The miniature depicts perfectly the role of Carmelites in sharing the fruits of their prayer and study with the laity in late medieval Europe, but also being mediators of access to the patrimony of the Church.

The interaction of Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn, the intervention of Thomas Netter, and the imagery of the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, provide textual and visual illustrations of the Carmelites' promotion and policing of vernacular theology. Having set the scene in early fifteenth-century Bishop's Lynn, our attention now turns to consider in finer detail the problems of conducting theological speculation in English in the late Middle Ages.

2. The use of the vernacular, and its impact upon theology

Margery Kempe's *Book* delineates clearly the dilemma facing Carmelite friars in the period 1375-1450. Alan of Lynn typifies, on the one hand, the desire of Carmelites to promote theological engagement amongst the laity, encouraged by the Order's preaching, spiritual direction, and provision of access to religious literature (in either codex or oral form), both contemporary 'mystical' texts and the Bible. Thomas Netter, on the other hand, is emblematic of the Carmelites' fear that such activity could be misinterpreted as promoting heterodox ideas. Medieval Carmelites desired as the clear end result of their pastoral activity the deepening of the Christian faith; what was less clear was the means by which this would best come about.¹³² At the heart of the dilemma, especially in England, was a question about language: at a time when John Wyclif and his Lollard followers were using English to promote theological speculation and a reformist – some said heretical – agenda within the Church, was it appropriate any longer for Carmelites also to use the vernacular in their role as preachers and pastors?

To set the vernacular Carmelite texts of medieval England in their broader social and theological context, we must first understand how issues of language and vernacularity developed in English society generally in the fourteenth century, and more specifically within the growing culture of literacy and bibliographic interest within the Carmelite Order.

¹³² For a general overview of pastoral care by medieval clergy and religious, see: Ronald J. Stansbury (ed.), *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200-1500)*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), especially Greg Peters, 'Religious Orders and Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages', 263-84.

The interplay of languages in late medieval England

It is necessary first to sketch broadly the role of different languages used in Britain in the late Middle Ages. In fourteenth-century Britain (England, Wales and Scotland) a mixture of languages coexisted.¹³³ Whilst Celtic-speaking communities still existed on the fringes of the island (such as in Cornwall and Scotland) and there were small urban communities of immigrants who spoke other languages (such as Flemish and Hebrew in parts of London), the dominant linguistic situation in Britain was a *triglossia* of English (in a number of regional variations), French, and Latin, each socially compartmentalised according to function.

Broadly speaking (literally!) Latin was the language of theology and other academic study, used in institutions that crossed national boundaries, such as the Church and the universities. As the language of liturgy and learning, Latin enjoyed a certain prestige and mystique as a language for speaking of and to the divine and the intellectually sophisticated. Following the Norman conquest of 1066, French (Anglo-Norman) was the courtly language of secular authority used by royalty and the nobility, as well as the administrative language of parliament and some mercantile business.¹³⁴ French was also widely used in theological circles for pastoral and confessional texts, and in Romance literature. English was the native language of ‘the common folk’, used in secular literature, basic theological catechesis and, significantly for this thesis, in popular disputes and challenges to authority. Whilst none of the boundaries around each language was impervious, it was nearly always the case that certain genres of literature were restricted to a particular language (for example, Latin was the preferred language of chroniclers and scholastic theologians whose work could be shared and understood by fellow scholars across national boundaries). These three languages were seen to have their sociological counterparts in the ‘three estates’ of feudal society: nobility (French), clergy (Latin), and commoners (English).

For centuries these languages coexisted in England, and with occasional exceptions were used within the social confines of the protected spheres outlined above. Some late medieval writers in

¹³³ For the broad context see: Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); W. Rothwell, ‘The Trilingual England of Geoffrey Chaucer’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 16 (1994), 45-57; David Trotter, *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000); Susan Crane, ‘Anglo-Norman Cultures in England, 1066-1460’, 35-60, and Christopher Baswell, ‘Latinitas’, 122-51, in Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*; Helen Fulton, ‘Regions and Communities’, in Elaine Treharne, Greg Walker (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 515-39 [532-35]; Elaine Treharne, ‘The vernaculars of medieval England, 1170-1350’, in Andrew Galloway (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, Cambridge Companions to Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 217-36.

¹³⁴ On the role of French in medieval England see: Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100-c.1500* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009).

England, such as John Gower, wrote in all three languages.¹³⁵ A number of macaronic texts from the period, as well as bequests of books written in various languages, show that a small section of society was multilingual, namely some of the nobility, clergy, and bourgeoisie whose educational formation and social interaction crossed class/feudal boundaries.¹³⁶ Importantly, for the scope of this thesis, mendicant friars, thanks to their schooling and apostolates, were often bridge-builders between these separated languages and social groups.¹³⁷

Because of their use for high theological discourse and legal matters, Latin and French enjoyed a socially higher status than the vernacular English. However, this status came to be increasingly challenged during the fourteenth century by what socio-linguists term ‘the rise of English’. This came about for a number of reasons, with English increasingly standardised, whilst absorbing vocabulary from the other two languages.¹³⁸ Following the 1066 Norman Conquest, Anglo-Saxon writing diminished, but around the year 1200 literature in English began to re-emerge, partly thanks to demands by pious women for religious texts (such as the *Ancrene Wisse*).¹³⁹ The first use of English for the royal address to Parliament by King Edward III in 1362 marked the fact that Anglo-Norman was giving way to English as the preferred language of the nobility, and this was increasingly observed in legal documents produced by the Courts and Parliament.¹⁴⁰

As well as the Crown, Courts and Parliament, the Church increasingly promoted English as a means whereby to educate every section of society. An example of this is the catechetical programme drawn up by John of Thoresby (d. 1373).¹⁴¹ Appointed Archbishop of York in 1352, Thoresby sought to promote pastoral renewal in his diocese through a programme of religious instruction comprising the essential articles of belief: the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, the Seven Works of Bodily and Ghostly Mercy, the Seven Virtues and Deadly Sins. In 1357 this text, originally recorded

¹³⁵ On multilingualism see: Elizabeth M. Tyler (ed.), *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c.800-c.1250* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Mark Amsler, *Affective Literacies: Writing and Multilingualism in the Late Middle Ages*, *Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Ad Putter, Judith Jefferson (eds.), *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c.1066-1520)*, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe Series* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

¹³⁶ For an example of multilingual book bequests, see: Carol M. Meale, ‘... alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englisch, and frensch’: laywomen and their books in late medieval England’, in Carol M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, Second Edition 1996), 128-58.

¹³⁷ An example is the ‘Kildare Manuscript’ (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 913), a multi-lingual anthology compiled by a Franciscan in the 1330s. It contains poems and homiletic materials in English, historical and religious matter in Latin, as well as Anglo-Norman lyrics. Thorlac Turville-Petre (ed.), *Poems from BL MS Harley 913 ‘The Kildare Manuscript’*, *Early English Text Society Original Series* 345 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹³⁸ See: Jeremy Catto, ‘Written English: The Making of the Language 1370-1400’, *Past and Present*, 179 (May 2003), 24-59.

¹³⁹ See: Bella Millett, ‘Women in No Man’s Land: English recluses and the development of vernacular literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, in Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, 86-103.

¹⁴⁰ See Sebastian Sobekki, *Unwritten Verities: The Making of England’s Vernacular Legal Culture, 1463-1549* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015).

¹⁴¹ Jonathan Hughes, ‘Thoresby, John (d. 1373)’, *ODNB*.

in Thoresby's archiepiscopal register as a Latin injunction, was translated into English alliterative verse by a Benedictine monk of St. Mary's Abbey in York, John Gaytryge. Known as *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, this penitential handbook was widely circulated.¹⁴²

The 'rise of English' in relation to French and Latin is described well in the prologue to the *Speculum Vitae*, a popular religious poem written in Yorkshire c.1350-75.¹⁴³

In Inglische tunge I sal yhow telle,
 If yhe so lange with me wil dwelle.
 Na Latyne wil I speke ne wast
 Bot Inglische þat men vses mast,
 For þat es yhour kynde langage
 Þat yhe haf mast here of vsage.
 Þat can ilk man vnderstande
 Þat es borne in Ingelande,
 For þat langage es mast shewed
 Als wele amonge lered als lewed.
 Latyne, als I trowe, can nane
 Bot þa þat has it of skole tane;
 Summe can Frankische and na Latyne
 Þat vsed has court and dwelled þarin;
 And som can of Latyne a party
 Þat can Frankys bot febilly;
 And som vnderstandes Inglische
 Þat nouthir can Latyn ne Frankische.
 Bot lered and lawed, alde and yhunge,
 Alle vnderstandes Inglische tunge. (lines 61-80)

¹⁴² See: T. F. Simmons, H. E. Nolloth (eds.), *The Lay Folks' Catechism, or The English and Latin Versions of Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction for the People*, Early English Text Society (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1901); Moira Fitzgibbons, 'Disruptive Simplicity: Gaytryge's Translation of Archbishop Thoresby's *Injunctions*', in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Nancy Warren, Duncan Robertson (eds.), *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 39-58.

¹⁴³ Ralph Hanna (ed.), *Speculum Vitae: A Reading Edition*, 2 vols, Early English Text Society Original Series 331-32 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). See also: Kathryn R. Vulić, 'Speculum vitae and 'Lewed' Reading', in Kathryn R. Vulić, C. Annette Grisé, Susan Uselmann (eds.), *Devotional Literature and Practice in Medieval England: Readers, Reading, and Reception*, Disputatio 29 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016, forthcoming).

The fact that ‘all vnderstandes Englische tunge’, both educated and illiterate, young and old, became a decisive factor in the development of the vernacular – ‘yhour kynde langage’ – in later medieval literature in England, including that produced and consumed by the Carmelite Order.

Defining ‘the vernacular’

The author of *Speculum Vitae* describes English as ‘yhour kynde langage’, that is to say, his audience’s natural familial or native vernacular. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines two primary meanings of the word *vernacular*: firstly, it is the language or dialect of a particular country, clan or group, and is associated with ‘homely speech’; secondly, it is an adjective for describing something (such as a language or style) that is of one’s native country, not of foreign origin or of ‘learned formation’, and often concerned with what is ordinary, demotic and quotidian, rather than monumental. Both understandings of *vernacular* prove relevant in the production and reception of Carmelite literature in late medieval England.

Vernacularity may be broadly defined as being concerned with those features of civilisation expressed in the ordinary demotic language and common cultural forms of a particular country or community, often contrasted against more privileged and apparently sophisticated aspects. In English the term *vernacular* has traditionally been applied to languages, building styles and the natural sciences, but increasingly *vernacularity* is coming to be seen as a wider cultural phenomenon with social implications, contrasting what is native, indigenous and idiomatic against something conventionally regarded as superior. As the root Latin word *verna* (meaning ‘home-born slave’) implies, the designation of something as ‘vernacular’ has traditionally been to assign it a low place in an imperial hierarchy of importance and sophistication. Synonyms for the vernacular language such as the *vulgar* tongue (from the Latin *vulgus* meaning ‘common people’) and *barbara lingua* cannot escape connotations of coarseness and low status.¹⁴⁴

Since the 1960s in particular, scholarly interest in *vernacularity* has grown considerably. This is partly due to the decline of Latin literacy in Europe, with the widespread abandonment of Classical Studies at all levels of education, and the almost wholesale replacement of Latin liturgy with vernacular worship by the Roman Catholic Church following the Second Vatican Council.¹⁴⁵ The focus of much scholarly enquiry has shifted in the last half-century towards issues of vernacularity.

¹⁴⁴ On the notion of the ‘vulgar’ see: F. A. C. Mantello, A. G. Rigg (eds.), *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), especially the introduction and chapter on ‘Latin and the Vernacular Languages’ by Michael W. Herren, 122-29; Fiona Somerset, Nicholas Watson (eds.), *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); the introduction to Minnis, *Translations of Authority*.

¹⁴⁵ For an assessment see: Patrick J. Geary, ‘What Happened to Latin?’, *Speculum*, 84:4 (October 2009), 859-73.

In the case of ecclesiastical and literary history this has resulted in research that, in a spirit of alterity, is much more localised and focussed on the production and consumption of literature and other cultural forms ‘by the common people in the common tongue’.

Vernacularity and the study of medieval English literature

The academic discipline of Medieval Studies – particularly the study of medieval literature – has embraced the relevance of *vernacularity* with particular vigour since the 1990s, showing interest not only in vernacular texts but also in the processes of decision-making involved in choosing to write in the demotic. A socio-political desire to retrieve hitherto little acknowledged voices and recondite texts has had enormous impact in recent scholarship.

It would be a fallacy to think that the study of vernacular texts and issues of vernacularity can be divorced from the study of Latin writers and their works.¹⁴⁶ An important development in the 1980s was the renewed study of medieval literary theory by scholars such as Alastair Minnis.¹⁴⁷ Whilst his focus was largely on medieval Latin texts, it was understood that the writers of such texts did not exist in a vacuum, and that the notion of ‘literary theory’ could equally be applied to vernacular writers. Minnis demonstrated how the notion of an author (‘auctore’ in Middle English from the Latin ‘auctoritas’) developed in the Middle Ages; the notion of an author as the voice of authority was no longer restricted to the great figures of antiquity (Homer, Virgil, Ovid, etc.), but in the fourteenth century came increasingly to be applied to contemporary writers in the vernacular, who declared themselves or others to be ‘makers’ and ‘auctores’.¹⁴⁸

Within the study of Middle English a watershed moment for the field of vernacularity was the publication in 1999 of the pioneering and influential anthology *The Idea of the Vernacular*.¹⁴⁹ This

¹⁴⁶ For a consideration of how the interplay of Latin and vernacular languages created a fruitful exchange of ideas see: Barbara Newman, ‘Latin and the vernaculars’, in Amy Hollywood, Patricia Z. Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 225-39.

¹⁴⁷ Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984); *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c.1100-1375: The Commentary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988). Minnis’ discussion is elaborated upon by Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic traditions and vernacular texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For an assessment of these scholars’ investigations of medieval concepts and terms, see: David Lawton, ‘Analytical Survey I: Literary History and Cultural Study’, *New Medieval Literatures*, 1 (1997), 237-69 [251].

¹⁴⁸ For more recent considerations see: Gwendolyn Morgan, ‘Authority’, in Elizabeth Emery, Richard Utz (eds.), *Medievalism: Key Critical Terms*, Medievalism Series (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014); Edoardo D’Angelo, Jan Ziolkowski (eds.), *Auctor et Auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi Litteris / Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature: Proceedings of the VI Congress of the International Medieval Latin Committee (Benevento and Naples, November 9-13, 2010)*, mediEVI 04 (Florence: SISMEI – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014); Shari Boodts, Johan Leemans, Brigitte Meijns (eds.), *Shaping Authority: How Did a Person Become an Authority in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance?*, Lectio 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

¹⁴⁹ On notions of the vernacular and its place in literary theory, see especially the introduction (xiii-xvi), and the essays in part four (314-78) of Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*.

eclectic collection of texts highlighted the complex theories and practices consciously involved in the use of the ‘vulgar’ tongue in the period before the Early Modern, reproducing extracts from Middle English texts that specifically and deliberately refer to the use of the vernacular. Also of influence has been the raised academic consciousness of translation and multilingualism.¹⁵⁰

It is such developments connected to the ‘idea’ of the vernacular, both linguistic, social and theological, which this thesis considers, addressing such questions as: What concerns and hopes do medieval Carmelite writers express, if at all, about their use of the vernacular? What does the use of the vernacular tell us about the relationships between the Carmelite textual community and other groups or individuals which had access to Carmelite writings? Are Latin methodologies, rhetoric and interests echoed in vernacular Carmelite texts or do they engage with different subject matter in a different style?

These questions will be approached in this thesis through close reading and analysis of the texts, as well as a broader consideration of contextual information revealed by manuscript study, historical enquiry and biographical data, since with regard to vernacular theology ‘issues of manuscript context, genre, register, and style are often as important as issues of content or theology’.¹⁵¹

Through such an approach this thesis attempts to identify what the editors of *The Idea of the Vernacular* call ‘the theoretical and ideological structures underlying vernacular texts’.¹⁵² Of course much has been and will still be gleaned from studying Carmelite writings in Latin, but it is my hope that engaging with the Order’s literature from the viewpoint of the vernacular will allow a new social

¹⁵⁰ This is typified by the *Conferences on the Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*. Sometimes known as the Cardiff Conference series after its first location, more than a dozen conferences on medieval translation have been held since, with the proceedings published by Brepols as *The Medieval Translator* series. In the same vein, we can note the recent publication of a five-volume *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*; for the medieval period see Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 1: 700-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). See also: Roger Ellis, ‘The Choices of the Translator in the Late Middle English Period’, in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers read at Dartington Hall, July 1982*, [Exeter Symposium I] (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1982), 18-46; Catherine Batt, ‘Translation and Society’, in Peter Brown (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c.1350-c.1500* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 123-39, and in the same volume Laura Wright, ‘The Languages of Medieval Britain’, 143-58.

¹⁵¹ Vincent Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, in Paul Strohm (ed.), *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 401-20 [402]. For an appraisal of the importance of understanding the manuscript context of a text, see Graham D. Caie, ‘The manuscript experience: What medieval vernacular manuscripts tell us about authors and texts’, in Graham D. Caie, Denis Renevey (eds.), *Medieval Texts in Context* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 10-27; Fiona Somerset, ‘Censorship’, in Alexandra Gillespie, Daniel Wakelin (eds.), *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 239-58. For some illustrations of the importance of palaeographic study in vernacular theology, see: Vincent Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Books of Religion’, in Jeremy Griffiths, Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, Cambridge Studies in Publishing and Printing History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 317-44.

¹⁵² Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, xiv.

and theological as well as literary analysis. We shall see, for instance, a close corroboration between Carmelite use of the vernacular in literary output, and the Order's interest in vernacular theology.

Such an analysis of the medieval English Carmelites is long overdue.¹⁵³ Until now there have been studies of some individual Carmelite texts and authors, however, there is a valid argument for approaching the Order as a corporate body with collective literary and other concerns. I hope to highlight the fertility of this field of research within Carmelite Studies, building up a more comprehensive view of the broad landscape of vernacular Carmelite literature whilst maintaining a close eye on analysing individual texts.

Admittedly, the validity of focussing upon vernacular texts may be brought into question when only half a dozen works in English seem swamped by approximately 1,200 Latin titles. Carmelite writings in English represent merely the tip of the near miraculous *rhinoceros' nose* which John Bale identified. Yet this imbalance itself prompts questions: Why did the medieval Carmelites write in the vernacular at all? Who were vernacular Carmelite texts written for, and when? Why and how have they been preserved? To what extent can they illuminate the study of contemporary literary, social, and theological issues across the wider Order, in England and beyond?

In this thesis I attempt to highlight links between Carmelite vernacular authors, but differences between them are also telling and reveal changing attitudes towards the role and usefulness of English.

With the exceptions of Richard Maidstone and Richard Misyn, Carmelite writers in English did not draw overt attention to their choice of language. However, the deliberate use of English for theological expression – highlighted or not – inherently had implications in the late medieval period. The silence that most of the authors maintain about their linguistic choices might actually speak volumes about their possible desire not to draw attention to such choices; since writing in English increasingly came to be seen as evidence of heretical sympathies in late medieval England, it was probably as well not to draw attention to the fact that a text was written in the vernacular.

Indeed, compared with contemporary religious, Carmelite authors in late medieval England seem to have drawn little attention to their literary efforts, or sought to promote themselves as 'auctores'. When contrasted with other writers who were members of religious orders – such as the Benedictine John Lydgate and the Augustinians John Capgrave and Osbern Bokenham – Carmelites generally do not seem to have made a 'career' for themselves by writing in English, by inserting their identity into

¹⁵³ The first attempt at such a survey was Johan Bergström-Allen, *Heremitam et Ordinis Carmelitarum: A study of the vernacular theological literature produced by medieval English Whitefriars, particularly Richard Misyn, O.Carm.*, Masters Thesis (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2002). I here gratefully record the complimentary remarks made by colleagues at the time, such as Ruth Kennedy (in her edition of Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*) and Eddie Jones. However, it was not possible to do the subject justice within the confines of such a thesis.

their texts, by flattering patrons, or by writing multiple texts in the vernacular (each Whitefriar, with the possible exception of Thomas Ashburne, wrote only a single text in English that we know of). The known Carmelite writers in late medieval England were generally self-effacing and uninterested in self-revelation or self-promotion, and the seeming Carmelite preference for anonymous authorship means there may well have been more writers than we know of.¹⁵⁴

Vernacular Theology

Over the last two decades the notion of *vernacularity* has become an increasingly important discourse within literary theory, cultural studies, and religious studies. Of particular relevance to this thesis has been the growing recognition of ‘vernacular theology’. The cultural value of ‘vernacularity’ has been increasingly applied by medievalists since the 1990s to texts of theology and the literary study of religious texts. Though contested by some and subject to refinement, the general concept of ‘vernacular theology’ has become widespread in the academic community. In its broadest definition vernacular theology is any text, practice or discourse which facilitates the discussion of faith or religious experience by means of the common tongue, usually (but not always) in a populist manner. In a more specialist sense it is something differentiated from simply a question of language; vernacular theology is concerned with the promotion of faith and religious enquiry in non-traditional, even non-literary ways, and idiomatic of a specific culture.

The case of Margery Kempe and the Carmelites is a vivid example of vernacular theology in practice: the Whitefriars in East Anglia took Latin texts (Scripture and meditative literature) and propounded them orally in the vernacular to a lay woman who absorbed and internalised the material to such an extent that she could reinvent and ‘perform’ aspects of theology in her own daily life, often to both the praise and consternation of her peers and the religious authorities.¹⁵⁵

The concept of ‘vernacular theology’ has emerged in recent decades in dialogue with and in reaction against preceding generic distinctions and conventional terminology for medieval theology, such as ‘mysticism’.¹⁵⁶ It is helpful to review some of these.

¹⁵⁴ For a consideration of self-effacement in the Carmelite *Formula Vitae*, reform texts, and even hagiography, see: Michael Hofer, ‘Carmelite Anonymity’, *Carmel in the World*, 2013, LII:3, 167-87.

¹⁵⁵ On Kempe’s performativity see: Denis Renevey, ‘Margery’s Performing Body: The Translation of Late Medieval Discursive Religious Practices’, in Renevey, Whitehead (eds.), *Writing Religious Women*, 204-10; Laura Varnam, ‘The Crucifix, the Pietà, and the Female Mystic: Devotional Objects and Performative Identity in *The Book of Margery Kempe*’, *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 41:2 (2015), 208-37.

¹⁵⁶ In recent years the term ‘mysticism’ has generally declined in favour among scholars of medieval English literature as a somewhat nebulous term. For Carmelite considerations of the term see: Christopher O’Donnell, ‘Introducing the Carmelite Mystics’, available online at www.carmelites.ie/PDF/CarmeliteMystics.pdf [accessed January 2014]; Titus Brandsma, ‘Mysticism’, in *In Search of Living Water: Essays on the Mystical Heritage of The Netherlands* (trans.) Joachim Smet (ed.) Jos Huls, Fiery Arrow 10 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 16-26.

Modern commentators often broadly divide medieval theology into four genres: scholastic theology (the realm of professional theologians engaged in debate, usually at university schools, and the technical writing of sentence commentaries, quodlibets and summas); monastic theology (a more self-consciously literary style which tended to be exegetical, rhetorical and symbolic rather than systematic, dialectical and scientific); pastoral theology (sermons, catechetical treatises, confessors' manuals, ethical tracts, saints' lives, and works of instruction for laity or clergy); and finally mystical theology (concerned with the personal experience of the divine and the teaching of methods of prayer and living that might render the audience better disposed to receive the grace of 'contemplation'). Theological texts, particularly in the vernacular, do not always fit clearly into just one of the four genres, and some scholars would now add vernacular theology as a distinct category of religious discourse.¹⁵⁷

Though such classifications are never absolute, and religious matters in particular have a tendency to defy simplistic compartmentalisation, the vernacular literary output of medieval Carmelites falls very much into the categories of pastoral theology and (in the case of translations by Richard Misyn and Thomas Scrope) mystical theology. Until comparatively recently, most students of medieval Carmelite culture focussed their researches on the Order's scholastic theology and its surviving works of biblical exegesis and patristics, such texts enjoying – thanks to their academic style and Latinity – a prejudiced significance in a hierarchical literary canon.¹⁵⁸ The works of literature produced in English by Carmelites before the Reformation are poems on the psalms and the saints, a treatise on sin, guides to the solitary life, and a spiritualised history of the Order. These both fit within and transgress the traditional categories of medieval theology.

Approaches to Vernacular Theology in the Middle Ages and beyond

Though the phrase 'vernacular theology' is an invention of the twentieth century, it describes the impulse to reflect upon, in a broadly accessible way, the eternal existential questions fundamental to all cultures with systems of organised religion. Vernacular theology essentially perpetuates the question posed to Jesus by the rich young man in the Gospel: 'What must I do to have eternal life?' (*Matthew* 19:16).

Throughout its history, the Christian Church has sought to encourage all its members, without distinction, to seek 'eternal life' through a deep relationship with God. This encouragement, this

¹⁵⁷ These four genres are listed – and 'vernacular theology' considered as a fifth category – by Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 294–95.

¹⁵⁸ Medievalists studying the fraternal orders have devoted most attention to scholastic writings as noted by Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 352.

exhortation to moral living, was considered for centuries the special task of the ordained clergy and members of religious orders who sought a life of supposed ‘Christian perfection’. At various stages in its history, the Church in the West has, through its clerics and religious, organised programmes of catechesis in order to impart the teachings that the Church acclaims as ‘Good News’.

In the Anglo-Saxon Church, catechetical programmes employed ‘vernacular theology’ to teach Christians the basic tenets and prayers of their faith. Vernacular spirituality can be found in many writings in the High Middle Ages.¹⁵⁹

As is discussed further below, by the time of John Wyclif in the mid-1300s, an increasing number of Christians were questioning the credibility and even the necessity of clergy and religious in the process of catechesis. In their content, in the accessibility of their language, and in their intellectual ambition, a growing number of religious texts in English began to undermine the authority of the established Church as a clerical institution.

It would be anachronistic to say that the modern understanding of ‘vernacular theology’ would have been fully appreciated by medievals, but observers in late fourteenth-century England were very much aware that theological issues were being discussed in the vernacular, and offer us illuminating comments on the practice. These comments were largely but not exclusively negative, and written from a position of supposed superiority. This attitude, though challenged, has endured the centuries, so that whether in the 1400s or in the 1900s Vincent Gillespie’s observation holds true that ‘Most discussions of vernacular theology position it in a linguistically and intellectually subordinate relationship to the discipline’s meta-language of Latin and its main practitioners, the clerical cadre.’¹⁶⁰

At the start of the twentieth century, scholarly attention continued to privilege ‘meditative’ and monastic texts. Whilst catechetical literature, sermons, and other pastoral works were edited and studied, both popular and academic audiences favoured apparently more ‘sophisticated’ and ‘mystical’ texts such as Julian of Norwich’s *Showings*, *The Cloud of Unknowing*, and Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection*, labelling them under the general banner of ‘The Middle English Mystics’.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ See, for instance, Cate Gunn, *Ancrene Wisse and Vernacular Spirituality in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008).

¹⁶⁰ Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, 401.

¹⁶¹ For a consideration of this term, these authors, and scholarship approaches to them, see: Bernard McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism (1350-1550)*, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* 5 (New York: Crossroad, 2012).

In 1953 Ian Doyle used the phrase ‘vernacular theology’ in relation to Middle English texts for the first time. Though underestimating their originality and intellectual vibrancy, Doyle drew attention to the importance of such texts for ecclesiastical and social history.¹⁶²

Since the 1980s, within the domain of theology, ‘vernacular’, ‘ordinary’ or ‘public’ theology has gained new and special prominence thanks to social initiatives of the mainstream churches and academic institutes. Though concerned with contemporary issues, modern theologians – especially ‘liberation’ theologians – have highlighted ‘a theology that speaks the everyday language of ordinary people rather than the grand styles of the academy’.¹⁶³ This, combined with the study of inculturation and the growing academic interest in popular piety, has impacted retrospectively on the study of the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁴ Medievalists have benefited from the realisation of today’s theologians that ‘Theology need not always speak in a propositional, philosophical register, but may also find expression in forms of narrative, even visual imagery, art, song and poetry in order to give voice in its own way to the experiences of hope out of despair, of resilience, of regeneration and the transformative power of faith’.¹⁶⁵

Whilst never abandoning the obvious interest generated by ‘The Middle English Mystics’ or scholastic writers, in the 1990s theologians began to study a broader range of medieval religious texts, recognising in some of them ‘audacious attempts to explore complex ideas and articulate advanced spiritual experiences’.¹⁶⁶ Foremost among the proponents of ‘vernacular theology’ amongst academic theologians has been Bernard McGinn, who in his historical surveys of contemplative experience across Europe has argued that late medieval theologians who wrote in the vernacular not only engaged with matters of faith in previously established ways but created theologies that were distinctive, new, and sometimes challenging, giving voice to individuals and groups hitherto marginalised.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² A. I. Doyle, *A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries, with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy therein*, 2 vols, Doctoral Thesis (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1953). Quotations from Doyle’s groundbreaking study are included in Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, 401.

¹⁶³ Elaine Graham, ‘Power, Knowledge and Authority in Public Theology’, *International Journal of Public Theology*, 1 (2007), 42-62 [54]. A seminal text for the development of Liberation Theology was Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1988); many studies and critiques of Liberation Theology have followed.

¹⁶⁴ On the academic interest in popular piety in recent years see: ‘Popular Religiosity’ in Christopher O’Donnell, *Ecclesia: A Theological Encyclopedia of the Church* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 375-77.

¹⁶⁵ Elaine Graham, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁶ Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, 401.

¹⁶⁷ See: Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism (1200-1350)* (New York: Crossroad, 1998), 17-20; ‘Meister Eckhart and the Beguines in the Context of Vernacular Theology’, in Bernard McGinn (ed.), *Meister Eckhart and the Beguine Mystics: Hadewijch of Brabant, Mechthild of Magdeburg and Marguerite Porete* (New York: Continuum, 1994), 4-14. For a summary of McGinn’s impact, see: Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, 402.

The impact of Nicholas Watson

As noted above, the term *vernacular theology* was first used in the context of medieval English literature by A. I. Doyle in 1953, but the term was given new significance and dynamism in the mid-1990s when it was influentially employed as a catchall in a series of connected articles by Nicholas Watson – most powerfully one entitled *Censorship and Cultural Change* – to denote ‘any kind of writing ... that communicates theological information to an audience’, with Watson particularly highlighting writing in Middle English.¹⁶⁸

This term – which incorporates the broad spectrum of devotional, mystical, and para-mystical writings – enables ‘a far larger body of texts than the usual group of four or five Middle English mystics to be incorporated within the canon of Middle English religious literature’.¹⁶⁹ Vernacular theology has come to be contrasted somewhat to scholastic and monastic theological ideas and practices, though the boundaries are semi-permeable, as is the distinction between purely ‘orthodox’ and ‘heterodox’ literature.¹⁷⁰ Scholars have highlighted the medieval period as one in which ‘the English language has been seen to have political significance in and of itself, as a language that both embodies a resistant English community and articulates that community’s radical orientation towards orthodox social and religious authority’,¹⁷¹ as seen especially well in the case of the medieval Carmelites. Recently scholars have also begun to apply theories of vernacularity to other aspects of medieval life and thought.¹⁷²

Nicholas Watson’s articles proved highly influential because he persuasively highlighted as a watershed moment in English history the 1407/09 *Provincial Constitutions* of Archbishop Thomas Arundel, which sought to curb religious dissent by prohibiting the translation of the Bible and the

¹⁶⁸ 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 (October 1995), 822-64 [823 n. 4]; Nicholas Watson, ‘The Middle English Mystics’, in Wallace, *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, 539-65 [544]; Nicholas Watson, ‘Visions of Inclusion: Universal Salvation and Vernacular Theology in Pre-Reformation England’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27:2 (1997), 145-87 [166-73].

¹⁶⁹ Renevey, Whitehead (eds.), *Writing Religious Women*, 1. For a survey of such texts and an analysis of the late medieval translation debate, see: Vincent Gillespie, ‘Anonymous Devotional Writings’, in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 127-49; Mishtooni Bose, ‘Vernacular Philosophy and the Making of Orthodoxy in the Fifteenth Century’, in Wendy Scase, Rita Copeland, David Lawton (eds.), *New Medieval Literatures*, VII (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 73-99. On the complexities of the terms ‘mysticism’ and ‘devotional’, see: the opening of Denise N. Baker, ‘Mystical and Devotional Literature’, in Peter Brown (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c.1350-c.1500* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 423-36.

¹⁷⁰ On other forms of mysticism see: Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism, 1200-1350*, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Mysticism* 3 (New York: Crossroad Herder, 1998), 19-24; Joan M. Nuth, *God’s Lovers in an Age of Anxiety – The Medieval English Mystics*, *Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2001), 23-24.

¹⁷¹ Tim William Machan, *English in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 5.

¹⁷² See, for example: Mishtooni Bose, ‘Vernacular Philosophy and the Making of Orthodoxy in the Fifteenth Century’, in Wendy Scase, Rita Copeland, David Lawton (eds.), *New Medieval Literatures*, VII (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 73-99.

writing of religious texts in the vernacular. Watson drew renewed attention to ‘the cultural tragedy of Arundelian repression’ and, according to Ian Johnson, ‘the liberationist and anti-oppressive tenor of Watson’s treatment of vernacular theology has had obvious appeal for a modern audience attracted by the compelling political, ethical and emotional urgency of his writing’.¹⁷³

Watson’s articles emerged from and prompted a renewed scrutiny of ‘medieval mysticism’ and religious texts in the vernacular, and since the mid-1990s the study of religious writing in medieval English has flourished anew, championed by several leading scholars.¹⁷⁴ A good number of significant publications and projects reinforcing, challenging, and nuancing Watson’s views have emerged since his seminal articles.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Ian Johnson, ‘The Non-Dissenting Vernacular and the middle English Life of Christ: The Case of Love’s *Mirror*’, in Denis Renevey, Christiania Whitehead (eds.), *Lost in Translation?*, *The Medieval Translator* 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 223-35 [226, 225].

¹⁷⁴ Among the various scholars that could be mentioned, particular recognition should be given to Vincent Gillespie at the University of Oxford. Several of his seminal articles on medieval religious writing and reading in England have recently been compiled in a single volume: Vincent Gillespie, *Looking In Holy Books: Essays on Late Medieval Religious Writing in England*, *Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture* 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

¹⁷⁵ For an appraisal of ‘vernacular theology’, particularly post-Watson, see: Vincent Gillespie, Kantik Ghosh (eds.), *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, *Medieval Church Studies* 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); Vincent Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, in Paul Strohm (ed.), *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 401-20; Vincent Gillespie, ‘Religious Writing’, in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 1: 700-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 234-83. The subject of Vernacular Theology and Watson’s approach to Middle English religious texts was given sustained treatment by several scholars in a special issue of *English Language Notes*, 44.1 (Spring 2006) entitled *Literary History and the Religious Turn*. See also: Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Nancy Warren, Duncan Robertson (eds.), *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); James Simpson, ‘Saving Satire after Arundel’s *Constitutions*: John Audelay’s ‘Marcol and Solomon’, in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 387-404; Sarah James, *Debating Heresy: Fifteenth Century Vernacular Theology and Arundel’s “Constitutions”* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2004); Nicole R. Rice (ed.), *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers and Transformations*, *Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); the section ‘Religious Experiences’ in Elisabeth Salter, Helen Wicker (eds.), *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c.1300-1500*, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). The reappraisal of medieval vernacular theological texts has led to a number of interesting projects, such as *Geographies of Orthodoxy* led by John Thompson, Ian Johnson, and Stephen Kelly: www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy. This mapped the various English Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Lives of Christ* from 1350 to 1550, including copies of Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, to test the role of these texts in the medieval debates over religious orthodoxy. The conclusion was that these texts did not deprive the laity of access to Scripture or thwart intellectual and spiritual ambitions, but rather acted as complements to Latinate clerical culture. The project led to a number of important publications, including: Ian Johnson, Allan F. Westphall (eds.), *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, *Medieval Church Studies* 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Ian Johnson, *The Middle English Life of Christ: Academic Discourse, Translation, and Vernacular Theology*, *Medieval Church Studies* 30 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Stephen Kelly, Ryan Perry (eds.), *Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe: Diverse Imaginations of Christ’s Life*, *Medieval Church Studies* 31 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014). Another scholarly enquiry, spearheaded by Géraldine Veyseyre of the Sorbonne, is the ‘Old Pious Vernacular Successes’ (OPVS) research project, funded by the European Union between 2010 and 2015: www.opvs.fr. This focused on those vernacular religious texts which circulated most widely in medieval Europe, studying their manuscript tradition and circulation in Western Europe from the 1250s to the 1450s.

Vernacular Theology in Middle English Texts

Thanks to the development of ‘vernacular theology’ as an academically respected genre or discourse, medieval texts of religion written in English other than the conventional ‘Mystics’ have been reassessed and their significance more widely acknowledged in the twenty-first century. The vernacular writings of the medieval Carmelites deserve this reappraisal. In choosing to write certain texts in English, the Order contributed to the expansion of theological knowledge and, as I shall argue, also used the vernacular to stipulate the boundaries of that knowledge. Their choice of language and choice of subject matter were inextricably linked.

The dynamic between the vernacular language and vernacular theology is symbiotic. Each had its effect upon the other in medieval England, and the circulation of religious treatises in English required writers to find appropriate forms of expression where previously Latin had sufficed. The need to expand English vocabulary to accommodate vernacular theology is articulated in Richard Rolle’s treatise *Off thre wyrkynges in man saule*:

The tothyr wyrkyng is with trauell and with frute, and it is calde Thynkyng or Meditacyon.
Bot Thynkyng is propyr Inglysch þerof, for Meditacyon is noon Inglysch, bot it is a worde feyned lyke to Lattyn.¹⁷⁶

Rolle and his followers were aware that the production of theological works in English necessitated a new style of writing and articulation. The need to find an appropriate linguistic register and vocabulary for vernacular theology was also articulated by another Yorkshire author, the anonymous verse translator of the *Somme le roi* by the Dominican Lorenz of Orleans, who produced the 16,000-line *Speculum Vitae* c.1350-75.¹⁷⁷ A very popular work (extant in more than forty copies), this septenary text (that is, in seven parts) considers the *Pater Noster* and gifts of the Holy Spirit. In the prologue, having eschewed the ‘vayne carpyng’ (l. 36) of popular romances such as *Bevis of Hampton* and *Guy of Warwyke*, the poet says he will reflect on how to govern the five senses, follow God’s will, discern good and evil, and come to heaven. This leads the author to explain his choice of English as his preferred language, rather than French or Latin. He goes on to explain specifically that English offers

¹⁷⁶ Ralph Hanna (ed.), *Richard Rolle – Uncollected Prose and Verse with related Northern texts*, Early English Text Society Original Series 329 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 84, lines 29-31. A modern English translation of this text is included in Henrietta Hick, *The Fellowship of Angels: The English Writings of Richard Rolle* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2008).

¹⁷⁷ *Speculum Vitae: A Reading Edition* (ed.) Ralph Hanna, 2 vols, Early English Text Society Original Series 331-332 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

theological insight to all, not only ‘þa þat has it of skole tane’ (those who have been professionally educated):

Þarefore I hald it mast siker þan
 To shewe þe langage þat ilk man can,
 And al for lewed men namely
 Þat can na manere of clergy.
 To kenne þam war mast need,
 For clerkes can bathe se and rede
 In sere bokes of Haly Writte
 How þai sal lif, if þai loke itt.
 Þarefore I wil me haly halde
 To þat langage þat Inglich es called. (lines 81-90)

The *Speculum Vitae* translation was written at roughly the same time as the first known Carmelite writer in English, Richard Maidstone, was translating the *Penitential Psalms*. As we shall see in Chapter Three, Maidstone – like the *Speculum* translator – recognised that the unlearned would need to be taught theology in a language they could understand. This fact was also picked up by Robert Mannyng (or Robert de Brunne, c.1275-c.1338), the English chronicler and Gilbertine canon.¹⁷⁸ In his two extant works, *Handlyng Synne* (a twelve-thousand-line penitential text) and historical *Chronicle*, Mannyng uses a unique vernacular style in English which it has been claimed was developed by Gilbertine houses for the growing mercantile and pious classes.¹⁷⁹ Medieval English Carmelites thus built on a pre-existing tradition of religious orders engaging in vernacular theology.

In translating Latin religious texts into English, it was not only a matter of language that needed transposing, but also theology. As Gillespie puts it, ‘acts of translation ... invariably involve complex editorial acts of selection, reordering, lexical choice, and responsiveness to the needs and abilities of a real or imagined audience.’¹⁸⁰ By writing in English, medieval Carmelites were contributing to theological as well as linguistic development.

¹⁷⁸ Raymond G. Biggar, ‘Mannyng, Robert (d. in or after 1338)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁷⁹ This claim was made by Andrew Butcher at a conference on ‘Northern English Religious Writers, 1100-1500’ held at Gregynog, Wales, in 2006. Butcher spoke about the distribution of Robert Mannyng’s *Handlyng Synne* by Gilbertines in the north of England and to some extent East Anglia. He proposed that Gilbertine houses worked out a ‘special English’. Saint Gilbert’s adaptation of the Cistercian *Rule* stressed simplicity in most matters, including literacy. Only the Master of each Gilbertine house was to be considered ‘publisher’ of written materials. In *Handlyng Synne* and his *Chronicle*, Robert Mannyng discusses the proper tone of English for different audiences. Butcher’s research has yet to be printed, and there is not, as yet, an adequate scholarly edition of *Handlyng Synne*.

¹⁸⁰ Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, 402.

The democratisation of contemplation

Texts such as the *Speculum Vitae* explicitly and implicitly articulate a prominent desire amongst some clerics in late medieval England to promote religious understanding amongst the laity, who are largely ‘lewed’ (uneducated) and who ‘can na manere of clergy’ (do not understand clerical matters). As Barbara Newman observes, ‘vernacular texts could do many things that Latin texts could not. They could address an ever-growing lay and female public, enabling many more women’s voices to be heard. They could mediate between ecclesiastical tradition and secular experience, inspiring fresh thought and remarkably powerful new modes of expression’.¹⁸¹ The rise of English in ecclesiastical circles, as well as at court and in government, encouraged developments in theological understanding that were part of what has been dubbed the late medieval ‘democratization of meditation and contemplation’,¹⁸² and which signalled the growing importance of lay practitioners of theology.¹⁸³ This process – as seen in the exchanges between Margery Kempe, Alan of Lynn and Thomas Netter – was something the Carmelites both encouraged and restricted in their production and dissemination of vernacular theology in written and oral forms.

To understand the ambitions and fears of the Carmelites in promoting vernacular theology, it is important to locate them in the religious landscape of late medieval England, and specifically within the context of mendicancy, the development of the ‘mixed life’ vocation, and the growing spiritual movement known as the *Devotio Moderna*.

The historical development of the Carmelites will be considered more fully in the next chapter, but it is pertinent at this point to briefly consider the significance of the Order’s adoption of the mendicant lifestyle as regards the ‘contemplative’ life.

The mendicant or fraternal orders (the best-known being the Carmelites, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans) regarded themselves as essentially contemplative in nature, and had a particular interest in promoting the experience of God amidst the general population. Before the High Middle Ages, the monastic life had been given preferential recognition as ‘contemplative’, with monks and nuns living in relative seclusion for prayer, study, and meditation, hopefully leading to

¹⁸¹ Barbara Newman, ‘Latin and the Vernaculars’, in Amy Hollywood, Patricia Z. Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 225-39 [239].

¹⁸² This phrase is used by Karl Baier, ‘Meditation and Contemplation in High to Late Medieval Europe’, in Eli Franco (ed.), *Yogic Perception, Meditation and Altered States of Consciousness* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 325-49. On the medieval understandings of terms such as ‘meditation’, ‘mystical union’, and ‘contemplation’, see the section on ‘Key Terms’, in Amy Hollywood, Patricia Z. Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹⁸³ This is the subject of Nicholas Watson’s ongoing publication research project *Balaam’s Ass: Vernacular Theology and the Secularization of England, 1050-1550*, which tracks the relationship between uses of vernacular language and the phenomenon of secularisation, or laicisation, whereby the focus of the Western Christian Church increasingly shifted toward the evangelisation and instruction of the laity.

‘religious perfection’.¹⁸⁴ The development of the mendicant orders – sharing many aspects of monastic life but differing in certain key respects – represented something of a ‘democratisation of contemplation’, making contemplation and its fruits more widely available to the general populace through preaching and teaching about the spiritual life.¹⁸⁵ An ancient motto of the Dominican Order, *contemplata aliis tradere*, paraphrases Thomas Aquinas speaking of being contemplative and sharing the fruits and experience of contemplation with others. The Carmelite Order likewise regarded (and continues to regard) its charism as essentially contemplative, but lived out in active service ‘in the midst of the people’.

‘Contemplation’ – the inflowing grace and love of God – is a difficult concept to define and, like the wider academic community, the present-day Carmelite Order is engaged in an ongoing project to study the incremental Carmelite understanding of the term in the eight centuries of the Order’s development.¹⁸⁶ The first Carmelites were hermits on Mount Carmel, who from the late 1100s lived the then classic definition of a contemplative way of life: an eremitic existence separated from mainstream society in which men who were predominantly solitary could devote time to God in prayer and meditation. When, from the mid-thirteenth century, the brothers migrated to Europe and developed from being hermits to an order of mendicant friars, although their circumstances had changed they believed themselves still to be living a contemplative existence, expressed through not only prayer and seclusion, but also through living together in community and through their active service of those around them. The goal of the Carmelite life was articulated, as we have already noted, in Felip Ribot’s *Decem Libri (Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites)* written c.1385.¹⁸⁷ Its understanding of contemplation as the result of collaboration – God’s grace operating within a heart open to the divine presence – has endured throughout the centuries, and

¹⁸⁴ For an introduction to the daily routine and general purpose of monastic life, see: Julie Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister* (London: Continuum, 2009).

¹⁸⁵ For a Franciscan perspective on these areas see: Timothy J. Johnson (ed.), *Franciscans at Prayer*, *The Medieval Franciscans* 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Timothy J. Johnson (ed.), *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came about through Words*, *The Medieval Franciscans* 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Bradley R. Franco, Beth A. Mulvaney (eds.), *The World of St. Francis of Assisi: Essays in Honor of William R. Cook*, *The Medieval Franciscans* 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

¹⁸⁶ For a useful summary of the confused state of the scholarly ‘vocabulary of contemplation’ see: ‘Anchoritism and Contemplative Experience’ in Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism: Ideology and Spiritual Practices* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), 81-107. Since 2010 a series of seminars on the Carmelite understanding of contemplation have been organised by the Institutum Carmelitanum in Rome. A useful glossary of theological terms such as ‘contemplation’ is included in Fanous, Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*, 291-97. Among the many modern considerations of medieval mysticism see: Louise Nelstrop, *Christian Mysticism: An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Approaches* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Amy Hollywood, ‘Mysticism and transcendence’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 297-307.

¹⁸⁷ See n. 17 above.

remains the broad definition espoused in the latest (1995) *Constitutions* of the Order.¹⁸⁸ From the Middle Ages onwards the Order has grown in its belief that the first part of this collaboration, ‘our own effort’, requires not only dedication to prayer, but also to living in community and to works of service. The fact that, for a Carmelite, ‘contemplative life’ requires not just one element of prayer, community-living, or service, but a blending of the three, is today clearly articulated in most of the Order’s literature, but the idea finds its roots in earlier writings. This understanding of contemplation as God’s gift given to those who encounter God not only in meditative and solitary prayer but also in community relationships and active works of mercy was particularly important for the development of medieval vernacular writings, which reached an audience of friars and lay people involved in secular affairs.

Dressing in white and receiving money to pray for people, aspects of Margery Kempe’s life closely resembled that of the Whitefriars, but she was not enclosed in a female religious community. Kempe defied the conventional understanding of contemplative life in that she was not a desert hermit, anchorite, or nun. Rather she sought to be contemplative in her own situation as a woman of the world seeking religious perfection ‘in the world’. She, like the Carmelites who ministered to her, sought to dispose herself to God’s grace in the midst of her daily affairs (what the Carmelite nun Teresa of Jesus would later describe as ‘finding God among the pots and pans’). Margery Kempe transgressed boundaries of expectation (as she records when meeting a priest who cannot ‘categorise’ her as an enclosed religious as he would wish). According to Christopher Manion, ‘Margery causes controversy within the *Book* because she crosses many of the institutional and discursive boundaries the religious sought to police. In her encounters with religious communities and individuals, Margery demands public engagement in the religious life.’¹⁸⁹ In this regard Kempe was very much a daughter of the mendicant movement, because as John Fleming has observed, ‘One of the effects of the mendicant movement as a whole was greatly to expand, through lay associations and confraternities, the traditional conception of what a ‘religious’ person might be.’¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ From this Carmelite perspective, Nicholas Watson’s terminology of ‘contemplative writing’ and ‘contemplative practice’ needs to be refined, since by the Order’s reckoning contemplation cannot be ‘practised’; it is a grace freely given, though there are actions one can undertake to be better disposed to receive the gift. See Watson’s introduction to Fanous, Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*, 1-27, in which he erroneously states [7] that Thomas Merton was a Carmelite; he was, in fact, a Trappist, but wrote extensively on the Carmelite understanding of contemplation.

¹⁸⁹ Manion, *Writers in Religious Orders and their Lay Patrons in Late Medieval England*, 27.

¹⁹⁰ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 356. In a similar vein see: Walter Simons, ‘On the margins of religious life: hermits and recluses, penitents and tertiaries, beguines and beghards’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 309-23; ‘The Friars and the Laity: Active and Contemplative Lives’, in Janet P. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450-1560* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 81-99.

The breaking down of traditional boundaries in the spiritual life and the opening up of meditation to the laity – the ‘democratisation of contemplation’ – was a key feature of the late medieval Church, encouraged and contested.¹⁹¹ Numerous patristic and monastic texts had distinguished those who were ‘contemplative’ from those who were ‘active’.¹⁹² Styles of life were arranged hierarchically with enclosed religious or hermits leading the most perfect ‘contemplative’ life of ‘Mary’, and common folk living the less perfect ‘active life’ of ‘Martha’ (*Luke* 10:38-24).¹⁹³ Such a hierarchy was perpetuated by Richard Rolle who had very clear ideas about the – to him superior – vocation available to ‘religious professionals’.

However, a number of other spiritual authorities acknowledged the most perfect vocation to be not the religious ‘contemplative life’ but rather something called ‘the mixed life’. The classic example of the mixed life was a ‘contemplative’ monk or hermit who had been called to ‘active’ ministry within the Church, such as Saint Cuthbert (c.635-87) who was called from island seclusion to be Bishop of Lindisfarne.¹⁹⁴ However, in the later Middle Ages the scope of the ‘mixed life’ was broadened to include those lay men (and by extension women) who had worldly affairs to attend to but who also had the leisure and desire to devote time to more obviously spiritual matters. Walter Hilton (c.1340/45-96) wrote an English letter *On Mixed Life* (sometimes called *media vita* or *vita mixta*), probably in the 1380s, in which he advised a devout layman not to renounce his worldly business in order to become a ‘contemplative’ but rather that he would give greatest glory to God by mixing the secular and spiritual.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ A classic study of the rise of the laity is André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, edited and introduced by Daniel E. Bornstein, trans. Margery J. Schneider (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996). For a broad overview of the developing concept of ‘the laity’, see: Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *The Laity in Christian History and Today* (London: SPCK, 2008). On the growth of spiritual notions of ‘democratization and laicization’, ‘Humanism’, and ‘interiority’, see: the sections thus titled in Edward Howells, ‘Early Modern Reformations’, in Amy Hollywood, Patricia Z. Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 114-34.

¹⁹² Interestingly, a Carmelite friar in Bruges, Petrus Paludanus, copied Jerome’s *De vita activa et contemplativa* in 1475. The manuscript is now London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4906. The colophon (fo. 142v) seems to suggest that it was copied for the Hieronymites at Ghent. The fact that they had a scriptorium of their own might account for a rather cryptic comment by the Carmelite: ‘Nunc vendiderunt heretici librum hunc apud Francos Rothomagensis [Rouen]; ut vendunt diabolo animas suas pro pecuniis.’ Paludanus seems to be alleging that heretical books are now sold amongst the Franks of Rouen. Does this mean that his copy of Jerome’s work is to counteract a version that has been interpolated by heretics?

¹⁹³ On the Martha/Mary distinction see: Katherine L. Jansen, ‘A Sermon on the Virtues of the Contemplative Life’, in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, Princeton Readings in Religion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 117-25. On late medieval disputes about the nature of ‘action vs. contemplation’, see the section ‘Anchoritic contemplation and the active/contemplative debate’ in Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism: Ideology and Spiritual Practices* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), 94-98.

¹⁹⁴ David Rollason, R. B. Dobson, ‘Cuthbert [St Cuthbert] (c.635–687)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁹⁵ Walter Hilton, *Walter Hilton’s “Mixed Life” edited from Lambeth Palace Ms. 472* (ed.) S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:15 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1986). A Modern English translation is printed in R. N. Swanson, *Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance Before the Reformation*, Manchester Medieval Sources series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993). On *Mixed Life* see: Nicholas Watson’s introduction to Fanous, Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*,

Hilton was not alone in writing vernacular theology to promote the contemplative vocation amongst the laity in the late fourteenth century.¹⁹⁶ *The Pore Caitif* was a Middle English manual of religious instruction compiled for the laity, the last third of which makes frequent reference to contemplation.¹⁹⁷ Another writer on the ‘active vs. contemplative’ life was Nicholas Love in his *Mirror*, in which he directed readers to Hilton’s *Mixed Life* and *Scale of Perfection*. We do not know whether Margery Kempe ever heard texts such as *On Mixed Life* read to her, but no doubt she would have resonated strongly with its sentiments.

The democratisation of contemplation was further promoted by a new religious movement in the fourteenth century, the *Devotio Moderna* (Modern Devotion). This stressed the interiorisation (and thus to a certain extent the privatisation) of faith. Originating in the Low Countries, the movement spread across Europe, and although hampered by the Reformation its legacy endures within Christian practice. Key Dutch figures such as the canon regular Thomas van Kempen (Thomas à Kempis, c.1380-1471) produced texts which promoted forms of methodical prayer and meditation.¹⁹⁸ By encouraging the use of frequent short periods of imaginative meditation and daily spiritual reading, the *Devotio Moderna* played a significant part in the democratisation of contemplation, developing a more individualist approach towards religious practice and the private manifestation of devotion and spiritual exercises. Building on the affective piety, cataphatic theology, and highly visual meditation techniques propounded by the mendicants, especially the Franciscans, the writers of the *Devotio Moderna* encouraged practitioners to imaginatively project themselves into Bible scenes (an art

14, 21; in the same volume Roger Ellis, Samuel Fanous, ‘1349-1412: texts’, 133-61 [145-49]. Hilton will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

¹⁹⁶ For an overview of the period see: E. A. Jones, ‘Literature of Religious Instruction’, in Peter Brown (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c.1350-c.1500* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 406-22, and in the same volume Denise N. Baker, ‘Mystical and Devotional Literature’, 423-36.

¹⁹⁷ See: Mary Teresa Brady, *‘The Pore Caitif’: Edited from MS. Harley 2336 with Introduction and Notes*, Doctoral Thesis (New York: Fordham University, 1954); *idem*, ‘The Pore Caitif: An Introductory Study’, *Traditio* 10 (1954), 529-48; *idem*, ‘The Seynt and his Boke: Rolle’s *Emendatio Vitae* and the *Pore Caitif*’, *14th-Century English Mystics Newsletter*, 7:1 (1981); Moira Fitzgibbons, ‘Poverty, Dignity, and Lay Spirituality in *Pore Caitif* and *Jacob’s Well*’, *Medium Ævum*, 77:2 (2008), 222-40; Kalpen Trivedi, ‘“Trewe techyng and false heritikys”: Some ‘Lollard’ manuscripts of the *Pore Caitif*’, in David Matthews (ed.), *In Strange Countries: Middle English Literature and its Afterlife – Essays in memory of J. J. Anderson*, Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 132-58; Moira Fitzgibbons, ‘Women, Tales, and ‘Talking Back’ in *Pore Caitif* and *Dives and Pauper*’, in Nicole R. Rice (ed.), *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 181-214; Gabriel Hill, ‘Pedagogy, Devotion, and Marginalia: Using *The Pore Caitif* in Fifteenth-Century England’, *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 41:2 (2015), 187-207.

¹⁹⁸ In 1418 Thomas à Kempis first (anonymously) circulated *The Imitation of Christ*. See: Thomas à Kempis, *De imitatione Christi* (ed.) Tiburzio Lupo (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1982); John Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1988). On the growth of personal piety in this period, see: Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

enthusiastically espoused by Margery Kempe).¹⁹⁹ The *Devotio Moderna* sought to encourage Christian renewal and conversion, initially amongst the clergy and then more broadly amongst the laity, its spirit fostered by a movement of mixed communities of clergy and laity known as *The Brethren of the Common Life*.²⁰⁰ The *Devotio Moderna* also featured the growing recognition of ‘semi-religious’, that is, lay people who either alone or in small communities lived according to a form of religious rule, such as *beghards* (men) and *beguines*, as well as *deo devotae* women who, whilst perhaps married, devoted their lives to God in a particularly deep way.²⁰¹ Communities of *beguines* in the Low Countries and sisterhoods in Italy laid the foundations for what would eventually become the ‘second order’ of enclosed Carmelite nuns.²⁰² Although there were no Carmelite nuns in pre-Reformation England, we have already noted how lay people sometimes lived alongside Whitefriar communities, and in later chapters we will see how some small communities of women came to be associated with the Order in England. The *Devotio Moderna* also encouraged in lay people

¹⁹⁹ For an exploration of these terms see: Andrew Louth, ‘Apothatic and Cataphatic Theology’, in Amy Hollywood, Patricia Z. Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 137-46; Vincent Gillespie, ‘Mystic’s Foot: Rolle and Affectivity’, in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers read at Dartington Hall, July 1982*, [Exeter Symposium I] (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1982), 199-230; Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010): ‘The Origin of Affective Devotion’ in John C. Hirsh, *The Boundaries of Faith: The Development and Transmission of Medieval Spirituality*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Henning Laugerud, Salvador Ryan, Laura Katrine Skinnebach (eds.), *The Materiality of Devotion in Late Medieval Northern Europe* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016).

²⁰⁰ See: John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); ‘The Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life’ in Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 410-12.

²⁰¹ See: Walter Simons, ‘The Lives of the Beghards’, in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, Princeton Readings in Religion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 238-45; Walter Simons, ‘Beghards’, in William M. Johnston (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 2 vols (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), vol 1, 120-21; Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Hans-Jochen Schiewer, ‘Preaching and Pastoral Care of a Devout Woman (*deo devota*) in Fifteenth-Century Basel’, in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, Princeton Readings in Religion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 126-31.

²⁰² See: Joachim Smet, *Cloistered Carmel: A Brief History of the Carmelite Nuns* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1986); Patrick Thomas McMahon, ‘Carmelites: Female’, in William M. Johnston (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 2 vols (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), vol 1, 240-42; Edeltraud Klueting, ‘Beguinen, Mantellaten und Karmelitinnen im 15. Jahrhundert’, in Edeltraud Klueting (ed.), *Fromme Frauen – unbequeme Frauen? Weibliches Religiosentum im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2006), 205-24; Boaga, *Come pietre vive*, 159-90; Emanuele Boaga, *Le Carmelitane in Italia: Origini e sviluppi, vita e spiritualità* (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2015); Walter Simons, ‘On the margins of religious life: hermits and recluses, penitents and tertiaries, *beguines* and *beghards*’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100-c. 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 309-23. Writing of the situation in medieval London Jens Röhrkasten points out that ‘friars acted as confessors and advisors to the semi-religious who lived alone or in groups’ but ‘communities of *beguines* were never established in the city and the presence of mendicant tertiaries is very difficult to prove’ – ‘The Mendicant Orders in Urban Life and Society: The Case of London’, in Emelia Jamroziak, Janet E. Burton (eds.), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, *Europa Sacra* 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 333-55 [351-52].

various types of sharing in the hitherto predominantly clerical mission of preaching and teaching the Christian faith, sometimes with the support of mendicants, but also the consternation of onlookers.²⁰³

The *Devotio Moderna* and growing appreciation in Church and Society of the mixed life vocation meant that there was a receptive market in late medieval England for texts that democratised contemplation and echoed the Gospel exhortation to ‘be perfect, just as your heavenly Father is perfect’ (*Matthew* 5:48). Centuries before the Second Vatican Council spoke of ‘the universal call to holiness’, or Karl Rahner declared that ‘the devout Christian of the future will either be a “mystic” ... or he will cease to be anything at all’,²⁰⁴ the sense that holiness should be the natural and common fruit of baptism was promoted through a variety of texts.²⁰⁵

Such texts and the idea of the ‘mixed life’, promoted by the mendicant and *Devotio Moderna* movements, democratised contemplation and opened up participation in the ‘life of the Spirit’. It is in this context that the Carmelites’ attempts to promote and police religious devotion through vernacular theology must be analysed.

In this chapter we have considered the example of Margery Kempe, and ‘Alan of Lynn’s powerful influence in expanding Margery’s religio-literary knowledge’.²⁰⁶ We have located Carmelite writing in English within the broader development of the vernacular in the Middle Ages, as well as the increased academic attention devoted to it in recent years, particularly in the matter of vernacular theology. Let us, in the next chapter, pinpoint more precisely the Carmelites’ literary and bibliographic activities by surveying the early history and predominant spiritual interests of the Order, set in the context of developments in Church and Society in late medieval England.

²⁰³ For example, the poet Rutebeuf (*fl.* 1245-85), in *Les Ordres de Paris*, points out that in the French capital the Beguines and Carmelites are neighbours. Readers might infer from this juxtaposition and Rutebeuf’s lexical choices that the Carmelites encouraged the women’s proselytizing efforts:

Li Barré sont près des Beguines	The Carmelites are near the beguines.
IX.XX. en ont à lor voisines,	They have a hundred and eighty of them for their neighbors[.]
Ne lor faut que passer la porte,	They only have to go out [of] the door
Que part auctorités devines	So that by divine authority,
Par essamples et par doctrines	By example and by doctrine
Que li uns d’aus à l’autre porte	They can teach each other
N’ont pouvoir d’aler voie torte.	Not to fall into error.

Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres complètes* (ed. and trans.) Michel Zink (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2005), vol 1, 226. Quoted in Tanya Stabler Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 135-36.

²⁰⁴ See: Harvey D. Egan, ‘The Mystical Theology of Karl Rahner’, *The Way*, 52/2 (April 2013), 43-62 [51].

²⁰⁵ To give just one example, the Middle English *Mirror*, a translation of Robert de Gretham’s Anglo-Norman *Miroir* or *Les Évangiles des Domnées* (c.1250-1300) was a series of homilies that promoted holiness amongst Christians regardless of rank and status. See: *The Middle English “Mirror”*: *An Edition Based on Bodleian Library, Ms. Holkham misc. 40*, with an introduction and glossary by Kathleen Marie Blumreich, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 182, *Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

²⁰⁶ Perry, Tuck, “[W]hepyr þu redist er herist redyng”, 141.

Chapter Two: SITUATING MEDIEVAL ENGLISH CARMELITE TEXTS IN CONTEXT (PART 2) - THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARMELITE ORDER, THE CHURCH, AND ENGLISH SOCIETY IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Given the relative obscurity of the Carmelites, particularly in comparison with other religious orders of the Middle Ages, some understanding of the Carmelite Order's historic development and sense of spiritual identity is necessary to properly set the English Carmelite writers and receivers of vernacular theology into their broader context. The Order's historical development is intrinsically linked to its sense of identity and mission, which came to be articulated in its writings. At times, the Order's self-image has relied on legend and oral traditions rather than more formal scholarship, and has largely, until the twentieth century, remained the prerogative of historians from within the Order. The first part of this chapter will provide a broad survey of early Carmelite history and the Order's developing historiography, with a particular focus on the Whitefriars' approach to vernacularity, apostolate, education, and bibliographic culture.¹ The second part of this chapter will set the Carmelite Order within the broader social and ecclesiastical context of late medieval England, by highlighting various episodes, individuals, and groups which had particular bearing on the Whitefriars' attitudes towards the utility and vulnerability of expressing religious concepts in the 'vulgar tongue'. This survey must necessarily be very selective, but by building up a clearer picture of the place of

¹ Having languished in the shadows of the other mendicant and monastic orders for many years, the Carmelites are currently enjoying scholarly attention from a range of academic disciplines. Arguably the most comprehensive modern history of the Order, from its origins to the twentieth century, is Joachim Smet's *The Carmelites – A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, four volumes in five parts (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, revised edition 1988). An abbreviated form of this history is published as Joachim Smet, *The Mirror of Carmel: A Brief History of the Carmelite Order* (Darien, Illinois: Carmelite Media, 2011). Useful introductory reading on the Order's history and distinctive spirituality includes: Emanuele Boaga, *Come pietre vive ... nel Carmelo – Per leggere la storia e la vita del Carmelo* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1993); Leopold Glueckert, *Desert Springs in the City: A Concise History of the Carmelites* (Darien, Illinois: Carmelite Media, 2012). The most recent Anglophone studies of particular interest are: Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006); Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Richard Copsey, *Carmel in Britain Volume 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham, Kent: Saint Albert's Press, 2004). These refer to the most important historical studies of the Order from the earliest documents until the present day; these are not re-listed here, but introduced in the thesis as they become of direct relevance. Also valuable is Copsey's annotated bibliography, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain Volume 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 205-250. Copsey [*Carmel in Britain 1*, 207] and Jotischky [*The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 7] usefully list the journals and *Carmelitana* of special interest to students of the Order, such as *Carmelus*. A recent Italian publication of immense use to Carmelite historians is Emanuele Boaga, Luigi Borriello (eds.), *Dizionario Carmelitano* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2008). See also: Keith J. Egan, 'Carmelites: General or Male', in William M. Johnston (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 2 vols (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), vol 1, 242-44. On the Order's legendary history see: Richard Copsey, 'Establishment, Identity and Papal Approval: the Carmelite Order's Creation of its Legendary History', *Carmelus*, 47 (2000), 41-53; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*. The prominence of a medieval institution in the history books has often been dependent upon the efforts of their descendants to keep alive the memory. However, it is surely a promising sign for Carmelite Studies that Andrew Jotischky was able to write in 2002, 'it is only recently that scholars from outside the order have begun to tap the enormous potential of Carmelite sources, and to restore the order to the greater prominence it deserves in the history of medieval religious, social, and cultural history': Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 7.

Carmelites in the Church and Society of late medieval England, we will be able to better understand how they were builders of both bridges and barriers in theological matters.



The ruins of the Carmelite chapel in the Wadi 'ain es-Siah on Mount Carmel (photographed 2008).

1. The Historical Development of the Carmelite Order

The Origins: Hermits on Mount Carmel

The official title of the Order – *The Brethren of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel* – derives from the mountain ridge overlooking the Palestinian port of Haifa.² It was here that sometime in the late twelfth century a group of Christian hermits, possibly former Crusaders or pilgrims to Jerusalem, gathered as a ‘community of solitaries’ (my own term) for an ascetic life of radical orientation towards God, expressed through prayer and labour. According to the Bible’s *Books of the Kings*, Carmel was a sacred region hallowed by the memory of Old Testament prophets, especially Elijah, regarded as the prototype of the monastic life and exemplar of the anchoritic vocation.³ The hermits gathered in the Wadi ‘ain es-Siah near a spring associated with Elijah.

² On the geographical and historical context of Carmel see: Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 8; Andrew Jotischky, ‘Gerard of Nazareth, John Bale and the Origins of the Carmelite Order’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46:2 (April 1995), 214-36.

³ On Elijah as exemplar of the solitary life, and inspiration to the Carmelite Order see: Jane Ackerman, *Elijah: Prophet of Carmel* (Washington D.C.: ICS Publications, 2003); Jane Ackerman, ‘Stories of Elijah and Medieval Carmelite Identity’, *History of Religions*, 35:2 (November 1995), 124-47; Edison R. L. Tinambunan, ‘Elijah According to the Fathers of the Church’, *Carmelus*, 49 (2002), 85-116; Valerie Edden, ‘“The prophetycal lyf of an heremyte”: Elijah as the model of the contemplative life in *The Book of the First Monks*’, in E. A. Jones (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium VII* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 149-61; Patrick Thomas McMahan, ‘Pater et Dux: Elijah in Medieval Mythology’, in Keith J. Egan, Craig E. Morrison (eds.), *Master of the Sacred Page: Essays and Articles in Honor of Roland E. Murphy, O.Carm.* (Washington D. C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1997), 283-99; Éliane Poirot, *Le Saint Prophète Élie d’après les pères de l’Église* (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1992); *idem*, *Élie, Archétype du Moine* (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1995); *idem*, *Les Prophètes Élie et Élisée dans la littérature chrétienne ancienne*,

When exactly this community was established is unclear (shortly before 1200 seems likely from accounts of passing pilgrims), but they requested a *formula vitae* (way of living) text (sometimes known from its opening words as *Multipharie multisque*) from Albert Avogadro of Vercelli sometime during his office as Latin Patriarch (Roman Catholic Bishop) of Jerusalem between 1205 and 1214. The *formula vitae* – later, following papal modification and recognition, to become known as the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert* – summarises the spirituality of these desert penitents: each hermit was to live a life of prayerful meditation focussed on Christ and the Scriptures [chapter 10], occupying a single cell [chapter 8] but gathering at set times as a community under the obedience of an elected prior [chapters 1 and 4].⁴ Albert's text set out the essential elements for the Carmelite's spiritual

Monastica 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997); Arie G. Kallenberg, 'Elijah in the Early Carmelite Liturgy', *Carmelus*, 55 (2008), 109-125; Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 8, 37-9; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 98-99; G. R. Evans, *The I. B. Tauris History of Monasticism: The Western Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 102. On Elijah and Elisha as exemplars of the anchoritic life in the patristic tradition see: John Cassian's *Conference* 18:6 (trans.) Colm Luibheid, *John Cassian – Conferences*, The Classics of Western Spirituality Series (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 187.

⁴ For the text of the *Rule* see Appendix 2. The *Rule* is printed in Hugh Clarke, Bede Edwards (eds.), *The Rule of Saint Albert*, *Vinea Carmeli* 1 (Aylesford and Kensington: Carmelite Press, 1973). Chapter numbering in my thesis follows that agreed by the Superiors General of the Carmelite and Discalced Carmelite Orders: 'On citations of Carmelite Rule in Official Documents', in John Malley, Camilo Maccise, Joseph Chalmers, *In Obsequio Jesu Christi: The Letters of the Superiors General OCarm and OCD 1992-2002* (Rome: Edizioni OCD, 2003), 124-39. On the Albertine *formula*, see: Evaldo Xavier Gomes, Patrick McMahon, Simon Nolan, Vincenzo Mosca (eds.), *The Carmelite Rule 1207-2007: Proceedings of the Lisieux Conference 4-7 July 2005*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 28 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2008); Bede Edwards, *The Rule of Saint Albert*, *Vinea Carmeli* 1 (Aylesford and Kensington: Carmelite Press, 1973); Otger Steggink, Jo Tigcheler, Kees Waaijman, *Carmelite Rule* (trans.) Theodulf Vrakking, Joachim Smet (Almelo: 'Commission for Religious Dimension', Dutch Carmelite Province, private printing, 1979); Kees Waaijman, *The Mystical Space of Carmel: A Commentary on the Carmelite Rule* (trans.) John Vriend, The Fiery Arrow Collection (Leuven: Peeters, 1999); Bruno Secondin, *La Regola del Carmelo oggi. Atti del Congresso Carmelitano, Roma/Sassone, 11-14 ottobre 1982* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1983); Carlo Cicconetti, 'The History of the Rule', in Michael Mulhall (ed.), *Albert's Way: The First North American Congress on the Carmelite Rule* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989), 23-50; Carlo Cicconetti, *La Regola del Carmelo. Origine, nature, significato*, Textus et studia historica Carmelitana, 12 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1973); Carlo Cicconetti, 'Regola del Carmelo', in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* (Rome: Edizioni Paoline, 1974-88), vol 7, 1455-1464; Carlos Mesters, *Intorno Alla Fonte. Circoli di preghiera e di meditazione intorno alla Regola del Carmelo*, Collana Carmelitana, 4 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2006); Wilfrid McGreal, *At the Fountain of Elijah – The Carmelite Tradition*, Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1999), 17-31; Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites – A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Volume I, ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, revised edition 1988), 6-7, 270 n. 27; Keith J. Egan, 'The Carmelites Turn to Cambridge', in Paul Chandler, Keith J. Egan (eds.), *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O.Carm* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), 155-70 [158-9]; C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Longman, Third Edition, 2001), 270; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948, 1955, 1959), vol 2, 198. On the life, make-up, and nature of the early Carmelite community, see: Joachim Smet, 'The Carmelite Rule after 750 Years', *Carmelus*, 44 (Rome: Instituto Carmelitano, 1997), 21-47; Johan Bergström-Allen, 'Looking Behind to See Ahead: Finding a Future from the Early Carmelites', *Assumpta*, 46:4 (Aylesford: Lay Carmel Central Office, May 2003), 13-27, reprinted in *The Sword*, 65:1 (2005), 67-79; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 8-13. For Albert's biography, see: Vincenzo Mosca, *Alberto Patriarca di Gerusalemme: Tempo, Vita, Opera*, Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, 20 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996); Patrick Mullins, *St Albert of Jerusalem and the Roots of Carmelite Spirituality*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana Volumen 34 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2012); Patrick Mullins, *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem: Origins and Identity*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana Volumen 38 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2015); Daniel Papenbroeck, *The Bollandist Dossier on St. Albert of Jerusalem* (ed. and trans.) Patrick Mullins, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana Volumen 39 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2015); Patrick Mullins, *The Life of St Albert of Jerusalem: A Documentary Biography*, 2 parts, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica

transformation: ‘solitude, silence, self-knowledge, self-confidence, meditation on Scripture, *correctio fraterna* and discernment.’⁵



Above: Hermits gathered around Elijah’s Well on Mount Carmel.

Below: Saint Albert presenting the *Formula Vitae* to the hermits on Mount Carmel.

Panels from a predella (platform on which an altar stands) painted by Pietro Lorenzetti for the Carmelite Church in Siena between 1328 and 1329. Tempera on wood. Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale.⁶

Carmelitana Volumen 42 and 43 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2016-17); Coralie Zermatten, ‘Reform Endeavors and the Development of Congregations: Regulating Diversity within the Carmelite Order’, in Krijn Pansters, Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability: The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, *Disciplina Monastica* 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 245-60.

⁵ Michael Plattig, ‘Transformation in the Carmelite Rule’, in Edward Howells, Peter Tyler (eds.), *Sources of Transformation: Revitalising Christian Spirituality* (London: Continuum, 2010), 125-34 [133].

⁶ See: Joanna Cannon, ‘Pietro Lorenzetti and the history of the Carmelite Order’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 18-28; Christa Gardner von Teuffel, ‘The Carmelite Altarpiece (circa 1290-1550): The Self-Identification of an Order’, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 57, Bd., H. 1 (2015), 2-41; Hayden B. J. Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sienese Painter* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

In a sense the first recorded communal attitude towards literature, literacy and language in the Carmelite Order is found in this *formula vitae*. With regard to meditation, Albert specifies that those hermits who know how to pray the canonical hours of the Divine Office should do so, whilst ‘those who do not should say a specified number of *Pater Nosters*’ [chapter 11]. Thus, from the early years of the Carmelite community, a distinction was made between the *litterati* (those who could read Latin), and the *illiterati* (those who could not), though neither was granted a more or less privileged position by Albert’s *formula vitae*.⁷ Illiteracy amongst the original hermits living on the mountain range of Carmel is not surprising when we consider that the majority were probably lay penitents rather than clerics, at least initially, since Albert’s *formula* stipulates the daily celebration of Eucharist only ‘when it is convenient’ [chapter 14], suggesting that there was not originally a priest among them.⁸

Albert’s stipulation that the hermits should ‘meditate day and night upon the law of the Lord’ [chapter 10] might imply the necessity of direct or second-hand access to a Bible or liturgical books, though the ancient eremitical tradition was for hermits to learn the Psalms by heart and then recite them aloud. This oral tradition of prayer might explain why on Mount Carmel the first Carmelites seem largely to have lacked a strong literary and bibliographic culture. Bernardo Oller, prior general of the Carmelites until his death in the early 1380s (by which point the Carmelites were confirmed bibliophiles), felt compelled in his 1376 text *Informatio* to explain the early brethren’s lack of books, stating that: ‘good faith and ancient/historic prescription were sufficient for them’.⁹ Oller implies that early Carmelite spirituality and historical narrative was conveyed by word of mouth, rather than by circulated writings. Similarly, the German Carmelite John of Hildesheim (d. 1375) cited poverty as the reason why the hermits on Mount Carmel had no parchments, which he claimed they would not have been able to use anyway, being more accustomed to praying than writing.¹⁰ Oller and Hildesheim’s explanations are no doubt somewhat romanticised explanations, based on nostalgic notions of a more primitive and observant life. We know, in fact, that there must have been a growing library of texts on Mount Carmel in the thirteenth century, since in the 1281 *Constitutions* governing

⁷ A further example of the Carmelites’ sensitivity to language is seen in Sicily around the year 1430. In what amounts to an exact echoing of the *Rule of Saint Albert*’s differentiation between those who understand Latin and those who do not, an indulgence was offered by the Whitefriars which specified different requirements on the part of the laity affiliated to the Order, depending on whether they were literate (in which case they were to say the Office) or illiterate (in which case they were to fast on set days and abstain from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays): Ludovico Saggi, *La ‘Bolla Sabatina’: ambiente, testo, tempo* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1967); cited by Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 33-34.

⁸ Smet, *The Carmelites*, 20; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 11-12; and the literature listed above on the composition of the early Carmelite community.

⁹ ‘Nec alia documenta antiqui religiosi habere curaverunt; sufficit enim eis bona fides et praescriptio antiquitatis.’ Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 404, lines 83-85, translated by Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites*, 15.

¹⁰ ‘Incolae vero vetusti montis Carmeli fuerunt eremitae simplices, non litterati, pauperes, membranas forte non habentes nec scriptores, orare potius consueti quam scribere.’ Ioannes de Hildesheim, *Dialogus inter directorem et detractorem de Ordine Carmelitarum*, in Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 336-88 [339].

the Carmelites there is recorded a demand for the collection together of books from the Holy Land belonging to the Order which had been dispersed through the provinces when the hermits gradually left Mount Carmel to spread across Europe.¹¹ Moreover, the known engagement of the hermits on Mount Carmel with the pastoral needs of their neighbours – notably hearing the confessions of a nearby community of Knights Templar – presumably entailed a gathering together of books for forming the growing presence of clerics within the hermit community.¹²



This fourteenth-century fresco of the hermits on Mount Carmel by Fra Filippo Lippi in the Carmine (Carmelite Friary) in Florence depicts a (faceless) brother clasping what appears to be a book. His ‘pondering of the Law of the Lord’ (*Rule of Saint Albert*, Chapter 10) is highlighted by a confrere who points towards him.¹³ On the right a kneeling hermit/friar makes his profession of vows into the hands of a seated superior, who displays what is often dubbed the first smile in Western art.¹⁴

¹¹ 1281 *Constitutions* §49. The early Constitutions of the Carmelite Order are printed in Edison R. L. Tinambunan, Emanuele Boaga (eds.), *Corpus Constitutionum Ordinis Fratrum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, Volume I (1281-1456) (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2011). On the Constitutions of the Order (including printed editions), see: Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 17; Boaga, *Come pietre vive*, 44; Coralie Zermatten, ‘Reform Endeavors and the Development of Congregations: Regulating Diversity within the Carmelite Order’, in Krijn Pansters, Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability: The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, *Disciplina Monastica* 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 245-60. In addition to the *Rule* setting out the spirit of the Order, and *Constitutions* governing the whole Order in practical matters, each Province would have had its own *Statutes*, though none of these have survived from medieval England. As well as *Constitutions*, General Chapters produced *Acts* that are collated in Gabriel Wessels (ed.), *Acta Capitulum Ordinis Fratrum B. V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, vol 1, 1318-1593, with notes by Benedict Zimmerman (Rome: Carmelite Curia, 1912).

¹² On the Carmelites as confessors in Acre see: Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 2.

¹³ On this artist (c.1406-69) see: Megan Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi - The Carmelite Painter* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Jeffrey Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi: Life and Work with a Complete Catalogue* (London: Phaidon, 1993).

¹⁴ On this ritual see: Matthew Gummess, ‘A Brief Sketch of the History and Theology of the Carmelite Rite of Solemn Profession’, *The Sword*, 76:1 (2016), 117-29.



The first papal confirmation of Albert's *Formula Vitae* was given in 1226 by Pope Honorius III in the bull *Ut vivendi normam*. The event – along with other scenes from Carmelite history and the life of the Virgin Mary – is depicted in the *Albrechtsaltar*, a superb retable with double folding wings, created by the 'Albrechtsmeister' in 1437-39 for the Carmelite Church (Karmeliterkirche 'Am Hof') in Vienna. Vienna, Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum.¹⁵

¹⁵ See: Floridus Röhrig (ed.), *Der Albrechtsaltar und sein Meister* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1981); Barbara Bonard, *Der Albrechtsaltar in Klosterneuburg bei Wien: Irdisches Leben und himmlische Hierarchie Ikonographische Studie*, tuduv-Studien Reihe Kunstgeschichte Band 2 (Munich: tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980).

Migration and Mitigation

Due to the enduring Crusade conflicts between Christians and Muslims in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and the Holy Land at large, the situation became precarious for the hermits on Carmel. Although a community continued there until the fall of Acre in 1291, from c.1238 a large number of Carmelite hermits migrated, first to Cyprus, and from there expanded to Sicily, England, and Provence.¹⁶ Wherever they went, Carmelites brought with them the name of their original foundation, and ‘Carmel’ came to be used as a term for the Order in general, individual communities, and for a state of heart and mind.

The Carmelites arrived in England in 1242, establishing hermitages in Hulne (Northumberland) and Aylesford (Kent). In due course, the Carmelites were to flourish especially well in England.¹⁷ At its peak in the mid-fourteenth century, England was the largest of the Order’s twelve medieval provinces, comprising about a thousand friars across thirty-nine houses. These were sub-divided into four administrative *distinctions* headed by a major convent: London (house founded 1247), York (1253), Norwich (1256), and Oxford (1256).¹⁸ Though never as numerous as the larger monastic and mendicant orders, the Carmelites grew from humble origins.

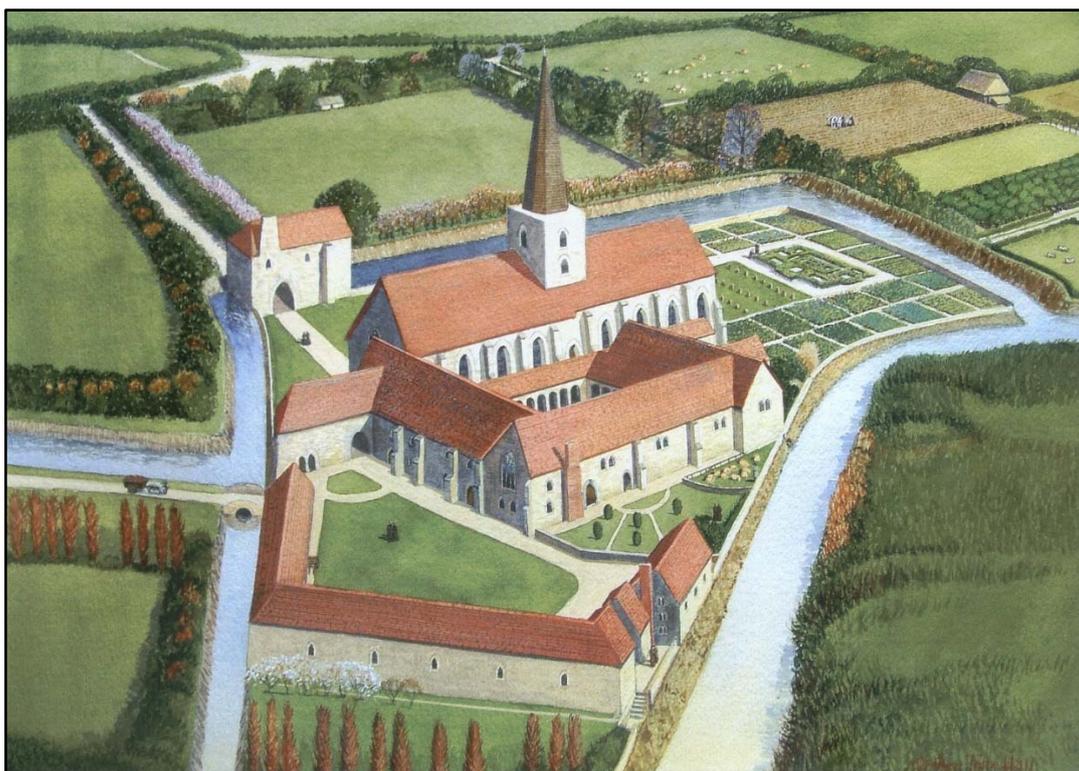
¹⁶ On what Jotischky calls the ‘age of expansion’ [*The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 12-13], see: Smet, *The Carmelites*, 10-12; Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 1-15; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 23 ff.

¹⁷ As Richard Copsey, O.Carm. – the leading historian of the medieval English Carmelite Province – remarks, it is lamentable that there is still no ‘comprehensive, scholarly account’ of the English Carmelite province, as exists for the other mendicant orders, nor any catalogue of Carmelite art or archaeology: Richard Copsey, ‘The Medieval Anglo-Welsh Carmelite Province: An Annotated Bibliography’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 205-50 [205]. However, with the growing number of specialist studies in the field, and improved communication between the academic and Carmelite communities, hopefully such a history cannot be too far off, and Copsey himself has conducted much of the primary research necessary for such a task. The first major historical survey of the Carmelite Order in England to be written within the last century was Keith J. Egan, *The Establishment and Early Development of the Carmelite Order in England*, Doctoral Thesis (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1965). On the Carmelites’ establishment in England, see also: Richard Copsey, ‘Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:4 (October 1999), 652-83 (especially 652), reprinted in Richard Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham: Saint Albert’s Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2004), 75-112; David Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1940), 113-14, 146; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 10-28; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 2, 144; William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 70; Richard Copsey, ‘Establishment, Identity and Papal Approval: the Carmelite Order’s Creation of its Legendary History’, *Carmelus*, 47 (2000), 41-53; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 270-71.

¹⁸ In a sense, one should speak of an Anglo-Welsh Province, since there was a Carmelite house in Denbigh, founded in 1343-50. However, since the medieval Province was known as the ‘English’ at the time, this is the term I shall use throughout this thesis. Nomenclature is further complicated by the fact that at different periods the English Province incorporated Scotland and Ireland, and parts of France. The geographic scope of this thesis is largely restricted to England, but reference to other countries will be made where relevant. Carmelite foundations in England are listed in: Keith J. Egan, ‘Medieval Carmelite Houses: England and Wales’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 1-85; Mike Salter, *Medieval English Friaries* (Malvern: Folly Publications, 2010). On the Order’s administration see: Margaret E. Poskitt, ‘The English Carmelite Province: 15th century’, and ‘The English Carmelites: Houses of Study and Educational Methods’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 149-54, 155-65; Richard Copsey, ‘The Administration of the Medieval English Carmelite Province: Provincial Chapters’, in Michael Robson, Jens Röhrkasten (eds.), *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context: Formal and Informal Structures of the Friars’ Lives and*

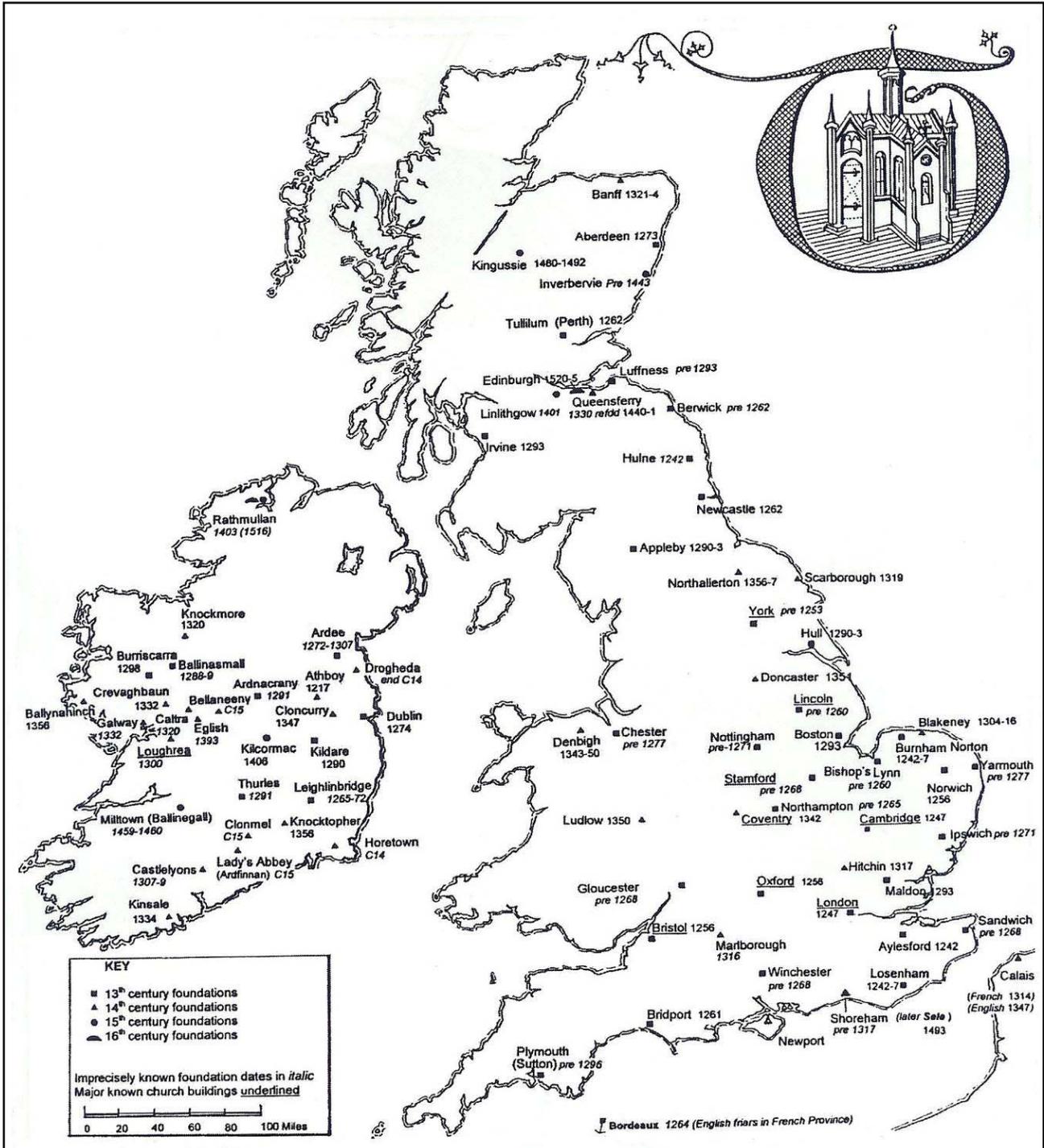


The ruins of the Carmelite Priory at Hulne, near Alnwick (photographed c.2010).



Artist's impression (Geoffrey Hall, c.2010) of the Carmelite Priory at Aylesford shortly before its dissolution in 1538.

Ministry in the Middle Ages (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010), *Vita regularis – Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter* Series Band 44, 65-96; Deirdre O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs 23 (Leicester: School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2013), 4-7.



Map of the Carmelite friaries in medieval Britain and Ireland.¹⁹

¹⁹ Charmian Woodfield, *The Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and some conventual buildings at the Whitefriars, Coventry*, British Archaeological Reports (BAR) series 389 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005).

The Carmelites' first known general chapter (international meeting of representatives of all the communities) was held in England, at Aylesford in 1247, and then again at London in 1254, showing the importance of the English Province in the initial years of the Order's establishment in Europe. It was at Aylesford in 1242 that the Carmelite hermits decided to petition the pope for a mitigation relaxing some aspects of the eremitical *formula vitae* their forebears on Carmel had received from Albert of Jerusalem.²⁰ This was probably because of difficulties the hermits had encountered in sustaining income and recruits in the 'solitary places' for foundations permitted by Albert's *formula*. The move from the Holy Land to the West had forced the hermits to reinterpret and reorganise their way of life, and looking around them at the contemporary needs of Church and Society, it seemed prudent to join the growing movement of mendicants (begging brothers). Eventually the demands of the Church at the Second Council of Lyons (1274) would require that the Carmelites establish themselves as an officially recognised mendicant order of demonstrable usefulness to the Church through apostolic ministries.²¹ Their conversion, in response to the so-called *evangelical awakening* begun in the twelfth century, radically altered the Carmelite way of life from being eremitic solitaries to coenobitic mendicant friars, influencing not only their daily routine but also their very self-identity and expression of spirituality.²² Their development into a mendicant order also meant that the Carmelites developed a culture of study and teaching, and they enjoyed a growing reputation for studiousness and religious orthodoxy.²³

Conventional historiography has regarded the Carmelite development from the eremitic to mendicant lifestyles as a smooth and rapid progression; however, it was not without practical and

²⁰ The Carmelites gained limited papal acknowledgment in 1226. Albert's *formula vitae* was referred to as a 'rule' (though not officially a *regula* in the technical sense of Canon Law) by Pope Gregory IX in 1229 [Smet, *The Carmelites*, 8]. On the stages of recognition of the Carmelite Order by the papacy, see: Copey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 1-15.

²¹ As Lawrence observes of the Carmelites, 'their conversion into orders of friars bears witness to the powerful impact of the mendicant idea upon the consciousness of religious people in the thirteenth century.' C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London: Longman, 1994), 100; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 274. On the attempts to suppress certain religious orders after the 1274 Council, see: references by Copey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, and the opening chapter of Andrews, *The Other Friars*.

²² On the evangelical awakening and rise of the mendicants see: Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 238-43; Brian Patrick McGuire, 'Monastic and religious orders, c.1100-c.1350', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 54-72; Sébastien Barret, 'Mendicant Orders', in Robert Benedetto, et al (eds.), *The New SCM Dictionary of Church History*, Volume 1 From the Early Church to 1700 (London: SCM Press, 2008), 427. On medieval 'Mendicant Spirituality' see the chapter of that title by Gabriel O'Donnell in Robin Maas, Gabriel O'Donnell (eds.), *Spiritual Traditions for the Contemporary Church* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), 83-98. The spiritual tenor of the mendicant movement is considered by Walter Simons, 'New Forms of Religious Life in Medieval Western Europe', in Amy Hollywood, Patricia Z. Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 80-113.

²³ This is a reputation which the Carmelite Order seems to have acquired early in its development. Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 43, quoting Andrew Jotischky [*The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 31] cites as an example of this a letter sent in 1312 from Cardinal Berenger Fredol to the general chapter of the Order meeting in London, praising 'the "utility" of the Order ... its assiduous prayer life and preaching based on training in theology'.

spiritual difficulties which, as we shall see, were to have far-reaching implications for the way the Order would engage with issues of language and literature.

Active contemplatives

As mendicants relying on the alms of others, the Carmelites abandoned a number (though not all) of their early rural hermitages in favour of Europe's urban centres. In expanding towns and cities, the Carmelites could seek out benefactors and recruit new members to the Order, as well as minister to the spiritual and physical needs of a rapidly shifting urban populace.

Despite the adjustment of location and lifestyle, the Whitefriars (as the brothers came to be known because of their adoption of white cloaks in 1286) essentially regarded themselves – in the stereotypically dualist terms often expressed in the medieval Church – as living the 'contemplative' rather than 'active' life (a division discussed in the previous chapter). Following the stipulations of the *Rule of Saint Albert*, a typical Carmelite spent much of his day in relative solitude, the communal dormitory normally found in monastic/mendicant houses usually being divided into private cubicles for study and prayer, in imitation of the hermit cells on Mount Carmel. The brothers came together for regular times of prayer, meals, and recreation, but essentially the thrust of Carmelite life remained that of 'solitaries in community'.

Nevertheless, the pastoral realities of their new urban settings prompted the Carmelites to respond generously to the spiritual and physical needs of their neighbours. Whilst never completely abandoning their meditative cells and the inward gaze, Carmelite friars also looked beyond the walls of their community buildings (referred to variously as friaries, convents, priories, or Carmels). In the emerging towns and universities of Europe, Carmelite friars developed a number of apostolates with the aim of sharing with others the fruits of their contemplation (as discussed in the previous chapter). This included preaching, teaching, administering the sacraments (including the hearing of confessions), and writing works of religious instruction – the *ars artium* (art of all arts) of the *regimen animarum* (regulation or care of souls) spoken of at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.²⁴ Mendicants found they had the spiritual temperament and physical resources to bring some hope and order to a troubled and fractious society; as Joseph Ziegler puts it:

The urban environment in which the friars lived together with their pastoral ideology inevitably created many opportunities for encounters with the faithful beyond the Sunday

²⁴ Keith J. Egan, 'The Carmelites Turn to Cambridge', in Paul Chandler, Keith J. Egan (eds.), *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O.Carm* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), 155-70 [162].

sermon or the schoolroom. Friars were invited to dine, travelled in the company of others, sat by the hearth; and they socialized with the faithful, visited the sick, and comforted the dying and the mourners. This was part of practical religion, which mingled teaching, preaching, and humane relationship. On all these occasions the friar appears as a teacher and a spiritual guide, but also as a compassionate friend and even as an entertainer; not as an austere guardian of moral mores remote from the society in which he lived.²⁵

This, at least, is the ideal of mendicant life, and certainly the model that comes across in Margery Kempe's account of her friendship with Alan of Lynn. Over the course of the later Middle Ages, a number of Carmelite friars gained outstanding reputations as men who blended deep prayer with compassionate service of others, leading to their formal or informal recognition as saints and blessed.²⁶

In the dynamic and demanding environment of Europe's towns and cities, Carmelite friars readily took their place alongside other mendicant orders in composing and compiling texts of religious instruction, such as treatises on prayer, novice training manuals, catechisms, guides to confession, liturgical handbooks, sermon cycles, and general works of religious edification.²⁷ This helped the Order to develop a spirituality and charism which blended private meditation with public pastoral ministry.²⁸ This apostolate was widely valued by the Crown, nobility, prelature, and commoners alike,

²⁵ Joseph Ziegler, 'Fourteenth-Century Instructions for Bedside Pastoral Care', in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, Princeton Readings in Religion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 103-08 [105-06].

²⁶ Examples include: Saint Angelus of Sicily (1185-1220); Saint Simon Stock (d. 1265); Blessed Francis of Siena (d. 1291); Albert of Trapani (c.1240-1306/07, canonised 1476); Saint Peter Thomas (1305-66, cult confirmed 1609); Saint Andrew Corsini (1302-74, beatified 1440, canonised 1629); Saint Nuno Álvarez Pereira (1360-1431, beatified 1918, canonised 2009); Blessed Angelus Mazzinghi (1385?-1438, beatified 1761); Blessed John Soreth (1394-1471, cult confirmed 1866); Blessed Baptist Spagnoli of Mantua (1447-1516, cult confirmed 1885). On these, and holy Carmelite women of the medieval period, as well as misattributed or suppressed cults, see: Ludovico Saggi (ed.), *Santi del Carmelo: Biografie da vari dizionari* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1972), translated in Louis Saggi et al., *Saints of Carmel: A Compilation from Various Dictionaries* (trans.) Gabriel Pausback (Rome: Carmelite Institute, 1972).

²⁷ On this broad range of mendicant texts see: Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

²⁸ Useful reading on the Order's spirituality and charism includes: Bernard McGinn, 'The Role of the Carmelites in the History of Western Mysticism', in Kevin Culligan, Regis Jordan (eds.), *Carmel and Contemplation: Transforming Human Consciousness*, Carmelite Studies 8 (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 2000), 25-50; Keith J. Egan, 'The Spirituality of the Carmelites', in Jill Raitt (ed.), *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 50-62; Johan Bergström-Allen (ed.), *Climbing the Mountain: The Carmelite Journey* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, 2010); John Welch, *The Carmelite Way: An Ancient Path for Today's Pilgrim* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1996); Peter Slattery, *The Springs of Carmel: An Introduction to Carmelite Spirituality* (New York: St. Paul's, 1991, reprinted Staten Island, New York: Alba House, 2000); Wilfrid McGreal, *At the Fountain of Elijah – The Carmelite Tradition*, Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1999); Peter Tyler, 'Carmelite Spirituality' in Peter Tyler, Richard Woods (eds.), *The Bloomsbury Guide to Christian Spirituality* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 117-29; Andrew Louth, 'Mount Carmel and St John of the Cross', in *The Wilderness of God* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1991, reprinted 2003), 84-103; Elizabeth Ruth Obbard, *Land of Carmel: The Origins and Spirituality of the Carmelite Order* (Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing, 1999); Steven Payne (ed.), *The Carmelite Tradition*

and helped to ensure the survival of the Carmelites as a mendicant order, at a time when the Church was disconcerted by the multiplication of new movements and groups. Among those who supported the Carmelites in England was King Edward II, who in 1311 and 1317 wrote to the Papacy in favour of the Order:

We write in reference to the Order of Friars of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel in our kingdom, which we very gladly cultivate with the most intimate affection because of the sanctity of their life, their probity of manner, and the abundant fruits which they, by the preaching of the word of God and other good works and examples, bring forth day by day in the Church in England.²⁹

Such apostolic work also ensured that from the mid-1200s the Carmelites developed a clerical culture, since their ministrations to the laity exposed the need for ordained – and therefore literate – members.³⁰



The four major orders of friars (left-right: Dominican, Franciscan, Carmelite and Augustinian) along with Minoresses, shown praying from books, in a psalter illuminated in Oxford c.1330 for a patron in Exeter Diocese. Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, Ms. 76, fo. 90v (detail).

(Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2011); Philip Sheldrake, *Spirituality: A Brief History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, Second Edition, 2013).

²⁹ Letter of Edward II to Pope John XXII, 12th March 1317. Printed in Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols (Orléans, 1752, reprinted (ed.) Gabriel Wessels, Rome: 1927), vol 2, columns 876-77. Translated by P. R. McCaffrey, *The White Friars – an Outline Carmelite History, with Special Reference to the English-Speaking Provinces* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1926), 121-26. These letters are included in Richard Copsey, *Early Carmelite Documents* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming).

³⁰ For a general history of the mendicant movement, and its need for educated clergy, see: Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 251-64; Joseph H. Lynch, Phillip C. Adamo, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (London: Routledge, Second Edition 2014). On the growing clericalisation of the medieval Carmelite Order see: Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 20.

Common languages for a common life

The growing clericalisation of the Carmelite Order inevitably meant the promotion of Latin as a *lingua franca* for study, administration, and liturgy. At official levels the medieval Church was primarily a Latinate organisation, and Latin was the principal language of converse amongst the international fraternity of Whitefriars across Europe. The earliest surviving set of *Constitutions* regulating the Carmelite Order (1281) specified that all Whitefriars should learn Latin, and that ‘brothers who can read shall be given practice in speaking Latin so that they shall acquire a facility in speaking, under the punishment for a medium fault.’³¹ In 1294 ‘clerical brethren within the Carmelite Order were instructed to speak in Latin to help them become more fluent’.³² Initial and ongoing education in the use of Latin was part of the Order’s education programme across Europe.³³

The high importance given to the promotion of Latin need not imply that Carmelite communities in medieval Europe failed to appreciate the necessity of using the vernacular. Indeed, the regulations of the Order stipulated its use, for example in the 1281 *Constitutions* which declared that ‘Our Rule shall be explained four times a year in the vulgar tongue to the lay brothers, professed and novices, namely on Quadragesima, around the Feast of Mary Magdalene, after the Exultation of the Holy Cross, and in Advent; under the punishment for serious fault’ (§27). It is known that in 1349, on the feast of the Annunciation, the Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Fitzralph (later remembered primarily for his antifraternalism as we shall consider in due course) preached to the Carmelite friars at Drogheda in the vernacular.³⁴ Likewise, on the same feast, possibly in 1374, it seems likely that the sermon preached by Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester, at the Carmelite priory in Aylesford was delivered in English.³⁵

It is from brief legislative references and incidences such as these sermons that the role of the vernacular in medieval Carmelite communities can be partly reconstructed. An interesting comparison of vernacular tastes can be made with the later legislation that would govern women Carmelites.

³¹ 1281 *Constitutions* § 7, translated by Richard Copey, *Early Carmelite Documents* (Faversham: Saint Albert’s Press, forthcoming).

³² Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 20. On the daily life of medieval Carmelite communities as revealed by the *Constitutions* see: Antonio Ruiz, ‘Algunos aspectos de la vida cotidiana de los carmelitas a través de las Constituciones’, in Fernando Millán Romeral (ed.), *In Labore Requies*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana Volumen 26 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2007), 717-54.

³³ See the section ‘The Study of Latin’ in Bernard Lickteig, *The German Carmelites at the Medieval Universities*, Textus et studia Carmelitana 13 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1981), 42-45.

³⁴ The sermon is recorded in Latin in the four complete collections of his homilies that survive, including Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. 144, fo. 222v ff., edited by Benedict Zimmerman, ‘Bini sermones de Immaculata Conceptione B. V. Mariae’, *Analecta Ordo Carm. Disc.*, 5 (1931-1932), 179-189. An English translation by A. Martin is included in Richard Copey’s forthcoming *Early Carmelite Documents*.

³⁵ An English translation from what were perhaps Brinton’s Latin notes is included in Copey’s forthcoming *Early Carmelite Documents*, based on Mary Aquinas Devlin (ed.), *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-1389)*, 2 vols, Camden Third Series 85 and 86 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1954), vol 1 [85], 163-168.

Though there were no Carmelite nuns in pre-Reformation England, the *Primitive Constitutions* composed by Saint Teresa of Jesus for the Discalced Carmelite Nuns in Spain in 1567-68 specify that ‘one designated by the Mother prioress should read a short passage from some book in the vernacular on the mystery that will serve as the subject for reflection the following day’.³⁶ Teresa’s *Constitutions* further dictate that ‘The prioress should see to it that good books are available, especially *The Life of Christ* by the Carthusian, the *Flos Sanctorum*, *The Imitation of Christ*, *The Oratory of Religious...*’, which were popular religious works available in the vernacular in Spain and beyond.³⁷ Despite the suspicions of the Inquisition in Spain, Teresa’s female followers were also hungry for access to the Sacred Scriptures in ways they could understand.³⁸ As we will see in later chapters, the relationship between Carmelite friars and women inspired by Carmelite spirituality was of major significance in the production of vernacular literature in fifteenth-century England.³⁹

As regards the male Carmelites of medieval England, the novice friars of a community would gradually have learnt some proficiency in Latin through their studies and their recitation of the Divine Office. At least, this would have been the case for the ‘choir brothers’ or ‘clerics’ who generally were ordained priests or students preparing for ordination, who attended the full Liturgy of the Hours (Divine Office) in the chapel choir, who performed sacramental ministry, and who were engaged in formal studies. In addition, most communities of the Order had ‘lay brothers’ who took religious vows but whose participation in the life of the community was, in medieval times, normally restricted to ancillary domestic roles and more secular affairs, conducting manual labour in place of the full *Opus Dei* (‘The Work of God’, namely the Divine Office). Though denied the same level of education as their choir brethren, it seems likely that the lay brothers would have acquired a sufficient amount of Latin literacy to allow them to join in the reduced number of liturgical hours they were expected to attend.⁴⁰

³⁶ *Primitive Constitutions* of the Discalced Carmelite nuns, §1. Printed as an appendix to the 1991 *Rule and Constitutions of the Discalced Nuns* (Rome: Discalced Generalate House, 1991), 9.

³⁷ *Primitive Constitutions* of the Discalced Carmelite nuns, §8. (*Ibid*, 11-12). On Teresa’s formation by, and departure from, the ‘mystical’ texts of late medieval Europe, see: Una Canning, ‘Teresa of Avila’s Spirituality’, *The Pastoral Review* 10:2 (March/April 2014), 40-46.

³⁸ See: María Pilar Manero Sorolla, ‘La Biblia en el Carmelo Teresiano Femenino en el Siglo de Oro’, *Carmelus*, 60 (2013), 101-45.

³⁹ For a consideration of the significance of the vernacular in the writings of Teresa of Jesus see: Elias Rivers, ‘The Vernacular Mind of St. Teresa’, in John Sullivan (ed.), *Carmelite Studies 3: Centenary of St. Teresa* (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1984), 113-129.

⁴⁰ A notable exception to the trend here described seems to have been William Coventry (*fl. c. 1340/60*), whose pseudonym was *Claudius Conversus* (‘the crippled laybrother’). The restrictions of medieval Canon Law meant that his disability may have been a bar to Coventry being ordained, but John Bale writing on the basis of his research two centuries later describes Coventry as ‘a most learned man and wonderfully given to the contemplation of divine matters’. Coventry, far from being illiterate, is known to have written a number of histories of the Order in Latin, including the *Chronica brevis*, the *Duplici fuga*, and the *De adventu Carmelitarum ad Angliam* (*The Arrival of the Carmelites in England*). See: Andrew

In addition, the Acts of the Order's Chapters in Tuscany tell us that Carmelite friaries could be regarded as a type of school for oblates. Boys as young as nine could live in a convent until adolescence, in one of two forms of life: *pueri seculares* (secular boys) would act as servants of the community (especially for Masters of Theology), were given a religious habit, and later some became fully-fledged religious; and *pueri ad discendum* (learning boys) whose families placed them in the convent for a period of study, which likewise may or may not lead to religious profession.



Carmelites praying from a book, depicted in a breviary compiled in Sicily sometime between 1376 and 1400.

Palermo, Biblioteca centrale della Regione siciliana, Ms. Deposito museo 2, fo. 105v (detail).⁴¹

In addition to the consecrated lay brothers in a Carmelite friary, and the *pueri*, there were several types of lay person who were associated with the Order by 'letters of confraternity' or some other

Jotischky, 'Coventry, William (fl. c.1340/1360)', *ODNB*; Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register and Early Carmelite Documents*; 'William of Coventry' in Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 267-86. On the relationship between the Scriptures and the various medieval understandings of 'literacy', see: Marie-Luise Ehrenschtner, 'Literacy and the Bible', in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 704-21.

⁴¹ For details of this codex see: Calogero Ferlisi, *Il breviario miniato dei Carmelitani di Sutera*, *Machina Philosophorum: Testi e studi dale culture euromediterranee* 9 (Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2004).

relationship, codified or not: servants, anchorites and hermits under Carmelite supervision, *mantellate* and *converse* (women who, like Alan of Lynn's associate, 'took the veil' and lived under the Order's supervision), guild-members who met at a particular friary, and so on, not forgetting those who came regularly to worship in Carmelite chapels and listen to the Whitefriars' preaching, as well as those seeking burial within Carmelite convents.⁴² Such bonds with the Order brought the Carmelites into regular contact with a wide variety of lay people, and provided opportunities for the Whitefriars to share vernacular theology with the public.

If contemporary critics of the medieval Whitefriars are to be believed, lay people and secular clergy had little direct access to mendicant book collections, and it is highly unlikely (given their financial and cultural value) that books were loaned out.⁴³ However, there are other ways in which vernacular theology could pass from the friary to the outside world, and 'in literary terms confraternal societies [associated with the mendicants] at once created and served a significantly expanded audience for religious literature'.⁴⁴ As we will see in this thesis, a wide range of clergy and laypersons – Margery Kempe among them – were the intended recipients of vernacular theological texts, translated, written, or read to them by Carmelites.

It is also possible that such persons interacting with Carmelite communities facilitated Whitefriars' access to contemporary vernacular literature, loaning or donating books to friars, requesting translations, and acting as go-betweens.⁴⁵ Again the 1281 *Constitutions* offer tantalising glimpses into the significance of language in such interaction. For example, section 12 'On the way

⁴² For a recent study of such relationships, see: Emelia Jamroziak, Janet E. Burton (eds.), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, Europa Sacra 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006). Of particular relevance as regards the Carmelites is the chapter by Jens Röhrkasten, 'The Mendicant Orders in Urban Life and Society: The Case of London', 333-55; and Jens Röhrkasten, 'Secular uses of the mendicant priories of medieval London', in Paul Trio, Marjan De Smet (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series 1, Studia 38 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), 135-51. A useful comparative study of interaction between the laity and the Greyfriars is Jens Röhrkasten, 'Early Franciscan legislation and lay society', in Janet Burton, Karen Stöber (eds.), *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion XXXV (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 183-96. For the broader context see: Nicholas Terpstra, Adriano Prosperi, Stefania Pastoria (eds.), *Faith's Boundaries: Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities*, Europa Sacra, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). On letters of confraternity see: W. G. Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Letters of Confraternity', *Archaeologia*, Second Series, 75 (1924-25), 19-60; W. G. Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Further Letters of Confraternity', *Archaeologia*, Second Series, 79 (1929), 179-216; R. N. Swanson, 'Mendicants and Confraternity in Late Medieval England', in James G. Clark (ed.), *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 18 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 121-41. On the gradual development of the Carmelite Third Order (Secular), see: Thomas Motta Navarro, *Tertii carmelitici saecularis ordinis historico-iuridica evolutio* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1960); Boaga, *Come pietre vive*, 191-200.

⁴³ See: Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, 'The Franciscans and Books: Lollard Accusations and the Franciscan Response', in Anne Hudson, Michael Wilks (eds.), *From Ockham to Wyclif*, Studies in Church History Subsidia 5 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 369-84.

⁴⁴ John Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 349-75 [356].

⁴⁵ Vernacular literature has been shown to have passed between medieval English Carthusians and their lay associates. For details see the bibliography of Carthusian scholarship which follows later in this chapter.

of conversing with outsiders’, specifies that ‘brothers speaking to a woman inside the enclosed area [of the friary] shall have a companion who shall watch and listen to them, and he should have an adequate understanding of their language’.⁴⁶ Though communication within a medieval Carmelite community in England was predominantly between native Englishmen, we cannot assume that all brethren in a particular house of the Order were bound by a common tongue. In a time when there was no standard form of English but rather a variety of regional dialects, in addition to the speaking of Anglo-Norman and Latin, plus in some communities the presence of brethren (notably students) from other countries, it is possible that communication in a Carmelite priory would have been conducted in a profusion of not one but several vernaculars.

A corporate sense of identity

The possible disparity of languages in any given medieval Carmelite friary demands a justification for why this thesis approaches the Order’s English Province as a corporate entity. Since the adoption of the mendicant way of life, the Carmelite Order has been a ‘community of communities’ in contact with other communities, both lay and religious.⁴⁷ The surviving vernacular literature produced by or for Whitefriars in medieval England shows that as a ‘textual community’ the Order was a complex entity of interaction across international boundaries, also engaging with readers and writers beyond its own members. There is value in studying an individual textual community, such as a religious order, as a self-contained entity. However, it is also my contention that the Carmelite ‘community of communities’ in medieval England did not exist in isolation, and whilst there was certainly an ‘internal market’ for vernacular literature among the Whitefriars, there is strong evidence that networks and associations existed between Carmelites, other religious orders, and lay persons at both an individual and communal level. Jens Röhrkasten captures well the value of approaching mendicant orders collectively, as well as sounding a cautionary note, when he says that:

[The friars] wore uniform habits, shared the same liturgy and had the same Rule, the same constitutions and the same legislation. It should have been possible to assign and employ a friar anywhere any time. The organization was developed and its development

⁴⁶ For a consideration of the restrictions placed on women’s access to the cloister set out in the 1336 Carmelite *Constitutions*, specifically with regard to Margery Kempe, see: Christopher Edward Manion, *Writers in Religious Orders and their Lay Patrons in Late Medieval England*, Doctoral Thesis (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 2005), 25 ff.

⁴⁷ The term ‘community of communities’ was used by the 2002 Chapter of the British Province of Carmelites (which was re-founded in 1949) and envisages the Province as a bringing-together of houses of friars living the religious life in common. [*Acts of the Twelfth Provincial Chapter of the British Province of Carmelites*, Aylesford 2002, private printing, 33, morning session of Friday 4th April 2002]. This modern notion can be applied to the medieval Province without fear of anachronism.

monitored at ... chapter meetings; similar meetings were held in the provinces. Information filtered down from above. The result should have been a centrally structured monolithic organization. However, this view is most unlikely to reflect reality. A different picture emerges when we look at individual convents within their urban networks. They were faced with different political situations and debates, different economic, often also legal conditions and perhaps also different traditions of popular piety to which they had to adapt.⁴⁸

Bearing in mind the importance of local variety, the notion of a collective community can still provide a useful framework within which to analyse the literary and bibliographic activities of the medieval Carmelites.⁴⁹ As recent critics have pointed out, no literature is the product of an isolated individual, but emerges within a corporate community context, and this is particularly true of the Middle Ages.⁵⁰

The notion of ‘community’ is undoubtedly problematic, and is sometimes regarded in scholarly circles as ‘a word that has developed a dirty reputation’ because, as Jocelyn Wogan-Browne warns in her survey of research on female reading communities, the word ‘community’ is in danger of evoking a certain nostalgia, a sense of imagined rather than actual unity and intimacy.⁵¹ Nevertheless, occasions when ‘community’ remained a failed ideal can be as telling as when a clear entity is evident. The shared way of life of religious orders, such as the Carmelites, make them a very visible and clearly defined community.⁵² As John Fleming observes of mendicant literature: ‘The organized religious

⁴⁸ Jens Röhrkasten, ‘The Mendicant Orders in Urban Life and Society: The Case of London’, in Emelia Jamroziak, Janet E. Burton (eds.), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, Europa Sacra 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 333-55 [352].

⁴⁹ For an appraisal of recent scholarship into medieval reading communities see: Wendy Scase, ‘Reading Communities’, in Elaine Treharne, Greg Walker (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 557-73.

⁵⁰ This view was persuasively put forward by, among others, Felicity Riddy, ‘“Women talking about the things of God”: a late medieval sub-culture’, in Carol M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, Second Edition 1996), 104-27.

⁵¹ Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, ‘Analytical Survey 5: ‘Reading is Good Prayer’: Recent Research on Female Reading Communities’, in Rita Copeland, David Lawton, Wendy Scase (eds.), *New Medieval Literatures*, 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 229-97 [229]. Of the studies on the notion of ‘community’ listed by Wogan-Browne, I would highlight as particularly useful: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); David Aers (ed.), *Culture and History 1350-1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writings* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992); Alan MacFarlane, Sarah Harrison, Charles Jardine, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Lesley Johnson, ‘Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern’, in Simon Forde, Lesley Jonson, et al (eds.), *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds: University of Leeds, School of English, 1995).

⁵² On the value of studying religious orders as corporate entities see: the introduction entitled ‘The Common Life of Religious Writers and the Laity’ in Manion, *Writers in Religious Orders and their Lay Patrons in Late Medieval England*.

life of ascetic societies created stable literate communities, conservative in character and often long-lived, in which texts of various sorts might be collected, preserved, studied or composed.’⁵³

This thesis explores whether or not the Carmelite Order in medieval England was in some sense a network of ‘stable literate communities’, and what role in particular the vernacular had to play in the Province as a ‘textual community’. By ‘textual community’ I mean a group of individuals and institutions sharing a loosely-defined common interest and intention as regards the ‘Eight Cs of textual culture’ referred to in the introduction. Consciously or unconsciously, the medieval Carmelites of England formed a textual community linked by their shared interests in and concerns about literature, the circulation of texts and ideas between convents, and an awareness of literary trends and movements on a local, national, and international scale.

Of course the modern notion of a ‘textual community’ is not a formulation Carmelites in the Middle Ages would be familiar with, and I do not wish to impose an anachronistic model upon them, but the concept of the Order as a community is one with which they were very familiar.⁵⁴ Medieval communities of friars existed independently but also had a place within their locale, and within the Order nationally and internationally, bound together by legislative and liturgical texts. Also of significance for arriving at some appreciation of ‘Carmelite community’ are texts on the Order’s history and identity, such as lists of priors general, catalogues of saints, and chronicles of individual houses.⁵⁵ Like the numerous legendary histories the Order developed, these texts try to bring some sense of cohesion to the brethren, and form a textual community quite distinct from other brotherhoods of religious or secular clergy.

In the chapters that follow, I wish also to consider how the notion of homogeneity in the Order could lead to creativity and collectivism. In particular, I wish to present some preliminary ideas about how a Carmelite sense of unity across England and indeed across Europe may have encouraged the collection of texts in libraries, and the circulation of texts between houses. Studying the literary and bibliographic activities of the Carmelite Order in medieval England might even provoke questions about the very nature of Carmelite identity: Did book circulation create a sense of unity in the English Province in terms of identity and thought? How integral was literacy to the formation of a friar, at

⁵³ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 349-50.

⁵⁴ For a fuller treatment of the Carmelite Order’s developing sense of communal identity, see: Johan Bergström-Allen, Antony Lester, ‘Moving Mountains: the Carmelite Community’s Development of an Identity in York’ in Sebastian Kim, Pauline Kollontai (eds.), *Community Identity: Perspectives from Theology and Religious Studies* (London: T & T Clark International, 2007), 143-166. For a modern perspective on the notion of ‘Carmelite community’ through the ages, see also: Carmelite Community of Pozzo di Gotto, *Growing as Brothers*, Horizons Carmelite Spiritual Directory Project 9 (Melbourne, Australia: Carmelite Communications, 1999).

⁵⁵ Such texts are discussed by Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3.

every level (from novice to academic)? Could literary and scholastic achievement actually be a means of dividing a community?

Because of the dearth of surviving evidence about Carmelite book ownership, this thesis cannot hope to answer fully all of these questions.⁵⁶ Nor could such questions be answered by looking at vernacular literature alone, since vernacular and Latin texts existed in relation to each other. However, this enquiry hopes to make preliminary steps in uncovering this hitherto largely neglected aspect of medieval religious life, building upon the work of others where possible.

My field of enquiry is limited geographically to England, though no community exists in isolation, and English Carmelites maintained strong links with provinces in neighbouring countries (including Scotland and Ireland) and across the Continent.⁵⁷



Map of early foundations of the Carmelite Order in Europe, up to the year 1300.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Sadly, this thesis is hampered by the considerable loss of source materials over time; not only literary sources, but more generally historical, documentary, artistic, and archaeological sources. Depictions of medieval Whitefriars in art and architecture are rare, particularly any with 'literary' associations, though some are included in this study. It may be that surviving paintings, sculptures, memorials, and similar artefacts on the Continent may provide helpful pointers to the status of literature in the English Province. Unfortunately, such a wide geographic scope and interdisciplinary approach is too much for this thesis, but would be of great usefulness, if other scholars were to follow this lead.

⁵⁷ On the Carmelites and other mendicants in Ireland see: Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland 1224-1540* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012).

⁵⁸ Boaga, *Come pietre vive*, 43.

Formation and Identity

One of the strongest ways of forging links between disparate provinces was the Order's system of education. The need to instruct novices in basic Latin meant that some Carmelite communities ran schools. In Cologne, for example, the Order operated a Latin school, and although it was closed by the bishop in 1260 (presumably to protect the Cathedral school), the presence of an educational establishment promoting Latin so early in the life of the Order – even before any surviving records of university-trained friars – suggests a Latinate culture from Carmel's earliest days in Europe.⁵⁹

The closure of the Carmelites' school in Cologne is just one example of the antagonism that the Order received from some secular and monastic clergy, threatened by what they saw as rivalry for status, pastorate, influence, and income. The enormous expansion of the Order in the late thirteenth century required the Whitefriars to develop not only systems of administration and education, but also the formulation of statements about the origins and purpose of the Carmelites. It will become apparent in this thesis that the Order's articulation of its identity and history would prove to be a major factor in the Whitefriars' literary production.

The earliest known Carmelite *Constitutions*, adapting the spirit of the *Rule of Saint Albert* in legislation of practical matters, date from the General Chapter held in London in 1281. These *Constitutions* were prefaced by a text now known as the *Rubrica Prima* ('First Heading') which outlined the Order's own sense of its history:

*Since some young brothers in the Order do not know how to reply truthfully to those who wish to know by whom and where our Order originated, we want to provide them with a written account of how to respond to such demands. Bearing witness to the truth, we say that from the time of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, who lived devotedly on Mount Carmel, the holy fathers of both Old and New Testaments, [inhabited] the solitude of that same mountain, like true lovers for contemplation of heavenly things, in the same place by the fountain of Elijah, lived without doubt a praiseworthy life in holy penance endlessly followed by their successors.*⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 19, 25. Carmelite schools are also referred to in Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). On the Cologne house see: Edeltraud Klüeting, Stephan Panzer, Andreas H. Scholten (eds.), *Monasticon Carmelitanum: Die Klöster des Karmelitenordens (O.Carm.) in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Institutum Carmelitanum (Roma) *Monastica Carmelitana* Tomus II (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2012).

⁶⁰ 'Cum quidam fratres in ordine iuniores, querentibus a quo et quomodo ordo noster habuerit exordium, iuxta veritatem nesciant satisfacere, pro eis in scripto formulam talibus relinquentes volumus respondere. Dicimus enim veritati testimonium perhibentes quod a tempore helye et helisei prophetarum montem carmeli devote inhabitancium, sancti patres tam veteris quam novi testamenti eiusdem montis solitudinem pro contemplatione celestium tamquam veri amatores,

The *Rubrica Prima* is important because the text is one of the earliest attempts by the Order to grapple formally with its own history, and for its members to articulate their communal story. The *Rubrica Prima* refers to itself as a ‘written account’, revealing that by 1281 (and possibly in earlier but now lost versions of the *Constitutions*) the Carmelites had realised the importance of written texts in formulating and exhibiting a corporate sense of identity. It was an audacious and ambitious identity: rooted in the eremitic desert tradition; a vocation bridging the Old and New Testaments; a charism which sought to nurture contemplation and praiseworthy living. The *Rubrica Prima*, with its emphasis on the reclusive nature of the Carmelite vocation, and its instruction to young Whitefriars that they were continuing the spirit of Elijah and Elisha’s prophetic solitude, reveals that – despite adopting the *Vita Apostolica* by papal sanction – Carmelites still regarded themselves as essentially meditative desert hermits.⁶¹ Many of the writings produced by the Order in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reflect the Carmelites’ struggle in preserving their identity as semi-coenobitic solitaries whilst also being mendicant friars committed to an active pastoral mission in the world.⁶²

Of particular significance in this regard is an extraordinary text known as the *Ignea Sagitta* (*The Flaming Arrow*), purporting to be written in 1270/71 by an early prior general of the Carmelite Order, Nicholas the Frenchman (also known as Nicholas Gallus and Nicholas of Narbonne).⁶³

ibidem iuxta fontem helie in sancta penitentia sanctis successoribus incessanter continuata, sunt proculdubio laudabiliter conversati.’ Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 40-41. Translated by Richard Copsey in *Early Carmelite Documents* (Faversham: Saint Albert’s Press, forthcoming), reproduced here with alterations suggested by Roger Ellis.

⁶¹ Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 33-43; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 15-6; Wilfrid McGreal, *At the Fountain of Elijah – The Carmelite Tradition*, Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1999), 37. See also: Cécile Caby, ‘L’érémisme au XIIIe siècle, entre solitude du coeur et contraintes du droit’, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 234 (2006), 13-26.

⁶² Carmelite ‘contemplative’ or meditative life continued after the change to mendicancy, as discussed by Smet, *The Carmelites*, 18-19. Medieval Whitefriars lived the contemplative life amongst the people they served, with this service impacting on their understanding of the grace of contemplation. From a modern perspective all medieval religious – and indeed all committed Christians – were, in a sense, contemplatives, but as Egan points out, Carmelite contemplative identity remained distinctive, and literature played an important part in this: Keith J. Egan, ‘Life in a Medieval Carmelite Monastery’, Lecture delivered in 1992 for the 750th Anniversary of the Carmelites’ arrival in England, published on audio-cassette (Canfield, Ohio: Society of St. Paul, 1992).

⁶³ The complete text is edited by Adrian Staring, ‘Nicolai Prioris Generalis Ordinis Carmelitarum *Ignea Sagitta*’, *Carmelus*, 9 (1962), 237-307. The text is translated into English by Michael Edwards, *The Flaming Arrow (Ignea Sagitta)* (Durham: Teresian Press, 1985), and will appear in Richard Copsey, *Early Carmelite Documents* (Faversham: Saint Albert’s Press, forthcoming). A modern French text is also available: Nicolas Le Français, *La fleche de feu, texte latin et traduction française*, Flèche de feu 3 (Bégrolles en Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 2000). An extract is reproduced in Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 272. The most comprehensive study of the text is ‘The *Ignea Sagitta* and its readership: A Re-Evaluation’, in Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 17-28, and in the same volume ‘Establishment, Identity and Papal Approval: the Carmelite Order’s Creation of its Legendary History’, 1-15. See also: Kevin Alban, ‘The *Ignea Sagitta* and the Second Council of Lyon’, in Evaldo Xavier Gomes, Patrick McMahon, Simon Nolan, Vincenzo Mosca (eds.), *The Carmelite Rule 1207-2007: Proceedings of the Lisieux Conference 4-7 July 2005*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 28 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2008), 91-112; Lancelot C. Sheppard, *The English Carmelites* (London: Burns Oates, 1943), 19-21; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 18; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 2, 198-99; Henricus Pidyarto, ‘How Biblical is the *Ignea Sagitta*?’, in Giovanni Grosso, Wilmar Santin



Imagined portrait of Nicholas the Frenchman in Aloysius Maria Galli, *Series et effigies Priorum G[e]n[er]alium Latinorum totius: Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo* (B. Kühlen, 1893).

The *Ignea Sagitta* is effectively (or at least purports to be) Nicholas' encyclical letter of resignation from the most senior post in the Order. In his letter, Nicholas castigates his brethren for engaging in apostolic works, not because he is opposed to them *per se*, but because he thinks the Carmelites have neither the training nor the vocation from God to do so. He laments the Order leaving the 'contemplative heights' of Mount Carmel in favour of establishing communities in 'sinful towns', and calls for the primitive traditions of the first Carmelite hermits to be preserved. The *Ignea Sagitta* has provoked much controversy among scholars. It seems not to have circulated before c.1411, suggesting that either it was lost, suppressed, or is a later text falsely attributed to Nicholas. Whatever the circumstances of the *Ignea's* composition, its (re)emergence in the fifteenth century is a salutary reminder that the Carmelites' development into a mendicant student order was not without some criticism, both internal and external, and although it supposedly comprised the thoughts of just one author concerning the essence of the Carmelite charism, its popularity in the late Middle Ages shows a continuing preoccupation with how the brethren ought to live.

(eds.), *Memoriam Fecit Mirabilium Dei: Scritti in onore di Emanuele Boaga, O.Carm.*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 31 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2009), 467-80. A paper on the *Ignea* that I delivered at the International Anchoritic Society Conference in Glenstal Abbey, April 2007, is being developed for publication.



The English Carmelite professor Osbert Pickenham (fl. 1350) teaching members of his Order, depicted in a 14th-century vellum manuscript of the French school. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 3519, fo. 1 (detail).

The Order's growing literary and scholarly activities

Those who shared the *Ignea Sagitta's* impression of Carmelite life as essentially ascetic and eremitic may have shunned books as items of luxury and distractions from prayer. However, from the second half of the fourteenth century in particular, the Order made up for its early dearth of book production and possession by becoming the most prolific, in literary terms, of all the orders in England.⁶⁴ Of particular note, Carmelites wrote a number of legends and histories concerning their origins on Mount Carmel, which allowed the Whitefriars to distinguish themselves from the other mendicant and monastic orders. The legends encouraged the Whitefriars to perceive themselves as hermit descendants of the prophet Elijah (and thus the oldest of the Church's religious orders), which earned the mockery of both other mendicants and those opposed to fraternal orders generally, such as the Wycliffite writer of the *Dialogue Between Jon and Richard*:

þe Carnes [Carmelites] seen how oldnesse myzt be falsely forged, and seiden þei were before al oþer, 3<h>e before þat Crist was borne, for þei were in þe mount of Carmely vndur Heli [Elijah] þe prophete.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ A claim made by David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 2, 152.

⁶⁵ Fiona Somerset (ed.), *Four Wycliffite Dialogues*, Early English Text Society Original Series 333 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 7, lines 166-69.

Yet however audacious and anachronistic this privileged claim was, it was confirmed by the Chancellor of Cambridge University in a *determinatio* in 1374.⁶⁶ Moreover, in an age when Marian devotion flourished generally, the *Fratres Beatae Mariae de Monte Carmeli* perceived themselves as enjoying a uniquely special filial and even sibling relationship with the Blessed Virgin, as depicted in various texts and visual works of art (two displayed below).⁶⁷ Such claims to prestige led to lampooning of the Carmelites (alongside the other mendicant orders) in the poem *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*: 'Thei maketh hem Maries men (so their men tellen)'.⁶⁸



A miniature depicting a Carmelite praying to the Virgin Mary and Christ Child. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, Ms. 3, fo. 7v (a copy of Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale*).

⁶⁶ See: John P. H. Clark, 'A Defence of the Carmelite Order by John Hornby', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 1-34; John P. H. Clark, 'Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology and the English Contemplative Tradition', in Marion Glasscoe, *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, Volume V, 1992* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), 1-16 [8-9]; Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 374; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 55; James Crompton, 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum I & II', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 12 (1961), 35-45, 155-66 [35]. On the claims for Elijah as founder and Albert as 'Legislator', see: Keith J. Egan, 'An Essay towards a Historiography of the Origin of the Carmelite Province in England', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 86-117 [107]; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 7-8; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 176-79; Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3*, 13. A study of the role of Elijah in the Order has recently been published: Jane Ackerman, *Elijah: Prophet of Carmel* (Washington D.C.: ICS Publications, 2003). See also: Edison R. L. Tinambunan, 'Elijah According to the Fathers of the Church', *Carmelus*, 49 (2002), 85-116. For an explanation of *determinatio* see: Mariken Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual life in the Middle Ages*, Etudes sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Age 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 250-52.

⁶⁷ On Carmelite devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, see: Valerie Edden, 'The Mantle of Elijah: Carmelite Spirituality in England in the Fourteenth Century', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition, England, Ireland and Wales, Exeter Symposium VI* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 67-83 [77-82], available online in the 'Carmelite Studies' section of the website of the British Province of Carmelites: www.carmelite.org; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 118; Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3*, *passim*; Emanuele Boaga, *The Lady of the Place: Mary in the History and in the Life of Carmel* (trans.) Joseph Chalmers, Míceál O'Neill, Carmelitana Series 2 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2001); Eamon R. Carroll, 'The Marian Spirituality of the Medieval Religious Orders: Medieval Devotion to Mary Among the Carmelites', *Marian Studies*, 52, Article 11 (2001), 219-28. For the broader context of medieval Marian piety in general see: Rachel Fulton, 'Mary', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 283-96; Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁶⁸ Helen Barr (ed.), *The Piers Plowman Tradition* (London: J. M. Dent, 1993), 63, line 48.



The Virgin of the Carmelites is a Byzantine icon created in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

It depicts Mary enthroned, surrounded by Carmelites, and scenes of her miracles.

Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ On this ancient image and its broader context see: Doula Mouriki, 'Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus', *The Griffon*, New Series, 1-2 (1985-86), 9-112; Helen C. Evans, William D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997); Annemarie Weyl Carr, 'Art', in Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374, The Medieval Mediterranean 58* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Such disputes over the origins and privileges of the Order were one aspect of feverish Carmelite activity in the university schools of Europe, and they resulted in a flourishing of literary output and manuscript dissemination. Following in the footsteps of the Order's first known major academic, Gerard of Bologna (c. 1240/50-1317), early in the fourteenth century the Carmelites quickly developed into a student order, devoting themselves to the pursuit of academic excellence.⁷⁰ The Carmelite academic drive was needed to prove the order's usefulness to the Church so as to avoid the annulment that had destroyed so many fraternal orders at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. Whilst most Carmelites did not progress much beyond the local distinction, a significant minority became an educated elite. As has been observed, 'Without the towns the friars would never have come into

⁷⁰ On the Carmelite education system see: Richard Copsey, 'The Formation of the Medieval English Friar: from Dominican Model to Carmelite Practice', in Anne J. Duggan, Joan Greatrex and Brenda Bolton (eds.), *Omnia disce – Medieval Studies in Memory of Leonard Boyle, O.P.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 245-62; Copsey, *Biographical Register*, introduction; Margaret E. Poskitt, 'The English Carmelites: Houses of Study and Educational Methods', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 155-165; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 29-38; Margaret Gallyon, *Margery Kempe of Lynn and Medieval England* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1995), 132; Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 255-64. On the friars' academic drive in the schools (and opposition to it), see: Keith J. Egan, 'The Carmelites Turn to Cambridge', in Paul Chandler, Keith J. Egan (eds.), *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O.Carm* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), 155-70 [165]; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 261-68; Bruce P. Flood, Jr., 'The Carmelite Friars in Medieval English Universities and Society, 1299-1430', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, LV (1988), 154-83; Emanuele Boaga, 'Dal secolo XII al secolo XVI: la teologia spirituale nella tradizione carmelitana pre-teresiana', *Teresianum: Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 52 (2001), 69-94; Emanuele Boaga, 'L'organizzazione dello studio e degli studia presso i carmelitani tra il xiii e il xiv secolo', in *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo – Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001*, Atti dei Convegni Nuova serie 12 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2002), 177-95. On the medieval university curriculum and mendicant variations see: William J. Courtenay, 'Academic Formation and Careers of Mendicant Friars: A Regional Approach', in *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo – Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001*, Atti dei Convegni Nuova serie 12 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2002), 197-217; Jeremy Catto, 'Franciscan Learning in England, 1450-1540', in James G. Clark (ed.), *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 18 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 97-104; William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 3-55, 56-87; and in Peter Biller, Barrie Dobson (eds.), *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life – Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, Ecclesiastical History Society, Studies in Church History Subsidia 11 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1999), 77-92; M. W. Sheehan, 'The Religious Orders 1220-1370', in J. I. Catto (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume I – the Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 193-223; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 2, 144-45; Alan B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1988); Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling, 1340-1548: Learning, Literacy, and Laicization in Pre-Reformation York Diocese*, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Ian Christopher Levy, 'The Study of Theology in the Middle Ages', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 63-76; 'The Philosopher, the Fathers, and the Faith: Scholasticism and the University' in Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 257 ff. On Gerard of Bologna see: Simon F. Nolan, 'Teaching and Learning in the *Summa theologiae* of Gerard of Bologna (d. 1317)', *Maynooth Philosophical Papers*, 5 (2008), 35-41; Simon F. Nolan, *The Soul and its Operations in the Quaestiones quodlibetales of Gerard of Bologna (d. 1317)*, Doctoral Thesis, (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University, 2015); David Piché, *La théorie de la connaissance intellectuelle de Gérard de Bologne (ca. 1240/50-1317) – Édition critique et étude doctrinale de quatorze «Quodlibeta»*, Philosophes Médiévaux 61 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014); Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*. For a broader consideration of mendicant intellectual activity, see: Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order 1209-1310* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

existence; without the universities they would never have become great'.⁷¹ Carmelite scholarship helped the Order to become prominent in towns and universities across Europe.⁷²

Engagement in the academic arena was not welcomed by all Carmelites. The *Ignea Sagitta* claimed that the members of the Order had neither the ability nor the vocation for such work. Others objected that having embraced apostolic poverty the expense of pursuing studies was unwarranted.⁷³ But such arguments did not hold sway, and the Carmelites embarked headlong on becoming a student order, with considerable success. In England, the Whitefriars swelled the ranks of mendicants at the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, so that 'well before the turn of the fourteenth century members of the fraternal order already defined the intellectual elite at Oxford; in the fourteenth century itself they came, as at Paris, to occupy a position of near-monopoly. The situation at Cambridge, though perhaps somewhat less marked, was certainly similar'.⁷⁴ Alfred Brotherston Emden records some 225 Carmelites connected in some way to Cambridge University in the Middle

⁷¹ R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, Pelican History of the Church 2 (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1970), 273. The late Middle Ages was an important time for the expansion of learning, with new colleges being established at Oxford and Cambridge, and new universities being established in Heidelberg (1386), Cologne (1388), Erfurt (1389), Ferrara (1391), Turin (1405), Leipzig (1409), St. Andrews (1413), Rostock (1419), Louvain (1425), Poitiers (1431), and Caen (1432).

⁷² On the scholastic theologians and philosophers to emerge from amongst the Whitefriars see: Bartolomé Maria Xiberta, 'De institutis Ordinis Carmelitarum quae ad doctrinas philosophorum et theologorum sequendas pertinent', *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 6 (Rome, 1929); Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*; Benedict Zimmerman, 'Les Carmes aux universités du moyen âge', in *Etudes carmélitaines* (1932), 82-112; Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1960); Patrick Zutshi, 'The Mendicant Orders and the University of Cambridge in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries', in Caroline Barron, Jenny Stratford (eds.), *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society – Studies in Honour of Professor R. B. Dobson*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 11 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), 210-27. On the universities' role in contemporary religious debate see: Philipp W. Rosemann, 'Philosophy and Theology in the Universities', in Carol Lansing, Edward D. English (eds.), *A Companion to the Medieval World* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 544-60; Ralph Hanna, 'Literacy, schooling, universities', in Andrew Galloway (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, Cambridge Companions to Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 172-94; R. N. Swanson, 'Academic Circles: Universities and Exchanges of Information and Ideas in the Age of the Great Schism', in Michael Van Dussen, Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378-1536: Textual Transmission and Networks of Readership*, Medieval Church Studies, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 17-47; and in the same volume Kantik Ghosh, 'University-Learning, Theological Method, and Heresy in Fifteenth-Century England', 289-313.

⁷³ John Fleming ['The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 351] summarises well this issue which was contentious across the mendicant orders, but especially among the Franciscans: 'In nearly all periods of medieval religious life the ascetic attitude towards study, books and learning was to some degree ambiguous. Perhaps it is safer to say there were multiple attitudes. The monastic 'love of learning' of which Jean Leclercq has written could be intense, but it was also strictly circumscribed and spiritually focussed. Although the fraternal orders were destined to produce the most prominent intellectuals of their age, they all ... included certain frankly anti-intellectual elements.'

⁷⁴ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 369. Chapters on the Carmelites at Cambridge and at Oxford are included in McCaffrey, *The White Friars*, 172-233. On the clerical and mendicant foundations of Oxford see: the early chapters of L. W. B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). On the mendicants in Paris, see: Ian P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c.1100-1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Leo van Wijmen, 'Carmelite Licentiatees at the University of Paris', *Carmelus*, 19 (1972), 134-75.

Ages, and a further 244 at Oxford⁷⁵ (where the number of identifiable Carmelite authors is considerably larger than their Dominican counterparts)⁷⁶ though of course the number will have been higher than fragmentary records can reveal.

The Carmelites' pursuit of academic excellence was necessary to sustain their pastoral provision. John Fleming is right to sound the cautionary note that 'one of the most striking features of this academic life of the friars is that in it we see an almost total separation from the frequently vernacular mode of their pastoral mission'.⁷⁷ Though friars who sat in the chairs of university lecture halls also stood in pulpits, their intention in each place was quite distinct, and the introduction of 'school matter' into the public domain was – as this thesis will point out – a major concern for the scholarly Whitefriars. At the same time there are 'connections between scholastic philosophy and theology and vernacular literature ... that invite subtle investigation'⁷⁸ and it would be a fallacy to imagine that mendicants in medieval Europe understood scholarship and the care of souls to be somehow oppositional. This is especially true of the Carmelite writers and translators of vernacular theology who fall within the scope of this thesis, most of whom were highly educated students or active teachers. Indeed, as Charles F. Briggs has shown of some of medieval Europe's finest scholastic minds 'their own experience as students and masters in medieval schools, whether universities or monastic and mendicant *studia*, not only had convinced them of the practical value of the lore contained in the works they translated, but also suggested to them that vernacular translation was a natural continuation of a process well under way in the classroom, this being the vulgarization of an extensive and varied literature loaded with complex and difficult-to-comprehend philosophical concepts.'⁷⁹ We have already seen that Alan of Lynn was a perfect illustration of this point, and we shall see in subsequent chapters that he was not the only Carmelite who sought to vulgarise and democratise complex theological concepts in a Church and Society that was increasingly wary of such attempts.

⁷⁵ Egan derived this information from Emden's *Biographical Registers*: Keith J. Egan, 'The Carmelites Turn to Cambridge', in Paul Chandler, Keith J. Egan (eds.), *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O.Carm* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), 155-70 [168].

⁷⁶ William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 71.

⁷⁷ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 369.

⁷⁸ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 369.

⁷⁹ Charles F. Briggs, 'Teaching Philosophy at School and Court: Vulgarization and Translation', in Fiona Somerset, Nicholas Watson (eds.), *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 99-111 [99].

Carmelite preaching

The scholarly learning which formed friars and prompted their pastoral outreach also stimulated their role as sermon preachers.⁸⁰ ‘From the early thirteenth century on, the driving force behind the new effort to preach God’s word were the mendicant orders’.⁸¹

The *Gesta Romanorum*, a corpus of Latin *exempla* (illustrative stories used by preachers to capture a congregation’s attention and drive home a moral lesson), first compiled c.1300, highlights the prominence of the Carmelites as preachers in medieval Europe.⁸² Although Carmelites seem to have been skilled in *artes praedicandi*, and the preaching of English Whitefriars ranked on a par with that of the Dominicans (the ‘Order of Preachers’), sadly comparatively little is known about Carmelite preaching in medieval England, particularly in the vernacular. Margery Kempe tells us that Alan of Lynn was aided in his preaching through her prayerful intercession.⁸³ John Bale states that Carmelite preachers drew large crowds in cities, churches, and royal courts.⁸⁴ Bale recorded brief details of a good number of sermons delivered by various Whitefriars, including Richard Maidstone (however the famous sermon collection *Dormi Secure* is probably misattributed to Maidstone).⁸⁵ Two sermons by an otherwise unknown Carmelite, Paul Parden, are recorded in a homiletic collection compiled in

⁸⁰ On the literary results of mendicant preaching, see: the section on ‘Sermons and sermon literature’ in Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 359-62.

⁸¹ ‘The Friars’ in Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 288-96 [288].

⁸² The exemplum ‘On Perfection of Life’ describes three types of cockerels who call the Christian people to wakefulness: firstly the prophets; secondly the Apostles and Evangelists; and thirdly ‘the Friars Minor who preach and the Brothers of Blessed Mary the Mother of God of Mt Carmel, and others who preach the word of God, the Augustinians and parish priests’. See: Christopher Stace (trans.), *Gesta Romanorum: A New Translation*, Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 54.

⁸³ ‘sche thowt in hir hert sche wolde that God of hys goodnes wolde makyn Maistryr Aleyn to sey in a sermown as wel as he cowde’, *Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 89. On Kempe as a source of information about contemporary preachers, see: Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 240.

⁸⁴ John Bale, *Anglorum Heliades*, London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 57v, 71, 72 (old pagination).

⁸⁵ Carmelites and Dominicans are equated by Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461*, The New Oxford History of England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 363. On preaching in the vernacular see: Claire M. Waters, ‘Talking the Talk: Access to the Vernacular in Medieval Preaching’, in Fiona Somerset, Nicholas Watson (eds.), *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 31-42. Dominican preaching and vernacular theology is the focus of Eliana Corbari, *Vernacular Theology: Dominican Sermons and Audience in Late Medieval Italy*, Trends in Medieval Philology 22 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2013). *Dormi Secure* has been ascribed to various authors, including Richard Maidstone (a link is made by Mabel Day in *The Wheatley Manuscript*, xvii), but the sermons are generally accepted to be by John of Verdun. A set of sermons once attributed to an early Carmelite Provincial in England, Henry of (H)anna (d. 1300), are now judged to be by a later German Carmelite, Johannes Vogolon from Cologne; see Emanuele Boaga, ‘I tre sermoni spirituali del ‘Meister Hane der Karmelit’’, *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 41 (1990), 22-33. Likewise, a sermon cycle attributed by John Bale to the Carmelite John Paschal [see Valerie Edden, ‘A Carmelite Sermon Cycle: British Library Royal 7.B.I’, *Carmelus*, 43 (1996), 99-122] has been shown to be Franciscan in origin [see Patrick Nold, ‘British Library Royal 7.B.I Reconsidered: A Franciscan Sermon Cycle’, *Carmelus*, 45 (1998), 155-62], though the Carmelite scribe purported the contents to be by a Carmelite bishop and even the misattribution shows strong ‘Carmelite sympathy for mysticism’ [Edden, ‘The Mantle of Elijah’, 82].

the early fifteenth century.⁸⁶ Likewise surviving are two academic sermons preached at Oxford in 1432 by noted Hebrew scholar John Haynton when he was the Order's Regent of Studies.⁸⁷ Carmelites such as Thomas Maldon are attributed with writing numerous sermons, but these are now lost.⁸⁸

Being described as a remarkable preacher was a fairly common epithet in biographies of medieval clergy, but it is striking how often it is alleged of the Carmelites by John Bale (albeit with some favourable bias on his part). Deriving his information from an obituary, or from notes in the now lost register of Robert Ivory, Carmelite Provincial in the late fourteenth-century, Bale records that friar William Badby (d. 1380/81) was an eloquent preacher, frequently preaching at court before the nobility, and his reputation was such that crowds would flock to hear him 'as if going to a show'.⁸⁹

The popularity of Carmelite preaching would seem to be borne out by the archaeological evidence of architecture. The vast expansion of the nave of the Carmelites' church in Coventry, one of the biggest in medieval England, is usually interpreted as indicating that the brothers' homilies were extremely popular.⁹⁰ In addition to mendicant houses themselves, preaching took place in a variety of places and contexts. Friars preached in diocesan churches on occasion, and in public spaces, such as preaching crosses, the most famous in England being St. Paul's Cross in London. Preaching was an important means of seeking almsgiving, and to prevent any one area being asked to support too many friars towns were (at least in theory if not often in practice) divided into 'limits' for preaching and

⁸⁶ London, St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Ms. 8 (Y/1), fo. 41-43. Richard Copsey states that 'from a consideration of the other named authors in this collection, it seems likely that Parden was a student at Oxford c.1400' [*Biographical Register*]. On this codex see: 'London, St. Paul's Cathedral Library, MS 8 (Y)' in Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 189-92, 658.

⁸⁷ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 5398, fo. 40-45 (a *sermo examinatus*), 54-59v (a *sermo formalis et ordinarius*). Edited in H. E. Salter, W. A. Pantin, H. G. Richardson (eds.), *Formularies which Bear on the History of Oxford, c.1204-1420*, 2 vols, Oxford Historical Society, New Series 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942), vol 2, 436-37. See: Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 152, n. 10; Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

⁸⁸ See: J. P. H. Clark, 'Thomas Maldon, O.Carm., a Cambridge theologian of the fourteenth century', *Carmelus*, 29 (1982), 193-235, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 125-67; Copsey, *Biographical Register*; Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 292, n. 20.

⁸⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73 (SC 27635), fo. 42v, 119, and *Catalogus* 1.491, translated by Richard Copsey, 'Badby, William (d. 1380/81)', *ODNB*.

⁹⁰ In the 1380s the Carmelites of Coventry had plans to enlarge their church, and it seems the nave had six bays at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Later that century three more bay extensions were added, which, according to the latest archaeological survey, 'must mean that six bays were not enough to accommodate those who wished to attend': Charmian Woodfield, *The Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and some conventual buildings at the Whitefriars, Coventry*, British Archaeological Reports (BAR) series 389 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 4. On the link between mendicant pastoral care and the shaping of urban spaces see: Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building and Burying: Friars in the Medieval City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Deirdre O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs 23 (Leicester: School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2013). On the development of the Whitefriars site in Coventry see: Joan C. Lancaster, 'Coventry', in Mary D. Lobel (ed.), *The Atlas of Historic Towns, Volume 2* (London: The Scholar Press in conjunction with the Historic Towns Trust, 1975), available online at www.historictownsatlas.org.uk [accessed October 2015].

alms-gathering. To prevent friars from encroaching on the pastoral work and income due to parish priests, the papal bull *Super cathedram* issued in 1300 stipulated that mendicants were to seek licenses for preaching and administering the sacraments in any diocese.⁹¹

Though most sermon collections and materials used by sermon writers (such as *florilegia* and commentaries) surviving from late medieval England were written in Latin, most often homilies would be delivered in the vernacular (except in the case of preaching to fellow clergy, and not always then), and collections of vernacular sermons were popular reading among both laity and clergy in late medieval England, such as the *Festial* compiled by Augustinian canon John Mirk in the 1380s.⁹²

As popular preachers it seems highly probable that the Whitefriars would have drawn on vernacular texts and techniques of rhetoric in English.⁹³ The English poem *þe Simonie* written in London c.1330 criticises ‘freres of þe Carme [Carmelites] ... þat wolde preche more for a bushel of whete þan for to bringe a soule from helle out of þe hete’, but preaching was a source of income for

⁹¹ The Carmelites were formally brought within the scope of *Super cathedram* by grant of John XXII in 1326. See: Michael J. Haren, ‘Friars as Confessors: The Canonist Background to the Fourteenth-Century Controversy’, *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 503-516.

⁹² Susan Powell (ed.), *John Mirk’s Festial*, 2 vols, Early English Text Society Original Series 334 and 335 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 2011). For a consideration of the *Festial* and what it reveals of the social and religious context in which Carmelite vernacular writers emerged, see: Judy Ann Ford, *John Mirk’s Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy and the Common People in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006).

⁹³ The Carmelites became renowned preachers, though because of questions over attribution, scholars debate how much Carmelite sermon literature survives. A sermon cycle copied and indexed by an otherwise unknown Carmelite, John Staunch, is preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. F. infra 1.3 (*SC* 2747): see Valerie Edden, ‘Marian Devotion in a Carmelite Sermon Collection of the late Middle Ages’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 57 (1995), 101-29; Richard Copsey notes that ‘there is no evidence that Staunch composed the sermons himself and their content shows no signs of Carmelite authorship’ [*Biographical Register*, echoing Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 292, n. 21]. On the sermons of the medieval English Carmelite Alan of Lynn, mentioned by Margery Kempe, see the previous chapter, nn. 44, 58. On the preaching prowess of the Carmelite saint Peter Thomas, see: Nicholas Coureas, ‘Philippe de Mézières’ portrait of Peter Thomas as a preacher’, *Carmelus*, 57 (2010), 63-80. On Carmelite preaching in general see: Kevin Alban, ‘Predicazione’, in Emanuele Boaga, Luigi Borriello (eds.), *Dizionario Carmelitano* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2008). On medieval preaching in general see: Carolyn Muessig, ‘Sermon, preacher and society in the middle ages’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), 73-91; Helen Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); *idem*, ‘Middle English Sermons,’ in Beverly Mayne Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, 81-83 (Brepols, 2000), 597-660; *idem*, ‘Sermon Literature’, in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 151-74; Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 359-62; Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1988), 49-50; W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, Mediaeval Academy Reprints for Teaching 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 235-9; David L. D’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, second revised edition 1961); Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Martha W. Driver, Veronica O’Mara (eds.), *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Susan Powell* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Katherine Jansen, ‘The Word and its diffusion’, and Roberto Rusconi, ‘Public purity and discipline: states and religious renewal’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 114-32, 458-71; ‘The Bible in Worship and Preaching’ in Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). I am grateful to Ann Hutchison for informing me that the clergy in Bridgettine communities were required to preach in the vernacular once a week.

mendicants; thus preaching in the vernacular widened the potential audience and therefore the scope for donations.⁹⁴ In very general terms, whilst Latin was the language of exchange between religious and scholars in medieval Europe, and Anglo-Norman between aristocracy and bureaucrats, the majority of laypeople in England spoke in the vernacular English tongue. Therefore, English was also a language of exchange between communities, and of education. Preaching was an essential tool for the Carmelites interested in the promotion of the Christian life since, along with oral confession, it was ‘the most extensive media of vernacular instruction and edification’ in late medieval England.⁹⁵ For this reason, preaching was crucial in the mendicants’ efforts against heresy.⁹⁶



A miniature in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* depicting the dedication of a church, presumably a church of the Order, as Carmelites are shown singing from a manuscript roll. Though a stylised representation, and hence not to the scale of actual Carmelite churches such as in Coventry, the image shows laity coming to the Carmelites for prayer and preaching. London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 68v (detail).

⁹⁴ *De Simonie* is preserved in its A-redaction in the famous Auchinleck Manuscript: National Library of Scotland, Ms. Advocates 19.2.1, quotation from fo. 330. This poem is edited by: D. Embree, E. Urquhart, (eds.), *The Simonie: a Parallel-Text Edition*, Middle English Texts 24 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1991); James M. Dean, *Medieval English Political Writings*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996). The text is also available online at: <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/> and <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/simonie.htm>

⁹⁵ Vincent Gillespie, ‘Chichele’s Church: Vernacular Theology in England after Thomas Arundel’, in Vincent Gillespie, Kantik Ghosh (eds.), *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, *Medieval Church Studies* 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 3-42 [30].

⁹⁶ See: Jeannine Horowitz, ‘Popular Preaching in the Thirteenth Century: Rhetoric in the Fight against Heresy’, *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 60 (2016), 62-76.

Carmelite liturgy

Alongside preaching it is possible to learn something about general attitudes to vernacular culture and inculturation from the liturgy of the medieval English Carmelites, as witnessed to by the missal-breviaries, manuscripts, bequests, and fabric-materials surviving from the period.⁹⁷

Liturgy was a major factor in forming Carmelite identity, since the Order had its own liturgical customs, based on the Rite of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In 1312 the Carmelite Sibert de Beka (of Beek) compiled an ordinal which set out the major feasts of the Order, and thus helped to define Carmel's spirituality through the texts proclaimed at the daily celebration of the Eucharist and Divine Office.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ On medieval Carmelite liturgy see: P. Kallenberg, *Fontes liturgiae carmelitanae: investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1962); James Boyce, *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in the Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington D.C.: Carmelite Institute, 1999); Kevin Alban, 'The Fabric of Worship: Liturgy and its Artefacts in the Medieval English Province of Carmelites', *Carmelus*, 53 (2006), 111-29; Kevin Alban (ed.), *Fons et culmen vitae carmelitanae: Proceedings of the Carmelite Liturgical Seminar, S. Felice del Benaco, 13-16 June 2006*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 30 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2007); Kevin Alban (ed.), *We Sing a Hymn of Glory to the Lord: Proceedings of the Carmelite Liturgical Seminar, Rome, 6-8 July 2009*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 32 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2010); James John Boyce, 'The Carmelite Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin: A Study in Musical Adaptation', in Margot E. Fassler, Rebecca A. Baltzer (eds.), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 485-520; Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), especially pages 327-37. On the formative influence of liturgy on the spirituality and way of life of the Order, see: Edmondo Caruana, 'Liturgia e mistagogia nella trasmissione della spiritualità dell'ordine', in Luigi Borriello, Edmondo Caruana (eds.), *Liturgia e Carmelo: Atti del Convegno sulla Liturgia e il Carmelo, Teresianum, Roma, 2-5 ottobre 2008*, Collana «Studi Carmelitani» 7 (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012), 103-25. Among the overviews of medieval liturgy in general, see: Thomas J. Heffernan, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications for The Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages, 2001); Susan Boynton, 'Religious soundscapes: liturgy and music', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 238-53; Nicolas Bell, 'Liturgy', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 121-32; James Monti, 'Late Medieval Liturgy: A Celebration of Emmanuel – "God With Us"', in Alcuin Reid (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 93-106.

⁹⁸ As regards his opposition to heresy, see: Thomas Turley, 'Sibert of Beek's Response to Marsilius of Padua', *Carmelus*, 52 (2005), 81-104. On Sibert's work on the liturgy, teaching at Paris, time at the Carmelite Curia in Avignon, and role as Prior Provincial of Germany, see: Benedict Zimmerman (ed.), *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel par Sibert de Beka (vers 1312); publié d'après le manuscrit original et collationné sur divers manuscrits et imprimés par Benedict Zimmerman*, Bibl. Liturgique, 13 (Paris: Picard, 1910); Lauge Olaf Nielsen, 'Parisian Discussions of the Beatific Vision after the Council of Vienne: Thomas Wylton, Sibert of Beka, Peter Auriol, and Raymundus Bequini', in Stephen F. Brown, Thomas Dewender, Theo Kobusch (eds.), *Philosophical Debates at Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 179-209.



The miniature for Holy Saturday in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* shows laity at prayer alongside Whitefriars. London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 6v (detail).



A Carmelite friar at prayer depicted in the margin of a Book of Hours according to the Carmelite Use. Inscriptions suggest it was created c.1511 for a Carmelite friar in France. Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library (National Library of New Zealand), Ms. R11, fo. 16v-17.

Although the Carmelites in England observed their own rite, rather than the local uses (such as Sarum or York), there is evidence of the adaptation of the Carmelite liturgical calendar in England to incorporate the feasts of locally significant saints such as Richard of Chichester, Augustine of Canterbury, and Erkenwald of London.⁹⁹ Though these rites were celebrated in Latin, their insertion into the Carmelite calendar in the English Province shows a receptivity to local pious customs and ‘vernacular spirituality’.¹⁰⁰

The best-known Carmelite literary artefact of medieval England – the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* – has also been interpreted as an indicator of contemporary Carmelite theological concerns. Some of the manuscript’s illustrations, like those in some copies of Thomas Netter’s *Doctrinale*, bear witness to the Carmelite friars’ engagement in both the promotion and restriction of ‘vernacular theology’, as will be discussed below.

⁹⁹ On the first two see: Kevin Alban, ‘The Fabric of Worship: Liturgy and its Artefacts in the Medieval English Province of Carmelites’, *Carmelus*, 53 (2006), 111-29. On St. Erkenwald see: Valerie Edden, ‘A Fresh Look at the Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: London, British Library, Ms. Additional 29704-05’, in Stephen Kelly, John J. Thompson (eds.), *Imagining the Book, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 111-26 [112]. On the promotion of local and national saints in the liturgy of fifteenth-century England, as part of contradicting heretical protests against their intercession, see: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 15.

¹⁰⁰ In the opposite direction, Carmelite material from the Continent was translated into English by those interested in promoting saints of national importance in England, such as the Whitefriar Blessed Baptist Spagnoli of Mantua’s *Life of St. George*, translated by Alexander Barclay (see the introduction to this thesis for details).



A Whitefriar depicted in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* reading from a liturgical book whilst administering the sacrament of baptism. London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 36v (detail).

Carmelite book ownership, collection and circulation

The preaching, pastoral apostolate and liturgical life of the Carmelites was heavily reliant upon the Order's system of education and book ownership.

In England, each Whitefriar (who could officially begin his novitiate from the age of fourteen unless he had parental permission to enter earlier) received initial instruction at his *filial* convent, that is, the house in which he entered the Order, and to which he was (at least nominally) attached for life.

However, friars are known to have travelled between houses of the Order, and further education was a major reason for this.¹⁰¹

In England there was no central house for instruction in the novitiate, but even small provincial convents such as Hulne in Northumberland – the Order’s first hermitage in England, deliberately remote – seem to have had substantial libraries for this purpose. We have already observed in the case of Lynn Priory that even some houses of the Order that were not officially designated centres of study seem to have functioned as sites for ongoing postgraduate formation, which required them to amass book collections. Indeed, the mendicant orders were ‘among the most avid book collectors in England’.¹⁰²

Sadly, very little is known about Carmelite libraries in medieval England because not one catalogue survives, though fragmentary information from seven communities can be recovered.¹⁰³ An inventory dated 1366 survives of the books at Hulne Priory, which included penitential and preaching sections.¹⁰⁴ A cartulary (the community’s record of documents relating to their foundation, privileges and legal rights) exists for the holdings at Aylesford Priory in Kent in 1381, which shows that the Whitefriars had access to a wide range of genres including scholastic materials, *legendae*, canon law, sermons, patristics, theology, music, histories, grammars, and ‘mystical’ texts.¹⁰⁵ John Bale described the early sixteenth-century library of the *studia* at his filial house of Norwich as ‘noble and fair’.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ On the movement of friars see: Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 37.

¹⁰² Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 368.

¹⁰³ K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars’ Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 1 (London: The British Library, 1990). Humphreys provides information about some books held at the Carmelite convents of Aylesford, Boston, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Oxford and Hulne, [xv-xvi, xviii, 155-92] the final being ‘a reasonable picture of a complete library but... probably very different from the libraries at e.g. London, Oxford and Cambridge’ [xv]. Humphreys’ work is being revised by Prof. Richard Sharpe of the University of Oxford. On Carmelite libraries see: David Waite, ‘Biblioteca’, in Emanuele Boaga, Luigi Borriello (eds.), *Dizionario Carmelitano* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2008), 104-106; Christopher O’Donnell’s presentation on Carmelite libraries in *Causa Nostra Laetitiae*, Newsletter of the Irish Province of Carmelites, Autumn/Winter 2011, 29-38. On mendicant libraries in general see: William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 86; Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 369; David Bell, ‘Monastic libraries: 1400-1557’, in Lotte Hellinga, J. B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III, 1400-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 230-31; Parkes, in Catto, Evans, 431-45; David N. Bell, ‘The libraries of religious houses in the late middle ages’, in Elisabeth Leedham-Green, Teresa Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I To 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 126-51.

¹⁰⁴ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3897, fo. 52. On this document and the library at Hulne see: J. Raine (ed.), *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm* (Surtees Society 15, 1838), 128-31 Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 62; Humphreys, *The Friars’ Libraries*, xxii-xxiii.

¹⁰⁵ The Latin text is in Keith J. Egan, ‘The Aylesford Cartulary’, *Carmelus*, 47 (2000), 221-34, translated into English by Richard Copey in his *Early Carmelite Documents* (forthcoming). On friary cartularies and other documentary sources for mendicant history see: Deirdre O’Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs 23 (Leicester: School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2013), 21-22.

¹⁰⁶ Bale, *Scriptorum*, I, 468-9, quoted in Jesse W. Harris, *John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1940), 14; McCaffrey, *The White Friars*, 263.

Bale was one of a good number of Carmelite scholars to study abroad, and the international nature of the Carmelite Order as a ‘community of communities’ facilitated the circulation of books and ideas amongst the friars of different provinces. More substantial evidence about medieval Carmelite book ownership on the Continent comes from the conventual friary at Florence, dated 1391.¹⁰⁷

The convents that housed *studia* (official student centres) had a community library separate from the students’ library. The statutes issued in 1390 by Jean Grossi, Prior General of the Clementine/Avignon Obedience, for the convent and *studium* at Avignon, stipulated stiff penalties for removing books from the library or allowing others unsupervised access to books.¹⁰⁸

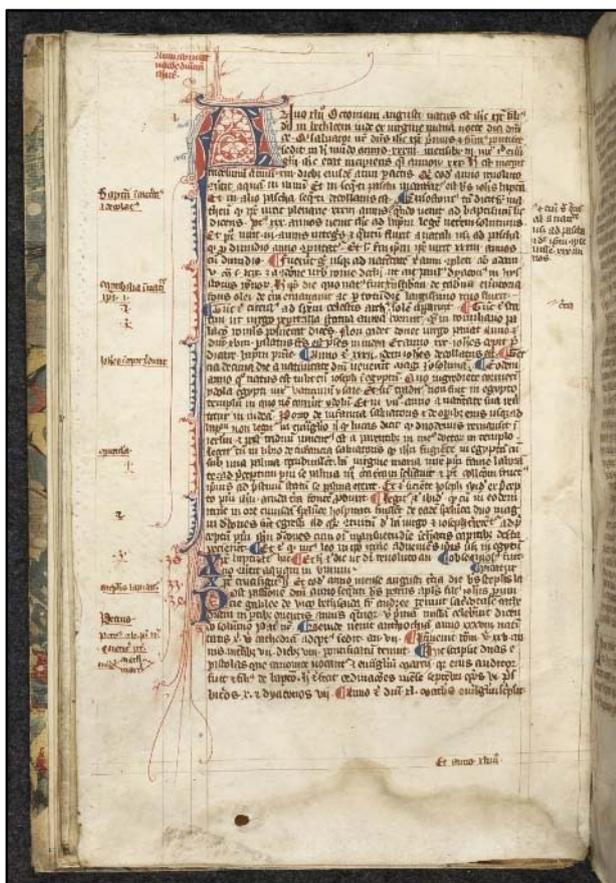
The growth of Carmelite communal book collections was ensured by a corporate copying enterprise in scriptoria, and the donation of texts by Whitefriars themselves, both before and after death (each friar, including lay brethren, was supposed to leave his books to the Order when he died).¹⁰⁹ Libraries were also bolstered by the receipt of books bequeathed by lay patrons.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ K. W. Humphreys, ‘The Libraries of the Carmelites’, in *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars 1215-1400*, Studies in the History of Libraries and Librarianship 1, Safah Monographs 2 (Amsterdam: Erasmus Booksellers, 1964), 123-31; K. W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Carmelites of Florence at the end of the fourteenth century*, Studies in the History of Libraries and Librarianship 2 (Amsterdam: Erasmus Booksellers, 1964). See also: Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 60-62.

¹⁰⁸ Bibliothecae Avinionensis Ms. 2879, fo. 47, edited by Benedict Zimmerman in *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 7 (1928-31), 158-61, and translated into English by Richard Copley in his forthcoming *Early Carmelite Documents*.

¹⁰⁹ Notably generous ‘internal’ donations and bequests include Robert Bale’s gift to his own friary of Burnham Norton in 1503 [Margaret Gallyon, *Margery Kempe of Lynn and Medieval England* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1995), 133], and Robert Ivory, donor of the London Whitefriars, of whom John Bale commented ‘he was a wonderful benefactor to the library in his convent’: John Bale, *Catalogus*, vol 1, 504, noted by Richard Copley in his *Biographical Register*, and, Clark, ‘Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology’, 10. Three of the codices which Ivory donated to the London Whitefriars are now in the British Library: Ms. Royal 13 A. xviii (chronicles of English history and miscellaneous tracts); Ms. Royal 13 C. vii (ecclesiastical histories); Ms. Harley 40 (Martinus Polonus’ *Chronica*). Ivory certainly encouraged a culture of good administration and record-keeping; John Bale records in *Anglorum Heliades*: ‘so that nothing worthy of preservation should be lost, he [Robert Ivory] ordered the annals of each monastery, foundation and house to be written in a book which he called the register of the house and which was deposited in each place’ (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 32v, translated by Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*). Anne Hudson notes that ‘John Leland, in his description of the London Carmelite house library, states that Netter gave many books to it’: Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*. On ownership of books within Carmelite communities see: Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 60-62. The practice of Whitefriars leaving books to the Order continued into the age of print: see James G. Clark, ‘The Regular Clergy’, in Vincent Gillespie, Susan Powell (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476-1558* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), 176-206 [187].

¹¹⁰ Laity also donated books to the Whitefriars in their wills: Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1988), 107. On the possible donors of the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* who, though anonymous, seem to have enjoyed ‘some sort of relation to the friars’, see: Valerie Edden, ‘A Fresh Look’, 116, 119; Raluca Radulescu, Alison Truelove (eds.), *Gentry culture in late-medieval England*, Manchester Medieval Studies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 169.



This copy of Martin of Troppau’s *Chronica pontificum et imperatorum*, dating from the second or third quarter of the 14th century, was (according to an inscription on fo. 1) donated to the London Whitefriars by Robert Ivory who served as Carmelite Provincial 1372-90. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 40, fo. 8v.

Such valuable property was owned communally, as stipulated as early as the first surviving set of the Order’s *Constitutions* in 1281. Section 49 addresses the matter of ‘Brothers who die and their books’, stating:

The books of the brothers who have the misfortune to die in whatever fashion shall be immediately marked with the seal of the local prior and the common seal of the house, and also their value. In case anyone should sell any books and so they would be lost to the use of the brethren, they should be thus kept safely, until they can be returned to their houses, or according to the instructions of the prior provincial and the definitors of the chapter, they may be charitably allowed to be used by others. Also, the books of brothers who die by chance in another province shall be returned to the province from where the brothers were sent, unless the prior general wishes to dispose of them otherwise. No local prior nor any of the other brothers shall sell books to anyone outside the Order, or dispose of inside the Order or in any other way or exchange without the permission of the prior general or provincial.

Such meticulous legislation shows the value accorded to books within the Order by the late thirteenth century, and how in a community of men who had renounced individual property the communal ownership and circulation of books was strictly supervised. The prohibition on friars owning private property was effectively waived in the case of Doctors of Theology who enjoyed a number of privileges, including in some instances substantial personal book collections.

During the fourteenth century book-borrowing by friars was promoted but strictly regulated: ‘books could be borrowed *in casu necessitatis*, so presumably most books were kept for reference. Friars who did borrow books were encouraged to pass them on (with the prior’s knowledge).¹¹¹ Though there is little evidence from within the Carmelites in England, some other religious orders are known to have loaned texts to lay people outside the friary or monastery, who in turn bequeathed texts to the religious, thus ensuring a regular transfer of literary materials. By the fifteenth century the *Constitutions* of the Order approved under Prior General Jean Soreth in 1462 devoted a chapter to ‘The Library and the Care of Books’ (*De libraria et custodia librorum*).¹¹² Such arrangements were highly significant in the spread of vernacular theological literature into, within, and from the Carmelite Order.

From what little evidence survives, the place of vernacular items in Carmelite libraries seems to have been (relatively) minimal in contrast to Latin texts, particularly when compared with the inclusion of English writings in the libraries of some other religious orders such as the Bridgettines and Carthusians. This does not mean, however, that vernacular reading was excluded, perhaps just overlooked, confusingly catalogued (many vernacular texts were listed under Latin titles, if at all), or regarded as secondary to the production of Latinate works. As Ruth Kennedy observes, ‘There are almost no works in English in the inventories of mendicant houses, but it can be seen, from the evidence of the [Augustinian] friars Capgrave and Bokenham alone, that Englishing of hagiographical material into verse was an act sanctioned as a service to the lay public, and perhaps also as pious recreation.’¹¹³ As Humphreys has shown, the libraries of the mendicants seem to have been larger

¹¹¹ Peter J. Lucas, ‘Borrowing and reference: access to libraries in the late middle ages’, in Elisabeth Leedham-Green, Teresa Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I To 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 242-62 [249], based on K. W. Humphreys, *The book provisions of the medieval friars, 1215-1400* (Amsterdam: Erasmus Booksellers, 1964), 78-80.

¹¹² This is discussed by Christopher O’Donnell in his presentation on Carmelite libraries, *Causa Nostra Laetitiae*, Newsletter of the Irish Province of Carmelites, Autumn/Winter 2011, 29-38 [30-31].

¹¹³ Ruth Kennedy (ed.), *Three Alliterative Saints’ Hymns: Late Middle English Stanzaic Poems*, Early English Text Society Original Series 321 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), lxxviii. On the broader context of hagiographic and spiritual writing at the time, see: Eva von Contzen, Anke Bernau (eds.), *Sanctity as literature in late medieval Britain*, Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

than even the greatest colleges in Oxford,¹¹⁴ and it seems highly unlikely that vernacular texts had no place within them.¹¹⁵

It is important to note, in a study of the medieval English Carmelites' policing and promotion of religious thought, that not all texts within Carmelite libraries were purely 'orthodox'. The Order's opposition to heterodoxy required it to amass and scrutinise theologically-suspect texts. It is therefore not surprising that some Carmelite libraries are known to have housed a number of works by and against heretics.¹¹⁶

Carmelite manuscript production and reception

Medieval mendicant libraries obtained books that were donated or purchased, but they were also depositories for the scribal work of friars working individually or in groups. Many mendicant libraries contained the writing materials necessary for manuscript production. Little is known about the scriptoria of Carmelite houses in England, though the production of multiple copies of texts such as Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale* with shared manuscript attributes suggest that at various times and places there was some scribal systematisation. Manuscripts of Netter's *Doctrinale* prove useful in telling us about the *modus operandi* of fifteenth-century Carmelite textual production. As Richard Copsey observes, Thomas Netter's work was in high demand, and a number of Carmelites are known to have copied this text for dissemination.¹¹⁷ Eight illuminated manuscripts of the *Doctrinale*, probably produced in a Carmelite house, show that the Whitefriars were skilled book producers. They could

¹¹⁴ Humphreys, *Book Provisions*, 129-31.

¹¹⁵ The arrangement of books in most present-day Carmelite friaries may shed some light on the omission of vernacular theology from medieval inventories. Anecdotally one could say that most communities of Whitefriars today have a library (some large, some small) of more academic and formal material (theology, history, official documents of the Order, etc.) of particular interest to the brethren. In addition, most communities would have a second collection of more popular-level material for the brethren and visitors (pious and meditative reading, and the general fiction that might be found in the average family home). Both libraries are used, but content matter is informally but effectively segregated for 'professional' use in study and business, or 'personal' use in prayer or leisure.

¹¹⁶ For example, a 15th-century copy of William Woodford's *Contra hereses Wyclif* appears, from an explicit, to have been in the library at Aylesford Priory, Kent, in the early 16th Century. It is now Paris, Bibliothèque Geneviève, Ms. 1401. It seems likely to have been taken from Aylesford to Dijon by the French Carmelite Laurent Bureau during a visitation of the English Province. For details see the entry on Bureau in Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

¹¹⁷ Copsey states that 'during the first half of the fifteenth century, eighteen Carmelites are known to have been engaged in copying manuscripts', including the *Doctrinale*, though he does not list them: Richard Copsey, 'Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:4 (October 1999), 652-83 [673]; cf. Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, Part 6 of J. J. G. Alexander (ed.) *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), vol 2, 187 ff. Roger Alban (d. 1453+) is one known copyist: Sharpe, *Handlist of the Latin Writers*, Entry 1544, 580; Valerie Edden, 'Marian Devotion in a Carmelite Sermon Collection of the late Middle Ages', *Medieval Studies*, 57 (1995), 101-29 [101]. On the diffusion of the *Doctrinale* see: Margaret Harvey, 'Netter Manuscripts and Printings', in Johan Bergström-Allen, Richard Copsey (eds.), *Thomas Netter of Walden: Carmelite, Diplomat and Theologian (c.1372-1430)*, Carmel in Britain 4 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2009), 137-77, which is an updating of Margaret Harvey, 'The Diffusion of the *Doctrinale* of Thomas Netter in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in Lesley Smith, Benedicta Ward (eds.), *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Margaret Gibson* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1992), 281-294.

create academic texts as aesthetically beautiful as liturgical ones, which were circulated both within the Order, and sold outside it.¹¹⁸ Most mendicant manuscript productions, however, were undecorated working copies of texts that would be useful in the friars' apostolates. Like Carthusians, fifteenth-century Carmelites had the means, the skills, and the motivation to copy and disseminate works of religious instruction.¹¹⁹ It was not unknown for mendicants to enjoy pecuniary benefits from writing for patrons.¹²⁰ We know from the Aylesford cartulary that in 1379 a prior of the community, Robert Albon, purchased and copied books, including a concordance of the Bible.¹²¹

Carmelite writers of texts in English reveal scant information about scribal methods of copying and dissemination. Unlike some contemporaries, they did not preface their works with instructions to scribes to be diligent and precise in copying. Their silence on the matter is surely not an indication of indifference; more likely is that they knew good systems of manuscript reproduction were in place within the Order.

If silence on matters of scribal production is perhaps a sign of confidence among Carmelite vernacular writers, then silence on the matter of audience reception perhaps likewise indicates confidence in their audiences to respect the integrity of their texts. In no vernacular Carmelite text do we find echoed the lament of Bishop Reginald Pecock in the 1440s-50s, who stated in the prologue to his *Donet* that versions of his works 'ben runne abrood and copied ayens my wil and myn entent ... and that bi uncurtesie and undiscrecioun of freendis into whos singular sight Y lousid tho writingis to go'.¹²² Nor do we find in Carmelite vernacular writings any particular advice on how readers should

¹¹⁸ Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, Part 6 of J. J. G. Alexander (ed.) *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), vol 1, 26-7, vol 2, 187-89. Production quality seems to have been a recurrent preoccupation for Netter: Letters V, XXVIII, in Kevin Alban, 'The Letters of Thomas Netter of Walden', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 343-80 [346, 362]. The Carmelites produced and used liturgical books of exceptional quality, the most famous being the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*. Naturally, liturgical texts were *sine qua non* for Carmelites, who could not function without them. The production and circulation processes for liturgical texts are worth further analysis than this thesis can afford. The late James Boyce was the most prominent scholar of Carmelite ritual in recent times, though his focus was liturgical rather than bibliographic.

¹¹⁹ On the creation of books by religious orders in England see: Malcolm B. Parkes, '1100-1540 Religious Orders in England', in *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes – The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 15-31 [28-31 on the Carmelites]; Jean-Pascal Pouzet, 'Book production outside commercial contexts', in Alexandra Gillespie, Daniel Wakelin (eds.), *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 212-38 [232 on the Carmelites].

¹²⁰ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 26.

¹²¹ Keith J. Egan, 'The Aylesford Cartulary', *Carmelus*, 47 (2000), 211-34 [233]; Humphreys, *Friars' Libraries*, 157-59.

¹²² Quoted in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999). 100, lines 88-90.

approach the text, such as the injunction contained in both the *Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Speculum Devotorum* that the reader/hearer should diligently peruse the work in its entirety.¹²³



Because of his white cloak, this figure is often wrongly identified as a Carmelite.

It is, in fact, a miniature of Dominican friar Vincent of Beauvais.

However, it does give us some impression of a scribe at work

(though it probably represents the library of the Dukes of Burgundy rather than a typical scriptorium).

London, British Library, Ms. Royal 14 E. I, Vol 1, fo. 3.

¹²³ 'hyt were best, hoso mygth have tyme and laysyr therto, to rede hyt alle as hyt ys sette ... Also the medytacyonys folowyng be not to be red negligently and wyth hastynesse, but dyligently and wyth a goode avysement that the redare maye have the more profyte therof': preface to the *Speculum Devotorum*, quoted in Wogan-Browne, et al (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 74, lines 17-18, 60-62. For an edition see: Paul J. Patterson, *A Mirror to Devout People (Speculum Devotorum)* Early English Text Society Original Series 346 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016 for 2015).



A Carmelite friar (unidentified) writing at his desk.
Glass roundel from England, c.1450, 18cm diameter.
Private collection of Mr. Andrew Rudebeck.¹²⁴

Carmelite higher education

Understanding the Order's education system beyond the novitiate is important for a fuller appreciation of Carmelite bibliographic activity and vernacular writers in medieval England, most of whom were university graduates and therefore part of an elite group within the Province.

After simple profession of religious vows and initial studies in their filial convents, those brothers seeking ordination ('choir brothers' or 'clerics') would continue studying, often in their local or a nearby community, for about five years. During this period of study, these men would receive the stages of ordination known as 'minor orders' (porter; lector; exorcist; acolyte), finally receiving the 'major orders' of subdeacon, deacon, and priest. Ordination to the priesthood entitled a friar to play a full part in leading the sacramental life of his community, and holy orders could mark the end of formal studies for many Whitefriars.

The brightest Carmelite friar-priests in England then continued their study in one of the Province's *studia particularia* in London, Oxford, York or Norwich, established in 1281 for the largest cities in the kingdom, each the headquarters of one the Order's four 'distinctions'. In the *studia*, Carmelite friars would spend two further years studying theology for the *sacrae theologiae licentiatus* (Licentiate in Sacred Theology or S.T.L.), an internal award which qualified them to teach theology in their own community.

Only a very small proportion of Whitefriars – perhaps 1 in 10 – were sent on to university study in England (Oxford or Cambridge) or abroad, usually funded by family or rich patrons. At university

¹²⁴ See: Hilary Wayment, 'Ten Carmelite roundels at Queen's College Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 82 (1994 for 1993), 139-56 [155-56].

the Carmelites would study for up to seven years to obtain the *baccalarius* or bachelor's degree. An even smaller few would continue studying for their doctorate. This could take a further six years, beginning with a year or two lecturing on the Bible, and a further two years lecturing on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, under the oversight of a *magister regens* (Regent Master). Having sufficiently lectured and preached, a student would be examined by a group of *magistri* (doctors), who would consider if the candidate was ready to incept as a doctor. Newly incepted Carmelite doctors were required to spend their first year as a *magister regens* in the *studium*, teaching fellow members of the Order. This protracted process means that a Carmelite priest, once ordained, might spend a further 11 years studying before his inceptation as a Doctor of Theology. His reward would be special privileges, including private quarters in the friary, a lay servant as well as a young Carmelite to be his *socius* (secretary), pre-eminence in community life (even over the prior), and (in England) a right to attend Chapters (meetings of the Order). It quickly became the custom of the Order that all priors provincial (senior brothers in charge of a region) should have a doctorate.

A large portion of the 1281 *Constitutions* of the Order (§7) addresses the need to send Carmelites to study at the University of Paris, stipulating that each sponsoring province was to pay 10 Parisian pounds for the expense of each individual student, in addition to the expense of books. When speaking of recalling students, the *Constitutions* stipulate that they shall return 'with their books', and if replaced the new students shall also be sent 'with books'. The same section also declares 'anyone who has been provided with books or will be provided in the future by the Order, if after they have been promoted but do not progress to holy orders as they should, the books which they have shall be all taken away from them, nor should they dare to sell or give away any without the special permission of the prior general or provincial'.¹²⁵

International networks of education and book collection across the Order promoted the sharing of texts, as well as engagement with local cultures and languages. University graduates could participate in the spread of Carmelite texts thanks to their right to teach in any Christian university (*ius ubique docendi*).¹²⁶ Just as English Carmelites copied texts whilst studying abroad,¹²⁷ it is more than likely

¹²⁵ Translations by Richard Copsey, *Early Carmelite Documents* (Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming).

¹²⁶ William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 23.

¹²⁷ For example, Richard Paston copied a catalogue of Carmelite saints, a defence of the Order by John Baconthorpe, the writings of William Coventry, and other Carmelite works whilst studying at Paris 1426-28, which survive as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud misc. 722 (signature on fo. 124). See: Richard Copsey, 'Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:4 (October 1999), 652-83 [672]; Keith J. Egan, 'An Essay towards a Historiography of the Origin of the Carmelite Province in England', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 86-117 [93-94]; Bartolomé Maria Xiberta, *De visione Sancti Simonis Stock* (Rome: Curiam Generalitiam Ord. Carm., 1950), 84; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 126.

that Whitefriars from the European mainland (such as those from Lombardy and Tuscany studying in Cambridge) copied English works.¹²⁸ Several continental coreligionists came to study at the *studium generale* (study house for philosophy, permitted to receive students from abroad) established in London.¹²⁹ The Carmelites were the only major religious order not to have a *studium generale* in Oxford,¹³⁰ largely because an influx of international students would have precluded English friars from taking the doctorate (which was limited to one Whitefriar a year), and also because so many Carmelite academics were at court in the capital. Though neither Oxford nor Cambridge ever became official *studia generalia* of the Order, and only a small percentage of Whitefriars were ever sent for a university degree, Carmelites became heavily involved in the faculties of those towns.¹³¹ There the Order nurtured a disproportionately high number of friars who reached the highest levels of academia, including some of the vernacular writers included in this survey of Carmelite literature.

Among the earliest Carmelite scholastics of medieval England were towering intellects such as Peter Swanington (*fl.* 1290s), Robert Walsingham (d. 1313) at Oxford,¹³² and John Baconthorpe (*c.*1290-1345x52), one of the best-known early English Carmelite academics, remembered as the

¹²⁸ Emden points out the international attraction of the Cambridge convent [*Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, xxii]. Oxford was not generally open to Carmelites of other provinces [Courtenay, 70].

¹²⁹ For information on *studia generalia*, see: Boaga, *Come pietre vive*, 50-51; W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 119; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 303; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 29-30; Bruce P. Flood, Jr., 'The Carmelite Friars in Medieval English Universities and Society, 1299-1430', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, LV (1988), 154-83 [157]. Courtenay claims the London house was designated a *studium generale* in 1294 [William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 70, 72], whereas Egan, pointing to the *Constitutions*, dates it to 1321: Keith J. Egan, 'The Carmelites Turn to Cambridge', in Paul Chandler, Keith J. Egan (eds.), *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O.Carm* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), 155-70 [169]. Of particular note among the foreign students studying in London are those from Germany, highlighted by Franz-Bernard Lickteig, *The German Carmelites at the Medieval Universities*, Textus et studia Carmelitana 13 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1981). After studying in London, some German Carmelites went on to become significant scholars at universities across Europe, such as Joannes Brammart de Aquis who was in London in 1367-69 before being sent to Cologne and Paris: see Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

¹³⁰ M. W. Sheehan, 'The Religious Orders 1220-1370', in J. I. Catto (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume I – the Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 193-223 [198].

¹³¹ The Carmelites founded a Cambridge convent in 1247, and had a house of study there from *c.* 1251: Smet, *The Carmelites*, 27; William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 70. The Carmelites set up in Oxford in 1256. On the university houses see: David Knowles, R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), 236; Keith J. Egan, 'Medieval Carmelite Houses: England and Wales', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain I: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 1-85 [70-73]; Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, xxii; M. W. Sheehan, 'The Religious Orders 1220-1370', in J. I. Catto (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume I – the Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 193-223; R. B. Dobson, 'The Religious Orders 1370-1540', in J. I. Catto, Ralph Evans (eds.), *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume II – Late Medieval Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 539-79; Keith J. Egan, 'The Carmelites Turn to Cambridge', in Paul Chandler, Keith J. Egan (eds.), *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O.Carm* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), 155-70; studies listed by Richard Copsey, 'The Medieval Anglo-Welsh Carmelite Province: An Annotated Bibliography', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain I: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 205-50 [226-27, 245-46]; Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461*, *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 349-50.

¹³² See the entries in Copsey's *Biographical Register*, and S. F. Brown, 'Walsingham, Robert (*d.* in or after 1313)', *ODNB*.

doctor resolutus for the importance of his *quodlibeta* (solemn disputations).¹³³ A recent study of Carmelite *quodlibeta* has pointed out the major contribution of the Order in this academic genre, but notes there was not a single ‘school’ of Carmelite academic thought.¹³⁴ Unlike some religious orders, the scholastic masters among the Whitefriars rarely focussed upon a single theological issue or decided upon a standard ‘party line’. Indeed, Carmelites would not infrequently oppose the positions of their own brethren, and ‘it is difficult to find important subjects that all the early Carmelites discussed, and even where some of them did treat a problem, unless there were distinct school traditions outside the order on that issue, it is difficult to situate the Carmelites’.¹³⁵ This observation of the nature of the interaction (or lack of it) between Carmelites in their Latin writings has some bearing upon the Order’s vernacular output as well. Simply because the Carmelites writing in the vernacular in medieval England were all members of the same Order, we should not assume that there was a consciously organised ‘vernacular project’. Unlike the Carthusians, who seem to have had a corporate and organised interest in the amassing and copying of vernacular theology, the Carmelite interest in this area was less corporate and more idiosyncratic. Nevertheless, the use of the vernacular was clearly an important issue which to some degree affected all Carmelites in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the medieval Carmelite Order in England and beyond was bound by shared projects, concerns, resources, legislation, educational systems, spirituality, and liturgy. This makes it legitimate to study the Order as a corporate entity, whilst not denying the place of individuals within the community.¹³⁶

¹³³ John Baconthorpe was an important scholastic, as well as writer on several texts on the history and nature of the Carmelite Order: the *Speculum de institutione Ordinis*, the *Tractatus super regulam*, the *Compendium historiarum et iurium*, and the *Laus religionis Carmelitanae*. On Baconthorpe see: John Marenbon, ‘Baconthorpe, John (c.1290–1345x52)’, *ODNB*; Copsey, *Biographical Register*; ‘John Baconthorpe’s Postill on St. Matthew’, in Beryl Smalley, *Studies in Medieval Thought and Learning from Abelard to Wyclif*, History Series 6 (London: The Hambledon Press, 1981), 289-343; Leonard A. Kennedy, ‘John Baconthorpe O.Carm. and Divine Absolute Power’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 256-61; James P. Etwiler, ‘Baconthorpe and Latin Averroism: The Doctrine of the Unique Intellect’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 262-319; Sharpe, *Handlist of the Latin Writers*, 208-10; Joseph Ziegler, ‘Faith and the intellectuals I’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 372-93 [379-80]; Christopher O’Donnell, ‘The Marian Commentary on the Carmelite Rule by John Baconthorpe (ca.1290-ca.1348)’, in Eltin Griffin (ed.), *Ascending the Mountain: The Carmelite Rule Today* (Dublin: The Columba Press, 2004), 99-113; Simon F. Nolan, ‘John Baconthorpe on Soul, Body and Extension’, *Maynooth Philosophical Papers*, 7 (2013), 33-45; Simon F. Nolan, ‘John Baconthorpe’, in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 594-97.

¹³⁴ Chris Schabel, ‘Carmelite *Quodlibeta*’, in Chris Schabel (ed.), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages – The Fourteenth Century*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 493-543. For a general definition of a *quodlibet*, see: Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual life in the Middle Ages*, 326-28.

¹³⁵ Schabel, ‘Carmelite *Quodlibeta*’, 537.

¹³⁶ In the conclusion to his article, Schabel regards the Carmelite scholars of medieval Europe as resolutely embracing the identity of their Order whilst maintaining an academic ‘impartiality’.

Carmelite writings in England: establishing a canon

Richard Copsey puts the total output of Carmelite writings in medieval England at over 1,200 titles, some of which survive, and some of which are lost but were once noted by John Bale or others.¹³⁷ Since many have been lost, and Bale did not visit all Carmelite houses in the Province (especially in the north and west), the number must surely have been higher.

For ease of categorisation this corpus of Carmelite literature can be divided into various generic groups: scholastic and logical texts discussing doctrine and philosophy; biblical and pastoral writings (almost certainly by far the largest portion of medieval Carmelite libraries);¹³⁸ Latin devotional texts; and works of ‘vernacular theology’ constituting the tip of what Bale dubbed an output so prolific it was as miraculous as the rhinoceros’ nose or unicorn’s horn.

This last category of vernacular theology offers the clearest insight into the medieval Carmelite interest in promoting and policing vernacular spirituality. The circulation of English compositions by Carmelites, because they were devotional in nature, was in many ways more widespread than the Whitefriars’ academic works, which largely remained within educational institutions.¹³⁹ The circulation of texts of spiritual guidance to the laity, such as Margery Kempe might have encountered, shows that Carmelites attempted to widen the readership of devotional and catechetical literature beyond the confines of the convent to neighbouring individuals and communities. This process also worked in reverse; in the case of Thomas Fishlake we will see (in Chapter Six) an instance of a Carmelite translating English texts of vernacular theology into Latin (Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection*).

Studies of the vernacular literary and bibliographic activities of other religious orders give us, in some instances, a better understanding of the Carmelites in comparison. In this regard, Andrew Taylor, in *The Idea of the Vernacular*, is typical of many twentieth-century scholars in highlighting the very important role of the Benedictine and Carthusian Orders as major producers of religious texts

¹³⁷ For the complete listing see: Richard Copsey, ‘The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings’, *Carmelus*, 43 (1996), 175-224, and Copsey’s ‘Surviving Writings – Additions and Corrections 1’, *Carmelus*, 44 (1997), 188-202, amalgamated and updated in ‘The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings’, in Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 341-429. Copsey’s listing provides the foundation for many of the Carmelite texts recorded in Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), additions and corrections to which are available on the website of the University of Oxford’s Modern History Faculty: <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/sharpe/lw.pdf>.

¹³⁸ This point is made by K. W. Humphreys, ‘The Libraries of the Carmelites’, in *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars 1215-1400*, Studies in the History of Libraries and Librarianship 1, Safah Monographs 2 (Amsterdam: Erasmus Booksellers, 1964), 123-31 [128], and echoed by Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 62.

¹³⁹ A. I. Doyle, ‘Publication by Members of the Religious Orders’, in Jeremy Griffiths, Derek Pearsall, (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 109-23 [114].

in medieval England, whilst neglecting to make mention of the Carmelites.¹⁴⁰ Such appraisals of the monastic houses of England – and amongst the mendicants, almost exclusive emphasis on the Dominicans and Franciscans – have underestimated the bibliographic credentials of the Whitefriars. In the twenty-first century, the Whitefriars are beginning to emerge in the literary history of the Middle Ages.¹⁴¹ This thesis hopes to present the case for why more literary and cultural historians should turn their attention towards the Carmelites.

Literary history and a sense of the ‘textual community’ have played an important part in the internal narrative of the Carmelite Order in England. In this area reference has already been made, and is worth making again, to the importance of John Bale, who is widely regarded as a founding figure in creating an English ‘literary history’, alongside John Leland (1506?-52) who compiled booklists recording the contents of English monastic and mendicant libraries from 1533 until the first dissolutions c.1536.¹⁴² Bale was born in 1495, and entered the Carmelite Order at the tender age of twelve. During his life as a friar, and later as a Protestant polemicist, Bale kept notebooks and wrote texts on the literature of the English people, and of the Carmelite Order. Of particular interest for this enquiry is his *Anglorum Heliades (The English Followers of Elijah)*, a history of the Carmelite Order in England which catalogues its major divines and writers. Written in 1536, and dedicated to his friend

¹⁴⁰ Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 355. The role of the Carthusians in disseminating vernacular theology, though important, has arguably been somewhat over-emphasized, given the fact that ‘English Carthusians are more notable for carefully controlling and limiting the circulation of mystical books ... than they are for broadcasting their book-making activities’: Vincent Gillespie, ‘Dial M for Mystic: Mystical Texts in the Library of Syon Abbey and the Spirituality of the Syon Brethren’, in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition, England, Ireland and Wales: Exeter Symposium VI* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 241-68 [248-49]. Gillespie has commented that although the Carthusians were amassers of texts, copying manuscripts for each other and for other clergy and religious, apart from Nicholas Love’s *Mirror* they seem not to have passed texts on to the laity. Michael Sargent admits that the significance given to their role may result from the disproportionate number of extant Carthusian manuscripts: ‘The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27:3 (July 1976), 225-40 [240]. Hanna joins the ranks of ‘a developing, but still very nascent, group of voices urging a reassessment of the religious orders and vernacular composition’: Ralph Hanna, ‘Augustinian Canons and Middle English Literature’, in A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, Ralph Hanna (eds.), *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London: British Library, 2000), 27-42 [27]. Courtenay describes the English Carmelites and Benedictines as ‘the two most active and prominent groups in both church and university’ in the second half of the fourteenth century, but they ‘have not been credited with any significant role in late medieval intellectual life’ even though their ‘changing patterns of interest and writing best reflect some of the larger cultural changes going on in the late fourteenth century’: William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 371. Doyle acknowledges the Carmelites’ role as spiritual counsellors and writers [‘Publication’, 113-4]. Fleming’s chapter [in Wallace, *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*] acknowledges the literary contribution of friars, and describes the traditional critical approaches to mendicant writing.

¹⁴¹ To the extent that in 2005 a historian could observe: ‘Although the books written and copied in the Benedictine houses were almost wholly for internal use, some Carmelites and regular canons (like John Mirk) produced works of pastoral instruction’: Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461*, *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 337.

¹⁴² On Bale see notes in the introduction to this thesis. On Leland see the introduction to an edition of his dictionary of British writers: John Leland, *De uiris illustribus / On Famous Men* (ed. and trans.) James P. Carley, with the assistance of Caroline Brett, *Studies and Texts 172* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 2010).

John Leland, the *Anglorum Heliades* is largely based upon Bale's own researches in Carmelite archives in England and on Continental Europe, compiled 'from the records of the fathers'.¹⁴³ Though Bale's works have to be treated with an awareness of his varying theological and political bias, they represent the first major attempt to catalogue the writings of his erstwhile Order.

In subsequent centuries, a number of compilations of historical and theological texts have been produced within the Order, establishing a canon of Carmelite writings. Among the most important are the *Speculum Carmelitanum* which exists in two versions, one by Baptist Cathaneis (1507)¹⁴⁴ and the other by Daniel a Virgine Maria (1680).¹⁴⁵ Alongside scholars of Carmelite literary history such as John Bale and Daniel a Virgine Maria, special mention should be made of Cosmas de Villiers. In 1752 he published at Orléans the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* in two volumes. This survey listed the known literary output to date of more than 2,000 Carmelite friars and nuns of the Carmelite Order in both its Ancient and Discalced Observances. De Villiers created a significant piece of cultural history, summarising and listing Carmelite intellectual achievements from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century, and highlighting recurring elements such as the construction of sanctity and disputes about the Order's history. He also gave many obituaries for prominent Carmelites.¹⁴⁶ Important though these compilations are, they only include Latin texts, making passing reference to vernacular writings if at all. This is also true of the major historical studies undertaken by Carmelite friars in the early to mid-twentieth century, such as Benedict Zimmerman, Bartolomé Maria Xiberta, and Adrian Staring.¹⁴⁷ Recent historical studies of the Order have been invaluable, by Joachim Smet, Emanuele Boaga, Keith Egan, and others. The vernacular literature of the Carmelites in England (or indeed in any other province) has rarely been the focus of sustained enquiry, notable exceptions being Valerie Edden and Richard Copsey, whose research has been of enormous value in raising the status of Carmelite writing, in both Latin and the vernacular. Copsey's list of surviving Carmelite writings forms the basis of the list of vernacular texts (Appendix 1) in this thesis, with some additions and corrections of my own.

¹⁴³ 'antiques patrum monumentis', Bale, *Anglorum Heliades*, Capitulum 25 (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 23). This text, transcribed and translated by Richard Copsey and Brocard Sewell, is awaiting publication.

¹⁴⁴ Joannes Baptista de Cathaneis (ed.), *Speculum ordinis fratrum Carmelitarum* (Venice, 1507).

¹⁴⁵ Daniel a Virgine Maria (ed.), *Speculum Carmelitanum*, 2 vols (Antwerp, 1680).

¹⁴⁶ The original *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* was re-edited by Gabriel Wessels and reprinted in Rome in 1927. In 2015 the Carmelite Order, in partnership with the Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte (FOVOG) at the University of Dresden (Research Centre for Comparative History of Religious Orders www.fovog.de), launched a digital update of this important resource, the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana Nova* (BCN) online database of early Carmelite writers from before c.1500 which provides biographical, bibliographical, and archival data: www.bibliocarmnova.org

¹⁴⁷ Benedict Zimmerman, *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, I (Lérins: Ex typis abbatae, 1905-07); Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*; Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*. Also of note in this regard is Franz-Bernard Lickteig's monograph, *The German Carmelites at the Medieval Universities*, Textus et studia Carmelitana 13 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1981). For an appraisal of these texts, see: Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 3-4; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 233-38.

2. The social and ecclesiastical context of late medieval England

Having sketched out important issues in the early history and historiography of the Carmelite Order, in the second half of this chapter I will locate the Whitefriars in the social and ecclesiastical context of late medieval England. The Carmelite writers of vernacular texts before the Reformation operated primarily in the period between 1375 and 1450, a time of tremendous upheaval and renewal within Church and Society. Some appreciation of this broader context is necessary for a fuller understanding of the Carmelite texts discussed in this thesis.¹⁴⁸ An exhaustive survey of the period is not necessary; instead I will highlight the following key issues that help us better understand the Carmelites' contribution to vernacular theology: the rise of the mendicants and their contribution to literature; the antifraternal backlash; the reformer John Wyclif and his 'Lollard' followers; the Bible debate in England c.1400; the Church and Society's response to Lollardy; social unrest in England; the Western Schism; the Council of Constance; and the English Church and Carmelite Order after Constance. All these topics have some bearing on the Carmelite Order's promotion and prohibition of theological speculation in the vernacular.

The rise of the mendicants and their contribution to literature

As described in the previous section, representatives of the hermits dispersed from Mount Carmel gathered at their hermitage in Aylesford, Kent, in 1247, for a General Chapter. They resolved to request from the papacy a mitigation of the *formula vitae* they had received from Albert, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. This mitigation, coupled with various modifications made by Dominican revisers of the text, gave the erstwhile hermits the identity of a formal order of religious, and set them on the road to embracing the mendicant way of life which was then sweeping across Europe.

The mendicant friars were begging brothers who chose to live predominantly poor among the poor.¹⁴⁹ Their way of life was characterised by preaching the Gospel and consciously imitating the

¹⁴⁸ The interpretation of late medieval religious history is still a matter of contention among scholars, as highlighted in the publication of and reaction to Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992). The problems of historical periodisation, and other important insights into ecclesiastical matters in 'the long fifteenth-century' of the 1370s to 1520s, are considered by John Van Engen, 'Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church', *Church History*, 77:2 (June 2008), 257-84.

¹⁴⁹ For a general history of the mendicants see two works by C. H. Lawrence: *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London: Longman, 1994); and *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Longman, Third Edition, 2001). On the general context of religious movements and reforms in which the Carmelites emerged, see: 'I movimenti religiosi' in Vincenzo Mosca, *Alberto Patriarca di Gerusalemme: Tempo, Vita, Opera*, *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana*, 20 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996), 122-68; Brian Patrick McGuire, 'Monastic and religious orders, c.1100-c.1350', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 54-72; Constance H. Berman, 'Monastic and Mendicant Communities', in Carol Lansing, Edward D. English (eds.), *A Companion to the Medieval World* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 231-56; James D. Mixson, 'Religious Life and Religious Orders', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval*

simplicity, communality, and zeal of the Early Church; hence the mendicant movement is sometimes called the ‘Evangelical Awakening’ or ‘Apostolic Revival’.¹⁵⁰

Whilst the friars ministered to all sections of the society, it was amongst the urban poor that they had a particular focus for their apostolate. Though sharing many aspects of monastic life and spirituality, the friars were (at least initially) inspired by a social and spiritual vision quite different from their Benedictine, Cistercian, Cluniac, and Carthusian contemporaries. In the northern English county of Yorkshire, for example, the great monastic sites such as Fountains, Bolton, Jervaulx, and Rievaulx were in isolated rural areas, generating an income from farming and land rental, under the oversight of powerful abbots. Mendicant communities in Yorkshire, on the other hand, were predominantly in towns such as York, Hull, and Doncaster, sustained by donations from the public, and governed through a more egalitarian system. In place of a monastic abbot (literally a ‘father’), mendicant communities were governed by a prior (the ‘first among equals’), elected by the community to enact the will of that community, and always remaining a brother (this, at least, was the theory). Friars came from all strata of society, and once admitted to the Order enjoyed equal rights and responsibilities. This sense of spiritual brotherhood led to the mendicants being also known as the ‘fraternal’ orders. Such a culture encouraged friars to seek the ‘democratisation of contemplation’ (as previously discussed).

In the realm of evangelisation and pastoral mission, the monastic orders tended to emphasise the handing on of a largely unaltered tradition, whereas the mendicants were deliberate innovators. ‘Their task was to bring the Gospel to ‘the world’ of lay men and women, and in marked contrast with the monks of the cloistered Benedictine tradition, many of them consciously sought out ways of

Christianity 1050-1500 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 45-57; Sally J. Cornelison, Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, Peter F. Howard (eds.), *Mendicant Cultures in the Medieval and Early Modern World: Word, Deed, and Image*, Europa Sacra 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016); G. R. Evans, *The I. B. Tauris History of Monasticism: The Western Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015); Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

¹⁵⁰ When speaking of developments in this period, reference should be made to the ground-breaking work of German scholar Herbert Grundmann, who in 1935 published a book which highlighted that a commitment to apostolic poverty and preaching was a key feature of European Christian movements (religious/clerical or lay, female or male, orthodox or heterodox) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His work, which shifted the focus of medievalists from doctrinal and institutional matters to those of religious culture, was translated into English in the mid-1990s and published as Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links Between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women’s Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995). For an analysis of Grundmann’s impact, see: James L. Halverson (ed.), *Contesting Christendom: Readings in Medieval Religion and Culture* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 137. To set medieval Carmelite writers in England within their wider religious context see the chapters on ‘The Institutional Church’ and ‘Religion, Devotion, and Dissent’ in Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461*, *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 310-402; Alastair Minnis, ‘1215-1349: culture and history’, and Jeremy Catto, ‘1349-1412: culture and history’, in Samuel Fanous, Vincent Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 69-89, 113-31; Norman Tanner, ‘Central and Late Middle Ages’ in *New Short History of the Catholic Church* (London: Burns and Oates, 2011), 81-164.

exploiting popular culture.’¹⁵¹ The most obvious form of popular culture embraced by the friars in their care of souls was the use of the vernacular language in preaching and writing, a point stressed in a number of the Order’s early biographies and other texts.¹⁵²

As we have seen in the case of Margery Kempe, and the archaeological evidence of Coventry Whitefriars, the location and very architecture of mendicant houses, in contrast to monastic ones, reflected an attitude of openness and welcome to those seeking a deeper spiritual life:

As exponents of a mixed, contemplative-active life, the mendicants made contemplative values accessible to their urban contemporaries. They not only engaged with the general population in ways that traditional monasticism had not done by preaching, teaching, and spiritual guidance but their religious houses were more accessible architecturally to the outside and their churches were built with the spiritual needs of the city populations in mind with large, open preaching naves and relatively small and unpretentious areas for the chanting of the liturgical offices.¹⁵³

Another important contrast between the monastic and mendicant orders is that Benedictine, Cistercian and Carthusian monasteries, though certainly integrated into various networks that allowed communication between them, were essentially static; mendicants, on the other hand, were peripatetic, free to go where there was a need. A friar took no monastic vow of stability pledging to remain in the one community; rather, he was likely to be moved between houses on a fairly regular basis, particularly if he was gifted in the areas of scholarship, pastoral care, or administration. John Fleming has pointed out the impact of this itinerancy with regard to the development of literature: ‘the friars appeared on the European scene as a conspicuously international phenomenon precisely at the time of the decisive literary emergence of vernacular literary languages both within the Romance

¹⁵¹ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 370.

¹⁵² For example, in the biography of his master the Carmelite Saint Peter Thomas (d.1366) Philippe de Mézières states that as a papal legate in various parts of the Mediterranean the bishop learned the language of the people amongst whom he ministered. Peter Thomas (also known as Peter Thomae or Peter of Thomas) makes for an interesting case when considering late medieval Carmelites concerned with heresy and Christian unity, as he strove to unite Latin and Greek communities in Cyprus and promote crusading zeal. On him see: Joachim Smet, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières*, *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana* 2 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954); Frederick Boehlke, *Pierre de Thomas: Scholar, Diplomat, and Crusader* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966); Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374*, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, ‘Philippe de Mézières’s Life of Saint Pierre de Thomas at the Crossroads of Late Medieval Hagiography and Crusading Ideology’, *Viator*, 40:1 (2009), 223-48; Thomas Devaney, ‘Spectacle, Community and Holy War in Fourteenth-Century Cyprus’, *Medieval Encounters*, 19 (2013), 300-41.

¹⁵³ Philip Sheldrake, *Spirituality: A Brief History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, Second Edition, 2013), 90.

and the Germanic spheres.’¹⁵⁴ He goes on to stress that ‘The friars became in a certain sense institutionalized ‘wandering scholars’, moving easily across national and linguistic boundaries, at home in a more or less traditional Latin clerical milieu, yet eager and accomplished in the exploitation of vernacular modes.’¹⁵⁵ This appreciation of the friars crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries is crucial for the purposes of this enquiry into Carmelite efforts to both bolster and block vernacular theology.

The origins of the mendicant movement are complex, but the orders of friars were given particular shape by Saint Dominic (Domingo Félix de Guzmán, 1170-1221), a cleric from Old Castile, and Saint Francis (Giovanni Francesco di Bernardone, 1181/82-1226), a lay *conversus* from Assisi in central Italy.¹⁵⁶ Both were motivated by a desire to reinvigorate and reform the life of the Catholic Church. In Francis’ mind this renewal of the Church was largely to be achieved by a rediscovery of the Gospel Christ in his poverty and simplicity of life, embracing the ancient spiritual dictum *nudus nudum christum sequi* (‘naked to follow the naked Christ’).¹⁵⁷ For Dominic, prompted by the Catharism he encountered in southern France, the reformation of the Church was to be achieved by combating heresy through study and preaching, especially amongst the burgeoning poor.¹⁵⁸ Following the injunctions of Jesus to his followers (in *Matthew 25* for example) that God must be encountered in the hungry, the naked, and the stranger, both Francis and Dominic placed significant emphasis upon what might be termed ‘incarnational theology’. Rather than emphasising the ineffability and otherness of God the Father, they encouraged a form of devotion focussed on the humanity of Jesus Christ, and

¹⁵⁴ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 350.

¹⁵⁵ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 357.

¹⁵⁶ See: ‘Francis and Dominic: The Impact and Impetus of Two Founders of Religious Orders’ in Kasper Elm, *Religious Life between Jerusalem, the Desert, and the World: Selected Essays by Kaspar Elm* (trans.) James D. Mixson, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*, 180 (Leiden: Brill, 2015); the chapters ‘Dominicans and Their Sisters’ and ‘Fratricelli: Franciscans and Their Sisters’, in Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015). Hagiographies of mendicants were important in developing the identities of these orders: see ‘Mendicant Saints’ in Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshipers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 65-71. Such hagiographies also show the similarities, as well as the differences, between mendicant and monastic life: Donald S. Prudlo, ‘The Living Rule: Monastic Exemplarity in Mendicant Hagiography’, in Krijn Pansters, Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability: The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, *Disciplina Monastica* 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 229-44.

¹⁵⁷ Eventually the Franciscan Order became divided on the issue of poverty, and the interpretation of what Francis wished for his followers. This brought the Franciscans into conflict with the papacy and others within the Church, and allegations of heresy. See: Emily E. Graham, ‘Heresy, Doubt and Identity: Late Medieval Friars in the Kingdom of Aragon’, in Frances Andrews, Charlotte Methuen, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Doubting Christianity: The Church and Doubt*, *Studies in Church History* 52 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for The Ecclesiastical History Society, 2016), 135-49.

¹⁵⁸ It must be noted that opposing heresy was an important feature of not only the Dominicans but the mendicant movement in general. Saint Francis made sure that his congregation received official papal sanction and remained within the oversight of the Church hierarchy. His famous divine instruction at San Damiano in Assisi to ‘rebuild the Church’ is often interpreted as meaning internal reform and renewal. When embracing the mendicant way of life the Carmelites were also embracing its concern with issues of orthodoxy and reform. There are many links between the Dominicans and Carmelites in their emerging years, including the Dominican revisions made to the *Rule of Saint Albert* which paved the way for the Carmelites to become a mendicant order. The liturgical rites of the two Orders also share many similarities.

his earthly life.¹⁵⁹ Realising that Jesus bridged the gap between heaven and earth, Dominic and Francis, and the men who followed them, sought to share a contemplative life that expressed itself not in social isolation but rather in social action, engaging with the needs of the Church and the World. Fleming expresses this charism well when he observes: ‘The essential novelty of the evangelical revival of the thirteenth century was the attempt to extend to an ever-widening population the central penitential aspiration of Christian asceticism. The friars viewed themselves, that is, both as monks who ‘despised the world’ and as apostles whose task it was to convert the world.’¹⁶⁰

Simplicity and asceticism were essential aspects of the mendicant way of life, and poverty was one of the three ‘Evangelical Counsels’ (along with chastity and obedience) that friars publicly professed when taking the vows of religious life. However, to enable their work – particularly the expensive business of study – the friars were dependent upon donations and patronage, both from common folk and aristocracy. Some brothers literally begged for alms, but increasingly throughout the later Middle Ages income was generated from bequests, grants, and other forms of patronage.

Towns proved to be the most lucrative centres of patronage, and of recruitment, but these were not the only reasons why mendicants tended to favour urban locations. The rapid expansion of towns and cities in the High Middle Ages, as well as the development of a money-based (rather than bartering) economy, resulted in large areas of urban poor to whom the diocesan (secular) clergy could not respond with adequate pastoral provision.¹⁶¹ Friars (regular clergy and lay brothers) often established communities amongst the poor, administering the sacraments and supporting social infrastructure such as schools and hospitals. This choice of location was partly pragmatic (accepting whatever sites were donated), and partly principled (deliberately identifying with the poor). Preaching to the masses became a hallmark of mendicant ministry, and as has previously been noted, sometimes large churches were built to accommodate swelling congregations.

Through their preaching and scholarly prowess in the universities, a number of friars rose to prominence in elite society, acting as advisors and emissaries to noblemen and monarchs, serving as

¹⁵⁹ See: Kent Emery, Joseph P. Wawrykow, Kent Emery, Jr. (eds.), *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 7 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

¹⁶⁰ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 355.

¹⁶¹ The link between mendicants and the cities is extremely important, but for a salutary reminder that friars also valued eremitic foundations and ‘extended their pastoral aspirations to the rural population’ see the opening pages of the article by Jens Röhrkasten, ‘The Mendicant Orders in Urban Life and Society: The Case of London’, in Emelia Jamroziak, Janet E. Burton (eds.), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, Europa Sacra 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 333-55 [335]. Although most mendicant communities were located in urban centres, the friars were also engaged in rural activities, most notably regular missions preaching and alms-gathering in the countryside: see Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen, ‘Them Friars Dash About’: Mendicant *terminazione* in Medieval Scandinavia’, in Marianne O’Doherty, Felicitas Schmieder (eds.), *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea*, International Medieval Research 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 3-29.

chaplains and confessors to magnates and squirearchs, holding prestigious academic posts, and operating as administrators in diocesan consistories and secular chanceries.¹⁶² Thanks to their learning and social connections, a number of mendicants were appointed as bishops, including ‘two of the most brilliant primates of the English Church’, the Dominican Robert Kilwardby (made a cardinal as well as Archbishop of Canterbury) and the Franciscan John Peckham.¹⁶³ By the end of the thirteenth century the fraternal orders were so prominent in academic, ecclesiastical and political life that ‘their influence would have been felt in nearly every parish throughout the land’.¹⁶⁴

Of course, the mendicants did not have a physical presence in every parish. In Western Europe most medieval towns had at least one priory of friars, and in some instances several of the different mendicant orders were present in the same locale. The fraternal way of life was so attractive that variations of it proliferated in the second half of the thirteenth century. The original orders were the Franciscans (Friars Minor, commonly known from their habits as the Greyfriars) founded by Francis in 1209, and the Dominicans (Order of Preachers, commonly known from their cloaks as the Blackfriars), founded in 1215. The Carmelites (Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, commonly known from their cloaks as the Whitefriars) slightly predated these as a hermit community, but did not become mendicants until after 1247. A similar eremitic group in Italy, the Hermits of Saint Augustine, were founded 1244-56, and likewise adopted the mendicant way of life, becoming known as the Augustinians or Austin Friars. Also in Italy the Servites (Servants of Mary) were founded by ‘the Seven Holy Men of Florence’ in 1233. These five groups were recognised in 1274, at the Second Council of Lyons, as the greater mendicant orders. Other mendicant groups were founded in the Middle Ages and have survived to this day, including the Trinitarians (founded 1193), the Mercedarians (1218) and Minims (1436). In addition, a number of mendicant groups were eventually suppressed by the Church – because of concerns about an over-proliferation of beggars being a financial drain on society and competition for diocesan clergy – including the Friars of the Sack, the Crutched Friars, and the Pied Friars.

The rapid expansion of the mendicant movement (albeit transitory and curtailed in certain quarters) is testimony to its appeal and its relevance to medieval Church and Society. One of the most important and enduring contributions made by the mendicants was to culture, especially literature. As

¹⁶² On the social rise of the mendicants, and critics of their growing influence, see: Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, especially 354, 369-70. On medieval diocesan administration see: Michael Burger, *Bishops, Clerks and Diocesan Governance in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). On developing clerical duties in the medieval Church see the relevant chapters in Paul Bernier, *Ministry in the Church: A Historical and Pastoral Approach* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, Second Edition 2015).

¹⁶³ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 355. See: Simon Tugwell, ‘Kilwardby, Robert (c.1215–1279)’, and Benjamin Thompson, ‘Peckham, John (c.1230–1292)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁶⁴ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 355.

preachers and teachers, sages and spiritual guides, the mendicant orders were major consumers and producers of texts, predominantly religious in nature, in both Latin and the vernacular.

The friars were instrumental in sharing literature and other fruits of academic learning with a wider audience beyond the universities. As Lesley Smith observes:

Whereas the audience for theology expounded by monks was largely one of other monks, the friars saw their audience as the whole world. The sense of audience is always present in works by mendicants. They developed a new, less formally exegetical preaching style and produced books of sermon *exempla* – stories and jokes intended, in Bonaventure’s (c.1217-74) words, to make the lesson ‘stick in your mind’ ... The vocation of the laity was increasingly valued ... orders of friars developed ‘Third Orders’ – attenuated Rules of life for lay people – and confraternities of laymen were formed to practise the works of corporal mercy.¹⁶⁵

Smith identifies various forms of religious devotion – such as the religious processions and dramas associated with the feast of Corpus Christi, and the rosary – as piety fostered by the mendicants that allowed the whole body, not simply the mind, to worship.¹⁶⁶ Whereas monks had used in their writings the imagery of spiritual heroism that appealed particularly to aristocratic patrons, the friars used language that spoke more directly to their bourgeois urban benefactors; as Janet Burton puts it, ‘their sermons and *exempla* spoke directly to their audiences by using the language of the market place and the tavern.’¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Lesley Smith, ‘The theological framework’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 75-88 [80-81].

¹⁶⁶ It is worth noting that in the period when the first vernacular texts were being produced by English Carmelites, religious drama was growing in popularity. It is recorded that a mystery play was performed in Chester in 1375, and the following year the earliest reference is made to the York Cycle of mystery plays. Richard II attended the mystery plays in Coventry in 1384. Another popular and physical manifestation of piety was pilgrimage, and in fifteenth-century England the Carmelites developed important Marian shrines in Coventry and Doncaster. On the Lady Tower at the Coventry Whitefriars, see: Charmian Woodfield, *The Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and some conventual buildings at the Whitefriars, Coventry*, British Archaeological Reports (BAR) series 389 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 4. On the Carmelite shrine of Our Lady of Doncaster see: Anne Vail, *Shrines of Our Lady in England* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2004), 62-70. On pilgrimage in general see: Simon Yarrow, ‘Pilgrimage’, in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 159-71.

¹⁶⁷ Janet Burton, ‘Material support II: religious orders’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 107-13 [112]. On mendicant (Franciscan and Dominican) *exempla* see: David Jones, *Friars’ Tales: Thirteenth-Century Exempla from the British Isles*, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011). On the religious aspirations of the urban bourgeoisie see: Clive Burgess, ‘Making Mammon Serve God: Merchant Piety in Later Medieval England’, in Caroline Barron, Anne F. Sutton (eds.), *The Medieval Merchant*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 24 (Donington: Paul Watkins, 2015), 182-207.

The mendicant contribution to academic writing in the Middle Ages has always been obvious and acknowledged, but recent scholarship has highlighted the significance of the friars' involvement in vernacular literature as well. The friars' interest in preaching to wide audiences inevitably led them to develop theological resources in the vernacular. As Miri Rubin has pithily observed:

While the parish offered for most people the main occasions for religious education, for the sacraments and the communal celebration of life, the friars added new qualities to the experience of lay people, beyond the parish. With urgency and exhortation, the friars transmitted religious ideas and images in sermons, in devotional writings, in religious drama and in theological reflection. The desire to convert people to a more committed Christian life led friars to creative writing in Latin, but also in all the genres available in the vernacular languages of Europe. Friars created handbooks which aimed at helping preachers prepare sermons, and they devised useful aids to personal prayer. Friars of all orders – Franciscans and Dominicans, Augustinians and Carmelites – engaged with everyday languages of work and sociability and expressed a new range of interests and emotions ... Christian truth became through their efforts local and idiomatic for the millions, colourful and full of possibilities for emulation.¹⁶⁸

John V. Fleming in his chapter on 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature' in the *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* gives a useful overview of mendicant writing, pointing out that the friars 'intentionally prosecuted a missionary apostolate among lay men and women in the vernacular world. Their religious mission logically led them to the creation and exploitation of a wide range of literary texts.'¹⁶⁹ It is typical of surveys of mendicant orders that Fleming gives most attention to the two largest fraternities, the Franciscans and Dominicans, though he does make particular mention of several Carmelites. The Augustinian Friars usually rank in fourth place in such studies, but English Austins produced a number of vernacular verse hagiographies, including John Capgrave's *Life of St. Gilbert* and Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Miri Rubin, 'Mary, the Friars, and the Mother Tongue', in *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 197-216 [197-98]

¹⁶⁹ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 350 (for specifically Carmelite references 350, 352, 358, 370, 3740).

¹⁷⁰ On Osbern and Capgrave see: the chapters devoted to them in Manion, *Writers in Religious Orders and their Lay Patrons in Late Medieval England*; Sarah James, 'John Capgrave and Osbern Bokenham: Verse Saints' Lives', in Julia Boffey, A. S. G. Edwards (eds.), *A Companion to Fifteenth-Century English Poetry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 99-125. Fleming [368] states that Capgrave was an Austin canon at Lynn, rather than a friar, echoed by Boffey in the same volume, though others do not agree.

Fleming identifies five approaches of modern scholarship as regards ‘the friars and literature’, and it is helpful for the purposes of this thesis to briefly summarise the academic analysis of mendicant writings to date.

Fleming’s first category is the prolific contribution of the fraternal orders to the Latin philosophical, theological and controversial writings of the Schools. Fleming rightly points out that ‘most academic theologians of the fraternal orders had only a limited and oblique influence on literary developments’, but cites the Carmelite Thomas Netter as an exception, since his *Doctrinale* is an example of mendicant writing in the academic arena that sometimes had ‘considerable relevance to vernacular cultural movements’,¹⁷¹ in Netter’s case the rise of – and response to – Lollardy.

The second approach that Fleming detects in modern scholarship on fraternal literature is a much narrower focus on the vernacular writings of individual friars. He cites as an example of this the English poems of known Franciscans such as Thomas of Hales, James Ryman, and William Dunbar, who may be said to typify medieval English ‘Franciscan literature’. Fleming gives the warning – particularly salutary for this thesis – that ‘such an approach, if too narrowly pursued, fails to do justice to its subject.’¹⁷² This would certainly be the case if, in this thesis, ‘Carmelite literature’ was not placed in a broader social and ecclesiastical context, and if Carmelite writers of English theology were not located within the wider network and interests of the Order as a whole, whilst recognising their achievements and interests as individuals.

Fleming’s third designation is ‘the development of literary genres from the point of view of the mendicant spiritual agenda’,¹⁷³ namely the scholarly attention paid to literature arising from the fraternal orders’ apostolates, such as homiletic materials, penitential aids as well as confession manuals, and the influence these had on the friars’ contributions to early English lyric poetry. In discussing ‘the friars and the lyric’, Fleming observes that ‘the fraternal contribution to medieval Latin poetry was outstanding’.¹⁷⁴ In this area English Carmelites made a contribution, notably Richard Maidstone in his poem on the reconciliation between the City of London and King Richard II (discussed in the next chapter), and Robert Baston (d. before 1348), prior of Scarborough, who wrote Latin verse on the Battle of Bannockburn (1314).¹⁷⁵ Among the medieval Whitefriars on the Continent

¹⁷¹ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 352.

¹⁷² Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 353.

¹⁷³ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 353.

¹⁷⁴ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 362.

¹⁷⁵ For the Latin text see: Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon* (ed.) Donald E. R. Watt *et al*, 9 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987-99), vol 6, 366-75; for a facing-page translation into Modern English see Robert Baston, *Metrum de Praelio apud Bannockburn / The Battle of Bannockburn* (trans.) Edwin Morgan (Edinburgh: The Scottish Poetry Library, 2004), reprinted in *A Book of Lives* (Manchester: Carcanet, 2007), 16-20. On Baston see: Richard Copley, ‘Baston, Robert (d. in or before 1348)’, *ODNB*; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 59-60; A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin*

who turned their quills to Latin verse we can include Blessed Baptist Spagnoli of Mantua (1447-1516).

Whereas the friars' apostolate was largely outward-looking, Fleming identifies a closely linked fourth category of approaches to mendicant literature that is far more introspective, dealing with texts 'in terms of styles, themes and attitudes typical of the friars' spirituality', since 'in common with other cultural artefacts of religion such as church architecture, the liturgy and hymnody, spirituality itself, historically considered, exhibits definite stylistic characteristics'.¹⁷⁶ In this thesis the final chapter will focus on Thomas Scrope whose vernacular writing was predominantly devoted to introspection on the Order's history and spirituality; in his case there is none of the danger Fleming associates with such an approach to texts with stylistic features so affective and emotional (for example in dealing with the incarnation of Christ or the suffering of the Virgin Mary) that they are by no means peculiar to mendicant authors, meaning 'such an approach can easily become unsatisfyingly general and undifferentiated.'¹⁷⁷ Scrope's writing is peculiarly Carmelite, though the vernacular poetry of Richard Maidstone, his *Penitential Psalms*, is much less identifiably so.

The final area of research into mendicant literature that Fleming identifies is in terms of 'the friars and learning'. By recovering and popularising books from 'the ancient repertoire of Latin literature', mendicant scholars made 'new materials available for vernacular poetic exploitation', contributing to the transmission of 'humanistic' learning.¹⁷⁸

To a greater or lesser degree all these categories are relevant to this thesis, as is the tangential topic Fleming notes of 'the friars as subject, and usually satirical subject, in medieval literature',¹⁷⁹ a matter we now turn to.

Literature 1066-1422 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 244-5; A. G. Rigg, 'Antiquaries and authors: the supposed works of Robert Baston, O.Carm.', in M. B. Parkes, Andrew G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval Scribes: Manuscripts and Libraries, essays presented to N. R. Ker* (London: Scolar Press, 1978), 317-31; David Cornell, *Bannockburn: The Triumph of Robert the Bruce* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); Michael Penman (ed.), *Bannockburn 1314-2014: Battle and Legacy – Proceedings of the 2014 Stirling Conference* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2016), 32, 222-23.

¹⁷⁶ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 353.

¹⁷⁷ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 353. He goes on to note that 'while it is fairly easy to identify specific literary themes, subjects and attitudes characteristic of the writings of the earliest friars, it is seldom easy to demonstrate that they are *exclusively* mendicant' [371].

¹⁷⁸ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 353. See: 'Mendicants and Humanists in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Problem of Justifying Humanistic Studies in the Mendicant Orders' in Kasper Elm, *Religious Life between Jerusalem, the Desert, and the World: Selected Essays by Kasper Elm* (trans.) James D. Mixson, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*, 180 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

¹⁷⁹ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 353.

Antifraternalism

It would be surprising if a group with as much influence and significance in late medieval Europe as the mendicants did not meet with some opposition, especially from those secular and monastic clergy who felt that the ideals of the fraternal movement were an implicit criticism of their own manners of life. Antifraternalism – a modern term for a widespread medieval phenomenon – developed with particular vigour from the mid-thirteenth century, and endured in various forms up to the Reformation, at times seriously challenging the ability of the Carmelites and fellow mendicant orders to carry out their pastoral duties.¹⁸⁰ Stigmatised by antifraternal indictments, the mendicant mission of promoting theological thought and pious meditation was to some extent hampered by repeated criticism from all sections of the ‘orthodox-heterodox’ spectrum. Since antifraternalism sought to undermine the contribution of mendicant orders to Church and Society, and influenced their sense of identity, it is helpful to have a broad understanding of its motivations and legacy, which impacted in various ways upon the medieval English Carmelites’ efforts to both cradle and curb religious thought and literary activity in the vernacular.

We have seen that the friars sought to contribute to all levels of society, predominantly among the poor but also in elite circles, including the universities. A systematic attack on the mendicants was developed by the scholastic theologian William of Saint-Amour (c.1200-72), a lecturer at the University of Paris in the 1250s. William was among the secular clergy who felt their teaching privileges were threatened by the rise of the relatively new mendicants, some of whom – such as Saint Bonaventure (1221-74) and Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) – were acknowledged as outstanding scholars. A prolonged conflict between seculars and regulars ensued which several times came before the papal curia. In a series of sermons and treatises, most famously his 1256 *De periculis novissimorum temporum* (*On the Dangers of the Final Days*), William accused the friars of heralding the Antichrist, likening them to ravening wolves, idlers, aimless wanderers, flatterers, and false preachers.¹⁸¹ Though rebutted by figures such as Thomas Aquinas and Albert of Cologne (Albert the

¹⁸⁰ For an overview of antifraternalism see: Penn R. Szittyá, ‘The Antifraternal Tradition in Middle English Literature’, *Speculum*, 52, 1977, 287-313; Penn R. Szittyá *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986); Andrew Traver, ‘The forging of an intellectual defense of Mendicancy in the Medieval University’, in Donald S. Prudlo (ed.), *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 24 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 157-95; G. Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Tim Rayborn, *Against the Friars: Antifraternalism in Medieval France and England* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2014); Deirdre O’Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs 23 (Leicester: School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2013), 17.

¹⁸¹ William of Saint-Amour, *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, Latin edition and English translation by G. Geltner, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 8 (Louvain and Paris: Peeters, 2007). On his legacy see: James Boyne Dawson, ‘William of Saint-Amour and the Apostolic Tradition’, *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978), 223-38.

Great), and excommunicated in 1257 by Pope Alexander IV, William’s polemics against the mendicants endured, and he effectively ‘established the literary iconography of anti-fraternalism’.¹⁸²

Indeed, William of Saint-Amour’s defamations against the friars provided the imagery for antifraternal vitriol for the next three centuries, produced by mainstream figures of the orthodox establishment including ordinary secular clergy,¹⁸³ as well as more controversial critics, including the sermon *Defensio Curatorum*, delivered in 1350 by the Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Fitzralph (d. 1360), and much copied.¹⁸⁴



The four major orders of mendicants are depicted surrounded by devils in this fourteenth-century manuscript from Norwich Cathedral Priory containing Richard Fitzralph’s *De pauperie Saluatoris*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, Ms. 180, fo. 1.

¹⁸² Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 354.

¹⁸³ For an unusual case of mendicant criticism see: H. L. Spencer, ‘Friar Richard ‘Of Both Sexes’’, in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 13-39.

¹⁸⁴ On this prelate who was Archbishop of Armagh (1346–60) and Chancellor of the University of Oxford (1360), see: Katherine Walsh, ‘Fitzralph, Richard (b. before 1300, d. 1360)’, *ODNB*; Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); James Boyne Dawson, ‘Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34 (1983), 315-44; Fiona Somerset, ‘Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard Fitzralph to Margery Kempe’, in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Nancy Warren, Duncan Robertson (eds.), *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 59-79; ‘Richard FitzRalph’ in Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 31-35; Michael Dunne, Simon Nolan (eds.), *Richard FitzRalph: His Life, Times and Thought* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013).

Following on the heels of Fitzralph, Oxford reformist theologian John Wyclif perpetuated antifraternality, more particularly in his later works (once the friars had started to oppose him). The key themes of antifraternality were also adopted by Lollard sympathisers in anonymous Wycliffite texts such as *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* and *Dialogue between a Friar and a Secular*.¹⁸⁵ In *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, written by an anonymous author sometime between 1393 and 1400, the sin of simony is levelled against the Carmelite and three other major mendicant orders (a frequent antifraternality criticism was that mendicants failed to practice their pastoral duties effectively, or that their preaching and teaching was only made available at a price). The protagonist claims that he had made a legally-binding agreement with a Carmelite to receive instruction in the articles of faith – ‘A Carm[elite] me hath y-couenaunt the Crede me to teche’ – but doubts his ability to do so.¹⁸⁶ Even such criticism tells us that the mendicants were expected to be able to catechise the public, and to teach vernacular theology.

Yet antifraternality was not necessarily a sign of heterodoxy; in the vernacular – and hence more popular – culture of late medieval England and Scotland, satirical criticism of the friars was expressed by mainstream poets such as Geoffrey Chaucer, William Langland, John Gower, William Dunbar and Robert Henryson.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, critiques of the friars in literature need to be read with caution, since as Fleming observes of antifraternality, ‘like other traditional and topical aspects of medieval satire, it more often deals in well-established fictional stereotypes than in observed social reality.’¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ The former is edited by Helen Barr, *The Piers Plowman Tradition* (London: J. M. Dent, 1993); the latter is edited by Fiona Somerset, *Four Wycliffite Dialogues*, Early English Text Society Original Series 333 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Selections from *A Dialogue between Jon and Richard* are translated in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, Fiona Somerset (eds. and trans.), *Wycliffite Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2013), 290-98.

¹⁸⁶ Helen Barr, (ed.), *The Piers Plowman Tradition* (London: J. M. Dent, 1993), 62, line 38.

¹⁸⁷ *Piers Plowman* is often said to offer ‘an ideological critique of mendicancy itself’ [Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 372], and certainly contains many examples of antifraternality, but Fleming also points out ‘there are so many features of the poem that relate it to the friars, their books and their theological agendas, that several scholars have been tempted to attribute it to a mendicant author.’ On Langland and Lollardy see ‘The invention of “lollardy”: William Langland’, in Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 25-45. On Gower see: John Gower, *Poems on Contemporary Events* (ed.) David R. Carlson (trans.) A. G. Rigg (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 2011). In Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, the Summoner’s Tale is a collection of satires against the friars for their long sermonising and hypocritical approach to poverty. For a more nuanced reading of the antifraternality which many critics attribute to Chaucer, see: Fleming, 375; ‘Geoffrey Chaucer’s Wycliffite text’, in Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 75-99. On Dunbar and Henryson see: ‘Images and Stereotypes: The Friars in Scottish Literature’, in Janet P. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450-1560* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 201-28; Douglas Gray, *Later Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 544.

¹⁸⁸ Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 374.

Furthermore, ‘the vast majority of the mendicants’ critics were driven by a desire for the friars’ reform, not by a radical quest for their abolition.’¹⁸⁹

The problems of linking antifraternalism with heresy in general – and indeed the difficulty of separating friars from the perpetuators of antifraternalism – are illustrated in the extraordinary case of Peter Pateshull (*fl.* 1387), who was an apostate friar from the Augustinian convent in London. As Anne Hudson recounts:

Thomas Walsingham, and chronicles dependent upon his work, describe how in 1387 Pateshull purchased from the Carmelite friar Walter Diss (*d.* 1404) a privilege from Pope Urban VI appointing him a papal chaplain, a post that released him from his order. Pateshull then proclaimed publicly in London the virtues of abandoning the religious life, and the vices and immorality of the fraternal orders. Pateshull incited a crowd of about a hundred Lollards gathered at the church of St Christopher Cornhill in London to destroy religious houses as centres of homicides, sodomites, and traitors to king and realm.¹⁹⁰

Pateshull’s turning against his own brothers shows that antifraternalism could be exhibited by former advocates of the mendicant movement. It is ironic that Pateshull should have obtained the freedom required to abandon and critique his Order by purchasing a papal chaplaincy from a Carmelite, given the Order’s efforts to defend mendicancy.¹⁹¹ In 1358, for example, the Carmelite Provincial John Cowton was part of a delegation of English friars who went to Rome to petition the pope that English bishops should punish all who led the faithful astray by slandering the friars.¹⁹²

As will be discussed in the following chapters, the English Carmelite Richard Maidstone defended the mendicant movement against criticism in academic debate at the University of Oxford, as his confrere Thomas Netter was likewise prepared to do.¹⁹³ Oxford was the base for the most vociferous critics of the religious orders in late medieval England, to whom we now turn our attention.

¹⁸⁹ G. Geltner, ‘Brethren Behaving Badly: A Deviant Approach to Medieval Antifraternalism’, *Speculum*, 85 (2010), 47-64 [47].

¹⁹⁰ Anne Hudson, ‘Pateshull, Peter (*fl.* 1387)’, *ODNB*. See also: Anne Hudson, ‘Peter Pateshull: One-Time Friar and Poet?’, in Richard Firth Green, Linne R. Mooney (eds.), *Interstices: Studies in Middle English and Anglo-Latin Texts in Honour of A. G. Rigg* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 167-83.

¹⁹¹ It should be noted that many of the records of antifraternal sentiment are in texts preserved by mendicants themselves. An example of this is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 4126, which – as will be discussed in Chapter Six – contained a record of pro- and anti-mendicantism recorded by the English Carmelite Robert Populton.

¹⁹² Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 437, cited by Richard Copley, *Biographical Register* entry on Cowton.

¹⁹³ Anne Hudson recounts how Netter and a fellow Carmelite, William, had arranged to debate in Oxford with the Lollard Peter Payne ‘on the subjects of pilgrimages, the Eucharist, images, the religious orders, and mendicancy’, but Payne failed to appear. This was probably about 1406-09. Hudson also notes that Books 3 and 4 of Netter’s *Doctrinale* included a

John Wyclif and his followers

Of all the opponents of the mendicant orders in late medieval England, the most significant was without doubt the Oxford theologian John Wyclif (c.1328-84). The Carmelites' promotion and restriction of vernacular theology cannot be fully understood except in reference to this man and his followers, broadly known as Wycliffites or Lollards.¹⁹⁴



A woodcut depicting John Wyclif in John Bale's *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant: Catalogus*, 2 vols (Basel, 1557-59).

John Wyclif was born in Yorkshire in the mid-1320s and ordained a priest by 1351. Although the exact date of his arrival at the University of Oxford is not known he was certainly there around 1345. His studies were varied and influenced by a number of recent and contemporary scholars, with philosophy and theology becoming his predominant interests. Wyclif became Master of Balliol College in 1361, and in 1365 was briefly appointed head of Canterbury Hall by Archbishop of Canterbury Simon Islip.

Perhaps being replaced by a monk as the head of Canterbury Hall in 1366 nurtured Wyclif's dissatisfaction with the state of the Church and its clergy, a frustration no doubt compounded by the papacy's refusal to overturn the decision in his favour.

general defence of religious orders and their means of support: Anne Hudson, 'Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)', *ODNB*.

¹⁹⁴ The wealth of literature on Wyclif and Lollardy is immense, and a bibliography is maintained by The Lollard Society: www.lollardsociety.org. On Wyclif and his followers see: Anne Hudson, Anthony Kenny, 'Wyclif, John (d. 1384)', *ODNB*; 'John Wyclif' and 'The English Lollards', in Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, Third Edition 2002), 247-65, 266-305; Richard Rex, *The Lollards*, Social History in Perspective Series (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Steven Justice, 'Lollardy', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 662-89; Kantik Ghosh, 'Wycliffism and Lollardy', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 433-45; Fiona Somerset, 'Wycliffite Prose', in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 195-214; Curtis Bostick, 'Wyclif, John', in Robert Benedetto, et al (eds.), *The New SCM Dictionary of Church History*, Volume 1 From the Early Church to 1700 (London: SCM Press, 2008), 686-87; 'Religious Prose I: Introduction: Lollards and Answers to Them; Sermons and Books of Religious Instruction', in Douglas Gray, *Later Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 246-69.

In the 1360s and 70s Wyclif became engaged in a government-backed disputation that the State should not have to pay feudal tribute to the papacy. Wyclif became increasingly opposed to the temporal power of the clergy, especially the Roman Curia, but since his points were at that time largely philosophical rather than theological it was difficult to allege any heresy against him. Wyclif argued that kings were not subject to the pope in secular matters, and pressed for the secularisation of Church property when it was mismanaged, as was happening at that time in Bohemia. Such ideas were not unwelcome to a number of secular lords in England including his protector, John of Gaunt (1340-99), who effectively governed the nation in place of the weak King Richard II for much of the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Wyclif's political ideas about right government, set forth in his work *De civili dominio* ('On Civil Dominion', completed 1377), had an intensely ecclesiastical character because so much secular government ('temporal dominion' in the sense of ownership and rule) was administered by clergy. Arguably Wyclif's most provocative claim was on the matter of *dominium* ('dominion'), claiming that both secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, authority, and lordship depended upon the exerciser being in a state of grace. 'A delinquent church could therefore have no temporal authority. This concept inevitably became linked with the wider question of the endowment of the church, the wealth of the clergy, and the view that the church should live in evangelical poverty.'¹⁹⁵

Fellow scholars at Oxford challenged Wyclif on some of his views; one of the earliest was the Carmelite John Kynyngham in 1363, who criticised Wyclif's use of the vernacular to discuss theology.¹⁹⁶ Perhaps frustrated with such opposition, Wyclif became increasingly dissatisfied with the

¹⁹⁵ *Wyclif and His Followers: An Exhibition to mark the 600th anniversary of the death of John Wyclif, December 1984 to April 1985, Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), 16. On the notion of dominion see: Michael Wilks, 'Predestination, Property and Power: Wyclif's Theory of Dominion and Grace', *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1965), 220-36; Michael Wilks, *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000); Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c.1250-c.1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, reprinted 1999), 546-49; Elemér Boreczky, *John Wyclif's Discourse on Dominion in Community*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); 'Wyclif's Rejection of Proper Authority' in Rory Cox, *John Wyclif on War and Peace*, Studies in History New Series (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press for The Royal Historical Society, 2014), 73-87. 'Dominion by grace' is defined as 'lordship, spiritual or temporal, derived directly from God as opposed to the feudal conception of derivation through intermediaries, which was paralleled by the conception of grace derived through the Pope and the hierarchy, and which influenced much of Catholic theology', in Henry Bettenson, Chris Maunder (eds.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Third Edition 1999), 192.

¹⁹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 42v. See also: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Selden supra 41, fo. 175v; London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 85. Kynyngham's criticism of Wyclif is included in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, a compilation discussed later in this chapter. On Kynyngham see: Copsey, *Biographical Register*; Anne Hudson, 'Kenningham, John (d. 1399)', *ODNB*; J. A. Robson, *Wyclif and the Oxford Schools: The Relation of the 'Summa de Ente' to Scholastic Debates at Oxford in the Later Fourteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought New Series 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 162-70; Ian Christopher Levy, 'Defining the responsibility of the late medieval theologian: The Debate between John Kynyngham and John Wyclif', *Carmelus*, 49 (2002), 5-29; Mary Dove, 'Wyclif and the English Bible', in Ian Christopher Levy (ed.), *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 365-406 [376-77]. Kynyngham is discussed further in Chapter Three.

university as a means of debate and reform, and sought to take his ideas out beyond the circles of academe. Oxford was always to remain an important centre of his work, albeit his income from 1374 until his death came from the living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire where he also did some of his most important writing. The dissemination of his writings became more important as his frustration with the University of Oxford grew, and Wyclif and his supporters began to express his ideas in tracts, such as his *Summa Theologica*. Wyclif preached in various cities and encouraged his followers to do likewise, thus taking outside of the classroom subject matters that had till then been the preserve of the educated elite.¹⁹⁷ Groups of lay people, especially artisans with at least basic literacy, gathered in small ‘conventicle’ groups or ‘scoles’, notably in Kent, East Anglia, and the Midlands, to read the Bible in English and listen to the teachings of Wyclif and his disciples (though not all such groups were necessarily ‘Lollard’).¹⁹⁸ Operating outside of Oxford it was harder for scholars to scrutinise Wyclif’s teachings, and eventually the papal curia would allege that his heresies were detected in Rome before they were registered in Oxford or by the English episcopate.

In 1375 Wyclif went further in his calls for reform, attacking the wealth of the Church and questioning papal authority. Episcopal censure came in February 1377 when John Wyclif was summoned to appear before the Bishop of London, William Courtenay. Though we do not know the precise charges, we do know that Wyclif was supported by John of Gaunt, by Henry Percy the Earl Marshal, and by four friars (showing that initially he had allies among the mendicants). Though Wyclif left uncharged, it was a provocative encounter that exposed him to increasing attacks from the clergy who now began to read his works in more earnest, detecting in their pages scandalous heresy on topics such as the Eucharist, the papacy, and devotional practices such as the veneration of images and relics, and going on pilgrimage.¹⁹⁹ Among the scholars who wrote against Wyclif c.1377 was the Carmelite Doctor of Theology Nicholas Durham.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ On some of the ways in which Wyclif’s ideas were disseminated, see: Maureen Jurkowski, ‘Lollard Networks’, in Mishtooni Bose, J. Patrick Hornbeck II (eds.), *Wycliffite Controversies*, Medieval Church Studies, 23 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 261-78; Rita Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For translations of some of Wyclif’s sermons and other writings, see: J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, Fiona Somerset (eds. and trans.), *Wycliffite Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2013), 61-155.

¹⁹⁸ See: ‘Lollard Communities’ in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 51-57.

¹⁹⁹ On the latter issues see: ‘Doubt and Dissent’ in Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 587-608; ‘The Church and Mainstream Religious Practice’ in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 132-41.

²⁰⁰ Two Carmelite friars visiting England from Continental Europe noted Durham’s opposition to Wyclif: Jean Grossi, *Tractatus de Scriptoribus Ordinis Carmelitarum (c.1413-1417)*, edited in Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*, 42-53 [47]; Laurent Bureau, *Catalogus de illustribus Carmeli patribus*, in Christine Jackson-Holzberg, *Zwei Literaturgeschichten des Karmelitenordens: Untersuchungen und kritische Edition*, Erlanger Studien Band 29 (Erlangen: Verlag Palm und Enke,

In May 1377 Pope Gregory XI condemned as erroneous 18 theses of Wyclif in a bull sent to the Chancellor of Oxford University, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and King Edward III who died the following month, leaving the throne to his grandson, the ten-year-old Richard II, and the supervision of his uncle John of Gaunt.²⁰¹

The papal condemnation of John Wyclif drew greater attention to his ideas than ever before, and prompted a variety of reactions. In the winter of 1377 Wyclif brought his case to parliament which, influenced by John of Gaunt, reacted angrily against the papal curia. When Wyclif was summoned in March 1378 before the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops, a mob of Wyclif's sympathisers (who seem to have been numerous in London) gathered at Lambeth Palace to support him. The bishops forbade Wyclif to engage in further discussion of the points condemned by the papal bull, and back in Oxford the Vice-Chancellor of the University confined Wyclif for a while, but again friends secured his release.

Having failed to recant the errors listed in the papal bull, John Wyclif was by this time considered excommunicated, and in *De incarcerationis fidelibus* he argued that he should be able to appeal against this censure to the king. In 33 conclusions, written in Latin and in English so that the laity could better understand them, Wyclif laid out his case.

Pope Gregory XI died later that year, giving John Wyclif some breathing space in which to set down his belief in the supreme truth of Scripture, which led to him being dubbed by his followers the *Doctor evangelicus* ('Doctor of the Gospel'). As a philosopher and theologian, Wyclif had become increasingly critical of scholastic theology; scholasticism looked to the Bible, Church tradition, and reason as the sources of understanding, but Wyclif argued for Scripture as the sole source of divine authority. Criticised by the pope, bishops, and fellow academics, Wyclif took refuge in arguing that the Bible was the only legitimate and entirely sufficient source of God's truth for governing the Church and the World (*De sufficientia legis Christi*). In works such as his treatise *De veritate sacre scripturae* (*On the truth of Holy Scripture*),²⁰² written around 1377-78, Wyclif emphasised the

1981), 170-205 [196]. Grossi, visiting England in 1413-14, attributed to Durham a now lost *Determinationes bonas contra haereticos wicleffistas*. On Durham see: Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*; 'Durham, Nicolas' in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903-50), vol 4, 1966.

²⁰¹ See 'Pope Gregory XI to the Masters of Oxford: On Wyclif', in Edward Peters (ed.), *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 271-72.

²⁰² John Wyclif, *On the Truth of Holy Scripture*, Translated with an introduction and notes by Ian Christopher Levy, TEAMS Commentary Series (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001). For commentary on Wyclif's approach to the Bible see: Kantik Ghosh, 'John Wyclif and the truth of sacred scripture', in *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 22-66; Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c. 1250-c. 1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, reprinted 1999), 511-16.

authority of *sola Scriptura* ('Scripture alone'), interpreting the Bible as the supreme rule of faith without historical perspective or ecclesiastical interpretation, which meant that Wyclif increasingly saw no legitimacy in the magisterial structures of the Church, such as the papacy, monastic and mendicant orders, and corrupt clergy in general. It also led him to encourage the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, a topic we shall shortly consider in its own right.²⁰³

In the period 1378-79 Wyclif refined his ideas on the respective powers of the State and the Church, defining the latter as only those predestined to be saved; since this may not necessarily include the Bishop of Rome, Wyclif denied the legitimacy of claiming the pope as the head of the Church on Earth.

In the Spring of 1380 the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, William Barton, convened a committee of twelve doctors of theology to examine John Wyclif's opinions. Among the scholars was the Carmelite John Loney.²⁰⁴

Though Wyclif's radical ideas, including those on the papacy, predated the Western Schism (1378-1417), it did not help his legitimacy in the eyes of the hierarchy that the publication of them coincided with the division of the Church into two factions, one supporting a pope in Avignon and the other a pope in Rome. A brief comment on the Schism is helpful at this point.

The Western Schism

Just as the Carmelite and other mendicant orders were establishing themselves as powerful international institutions in the fourteenth century, the wider Church experienced a time of upheaval

²⁰³ On Wyclif's contribution to the Scriptures in the vernacular see: Mary Dove, 'Wyclif and the English Bible', in Ian Christopher Levy (ed.), *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 365-406; 'The Lollards' Threefold Biblical Agenda', in Mishtoon Bose, J. Patrick Hornbeck II (eds.), *Wycliffite Controversies*, *Medieval Church Studies*, 23 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 211-26, and in the same volume Ian Christopher Levy, 'A Contextualized Wyclif: *Magister Sacrae Paginae*', 33-57. For a general overview of the debate on Biblical authority and the use of English as a medium of religious expression, see the chapter 'Biblical Authority and Oral Tradition' in Judy Ann Ford, *John Mirk's Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy and the Common People in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 113-142. On the thoughts of Thomas Netter on the issue of the authority and self-sufficiency of Scripture, see: Ian Christopher Levy, 'Holy Scripture and the Quest for Authority among Three Late Medieval Masters', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61:1 (January 2010), 40-68. Carmelites were rigorous supporters of the papacy and its teachings; on Carmelite papalism see: Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 43; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 40. For a recent critique of the legitimacy of contrasting Wyclif's attitude to Scripture against devotional paraphrases of it, see: Mary Raschko, 'Oon of Foure: Harmonizing Wycliffite and Pseudo-Bonaventuran Approaches to the Life of Christ', in Ian Johnson, Allan F. Westphal (eds.), *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, *Medieval Church Studies* 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 341-73.

²⁰⁴ As recorded in: *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 113; John Bale, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 55: David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ab Anno MCCCL ad Annum MDXLV. Volumen Tertium* (London, 1737), 170. John Bale notes a text by Loney against Wyclif, now lost: *Contra Wykleffistas, Lib. 1*. [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 80], later entitled *Lecturas solennes quoque* [Bale, *Catalogus*, vol 2, 81]. Jean Grossi noted Loney's now lost Oxford lectures *Determinationes contra Lollardos*. On Loney see: Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

during the ‘Avignon Papacy’, when between 1309 and 1378 seven popes resided not in Rome but in Avignon and were under the dominance of French kings.²⁰⁵

As noted above, shortly after Pope Gregory XI returned to Rome in 1378 – roughly the time the first known Carmelite text in English was produced – he died, prompting the election of a new pope in Rome but also a rival antipope in Avignon. The simultaneous claiming of the papal office by two clergymen divided the Church, and indeed religious orders, whose loyalties were split between different provinces and regions.²⁰⁶ The Western Schism – a rift that was more political than purely theological – was to last four decades until 1417 when it was resolved by the Council of Constance.

The effect of the Schism not only damaged the reputation of the Holy See but opened up divisions at every level of the Church on a scale not seen since the Great Schism of the Western and Eastern Churches in 1054. Today it is argued by many theologians and Church historians that calls for reform are not necessarily indicative of disloyalty to the teaching authority of the pope and bishops,²⁰⁷ as witnessed by the efforts of reformist saints such as Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153).²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the lack of unity and authority seen in the Magisterium of the Church at the time of the Western Schism encouraged dissenters in a variety of ways, and prompted fears among the establishment that all calls for renewal were heretical.

Wyclif condemned (and a Carmelite bishop)

It was in this context of dissent and division within the Church that in 1381 John Wyclif compiled a short formulation of his doctrine on the Lord’s Supper, reiterating the denial of Eucharistic transubstantiation he had written in his treatise *De eucharistia* (1379-80).²⁰⁹ This prompted a

²⁰⁵ For an overview of the Schism and its impact, see: Joëlle Rollo-Koster, Thomas M. Izbicki (eds.), *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2009). On the papacy in general see: Brett Edward Whalen, ‘The papacy’, in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 5-17.

²⁰⁶ On the division of the Carmelite Order in Rome and Avignon observances, see: Boaga, *Come pietre vive*, 111.

²⁰⁷ A central argument of many modern theologians, such as: Charles E. Curran, *Loyal Dissent: Memoir of a Catholic Theologian* (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 2006); Gabriel Daly, *The Church: always in need of reform* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 2016).

²⁰⁸ Brian Patrick McGuire (ed.), *A Companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

²⁰⁹ See: ‘The Eucharist’ in Richard Rex, *The Lollards*, 42-45; Maurice Keen, ‘Wyclif, the Bible, and Transubstantiation’, in Anthony Kenny (ed.), *Wyclif in His Times* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 1-16; Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c.1250-c.1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, reprinted 1999), 549-58; ‘The Eucharist’ in *Wyclif and His Followers: An Exhibition to mark the 600th anniversary of the death of John Wyclif, December 1984 to April 1985, Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), 22-24. On the various views on the Eucharist held by Wyclif’s followers see: Fiona Somerset, ‘Here, There, and Everywhere? Wycliffite Conceptions of the Eucharist and Chaucer’s “Other” Lollard Joke’, in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, Derrick G. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 127-38; ‘The Eucharist’ in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 120-25. On the topic generally see: Ian Christopher Levy,

backlash, with Carmelites among the most vehement defenders of the orthodox position regarding Christ's true presence in the Eucharist, as witnessed by texts and images in various surviving manuscripts.



The theological link between the Last Supper and the celebration of Mass by Carmelites with lay onlookers is depicted in a miniature in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, for the feast of Corpus Christi. The appearance of white dogs and Carmelite friars 'lolling about' in the border may be a visual statement about the Order's opposition to Wyclif's views on the Eucharist.²¹⁰ London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 38 (detail).

Gary Macy, Kriten Van Ausdall (eds.), *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

²¹⁰ This was first argued by Margaret Rickert [*The Reconstructed Missal*, 50], and is developed by Valerie Edden, 'A Fresh Look', 112-13. The top half of the illuminated initial shows Christ instituting the Eucharist at the Last Supper. The bottom half depicts Carmelites celebrating Mass, with lay persons and friars united in prayer at the moment of the host's elevation. The juxtaposition of the images reinforces the orthodox belief that the Mass is a literal participation in Christ's self-giving at the Last Supper. Around the initial can be seen Carmelite friars 'lolling about', and spotted white dogs, which scholars have interpreted as a reference to Wyclif's castigation of a Carmelite friar, possibly Peter Stokes, as a 'white dog', no doubt in reference to the Whitefriar's habit: see Anne Hudson, 'Wycliffism in Oxford 1381-1411', in Anthony Kenny (ed.), *Wyclif in His Times* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 67-84 [68-69, n. 9]; *The Latin Writings of John Wyclif* (ed.) Williel R. Thomson, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 14 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1983),



This page from Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale* (Book V on the sacraments) takes as its central image the elevation of the host during the Eucharist.

The figure wearing a Carmelite habit in the top left-hand roundel is evidently intended as Netter, pointing an accusing finger at the figure of Wyclif (laughing at the Eucharistic scene?) in the top right-hand roundel.

Netter's other hand points down towards the bottom roundel where manuscripts (presumably Wyclif's books) burn on a bonfire.

Oxford, Merton College, Ms. 319, fo. 41 (detail).²¹¹

156. The labelling of the Whitefriars as dogs, and Wyclif as a fox pursued by the dogs, is discussed by Wendy Scase, "Heu! quanta desolatio Angliae praestatur": A Wycliffite Libel and the Naming of Heretics, Oxford 1382", in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, Derrick G. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 19-36 [32-33]. A similar visual statement of Carmelite orthodoxy with regard to the Eucharist can be seen in the painting by Stefano di Giovanni Sassetta (1392-1450) of 'A miracle of the Sacrament in a Carmelite Church', now in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham (museum number B.M.52), on which see: Andrew Graham-Dixon, *Paper Museum: Writings about Paintings, Mostly* (New York: Knopf, 1997). On the link between Carmelites, guilds, and the feast of Corpus Christi see: Machtelt Israëls, 'Altars on the street: the wool guild, the Carmelites and the feast of Corpus Domini in Siena (1356-1456)', *Renaissance Studies*, 20 (2), 180-200. On Sassetta's image and the Carmelites, see: Machtelt Israëls, 'Sassetta's Arte della Lana altar-piece and the cult of Corpus Domini in Siena', *The Burlington Magazine*, 143:1182 (September 2001), 532-43; Barbara R. Walters, Vincent Corrigan, Peter T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); Christa Gardner von Teuffel, 'The Carmelite Altarpiece (circa 1290-1550): The Self-Identification of an Order', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 57, Bd., H. 1 (2015), 2-41. On the use of marginalia to explore contentious ideas, see: Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992).

²¹¹ This is the iconographic interpretation given in *Wyclif and His Followers: An Exhibition to mark the 600th anniversary of the death of John Wyclif, December 1984 to April 1985*, Bodleian Library Oxford (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), 57.

The Chancellor of Oxford University declared some of Wyclif's doctrine as heretical in 1381. Wyclif appealed to the king for support, but in the commotion of the Peasants' Revolt that year, Wyclif could not rely on protection by Gaunt and the secular authorities; indeed, Wyclif himself came to be blamed as one of the reasons for the uprising, though he himself was critical of the rioters.²¹² Wyclif's calls for reform of the Church were amongst the demands adopted by the revolt leaders, which brought under scrutiny his advocacy of Bible translation. Increasingly Wyclif was regarded by the forces of social control and religious orthodoxy as the instigator of religious and political unrest, and in addition to the heresies that could be definitely attributed to him, many other ills were laid at his door.

Set against the general social and religious turmoil of 1381, it is worth here mentioning as an aside a strange incident that year which illustrates that Carmelites were not always perceived as siding with orthodoxy. Richard Wye, an English Carmelite, had been appointed Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland in 1376. In 1381 he was summoned three times to appear before the Archbishop of Cashel's officials on a charge of 'error, schism and perverse dogma'.²¹³ It seems that, scandalised by the violent rivalry between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, and the suffering that this caused the common folk, Bishop Wye had changed the wording of the Preface of the Mass to call down divine retribution upon the warring secular lords. Several witnesses came forward to attest that 'all, great and small, were greatly scandalized and hoping that he [Bishop Wye] was only out of his mind ... yet he would not at the request of the clergy present desist from these shocking words but like a heretic persisted in defending them'. The witnesses claimed that the Carmelite bishop had protested his innocence, his right to teach, and his orthodox attitude towards the sacraments, but his 'proceedings were so notorious and public that they could not be concealed by any artifice'. In his absence, Bishop Wye was fined for slandering the Earl of Ormond, excommunicated, and the charge of heresy was remitted to the Holy See. Wye fled to England, obtained protection from the crown, and seems to have continued to exercise his episcopal rights. However, in 1383 the sees of Cork and Cloyne were amalgamated because of their low revenues, and in 1384 Wye was deprived of his post. The following year Richard II had Wye arrested and handed over to the Archbishop of Cashel, and nothing further is known of him. The unusual episcopacy of Richard Wye illustrates how secular disputes and religious protest were closely linked matters in 1380s England and Ireland, and how in that decade being a Carmelite and a bishop was not automatic protection from accusations of heresy.²¹⁴

²¹² See: 'The Peasants' Revolt and the Condemnation of Wyclif' in Richard Rex, *The Lollards*, 52-53.

²¹³ Edmund Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, Volume 2, 1350-1413* (Dublin: The Stationery Office, for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1934), no. 245, 168-82.

²¹⁴ On Richard Wye see: Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*; James Ware, *The History of the Bishops in Ireland*, vol 1 of *The Whole Works* (Dublin, 1739).

Returning to John Wyclif ... On 21st May 1382 the English bishops initiated a concerted backlash against the heresiarch, at an ecclesiastical assembly held at Blackfriars (the Dominican Priory) in London convened by his former opponent William Courtenay, who by now had become Archbishop of Canterbury.²¹⁵



Archbishop William Courtenay accompanied by two clerics, in *Statutes of the Archdeaconry of London* (1447).

San Marino, Huntington Library, Ms. HM 932, fo. 10v (detail).

The synod became known as the Earthquake Council because of seismic tremors, which Courtenay interpreted as a sign that the ground itself was being purged of erroneous teaching, and Wyclif interpreted as God's judgment against the proceedings. Though Wyclif was not mentioned by name, 24 propositions attributed to him and three of his followers – John Aston, Nicholas Hereford, and Philip Repingdon – were condemned, 10 of them (on the transformation of the Eucharist) deemed heretical, and 14 (on matters of church regulation, including several regarding the mendicants) deemed erroneous.²¹⁶ The synod issued teaching reaffirming the Church's tradition on the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the legitimate role of the mendicants. A significant number of Carmelite doctors and bachelors of theology attended the synod: John Chiseldene, John Loney, John Reppes, John Tompson, Peter Stokes, Robert Glaunville, Robert Ivory, Stephen Patrington, Thomas Legat, and Walter Diss.²¹⁷ The final sermon at the synod was preached, probably at St. Paul's Cross, by the Carmelite John Kynyngham (who two decades earlier had first objected to Wyclif's use of the

²¹⁵ See: 'The Blackfriars Council, London, 1382', in Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3-22; 'Earthquake Synod' in F. L. Cross, E. A. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 437. On the archbishop see: R. N. Swanson, 'Courtenay, William (1341/2–1396)', *ODNB*.

²¹⁶ The condemnations, and some of those later added at the Council of Constance, are listed in Henry Bettenson, Chris Maunder (eds.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Third Edition 1999), 191-93.

²¹⁷ For details of each see: Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

vernacular for theological matters), indicating that the Order was literally to have the final word (presumably in English) on matters of theological dispute.²¹⁸

The Carmelite Order was also entrusted with ensuring that the deliberations of the synod were publicised and its decisions enacted. Whitefriar Peter Stokes was appointed by Archbishop Courtenay to publish the synod's condemnation at the University of Oxford. Doctor Stokes had already distinguished himself in Oxford as an opponent of Lollardy, earning himself the nickname of 'The White Dog' from John Wyclif, and lampooned as 'red in looks but clothed in white' in a contemporary Lollard broadside.²¹⁹ In May 1382 Stokes commissioned a report in Latin of the sermon preached in English to Oxford's 'town and gown' by the Wycliffite Nicholas Hereford on Ascension Day in the open-air setting of the churchyard at St. Frideswide's Priory.²²⁰ Following Wyclif's retirement to Lutterworth in 1381, Hereford had remained in Oxford as his most vocal advocate. In his sermon, Hereford declared that all religious – friars, monks and canons – should be set to manual work so as to lower taxation and spread social order. In the wake of the Peasants' Revolt the previous year, the mendicants of Oxford considered Hereford's call for the disendowment of religious to be not only theologically and socially suspect, but essentially a call for social and spiritual revolution.²²¹ Peter Stokes had an account of Hereford's sermon compiled by public notary John Fykyes, no doubt seeking to use it as evidence in securing official condemnation of the preacher whom the Carmelites considered their principal enemy in Oxford.²²² Having obtained condemnation of Wycliffite ideas at the Blackfriars Council, Peter Stokes was entrusted with publicising the judgment at Oxford, and preventing further spread of the condemned errors within the University.²²³

²¹⁸ Ian Christopher Levy, 'Defining the responsibility of the late medieval theologian: The Debate between John Kynnyngham and John Wyclif', *Carmelus*, 49 (2002), 5-29 [6]; *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico* (ed.) W. W. Shirley (London: Rolls Series, 1858), 286; David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ab Anno MCCCCL ad Annum MDXLV. Volumen Tertium* (London, 1737), 158, 160, 164-65; Henry Knighton, *Chronicon Henrici Knighton vel Cnitthon monachi Leycestrensis* (ed.) J. R. Lumby (London: Rolls Series, 1895), II, 163.

²¹⁹ "Rufus naturaliter et veste dealbatus". Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, 1, Rolls Series, 14 (1859), 261. The same poem notes a 'rambling' and 'mistaken' intervention by 'a misleading brother' named Quaplod, probably to be identified with the Carmelite Doctor of Theology William Quaplod. Though he is not listed among the theologians nominated to the Blackfriars Council by the Carmelite Order, his mention in the poem suggests he was present. On Quaplod see: Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

²²⁰ See: Simon Forde, 'Hereford, Nicholas (b. c.1345, d. after 1417)', *ODNB*.

²²¹ Such is the interpretation of Beryl Smalley in her introduction to *Wyclif and His Followers: An Exhibition to mark the 600th anniversary of the death of John Wyclif, December 1984 to April 1985, Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), 5.

²²² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 240, fo. 848-50, edited by Simon Forde, 'Nicholas Hereford's Ascension Day Sermon, 1382', *Mediaeval Studies*, 51 (1989), 205-41. See also: *Wyclif and His Followers: An Exhibition to mark the 600th anniversary of the death of John Wyclif, December 1984 to April 1985, Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), 31-33, no. 46.

²²³ On Peter Stokes and the opposition he encountered in publishing the condemnation of Wycliffites at Oxford see: Anne Hudson, 'Stokes, Peter (d. 1399)', *ODNB*; Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

Perhaps using fire to fight fire, the condemnation of Wycliffites published in Oxford in 1382 was in both Latin and English.²²⁴ This shows that, even if English was the ‘Lollard language’, the authorities wanted to reclaim it and use the vernacular for the correction of errors it had helped to spread. The bishops forbade the holding of Wyclif’s opinions, and their advancement in either preaching or academic dispute, the penalty for which would be – the bishops hoped – prosecution by the State. However, the House of Commons rejected the bill, leaving the king to issue a decree permitting the arrest of those who advanced Wyclif’s views.

Later that same year, on 17th November 1382, John Wyclif was summoned to appear before a synod at Oxford; largely thanks to the support he commanded at court and in parliament he was not deprived of his living, but his position at the university was untenable. He returned to enforced retirement at Lutterworth, from where he sent out tracts against the religious orders and the papacy, and worked on his *Triologus* (designed as an introduction to theological study) and *Opus evangelicum*.

A Carmelite tortured to death

Wyclif’s continuing attacks on the established Church, and the protection he received from John of Gaunt and others, may account for an astonishing event involving a Carmelite that took place in April-May 1384. The incident writes large how issues of politics and religion were interwoven in medieval England, and how such issues were indeed matters of life and death.

A number of contemporary chroniclers record that a Carmelite friar, John Latimer, celebrated a Mass that King Richard II attended in Salisbury, during a parliament there.²²⁵ After the liturgy Latimer told the king, then still a teenager, that his uncle John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was plotting against him. Richard immediately ordered the execution of his uncle (who was not there), but was persuaded against such hasty action. When asked to write down specific details of his allegation, Friar Latimer feigned madness, and was held in custody whilst the matter was investigated.

In prison, royalist knights unsuccessfully sought to make John Latimer divulge the names of his informants, torturing him so cruelly that he died of his wounds shortly after. These knights, having unsuccessfully tried to blame the gaoler for Latimer’s death, turned the blame on the deceased. Latimer was castigated for having made unsubstantiated accusations of heinous treason, as a result of which his corpse was drawn through the streets of Salisbury.

²²⁴ Wendy Scase, “‘Heu! quanta desolatio Angliae praestatur’: A Wycliffite Libel and the Naming of Heretics, Oxford 1382”, in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, Derrick G. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 19-36 [19].

²²⁵ The most detailed and best attested account is in the *Westminster Chronicle*: L. C. Hector, B. Harvey (eds. and trans.), *The Westminster Chronicle 1381-1394*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 68-80. The text, along with other biographical data on John Latimer, is included in Copey, *Biographical Register*.

It is hard to untangle the exact truths in this sad episode – Latimer’s motivation is not clear, and the chronicle accounts are not without bias – but the interpretation of contemporaries is telling. Hearing of the episode at Lutterworth, John Wyclif apparently thought that Latimer’s indictment of Gaunt was because the Duke of Lancaster ‘was unwilling to punish faithful priests’, that is, he protected clergy who followed Wyclif’s teachings.²²⁶

Whatever the cause, the Carmelite Order was certainly embarrassed and confused by the episode. Though the Whitefriars obtained permission to bury the shamed corpse of John Latimer, when a Carmelite in Oxford preached a sermon calling him a martyr, the said Carmelite was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Provincial, Robert Ivory (though he was soon after released). Clearly the Carmelite leadership did not want the Order to promote Latimer’s cause.

Though Gaunt was exonerated, the Latimer episode meant that ‘Richard’s distrust of his uncle was now plain to all’.²²⁷ A member of the Carmelite Order had exposed a major political tension at the highest level in England, and paid for doing so with his life. The incident is significant in the history of the Carmelites in late medieval England, because it tells us of their influence at the highest levels of government and involvement in the political issues of the day.



John of Gaunt, seated at the left end of the table, dining with the King of Portugal.

Illumination in a copy (c.1470-80) of Jean de Wavrin’s *Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d’Angleterre*.

London, British Library, Ms. Royal 14 E.iv, fo. 244v (detail).

²²⁶ This is the interpretation given by K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity* (London: English University Press, 1966), 116, quoted by Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

²²⁷ Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 37.

Wyclif versus the mendicants

Like John Latimer, John Wyclif died in 1384 (on 28th December), and also like the Carmelite, controversy followed his passing.

Initially Wyclif had been supported by the mendicant orders, who detected echoes of their own spirituality in his call for the Church to return to apostolic poverty.²²⁸ In 1377 Franciscan friars had been among those who defended Wyclif against the Archbishop of Canterbury, but other Franciscans, such as William Woodford, had opposed him from around 1376.²²⁹ In *De civili dominio*, Wyclif argued for the handing over of mismanaged Church property to secular lords, and this prompted the fraternal orders to turn against him. Wyclif became increasingly critical of the vowed religious life, both monastic and mendicant, which he dubbed ‘private religion’ and ‘the sects’, in his preaching, in polemical tracts in Latin and English, and in more academic works such as the *Triologus*, *Dialogus* and *Opus evangelicum*.²³⁰ Wyclif argued that religious orders had no basis in Scripture, and in begging for alms were a burden upon the public. He argued for religious to engage in manual labour and be deprived of their properties. Given that – as we have already seen – the mendicant orders dominated Oxford in the mid-fourteenth century, it is not surprising that hostility grew between the friars and Wyclif, perpetuated by those who followed him.²³¹

It is striking that both the friars and Wyclif wanted reform of the Church. Fleming describes the efflorescence of the friars as ‘the last popular reform movement within the Church before the Reformation of the sixteenth century’,²³² and Anne Hudson has dubbed the period of Wyclif and his

²²⁸ As Steven Justice points out [‘Lollardy’, 665] ‘Though sometimes thought an ‘anti-fraternal’ author, Wyclif owed this insistence on a destitute Church to the Franciscans, and freely said as much. It was the centre of his reformist thought, and the source of its power: he was in fact insisting that the life of religious ‘perfection’, the life of the Gospels (traditionally the calling only of religious), was the ordinary business of the clergy.’

²²⁹ See: Kantik Ghosh, ‘William Woodford’s anti-Wycliffite hermeneutics’, in *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 67-85.

²³⁰ John Wyclif, *Triologus* (ed. and trans.) Stephen E. Lahey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

²³¹ For a Wycliffite attack on mendicancy that seems to have been a sermon entitled *Omnis plantacio* preached by an itinerant Lollard in the early fifteenth century, see: Anne Hudson (ed.), *The Works of a Lollard Preacher*, Early English Text Society Original Series 317 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). An extract is included as text 18 in Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 38 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978). Regarding *Omnis plantacio* see: Mishtooni Bose, ‘Writing, Heresy, and the Anticlerical Muse’, in Elaine Treharne, Greg Walker (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 276-96. On Lollard invective against the friars see: Margaret Aston, ‘‘Caim’s Castles’: Poverty, Politics and Disendowment’, in *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 95-131; ‘Beyond Fitzralph: Wycliffite antifraternalism’, in Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 55-60. Carmelite friars were at the forefront of opposing Wyclif and his followers because of Wyclif’s strong opposition to ‘private religion’ and the Carmelites’ eremitic claims: Aston, *Faith and Fire*, 98. On Wyclif’s opposition to ‘private religion’ see: Thomas Renna, ‘Wyclif’s Attacks on the Monks’, in Anne Hudson, Michael Wilks (eds.), *From Ockham to Wyclif*, Studies in Church History Subsidia 5 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 267-80.

²³² Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 355.

followers ‘the Premature Reformation’ (though of course no one knew it at the time).²³³ In many ways the friars and Wyclif had similar ambitions: the stripping back of Church wealth, a pondering of God’s Word in Scripture, and the education of the faithful beyond the classroom. The friars themselves were, at various times, engaged in a process of self-renewal with the so-called Observant reforms.²³⁴ In even the most conservative sections of the Church there was generally to be found what Kathryn Kerby-Fulton calls ‘toleration of Left-Wing Orthodoxy’.²³⁵ In the late fourteenth century the aims and language of Wycliffites, the radically orthodox, and Church reformists were very close to each other.²³⁶ Fraternal correction of others’ faults was a necessary moral duty for Christians, and protest against abusive aspects of the Church establishment was not always heretical polemic.²³⁷ Sometimes mendicants themselves wrote in such reformist tones that their dissenting ideas and rigorist rhetoric have wrongly been labelled Wycliffite.²³⁸ It is thus hard to make clear and absolute distinctions about what was ‘orthodox’ and what was ‘heretical’ in the late medieval English Church, which partly accounts for why Wyclif was able to function unchecked for so long. As Kevin Alban puts it, the reform of the Church in late medieval England must be seen ‘in terms of an urgent, yet creative response to abuses and defects in the Church. Urgent because of the threat (real or imagined) of Lollardy, creative because it was a response not afraid to take on board and utilise a new methodology and a more rigorous approach to theological argument.’²³⁹ The Carmelites shared this urgent and

²³³ For an introduction to Wyclif and his followers, particularly from the perspective of Lollard literary activity, see: Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988); *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif’s Writings*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 907 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Ian Christopher Levy (ed.), *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

²³⁴ See: Bert Roest, ‘Observant reform in religious orders’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 446-57; James D. Mixson, Bert Roest (eds.), *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Bert Roest, Johanneke Uphoff (eds.), *Religious Orders and Religious Identity Formation, ca.1420-1620: Discourses and Strategies of Observance and Pastoral Engagement*, The Medieval Franciscans 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

²³⁵ Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 289.

²³⁶ On the often shared vocabulary of ‘orthodox’ and ‘heretical’ texts and the grey area between those terms see, among others: Matti Peikola, *Congregation of the Elect: Patterns of Self-Fashioning in English Lollard Writings*, Anglicana Turkuensia 21 (Turku: University of Turku, 2000); Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England – Reconstructing Piety*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History – New Series (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006).

²³⁷ On fraternal correction and how this practice was expanded by Wyclif and his followers to authorise their protests against the mendicants and others, see: Edwin D. Craun, *Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²³⁸ See: Lawrence M. Clopper, ‘Franciscans, Lollards, and Reform’, in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, Derrick G. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 178-96.

²³⁹ Kevin Alban, ‘Orthodox Reform in England and on the Continent in the Early Fifteenth Century’, *Carmelus*, 60 (2013), 29-45 [29].

creative response to the need for reform, aware, however, that after Wyclif it was increasingly difficult for friars to promote their reformatory aims without being accused of sharing Wyclif's heretical ideas.

The Lollards and Hussites

Generally speaking, therefore, friars and 'orthodox' figures such as Margery Kempe were at pains to support legitimate reform but to distance themselves from Wycliffite ideas and the heresiarch's followers, dubbed as 'Lollards'.²⁴⁰ The precise delineation of what constituted a Lollard is even more complicated than tracing clear lines in the life of John Wyclif. Though heavily dependent upon Wyclif's thought and example, 'Lollardy' (in a more popular sense) or 'Wycliffism' (in a more academic sense) was a movement that absorbed a wide range of political and theological ideas which persisted in various forms from the middle of the fourteenth century through to the English Reformation two hundred years later. Though an organised movement in certain places and times, with Lollard 'schools' espousing and propagating certain common views – on matters such as the Eucharist, the papacy, and devotional matters such as religious imagery and pilgrimage – that became characteristic and formulated using a consistent 'Lollard sect vocabulary', Lollardy cannot easily be defined as a single entity.²⁴¹

A widely-held tenet of Lollardy, directly inspired by John Wyclif, was a belief in the invisible true Church of the elect who are saved, which may or may not coincide with the visible Catholic Church on Earth. Apostolic poverty was commonly professed by Lollards, as was the taxation or appropriation of Church properties – especially those of religious orders – by the State. Lollards generally embraced Wyclif's desire to abolish the hierarchy and promote the priesthood of all believers, particularly through itinerant 'poor priests' who would preach the Gospel.

In this the parallels with mendicancy are again striking, and it is not always easy to distinguish 'orthodox' from 'heterodox' in the literature that survives from this period. Recently Anne Hudson has argued that five of the most important groups of texts conventionally regarded as 'Wycliffite productions' in late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century England seem, in fact, to have a Franciscan-related provenance: the Wycliffite Bible translation, the collection of *distinctiones* known as the *Floretum* or *Rosarium*, the *Glossed Gospels*, the revisions of Rolle's English Psalter commentary,

²⁴⁰ On Margery Kempe as an 'impeccable corrector' and reprovener of clerical corruption, see: Edwin D. Craun, *Ethics and Power in Medieval English Reformist Writing*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 132-42.

²⁴¹ On Lollard 'schools' see: Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 174-227. On the communal lexicon of Lollard thought see: 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?', in Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, 165-80.

and the *English Wycliffite Sermon Cycle*.²⁴² It is likewise possible that the texts *Pore Caitif* and *Dives and Pauper*, both associated with the Lollard controversy, were Franciscan productions.²⁴³

Lollardy spread very widely in England during Wyclif's own lifetime, reaching both urban and rural areas. Oxford was the epicentre of the movement, where Wyclif was assisted by a number of active disciples including fellow theological scholars.²⁴⁴ Important names in the early Lollard movement include Nicholas Hereford, John Aston, William Thorpe, John Purvey, and Philip Repingdon.²⁴⁵ Some of these endured in their beliefs and were eventually executed. Others abjured, men such as Nicholas Hereford later participating in the repression of Lollardy, and Philip Repingdon being made a bishop.²⁴⁶ Though it is tempting to speak of 'switching sides' and crossing from orthodoxy to heresy or vice versa, the careers of these men (and some Lollard women) demonstrate the complexity of the situation and the overlapping of ideas.

After Wyclif's death in 1384 his ideas persisted and were circulated by text and word of mouth. His teachings spread to the Continent, especially Bohemia, where they influenced the priest Jan Hus.²⁴⁷ From Bohemia the Hussite movement spread throughout central Europe, fuelled by Wyclif's *Nachleben*. The broader Catholic Church came to associate Lollards and the Hussites as an 'English heresy' that had infected Europe, and the reputation of England and the English language was to suffer as a result.²⁴⁸ It was this that prompted the English Carmelite Thomas Netter to write his *Doctrinale*

²⁴² Anne Hudson, 'Five Problems in Wycliffite Texts and a Suggestion', *Medium Ævum*, 80:2 (2011), 301-24. See also: 'Rapid, Large-Scale Production' in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 79-83.

²⁴³ Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 384. The latter is discussed by Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 361-62. Lawton comments that the Franciscans were generally reticent about promoting the Bible in translation: David Lawton, 'Englishing the Bible', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 454-82 [456]. It is interesting that John Bale proposed as the author of *Dives and Pauper* the Carmelite Henry Parker (on whom see the conclusion to this thesis); though disproved, the suggestion is revealing of what Bale considered to be within the scope of the Order's interests.

²⁴⁴ Anne Hudson, 'Wycliffism in Oxford 1381-1411', in Anthony Kenny (ed.), *Wyclif in His Times* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 67-84.

²⁴⁵ See 'Lollard Preachers' in Rex, 55-59, and respective entries in the *ODNB*.

²⁴⁶ On Kempe's meeting with Repingdon see: 'The mystic and the bishop – Philip Repingdon', in Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 175-81; Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 51. On Carmelites and Repingdon see: Richard Sharpe, 'John Eyton alias Repyngdon and the *Sermones super euangelia dominicalia* attributed to Philip Repyngdon', *Medium Ævum*, 83:2 (2014), 254-65.

²⁴⁷ See: František Šmahel (ed.), in cooperation with Ota Pavlíček, *A Companion to Jan Hus*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2015); 'The Bohemian Reform Movement' and 'Politics and Hussitism, 1409-1419' in Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, Third Edition 2002), 306-22, 323-49; 'England and Bohemia' in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 196-98.

²⁴⁸ On Wyclif's long-term legacy see: Anne Hudson, 'John Wyclif', in Geoffrey Rowell (ed.), *The English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism* (Wantage: Ikon Productions Ltd., 1992), 65-78. On the interchange of religious ideas between England and central Europe see: Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 86 (Cambridge: Cambridge

fidei ecclesiae, which Anne Hudson describes as ‘a detailed refutation of the views of John Wyclif, whose teaching Netter saw as the pernicious origin of the religious and, in his view, civil disobedience of the Lollards, and more distantly the source of the errors of Jan Hus and the Hussites’.²⁴⁹

The Wycliffite Bible

Arguably the most controversial and far-reaching move of John Wyclif and his followers was to promote the translation of the Bible from Saint Jerome’s Latin Vulgate into English. Before Wyclif, some portions of the Bible had been available in English or French translations, particularly amongst the nobility who had the necessary learning and finances. The first complete translation of Scripture into English, dubbed the ‘Wycliffite Bible’ by modern scholarship, was probably produced in Oxford in the 1380-90s by a team of scholars, most likely including companions and disciples of John Wyclif, and copied by organised teams of scribes.²⁵⁰ About 250 copies survive, 21 in their entirety,²⁵¹ only a few of which are prefaced by a *General Prologue* which indicates the project’s Lollard origins.²⁵² The

University Press, 2012); Anne Hudson, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif’s Writings*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 907 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Anne Hudson, ‘*Opera omnia*: Collecting Wyclif’s Works in England and Bohemia’, in Michael Van Dussen, Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378-1536: Textual Transmission and Networks of Readership*, Medieval Church Studies, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 49-69.

²⁴⁹ Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*. On Netter’s linking of Wyclif and Hus, see the section ‘From Constance to Basle: Thomas Netter and International Wycliffism’ in Michael van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 86 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 114-19.

²⁵⁰ On the Wycliffite Bible see: Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920); Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London: Hambledon, 1985), 67-110; Anne Hudson, ‘Wycliffite Prose’, in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, reprinted 1986), 249-70; Mary Dove, *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Mary Dove (ed.), *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible: The Texts of the Medieval Debate*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010); Lynne Long, ‘Vernacular Bibles and Prayer Books’, in Andrew W. Hass, David Jasper, Elisabeth Jay (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 54-78 [60-61]; ‘The Wycliffite Bible’ in *Wyclif and His Followers: An Exhibition to mark the 600th anniversary of the death of John Wyclif, December 1984 to April 1985*, Bodleian Library Oxford (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), 46-50; ‘The Vernacular Bible’ in Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Anne Hudson, *Doctors in English: A Study of the Wycliffite Gospel Commentaries*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015); ‘The Wycliffite Bible’ in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 81; Elizabeth Solopova, *Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible in the Bodleian and Oxford College Libraries*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016); Elizabeth Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2017). Solopova is currently leading a research project entitled *Towards a New Edition of the Wycliffite Bible*.

²⁵¹ Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 232.

²⁵² Josiah Forshall, Frederic Madden (eds.), *The Holy Bible ... made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1850). Chapter 15 is reproduced in Anne Hudson (ed.), *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, 67-72, 173-77.

translation exists in ‘Early’, ‘Late’, and intermediate versions, the earlier being more literal and the later more idiomatic.²⁵³

Although John Wyclif advocated biblical translation towards the end of his life,²⁵⁴ and the chronicler Henry Knighton alleged that Wyclif had translated the gospels,²⁵⁵ it is now thought unlikely he had any direct personal involvement in the so-called Wycliffite Bible. Although Wyclif was not the actual translator, the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel laid the blame at Wyclif’s door when in 1412 the prelate wrote to the pope that ‘to fill up the measure of his malice he [Wyclif] devised the expedient of a new translation of the Scriptures.’²⁵⁶

Such suspicious attitudes explain the reticence Thomas Netter felt about Alan of Lynn’s discussions of the Bible with Margery Kempe. Some recent scholarship has argued that the Wycliffite Bible was, in fact, a nonpartisan effort and not subject to widespread prohibition,²⁵⁷ but it is certainly the case that John Wyclif advocated the translation of the Gospels and law of the Old Testament into the vernacular so that the scriptures might be read by all, writing in his *Mirror of Secular Lords* that ‘The faith of Christ must be unlocked to the people in each of the languages of which the Holy Spirit has given us knowledge’.²⁵⁸

The *General Prologue* to the Wycliffite Bible likewise argued for the right of the laity to access Holy Writ in their own language, as did a number of contemporary tracts of varying ortho/heterodoxy which circulated in a variety of forms.²⁵⁹ One of these declared that ‘þe lawe of God writen and tauzt in Englisch may edifie þe commen pepel, as it doþ clerkis in Latyn’.²⁶⁰ The group of texts known as

²⁵³ On the Bible’s dating and provenance see: Michael Wilks, ‘Misleading Manuscripts: Wyclif and the Non-Wycliffite Bible’, in *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000), 85-99; Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 91. On possible translators, see: Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 241 ff., 395-98; Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*. For a comparison of versions see: Conrad Lindberg, ‘The Alpha and Omega of the Middle English Bible’, in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 191-200.

²⁵⁴ Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, 144-45.

²⁵⁵ Henry Knighton, *Knighton’s Chronicle 1337-1396* (ed.) G. H. Martin, *Oxford Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 242-44; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 240; Anthony Kenny, *Wyclif*, *Past Masters Series* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 65.

²⁵⁶ Quoted by Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, 238.

²⁵⁷ Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Middle English Bible: A Reassessment*, *The Middle Ages Series* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

²⁵⁸ John Wyclif, *Opera Minor* (ed.) J. Loserth (London: The Wyclif Society, 1910), 74/1 ff. Translation by Anthony Kenny, *Wyclif*, *Past Masters Series* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 64-65; Anne Hudson (ed.), *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, 162.

²⁵⁹ See: Texts 14 and 20 in Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*; ‘A Commendation of Holy Writ’, in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, Fiona Somerset (eds. and trans.), *Wycliffite Spirituality*, *Classics of Western Spirituality* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2013), 263-68.

²⁶⁰ Quoted in Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, 107.

the *Glossed Gospels* spoke about the Bible being accessible in plain language, without excessive clerical commentary, and interpretable by ‘plain resoun’, that is, the literal level of Scripture.²⁶¹

The production of a Bible in English represented a major Wycliffite achievement in the struggle for mastery over the Scriptures. Speaking of the struggle, the scholar who wrote the *General Prologue* (possibly John Purvey whom we shall consider in due course for his encounters with Carmelites) challenges the Church’s restriction of access to God’s Word: ‘cristen men and wymmen, olde and zonge, shulden studie fast in the newe testament, for it is of ful autorite, and opyn to vndirstonding of simple men’ (2/31-3). The scholar accuses the established Church of preferring liturgical rituals to biblical exegesis: ‘it semith opyn heresie to seie, that the gospel with his treuthe and fredom suffisith not to saluacioun of christen men with out keypyng of ceremonyes and statutis of sinful men and vnkunnyng, that ben maad in the tyme of Sathanas and of Antecrist’ (3/29-32).²⁶² The writer goes further in undermining the Church’s control over the Bible, claiming that the translation renders the ‘sentence’ of the scriptures ‘more trewe and more open than it is in Latyn’ (57/43), many Latin Bibles being full of error (58/1-3).

The *General Prologue* of the Wycliffite translation states that ‘God bothe can and may, if it lykith hym, speede symple men out of the vniuersitee, as myche to kunne hooly writ, as maistris in the vniuersite’ (52/7-9). The translation of the Bible thus challenged the university-based system of authority.²⁶³ Opening up access to the Scriptures threatened to take ‘authority’ and power of interpretation away from the clergy and give it to all.²⁶⁴ As we shall see in the following chapters, the Carmelites of later medieval England were keen to retain the Church’s authority and control over the Bible, but also sought to share the Word of God.

²⁶¹ On the *Glossed Gospels* see: Henry Hargreaves, ‘Popularizing Biblical Scholarship: The Role of the Wycliffite *Glossed Gospels*’, in W. Lourdaux, Daniël Verhelst (eds.), *The Bible in Medieval Culture*, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), 171-89; Rita Copeland, ‘Lollard Instruction’, in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, Princeton Readings in Religion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 27-32.

²⁶² Describing Church dignitaries as antichrist was typical of Lollard polemic in the struggle for mastery. The author of *The Lanterne of Ligt* states that ‘in the court of Rome is þe heed of anticrist’: Lilian M. Swinburn (ed.), *The Lanterne of Ligt*, Early English Text Society Original Series 151 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Ltd., 1917, unaltered reprint 1999), 16/12. We read in *Of Mynystris in þe Chirche*, ‘we supposon þat anticrist, heued of alle þes yuele men, schal be þe pope of Roome’: Anne Hudson, Pamela Gradon (eds.), *English Wycliffite Sermons*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983-96), vol 2, 329/38-9.

²⁶³ On the question of instruction, which was of course central to the claiming of authority, and the existence of Lollard *conventiculae*, see: Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, Ch. 4, ‘Lollard Education’; Shannon McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy: Women and Men in Lollard Communities, 1420-1530*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1995), 49 ff. Little is known of who actually owned and accessed copies of the Wycliffite Bible, but recent scholarship has shown that monks, friars, nuns, and clergy were among its audience. See: Elizabeth Solopova, ‘A Wycliffite Bible made for a Nun of Barking’, *Medium Ævum*, 85:1 (2016), 77-96.

²⁶⁴ See: ‘Vernacular translations of the Bible and ‘authority’’, in Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 86-111.

Non-Wycliffite heresies and various forms of unorthodoxy

Though John Wyclif stands out in the later Middle Ages, especially in England, as the banner-carrier for reform and/or heresy (depending on your perspective), it is important to see his teachings in a broader context of movements and ideas that concerned the Church establishment, especially at a time of Schism. John Wyclif and Lollards were not the only persons to influence the Carmelites in their desire to both promote and police the bounds of spiritual speculation.

Heresy is a phenomenon as old as the Church itself.²⁶⁵ In the period when the Carmelites emerged, the thirteenth century, a number of heresies had become widespread, and the High Middle Ages has been dubbed the zenith of medieval heresy.²⁶⁶ Among the various movements, ideas, and groups eventually identified by the medieval Church as heretical we can include the Waldensians,²⁶⁷ Albigensians, Cathars,²⁶⁸ and heresy of The Free Spirit.²⁶⁹ Often Church officials did not distinguish too carefully between these movements and ideas, as seen in the anti-heretical writings of the Carmelite Gui Terreni (discussed previously).²⁷⁰ In addition to specific points of heresy alleged against each group and movement, their founders and adherents were blamed by ecclesiastical officials for a general growth of extremism and ‘enthusiasm’ within the Church.²⁷¹

Alongside these movements and ideas was growing clerical concern at the rise of figures claiming direct revelation from God, such as Joachim of Fiore (c.1135-1202), Richard Rolle (1305x10-49),²⁷² Birgitta of Sweden (1303-73),²⁷³ and Catherine of Siena (1347-80).²⁷⁴ Within England, a number of

²⁶⁵ Academic enquiry into notions of heresy and its suppression have flourished in recent years; see the literature noted in Chapter 1, n. 76.

²⁶⁶ See: L. J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representation*, Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press/Boydell, 2014).

²⁶⁷ Peter Biller, *The Waldenses, 1170-1530: Between a Religious Order and a Church*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 676 (Aldershot: Routledge, 2001).

²⁶⁸ Chris Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc*, Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press/Boydell, 2014).

²⁶⁹ Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972, reprinted Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991).

²⁷⁰ Chapter One, n. 80. See also: Appendix C, ‘The Confluence of Terminology for the Beguines, the Olivian “Secta Beguinarum,” Franciscan Spirituals, Beghards, and Heresy of the Free Spirit in Official Records and English Sources’, in Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*, 404.

²⁷¹ Ronald A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950).

²⁷² Rolle will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

²⁷³ Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*, *passim*. For the broader perspective on concerns about heterodoxy, see her section on ‘Non-Wycliffite Heresy in Late Medieval England’, 29-37.

²⁷⁴ Catherine’s most influential work, *Dialogo*, was a reformist text written during the Western Schism. See: Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue* (trans.) Suzanne Noffke, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (Mahwah, New York: Paulist Press, 1980). This was known in English thanks to a fifteenth-century reworking known as *The Orchard of Syon*: Phyllis Hodgson, Gabriel M. Liegey (eds.), *The Orchard of Syon*, Early English Text Society Original Series 258 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966). See also: Grazia Mangano Ragazzi, *Obeying the Truth: Discretion in the Spiritual Writings of Saint Catherine of Siena* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Jennifer N. Brown, ‘From the Charterhouse to the Printing House: Catherine of Siena in Medieval England’, in Nicole R. Rice (ed.), *Middle English Religious Writing in*

late medieval vernacular texts, both originals and translations, spoke of the highest degrees of contemplation, addressing an audience of both laity and clergy/religious, male and female.²⁷⁵ To some observers such persons seemed to bypass Church control in their dealings with the divine. These ‘mystics’ sometimes attracted devoted followers who, it was feared, would regard their teachings with greater respect than the authorities of the Church hierarchy. In the case of women mystics, suspicion was compounded by widespread notions that women should not teach, and were more susceptible than men to hysteria and demonic deceptions, though the later Middle Ages was also a period when women’s voices were more frequently heard in religious matters, and there was a growth in the pastoral care of women.²⁷⁶

In addition to the threat that Church authorities perceived in movements and individuals, there was a more general concern about a wide range of unorthodox beliefs and practices: witchcraft and magic incantations, divination, fairies and mythical spirits, enchanted or lucky objects, and superstition in general.²⁷⁷

These heterodox movements, individuals, ideas, and practices were – along with John Wyclif and the Lollards – determining factors in the efforts of late medieval English Carmelite friars to monitor religious thought whilst also seeking to democratise Christian contemplative life.

Social unrest

Another important factor influencing the medieval English Carmelites’ attitudes towards vernacular theology was the interplay between overtly religious issues and matters of state politics

Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 17-45.

²⁷⁵ An example is *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, written for a mixed audience in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century: *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* (ed.) Margaret Connolly, Early English Text Society Original Series 303 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). On the broader context see: ‘Religious Prose II: Mystical and Visionary Writing; Religious Narratives; Devotional Texts; the Eve of the Reformation’, in Douglas Gray, *Later Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 270-304.

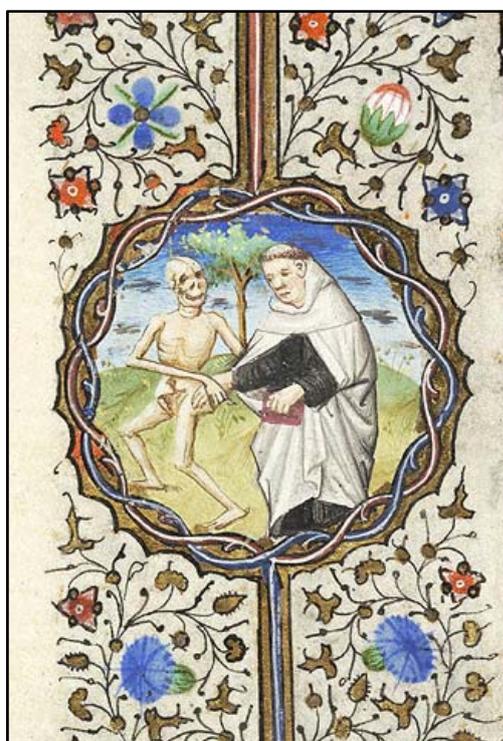
²⁷⁶ See: Tamar Herzig, ‘Female Mysticism, Heterodoxy, and Reform’, in James D. Mixson, Bert Roest (eds.), *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 255-82; Megan McLaughlin, ‘Women and men’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 187-99.

²⁷⁷ There are many studies on medieval witchcraft. On some of these other subjects see: Sophie Page (ed.), *The unorthodox imagination in late medieval Britain*, UCL/Neale Series on British History (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); Catherine Rider, ‘Magic and Superstition’, in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 265-76; Michael D. Bailey, ‘Reformers on Sorcery and Superstition’, in James D. Mixson, Bert Roest (eds.), *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 230-54. On the role of mendicants triumphing over fairies and demons – or rather over superstitious beliefs – see: Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars: Fairy Beliefs and the Medieval Church*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

and civic society. As John Wyclif’s writings on spiritual and temporal dominion show, it is not possible entirely to segregate ‘political’ issues from ‘religious’ ones in late medieval England.

It is important to understand that the mendicant movement and Lollardy both emerged against the backdrop of massive social change. We have already noted the importance in the High Middle Ages of the growth in towns and the emergence of a money-based economy. The latter was particularly important for the development of what is sometimes dubbed the ‘Economy of Salvation’ in the late medieval Church. Around 1230 the Dominican friar Hugh of Saint-Cher proposed the idea of a ‘treasury of grace’ at the Church’s disposal, which encouraged the already existing practice of granting indulgences, that is, the remission of the temporal punishment due in Purgatory because of sin. Fellow Dominicans Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas endorsed the idea, and the mendicants – as preachers and confessors – helped to spread the practice of acquiring indulgences by performing good works, or by donating to the good works of the Church.

Indulgences could be applied to not only the living but also the dead, and prayer or ‘suffrage’ for the dead was particularly encouraged by the mendicant and monastic orders. Death was very visible in medieval culture, and mendicants were among the popularisers of the *ars moriendi*, that is, the ‘art of dying’, producing a number of texts that gave pastoral advice on how to prepare for a good Christian death.²⁷⁸



A Carmelite friar, holding a book, is led by a corpse or skeleton. This is one of 58 scenes illustrating the Office of the Dead, and is the earliest surviving cycle of the ‘Dance of Death’. Book of Hours for the Use of Rome written and illuminated by the ‘Bedford Master’ and his workshop in Paris, 1430-35. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M359, fo. 137v, with detail.

²⁷⁸ See: Amy Appleford, *Learning to Die in London, 1380-1540*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Robert W. Shaffern, ‘Death and the Afterlife in the Middle Ages’, in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 173-84.



A Carmelite (front left) and another (Franciscan?) friar pray from books as a dying man receives the Last Rites. Illumination by Maître François in a Book of Hours (Use of Rome) created in Paris c.1470-80. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Liturg. 41, fo. 147.

All this is of social relevance because of the unprecedented numbers of people who died in the fourteenth century as a result of the Black Death. Peaking in Europe around 1350, this plague was one of the most devastating pandemics in human history, estimated to have killed between 30 and 60 percent of Europe's population, and leaving in its wake massive economic, social and religious upheavals. The devastation (but also opportunities for social change) wrought by the Black Death had massive implications for Church and State, setting a backdrop against which mendicant literature and questions of orthodoxy/heresy must be understood.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ On the Black Death's impact on the Carmelites, see: Boaga, *Come pietre vive*, 110.

The Black Death effected all strata of English society, including religious writers (Richard Rolle perished in 1349), the Carmelite Order (in 1420 plague killed 24 friars in London), and the Crown (Richard II's queen, Anne of Bohemia, died of plague in 1394). The first known writing in English by a Carmelite friar roughly coincides with major upheavals in the nation's demographics and its governance.

On 21st June 1377 King Edward III died, and was succeeded by his grandson, the ten-year-old King Richard II.²⁸⁰ In reality the nation was governed by the boy's uncle, John of Gaunt, who was a very divisive figure among the English nobility and peasantry alike. We have already noted that the Carmelite John Latimer seems to have had privy (and in his case fatal) insight into the circles around Gaunt, and we shall later note that a number of Carmelites were in Gaunt's retinue, and friends of some of the most senior figures in the land. The Carmelite vernacular writer Richard Lavenham, for example, was friends with the Archbishop of Canterbury Simon Sudbury.²⁸¹



Richard II with courtiers following his coronation.

Illumination in a copy (c.1470-80) of Jean de Wavrin's *Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d'Angleterre*.

London, British Library, Ms. Royal 14 E.iv, fo. 10 (detail).

²⁸⁰ On Richard see: Anthony Tuck, 'Richard II (1367–1400)', *ODNB*; Nigel Saul, *Richard II*, Yale English Monarchs Series (New Haven: Yale University Press 1997); Nigel Saul, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

²⁸¹ Simon Walker, 'Sudbury, Simon (c.1316–1381)', *ODNB*.

Sudbury was killed on 14th June 1381 by Kentish rioters led by Wat Tyler, in what is popularly known as ‘The Peasants’ Revolt’, the most extreme and widespread insurrection in English history.²⁸² Sudbury was hated by the rebels (more because he was a nobleman than because of his clerical status), as was John of Gaunt (safely in Scotland at the time). The causes of the rebellion are complex, and its immediate outcome was a failure. Sudbury was replaced as Archbishop of Canterbury by William Courtenay, till then Bishop of London. The fact that Courtenay called together the Blackfriars Council in London to condemn John Wyclif in May 1382, just months after the Peasants’ Revolt, is indicative of how political and religious insurrection were perceived to be linked.

Further evidence of the link between political and religious insurrection, and the place of the Carmelites in the turmoil of 1381, is seen in the account of the Peasants’ Revolt in Cambridge, recorded by Thomas Sprott in his *Chronica*.²⁸³ Sprott recounts that the bailiff and citizens of the town rose up against the university in June 1381, attacking Corpus Christi College, Great St. Mary’s Church, and the Carmelite convent, believed to be depositories of the university’s records and treasure:

Again these criminals forced the said doctors and masters under deadly threats to release and hand over to them various letters patent, some of which were from the lord king then reigning, which they feloniously burned in the market place. And their malice went even further for with axes and cudgels they maliciously broke the seals on these letters and then tore them in pieces and burnt them. And these criminals not having finished, they entered the Church of the Blessed Mary and broke into a common chest of the University which contained deeds with other records of the university, and burnt and destroyed the papal bulls, charters, manuscripts, deeds together with the other records. And on the same day, they went from there to the Carmelite house and seized another of the University

²⁸² See: R. B. Dobson (ed.), *The Peasants’ Revolt of 1381* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1970); Rodney Hilton, *Bond Men made free: medieval peasants and the English rising of 1381* (London: Temple Smith, 1973); May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399*, *The Oxford History of England V* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), chapter 13; Francis X. Newman (ed.), *Social Unrest in the Late Middle Ages* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986); David Aers, ‘*Vox populi* and the literature of 1381’, in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 432-53; Stephen Kelly, ‘Anti-Social Reform: Writing Rebellion’, in Elaine Treharne, Greg Walker (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 370-83; Richard Kaeuper, ‘Social ideals and social disruption’, in Andrew Galloway (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, *Cambridge Companions to Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 87-106; Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Popular Protest in Late Medieval English Towns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). On the link between social revolt and religious ideas, see: ‘Secular Authority and Rebellion’, in Judy Ann Ford, *John Mirk’s Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy and the Common People in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 70-112.

²⁸³ Thomas Sprott, *Chronica* (ed.) Thomas Hearne (1719), 258-61, translated from the Latin original by Richard Copesey in his *Early Carmelite Texts* (forthcoming).

chests ... the malefactors publicly and feloniously and treasonably burnt these constitutions and statutes of the university in the market place. And a little old woman called Margaret Starre collected the ashes and dispersed them in the wind, crying: “Away with schemes of the priests, away!”

This vignette of the clash between ‘town and gown’ in Cambridge reveals that the Carmelites there were deemed in the public mind to be part of the ruling elite, and guardians of the university’s heritage and riches. The rioters deliberately destroyed official documents, which were perceived as detrimental to the liberties of the townsfolk.²⁸⁴ Margaret Starre’s actions are a dramatic display of how documents were perceived by some to be “schemes of the priests”, used to oppress the common folk who usually could not read them. Appreciating the perceived power of the written word is crucial to our understanding of how literature could be used by the Carmelites in the promotion and policing of religious thought.



Manuscript illumination (4th quarter of the 15th Century) in volume 2 of Jean Froissart’s *Chroniques* (covering the period 1377-85) depicting King Richard II witnessing the killing of Wat Tyler (left) and addressing the crowd of revolters (right). London, British Library, Ms. Royal 18 E I, fo. 175 (detail).

²⁸⁴ On the deliberate destruction of documents and records during the Peasants’ Revolt, see: Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Susan Crane, ‘The Writing Lesson of 1381’, in Barbara A. Hanawalt (ed.), *Chaucer’s England: Literature in Historical Context*, Medieval Studies at Minnesota 4 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 201-21; Paul Strohm, *Hochon’s Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), Index *sv* Rising of 1381; Andrew Prescott, ‘Writing About Rebellion: Using the Records of the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381’, *History Workshop Journal*, 45 (1998), 1-27; Helen Barr, *Socioliterary Practice in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), *passim*.

In the long term the Peasants' Revolt resulted in an increased acceptance of the need for feudal reform, and marked the beginning of the end of serfdom in medieval England.

Calls for reform and restraint on what was seen by many as Richard II's tyrannical and capricious rule came from not only commoners, but also a group of nobles known as The Lords Appellant. In 1386 they successfully placed restrictions on Richard and his favourites at court, paving the way for the so-called 'Merciless Parliament' of 1388 that saw many of the king's supporters executed or removed from office.²⁸⁵

No direct Carmelite comment on these challenges to royal power has survived, but a poem by the Whitefriar Richard Maidstone does record (albeit from a royalist perspective) a further social dispute during the reign of Richard II (considered in depth in the next chapter). In 1392 the king demanded money from the City of London, resulting in an episode sometimes dubbed 'the Metropolitan crisis'. Eventually a 'reconciliation' was effected, but Richard's reign continued to be dogged by pressure for reforms and his own ineffectual leadership.

On 3rd February 1399 John of Gaunt, upon whom Richard had relied so heavily, died leaving a power vacuum at the English court. A year earlier Gaunt's son Henry, Earl of Derby (also known as Henry Bolingbroke or Henry of Lancaster), who had been among The Lords Appellant, had been exiled to France by Richard, ostensibly for his part in a dispute at court, and on his father's death was disinherited by the king.²⁸⁶ Bolingbroke was encouraged to return to England by a fellow exile from Richard's court, Thomas Arundel. Arundel had been made Archbishop of Canterbury on 25th September 1396, but within a year he – like Bolingbroke – had been exiled as part of Richard's revenge on those Lords Appellant and their friends who had criticised the king.

Bolingbroke and Arundel landed in Yorkshire in June 1399 and quickly rallied support against King Richard, who at the time was fighting in Ireland. Bolingbroke initially claimed that he only sought the restitution of his inheritance, but it quickly became clear that he was in a much stronger position than his childless and hated cousin, who returning through Wales surrendered to Bolingbroke on 19th August, asking that his life be spared in return for his promise to abdicate. Richard was imprisoned in the Tower of London, and Bolingbroke set about justifying his own claim to the throne. This proved problematic, not because Richard had proved himself a success as king, but because

²⁸⁵ Anthony Tuck, 'Lords appellant (act. 1387–1388)', *ODNB*; Anthony Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1971); Anthony Tuck, *Richard II and the English nobility* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973); Alan Rogers, 'Parliamentary appeals of treason in the reign of Richard II', *American Journal of Legal History*, 8 (1964), 95–124; Chris Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360–1413* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); J. G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

²⁸⁶ For biographies see: A. L. Brown, Henry Summerson, 'Henry IV (1367–1413)', *ODNB*; Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

Bolingbroke was not heir-presumptive. An argument round the case was sanctioned by parliament, and Bolingbroke was crowned as King Henry IV on 13th October 1399. Richard was imprisoned in Pontefract Castle, and although the exact circumstances are unclear, it seems that a plot to restore him persuaded Henry that his predecessor should not be allowed to live. Richard is thought to have starved to death in February 1400; it is likely that Henry sanctioned the killing, and responsibility was certainly laid at his door by contemporary commentators.

The House of Lancaster now occupied the English throne, but Henry was to spend much of his reign fighting off plots, rebellions, and attempts on his life, whilst seeking to legitimise his usurpation.²⁸⁷



Initial detail of Henry IV portrait from Great Cowcher or *carte regum* c.1402.

Kew, The National Archives, DL 42/1, fo. 51.

²⁸⁷ On the Lancastrian court and the literature it generated, see: Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Paul Strohm, 'Hoccleve, Lydgate and the Lancastrian Court', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 640-61; Jenni Nuttall, *The Creation of Lancastrian Kingship: Literature, Language and Politics in Late Medieval England*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

The Lancastrian response to Lollardy, and the Bible translation debate

Social and religious insurrection were closely linked in medieval England, and Henry IV made it a particular mission of his reign to stamp out dissent of all kinds. Henry was swift to punish those he felt undermined his position as the ‘divinely appointed’ monarch by their instance that he had usurped the throne and committed regicide.

The link between religious and political affairs in medieval England was writ large in June 1405 when Henry ordered the execution of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, following allegations of his involvement in the failed coup of the Percy rebellion. This was the first time in England that a lay court had ordered the execution of a prelate (the significance of this to Carmelite writers will become apparent in a later chapter).

As well as stamping out dissenting clergy and nobility, Henry was also keen to back the Church leaders who had helped him to power. He reappointed Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1399, and on Arundel’s advice advocated a series of initiatives to shut down religious dissent.²⁸⁸ The Carmelites were instrumental in leading the Church at this time, as scholars at Cambridge and (more influentially given the debates there) at Oxford, as royal preachers and confessors, and as bishops.²⁸⁹ As we shall see in due course, Henry IV turned for spiritual counsel to the Carmelites, whom he seems to have particularly admired.²⁹⁰

After the coronation of Henry IV, under the second Canterbury Archbishopric of Thomas Arundel, the Scriptures became the focus of what has become known in general terms as ‘The Oxford Bible

²⁸⁸ Michael Wilks argues for a strong reciprocal relationship between king and archbishop, since the latter ‘regarded the limitation and eventual disposal of Richard II as an essential step in the removal of obstacles to his campaign to eradicate Lollardy in England’: Michael Wilks, ‘Thomas Arundel of York: The Appellant Archbishop’, in *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000), 223-52 [224]. See also: ‘Heresy, Piety and Reform’ in Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 366-82; Gwilym Dodd, ‘Henry V’s Establishment: Service, Loyalty and Reward in 1413’, in Gwilym Dodd (ed.), *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer / York Medieval Press, 2013), 35-77.

²⁸⁹ For example, the Whitefriar Robert Mascall (or Maschal) was consecrated Bishop of Hereford on 6th July 1404, having been Henry IV’s confessor from the start of his reign, and living at court. In 1393 he had taken part in the trial of the suspected Lollard Walter Bryt (or Brut). Mascall’s episcopal register records other efforts at promoting orthodox belief, for example letters asking the king to detain the ‘contumacious excommunicate’ William Hall in 1408, and forbidding worship of a well at Turnaston in 1410. The *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* records that in 1413 Mascall wrote to his dean and archdeacons exhorting them to publicise in Hereford Diocese the condemnation of the Lollard Sir John Oldcastle. Mascall died on 22 December 1416. See: R. G. Davies, ‘Mascall, Robert (d. 1416)’, *ODNB*; Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*; Joseph H. Parry (ed.), *Registrum Roberti Mascall, episcopi Herefordensis, 1404-1416*, Canterbury and York Society 21 (London: Cantilupe Society Publications, 1917); Ann Elizabeth Rhydderch, *Robert Mascall and John Stanbury: King’s Confessors and Bishops of Hereford*, Masters Thesis, (Swansea: University of Wales – University College of Swansea, 1974).

²⁹⁰ ‘Henry admired and patronized religious orders with an eremitical and meditative tradition such as the Carthusians and the Carmelites. Of the fourteen religious houses to which he donated wine in 1405-6, five were Carthusians. His first two confessors, Hugh Herle and Robert Mascall, were Carmelite friars, as all of Gaunt’s had been. Five of the fifteen men known to have preached before the king during the year 1402-3 were Carmelites, another six Dominicans.’ Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 378-79.

Debate of 1401' or 'Oxford Translation Debate'.²⁹¹ At the very beginning of the fifteenth century, the legitimacy of biblical translation was still an open question, with scholars able to argue for vernacular Bible texts without being suspected of heresy. From 1401 until 1407 when the issue was effectively shut down (as will be seen), academics in Oxford debated the merits of vernacular Bible translation. From the Latin *determinationes* that survive, and various Middle English reflections on the topic, it is clear that there was a particular academic disputation in Oxford in and around 1401. This scholastic debate of great pastoral concern largely focussed on the dangers and difficulties of making the Scriptures available in the common tongue. Some argued that the 'lower orders' of society were unable to understand the linguistic intricacies of the Biblical texts, and that such persons might teach before they had sufficiently studied, usurping the role of educated clergy. Two friars – William Butler (Franciscan) and Thomas Palmer (Dominican) – essentially argued the orthodox position against broadened participation in vernacular theology, whilst a secular cleric, Richard Ullerston, put forward the case for moderate use of the vernacular for theological discussion, and some translation of Scriptural texts.²⁹²

The Bible was undoubtedly the most significant text in the social, religious and intellectual life of medieval England. It was at the heart of the liturgy,²⁹³ and was the authority which underpinned all

²⁹¹ See: Anne Hudson, 'The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401', in *Lollards and their Books*, 67-84; Mary Dove (ed.), *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible: The Texts of the Medieval Debate*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010); Mary Dove, 'The Bible Debate', in *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 6-36; Mary Dove, 'Scripture and reform', in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 579-95; 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 (October 1995), 822-64; Fiona Somerset, 'Wycliffite Prose', in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 195-214; Vincent Gillespie, 'Religious Writing', in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 1: 700-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 234-83 [235-36]; Ralph Hanna, Tony Hunt, R. G. Keightley, Alastair Minnis, Nigel F. Palmer, 'Latin Commentary Tradition and Vernacular Literature', in Alastair Minnis, Ian Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism: Volume II – The Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 363-421, especially (on the Oxford translation debate) 'Commentary and controversy over translation', 392-400; David Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People: Popular Politics and England's Long Social Revolution, 1066-1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 175-76. On the translation and dissemination of the Bible in medieval England, see: David C. Fowler, *The Bible in Middle English Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984); G. W. H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Volume 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Annie Sutherland, *Biblical Citation and its Affective Contextualisation in some English Mystical Texts of the Fourteenth Century*, Doctoral Thesis (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1999); Ralph Hanna, 'English Biblical Texts before Lollardy and their Fate', in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, Derrick G. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 141-53. Texts pertaining to the debate are currently being edited by Anne Hudson, Jeremy Catto, and Elizabeth Solopova.

²⁹² Anne Hudson, 'Butler, William (d. after 1416)'; Anne Hudson, 'Palmer, Thomas (fl. 1371–1415)'; Margaret Harvey, 'Ullerston, Richard (d. 1423)', *ODNB*. On Ullerston's role in orthodox reform see: Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 17 n. 34, 19.

²⁹³ See: Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church – Volume 3, The Medieval Church* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1999); Joseph Dyer, 'The Bible in the medieval

theological discussion of Christianity, particularly at the universities where it was deemed as important to be cognisant in Scripture as it was in other branches of theology or philosophy.²⁹⁴ The Bible also formed the core of vernacular prayer books, was translated into English in sections and as a whole in the Wycliffite Bible from the 1380s, and influenced the writing of religious and secular literature.²⁹⁵

As we have already noted, John Wyclif deemed the Bible so important that he had argued for it to be regarded as the supreme authority in governing a Christian life and society. Rejecting the ancient understanding that doctrine could not contradict Scripture but was ultimately defined by the Church, the natural consequence of Wyclif's argument was the irrelevance or interference of the hierarchy. This challenged the power and authority of the bishops led by Thomas Arundel, and affronted the ecclesiastical understanding of the wider Church. Thus, it is very understandable that as the fourteenth century turned to the fifteenth, king and archbishop sought to stamp out the Wycliffite understanding of Scripture, nurtured, as we have seen, by texts such as the *General Prologue* to the Wycliffite Bible.

Part of the challenge facing Church authorities in England in the early 1400s (and a problem which remains for today's students of medieval texts) was that calls for Bible translation came not simply from John Wyclif and those sympathetic to him, but also from more 'orthodox' reformists – both freethinking clergy and laity – who eschewed the radicalism of Lollardy yet sought to change certain ecclesiastical practices and attitudes from within.²⁹⁶ A number of ostensibly 'orthodox' texts in the late fourteenth century – including *Piers Plowman*, *Dives and Pauper* and *The Cloud of Unknowing* – called for limits on the power and overeducation of the clergy, and for greater lay access to the Scriptures.²⁹⁷ The circulation of the Wycliffite Bible prompted a number of vernacular and Latin discussions of Bible-reading, including some – such as *The Holi Prophete David Seith* – that show awareness of Lollard polemic, but which may not have been a Lollard work at all, 'at least in any narrow sectarian sense'.²⁹⁸ Texts such as *On Translating the Bible* reveal the understanding in some quarters that whilst English was widely seen as the language of heresy, the contradiction could be

liturgy, c.600-1300', in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 659-79.

²⁹⁴ See: William J. Courtenay, 'The Bible in medieval universities', in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 555-78.

²⁹⁵ For a broad overview see: Lynne Long, 'Vernacular Bibles and Prayer Books', in Andrew W. Hass, David Jasper, Elisabeth Jay (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 54-78.

²⁹⁶ For a consideration of the reform encouraged by bishops and others within what the author perceives as a vibrant and energetic Church, see: G. W. Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability Before the Break with Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012).

²⁹⁷ For a study of the ways in which religious texts promoted Church reform in the late Middle Ages, see: Sara S. Poor, Nigel Smith (eds.), *Mysticism and Reform, 1400-1750* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015).

²⁹⁸ Wogan-Browne, et al (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 149.

stated that ‘we fynden in Latyne mo heretikes than of ale other langagis’,²⁹⁹ and that what underpinned the question of language was the deeper question of authority and clerical control. What role, if any, the Carmelites played in the Oxford translation debate is unclear, but its impact upon the Whitefriars will become evident in the texts we shall consider in the course of this thesis.

Arundel’s *Constitutions*

As the Bible debate was being conducted in Oxford, Archbishop Thomas Arundel and King Henry IV enacted legislation in Church and State that targeted dissenters. In 1401 the English parliament, under pressure from the new monarch and his reinstated primate, grappled with the threat of Lollardy by passing the act *De haeretico comburendo* (*Of the Burning of Heretics*), which legislated for the State’s execution of relapsed heretics handed over by the Church.³⁰⁰

A number of investigations and executions followed, including in March 1401 the burning of William Sawtre(y), Rector of St. Margaret’s Church in Margery Kempe’s hometown of Lynn. Some records of inquisitions have survived, mostly from the perspective of the prosecuting bishop, but from the Lollard side we have an account of Arundel’s 1407 interrogation of the Oxford-trained Wycliffite priest William Thorpe.³⁰¹

Such encounters with suspected heretics, and the translation debate in Oxford, moved Thomas Arundel to formulate and promulgate a series of *Provincial Constitutions* between 1407-09 that would further combat Wycliffite heresies by getting to the roots of the problem.³⁰² The *Constitutions* were formulated at a 1407 Church Synod, held tellingly in Oxford, spiritual home of Wycliffite dissent and

²⁹⁹ Quoted in *The Idea of Vernacular*, 119. *On Translating the Bible* presented access to the Scriptures as part of a nationalist insular tradition of vernacular Bible reading and preaching.

³⁰⁰ The text of the act is translated in Henry Bettenson, Chris Maunder (eds.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Third Edition 1999), 198-202, and considered in further depth in Chapter Four.

³⁰¹ Thorpe records the dialogue in a first-person narrative. The text is edited by Anne Hudson, *Two Wycliffite Texts*, Early English Text Society Original Series 301 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), and in Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, text 4. The dialogue has been discussed by Elizabeth Schirmer, ‘William Thorpe’s Narrative Theology’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 31 (2009), 267-99.

³⁰² Arundel’s *Constitutions* have attracted much attention in the last couple of decades. In particular see: 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 (October 1995), 822-64; Fiona Somerset, ‘Professionalizing Translation at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century: Ullerston’s *Determinacio*, Arundel’s *Constitutiones*’, in Fiona Somerset, Nicholas Watson (eds.), *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 145-57; Steven Justice, ‘Lollardy’, 673-78; Mary Dove, ‘Censorship’, in *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 37-67; Mary C. Flannery, Katie L. Walter (eds.), *The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England*, Westfield Medieval Studies Series (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), especially the chapter by Ian Forrest, ‘English Provincial Constitutions and Inquisition into Lollardy’, 45-59; Joan M. Nuth, *God’s Lovers in an Age of Anxiety – The Medieval English Mystics*, Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2001), 32; ‘The condemnations of Wyclif and Oxford Lollardy’ in Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c.1250-c.1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, reprinted 1999), 560-73.

the centre of the Bible translation debate, and published in 1409, the year that the English parliament made heresy an offence against common law (and that a Council of the Church was held in Pisa).

The *Constitutions* sought to reclaim the Church's authority in all ecclesiastical matters by banning various writings, including those of John Wyclif, prohibiting new translations of the Bible into English, and subjecting pre-existing translations to review. The *Constitutions* placed limits on preaching and the celebration of the sacraments, and required regular enquiries to be made into the opinions of students and lecturers at Oxford. The *Constitutions* made thirteen stipulations under the following headings:³⁰³

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|---|--|
| I. Quod nullus praedicet absque licentia, nisi persona fuerit in jure privilegiata. | I. That no one shall preach without a licence, unless that person has the right of privilege. |
| II. De poena admittentium praedicare absque literis. | II. On the penalty for those admitting anyone to preach without a licence. |
| III. Quod praedicator conformet se auditorio, aliter puniatur. | III. That the preacher must conform himself to the audience, or be punished. |
| IV. De poena temere disputantium de sacramento altaris, et aliis sacramentis, contra determinationem ecclesiae. | IV. Of the penalties for disputation on the sacrament of the altar, and the other sacraments, against the Church's teaching. |
| V. Ne magistri in artibus vel grammatica intromittant se de sacramentis pueros suos instruendo. | V. That no teacher below a suitable level of qualification instruct children about the sacraments. |

³⁰³ The text is given in: Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventions, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates (1101-1654)* (London: 1704-35); David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ab Anno MCCCL ad Annum MDXLV. Volumen Tertium* (London, 1737), 314-19. An English translation is found in John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments*, fourth edition of 1583, (ed.) Josiah Pratt, 8 vols (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1877), vol 3, 242-49. A Modern English translation by Michael Marlowe is online at www.bible-researcher.com/arundel.html [accessed September 2013].

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|---|---|
| VI. Ne quis librum, vel tractatum aliquem Jo. Wycliff legat, antequam examinetur. | VI. That no book or treatise of John Wyclif may be read, before it is examined. |
| VII. Ne quis texta S. Scripturae transferat in linguam Anglicanam. | VII. That no text of Sacred Scripture may be translated into the English language. |
| VIII. Quod ne quis conclusiones, propositiones, bonis moribus adversantes, asserat. | VIII. That no one assert any conclusions or propositions opposed to good customs. |
| IX. Ut nullus disputet de articulis per ecclesiam determinatis, nisi ad verum intellectum habendum. | IX. That no one may question the Articles determined by Holy Church, but must have a true understanding. |
| X. Quod nullus capellanus celebret in provincia Cant. absque literis testimonialibus. | X. That no chaplain may celebrate in the Canterbury Archdiocese without letters of testimony. |
| XI. Quod in universitate Oxon. fiat inquisitio quolibet mense, per principales. | XI. That at the University of Oxford an inquisition be held each month by the principals [of the colleges]. |
| XII. De peona contra facientium, et infrigentium statute praemissa. | XII. Of the penalty against those who infringe these statutes. |
| XIII. De modo procedendi in casibus praenotatis, et articulis memoratis. | XIII. Of the procedures to be followed in such cases, and the articles aforementioned. |

As is plain from these headings, Arundel's statutes were designed to eradicate Lollardy through the prohibition of 'all sorts of theological thinking and writing in the vernacular'.³⁰⁴ As we have already seen, the Carmelites had already been frontline combatants against heresy, especially since the 1380s. Carmelite educational orthodoxy was upheld by the requirement of the *Constitutions* for monthly inquiry into the views of every student at Oxford.³⁰⁵ These enquiries almost certainly extended to the friars who, though somewhat detached from the supervision of secular clergy and the dictats of the university, nevertheless came under general ecclesiastical regulation.³⁰⁶ Through the *Constitutions*, Arundel and the rest of the English Church hierarchy sought to regulate vernacular textuality and preaching of a speculative nature.

The powerful argument put forward by Nicholas Watson in his 1995 article 'Censorship and Cultural Change' that Arundel's *Constitutions* effectively stifled all debate has been increasingly nuanced in recent years. Watson argued that the *Constitutions* marked a low point in English liberty, signifying the hierarchical Church's repression of theological speculation. Vincent Gillespie, however, contends that rather than denoting a change in spirituality, the *Constitutions* marked the end of a process of change in the English Church. According to Helen Barr, 'although the terms of the *Constitutions* provided for tight censorship of the expression of religious views, discussion of matters ecclesiological and theological was not uniformly stifled, nor could discussion take place only in code.'³⁰⁷ A number of religious texts in the vernacular have been shown to have had an important impact after Arundel's *Constitutions*, such as Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, the *Speculum Devotorum*, and *The Mirror of Our Lady*.³⁰⁸

However, it is striking to note that – bearing in mind not all Middle English Carmelite texts can be definitively dated – after Arundel's *Constitutions* no Carmelite writer in England is known to have produced an original work in the vernacular, other than translations. Perhaps aware of the dangers of being associated with heresy, Carmelite literary inventiveness – so vibrant until 1400 – seems to have been somewhat stifled, and even some decades after Arundel's *Constitutions*, discussion of the Bible was restricted between Friar Alan of Lynn and Margery Kempe.

³⁰⁴ Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change', 826. On the precautions a medieval author had to take in such circumstances, see: Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 'Langland and the Bibliographic Ego', in Steven Justice, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (eds.), *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 67-143 [70]; Watson, in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 339-45.

³⁰⁵ Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change', 827.

³⁰⁶ Margaret E. Poskitt, 'The English Carmelites: Houses of Study and Educational Methods', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 155-165 [157].

³⁰⁷ Helen Barr, *The Digby Poems: A New Edition of the Lyrics* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009), 20. Barr says that the compiler of the *Digby Lyrics* used the Bible in English to rob Lollardy of its attractiveness.

³⁰⁸ Love's *Mirror* will be considered later in this thesis, and the *Speculum Devotorum* and *Myroure of oure Ladye* were briefly considered earlier in this chapter (n. 123) and the preceding one (nn. 87, 95).

We do not know exactly what part the Carmelites played in formulating or enacting the 1407-09 *Constitutions*.³⁰⁹ However, we know that they were deeply involved in debating the issues touched on by the legislation. Sometime before 1414 (some scholars contend 1406-09, others 1410-11, but either way around the time of the ecclesiastical regulations being drawn up), Thomas Netter and a fellow Carmelite called William (probably Ufford) ‘arranged to debate with the Lollard Peter Payne in Oxford on the subjects of pilgrimages, the Eucharist, images, the religious orders, and mendicancy’.³¹⁰ Payne, ‘the most outspoken Wycliffite at Oxford’,³¹¹ failed to appear, but the episode shows how willing the Carmelites were to dispute on these contentious matters. This is also seen in the wake of the *Constitutions*. As Anne Hudson notes, ‘In 1409 a committee of twelve Oxford men, not including Netter, was set to list the erroneous conclusions of Wyclif as these could be found in a number of the master’s writings; the committee reported in 1411. In one copy of this list, that in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (though details reveal that this cannot have been recorded until 1436), an extra four conclusions not found elsewhere are said to have been added by Thomas Netter; Netter also seems to have been in correspondence with five of the members of the committee’.³¹² Indeed, Netter was close to one of the twelve Oxford scholars on the committee, fellow Carmelite William Ufford, at whose doctoral inception in Oxford Netter had preached.³¹³ Prior to his doctorate, Ufford had studied in Cambridge and probably Paris. He attended the Council of Pisa in 1409, and by 1411 was the Order’s Regent Master at Oxford. In that year the committee of enquiry on which Ufford served presented Archbishop Arundel and the Convocation of Canterbury with a list of 267 errors found within the writings of John Wyclif. All this shows that Carmelites were actively supporting the suppression of Wycliffite ideas.

The 1407-09 *Constitutions* did result in a decline in the support for John Wyclif, both in Oxford and elsewhere, though his ideas never completely died out. Both Wyclif and the *Constitutions* were to cast a long shadow on the Carmelite Order, as English Whitefriars sought to walk a fine line

³⁰⁹ Richard Copley’s *Biographical Register* records a number of friars involved in diocesan administration, including some with experience of formulating local statutes.

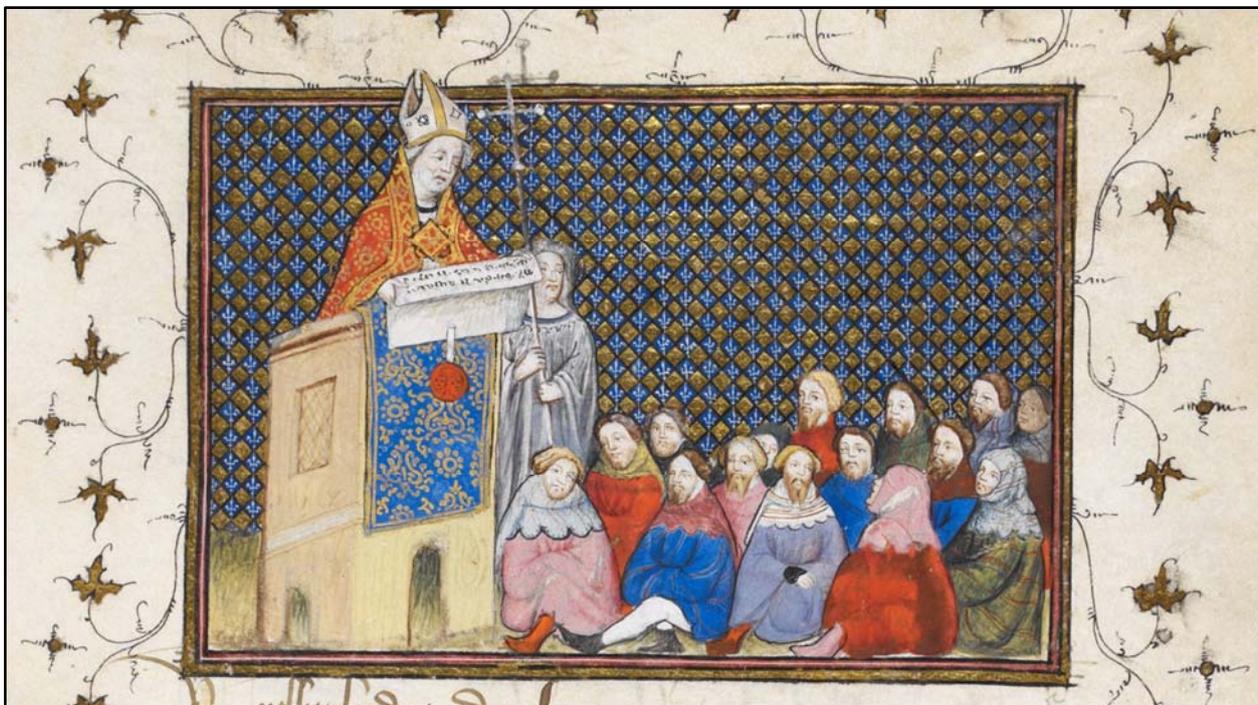
³¹⁰ Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*. Netter records: “... through a certain nobleman I was chosen – together with my brother in religion at the University of Oxford William [probably Ufford] – and challenged to a battle by one of the boldest of them, called Peter Clerk, to dispute over pilgrimages, the Eucharist, religious life and voluntary mendicancy. We came, we were ready, but those who were present know and still declare, before we could come to blows Peter Clerk took himself off, rendered speechless by his own silliness.” *Doctrinale*, i, prologue 7-8, translated by Richard Copley, *Biographical Register* entry on William Cuxford. Payne was also known as Clerk at Oxford, as Peter English in Bohemia, as Freyng (after his French father), and Hough (from his birthplace).

³¹¹ F. Šmahel, ‘Payne, Peter (d. 1455/6?)’, *ODNB*.

³¹² Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*.

³¹³ *Apud Wilhelmum Ufforde Carmelitam: Reverende doctor divini eloquij trabeata facultas*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 204. On Ufford see: Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

between teaching and preaching the Word of God, and respecting the limits imposed by the Church's leadership.



Archbishop Thomas Arundel preaching, in a copy of Jean Creton's *Histoire rimée de Richard II (La Prinse et mort du roy Richart, c.1402)*. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1319, fo. 12 (detail).

English: the language of heresy?

The question of language was, of course, key to the Bible translation debate and Archbishop Arundel's *Constitutions*. As discussed in the previous and following chapters, Carmelites such as John Kynyngham and Richard Maidstone specifically objected to the fact that disputes over the use and interpretation of Scripture were taking place in English rather than Latin, with the growing sense in academic circles that English was 'the language of heresy'.³¹⁴ As John Fleming summarises the situation, 'One of the detected propositions of the Lollards, explicitly confuted by numerous English friars, was that theological questions could be, even should be, discussed in vernacular language.'³¹⁵ In his magisterial overview of Christianity's history, Diarmaid MacCulloch explains the link between the legacy of John Wyclif and the question of language:

³¹⁴ On this supposed conflation see: Anne Hudson, 'Wyclif and the English Language', in Anthony Kenny (ed.), *Wyclif in His Times* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 85–103; Anne Hudson, 'Lollardy: The English Heresy?', in *Lollards and their Books* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985), 141–63; 'Wycliffism: the heresy of the vernacular?', in Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 81–84.

³¹⁵ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 369.

Wyclif's Oxford admirers had followed his teaching on the unchallengeable authority of the Bible by producing the first complete translation of the Vulgate into English, so that all might have a chance to read it and understand it for themselves. In 1407 all existing versions of the Bible in English were officially banned by the English Church hierarchy, and no replacement was sanctioned until Henry VIII's Reformation in the 1530s. In the intervening period, only the most ultra-respectable could get away with open possession of a vernacular Bible, and indeed, their respectability seems itself to have made their copy of the text respectable.³¹⁶

The prohibition on access to the Bible in the vernacular – unique to England in medieval Europe – was to have major implications for the production and consumption of Carmelite vernacular theological texts. Whilst vernacular translations of the Bible were produced across Europe, particularly by the Hussites, England seemed to have been isolated from the wider Church by the fact that the Bible in English was associated with heresy. This concern about the use of English was what made Thomas Netter so nervous about Alan of Lynn's oral expositions to Margery Kempe, and in the following chapters we will see how this concern was to influence Carmelite attitudes to the use of the vernacular in the production and prohibition of written theological materials.³¹⁷

Rebellion and religious revival in the reign of Henry V

Just as John Wyclif's teachings underpinned the Wycliffite Bible though he was not directly involved in the project, so after his death in 1384 the radical theological ideas he had triggered generated a broad range of other writings and activities.³¹⁸ Despite efforts by Church and State to put down the Lollard heresy, the movement endured, largely in secret.³¹⁹

³¹⁶ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *A History of Christianity* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 569.

³¹⁷ It is slightly perplexing that Thomas Netter should have prevented Alan of Lynn from talking with Margery Kempe, since Vincent Gillespie points out that one of the effects of Arundel's *Constitutions* was a new emphasis on the importance of good speech. Preaching was encouraged, since setting ideas down on paper could lead to their appropriation and corruption by heretics. A new style of preaching was developed at Syon Abbey which was simpler and less scholastic, more Scripturally based, adapted to its audience, and avoiding dullness: Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 30-31.

³¹⁸ See: Fiona Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2014).

³¹⁹ See: John A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414-1520*, Oxford Historical Monographs (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); 'Later Lollards' in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, with Mishtooni Bose, Fiona Somerset, *A Companion to Lollardy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 46-51; Maurice Keen, 'The Influence of Wyclif', in Anthony Kenny (ed.), *Wyclif in His Times* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 127-45; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, particularly Chapters 9, 10; Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, Second Edition, 2012). As late as 1499, the Bishop of Salisbury was holding a series of heresy trials across his diocese that exposed the long endurance of Wycliffite belief: David Wright (ed.), *The Register of John Blyth Bishop of Salisbury 1493-1499*, Wiltshire Record Society 68 (Chippenham: Wiltshire Record Society, 2015), xi, 59-86.

Despite the efforts of Henry IV to quash religious dissent, Lollardy was still an active force when he died on 20th March 1413. The exploits of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, show that heresy reached even the highest social circles in England.³²⁰ In 1413 Oldcastle was accused of Lollard sympathies; his former friend, newly King Henry V, was unable to prevent him being handed over to Archbishop Arundel, who duly extracted a forthright setting-out of his heretical beliefs at a trial in which the Carmelite Thomas Netter was an official assessor.³²¹ Escaping from imprisonment in October 1413, in early 1414 Oldcastle raised a revolt that was quashed by the authorities. Oldcastle remained at large until his capture and execution at the end of 1417.³²² The impact of the case was considerable upon both Church and State; according to Helen Barr, ‘The fascination, both medieval and modern, with details of the story can be traced both to a desire to present a scenario of Lollard menace successfully destroyed, and to a desire to psychologise Henry V, a new king who was shocked by the revelation that his friend was a heretic, and who was forced, reluctantly, to punish his old chum almost before the crown had settled firmly on his head.’³²³ The Oldcastle rising certainly led to an increase in the persecution of the Lollard sect, but also fed the Church’s appreciation of the need for orthodox reform.³²⁴

Henry V being presented a book
in a copy (1411-32) of
Thomas Hoccleve’s *The Regiment of Princes*.
London, British Library,
Ms. Arundel 38, fo. 37 (detail).



³²⁰ John A. F. Thomson, ‘Oldcastle, John, Baron Cobham (d. 1417)’, *ODNB*.

³²¹ As mentioned previously (n. 289), the report of Oldcastle’s trial and condemnation was circulated in Hereford Diocese at the instruction of its bishop, the Carmelite Robert Mascall: *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 450.

³²² See: Maureen Jurkowski, ‘Henry V’s Suppression of the Oldcastle Revolt’, in Gwilym Dodd (ed.), *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer / York Medieval Press, 2013), 103-30; on Netter’s role in the trial see: Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*.

³²³ Helen Barr, *The Digby Poems: A New Edition of the Lyrics* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009), 8.

³²⁴ Vincent Gillespie highlights the significance of a document produced by the University of Oxford in 1414 in preparation for the Council of Constance, the *Articuli concernantes reformationem universalis ecclesiae editi per universitatem Oxoniensem*. This text (to be discussed further in Chapter Six) called for reform in many of the same areas of ecclesiastical life identified by John Wyclif, such as simony, plurality of benefices, exemptions, apostasy, and abuse of clerical privileges: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 15-17, 21.

The execution of heretics was not the only way in which Henry V envisaged a revitalised English Church.³²⁵ On acceding to the throne he felt there was cause to atone for his father's sins of usurpation and the murders of Richard II and Archbishop Scrope. This prompted a number of important regal and religious undertakings, known as 'The King's Great Work'.³²⁶ Henry restored the palace at Sheen (on the Surrey bank of the River Thames near Richmond in Middlesex, west of London) which Richard II had had razed to the ground following the death there of his wife, Anne of Bohemia, in 1394. Reconstruction began in the winter of 1413-14, and around the palace Henry had three monasteries constructed in fulfilment of a pledge his father had made but not completed.³²⁷ The first was a monastery of the Celestine Order, but the French monks who occupied it refused to pray for Henry V following his battles with France (most famously at Agincourt in 1415), and it was soon dissolved.³²⁸ More successful was the Carthusian monastery, or Charter House, at Sheen Priory, built to the north of the new palace in 1414. Known officially as *The House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen*, this was a powerhouse of late medieval English spirituality, significant for amassing texts of vernacular theology. In 1415 Henry had built, on the other side of the Thames, *The Monastery of St. Saviour and St. Bridget of Syon*.³²⁹ Syon Abbey sought to be a centre of vernacular translations of religious texts – including sermons and treatises – that could help to reclaim the English language for orthodox religious expression.³³⁰ This house of Bridgettine nuns, monks, and brothers, was effectively the sister community of the Sheen Carthusians, and together the two houses came to symbolise during Henry's reign a spiritual revival that included an active engagement with vernacular theology. The

³²⁵ On Henry V and his piety see: C. T. Allmand, 'Henry V (1386–1422)', *ODNB*; Alison K. McHardy, 'Religion, Court Culture and Propaganda: the Chapel Royal in the Reign of Henry V', in Gwilym Dodd (ed.), *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer / York Medieval Press, 2013), 131-56; 'The Monarchical Church' in G. W. Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability Before the Break with Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), 17-48.

³²⁶ Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 5.

³²⁷ On these foundations see: Jeremy Catto, 'Religious Changes Under Henry V', in G. I. Harris (ed.), *Henry the Fifth: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 97-116.

³²⁸ In the background to most of the period covered in this thesis is the Hundred Years War (1337-1453) between the Plantagenet rulers of England and the Valois rulers of France for control of the French kingdom. It is interesting to note that Henry V asked Thomas Netter to supply English friars for the Carmelite house in the French town of Caen in 1417. On Carmelites in France see: Richard W. Emery, *The Friars in Medieval France: A Catalogue of French Mendicant Convents, 1200-1550* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962); Antoine Marie de la Présentation, *Le Carmel en France*, 7 vols (Toulouse: Imprimerie du Centre, 1936-39).

³²⁹ For an overview see: E. A. Jones, *England's Last Medieval Monastery: Syon Abbey 1415-2015* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2015).

³³⁰ Syon was 'probably a centre of orthodox translation into the vernacular' [26] and 'a notable centre of vernacular translation of Latin religious texts' [35]: Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*. On Syon's later work in this area see: Alexandra da Costa, *Reforming Printing: Syon Abbey's Defence of Orthodoxy 1525-1534*, Oxford English Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Vincent Gillespie, 'The Mole in the Vineyard: Wyclif at Syon in the Fifteenth Century', in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 131-62.

Carthusians were a ‘major force in the translation and dissemination process’³³¹ of medieval religious literature, and in its later years the Bridgettine library at Syon was an ‘intellectual treasure house’.³³²

As well as the Carthusians, Syon was connected to the Carmelites in a number of ways. The Carmelite bishop Stephen Patrington (to be considered in more detail shortly) led a committee that drew up the *Additiones* to the Bridgettine Rule at Syon. His successor as Prior Provincial, Thomas Netter, offered spiritual advice in his correspondence with the Confessor-General at Syon, Thomas Fishbourne.³³³

In addition to the Bridgettines and Carthusians, Henry V was a patron of the Carmelite Order, enlisting Whitefriars in his work of renewing the Church and weeding out heresy. Thomas Netter served as his confessor, and judging from extracts in their correspondence preserved by John Bale, the monarch regarded the Whitefriar highly, and vice versa.³³⁴ It was not unknown, however, for Thomas Netter to criticise the king in matters of upholding religious orthodoxy. John Bale records an episode that possibly took place in 1415 after Netter’s return from the Council of Constance, when the Whitefriar was invited to preach in the English capital:

³³¹ J. Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), Volume 9 – Part 23 (1993): Valerie M. Lagorio, Michael G. Sargent (with Ritamary Bradley), ‘English Mystical Writings’, 3050. On Carthusian literary activity, see earlier in this chapter, and note below.

³³² Vincent Gillespie, ‘The Book and the Brotherhood: Reflections on the Lost Library of Syon Abbey’, in A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, Ralph Hanna (eds.), *The English Medieval Book: Essays in memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London: The British Library, 2000), 185-208 [186]; Gillespie, ‘Dial M for Mystic’, 253. On Syon see: Vincent Gillespie, ‘“Hid Divinite”: The Spirituality of the English Syon Brethren’, in E. A. Jones (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium VII* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 189-206; Vincent Gillespie, ‘Syon and the New Learning’, in James G. Clark (ed.), *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 18 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 75-95; Vincent Gillespie, *Syon Abbey*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 9 (London, 2001); Christopher de Hamel, *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and their Peregrinations after the Reformation* (Otley: Roxburghe Club, 1991); Ann M. Hutchison, ‘What the Nuns Read: Literary Evidence from the English Bridgettine House, Syon Abbey’, *Mediaeval Studies* 57 (1995), 204-22; C. Annette Grisé, ‘Prayer, Meditation and Women Readers in Late Medieval England: Teaching and Sharing Through Books’, in Cate Gunn, Catherine Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 178-92; E. A. Jones, Alexandra Walsham, *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion in England, c.1400-1700*, Studies in Modern British Religious History (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010); C. Annette Grisé, ‘*Lectio Divina* and Scriptural Reading in Syon’s Vernacular Printed Books’, in Kathryn R. Vulić, C. Annette Grisé, Susan Uselmann (eds.), *Devotional Literature and Practice in Medieval England: Readers, Reading, and Reception*, Disputatio 29 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016, forthcoming). On Carthusian and Bridgettine literary activities see in addition to the above: Michael G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, 2 vols, Analecta Cartusiana 85 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984); Marleen Cré, *Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse: A Study of London, British Library, Ms. Additional 37790*, The Medieval Translator, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Marleen Cré, ‘Women in the Charterhouse? Julian of Norwich’s *Revelations of Divine Love* and Marguerite Porète’s *Mirror of Simple Souls* in British Library, Ms. Additional 37790’, in Denis Renevey, Christiania Whitehead (eds.), *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 43-62 [45 ff.]; Anne Savage, Nicholas Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality: ‘Ancrene Wisse’ and Associated Works*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 16.

³³³ Letter XXXV in Alban, ‘The Letters of Thomas Netter’, 370-71.

³³⁴ As noted by Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*. Netter seems to have been something of an *éminence grise*. He reputedly turned down the offer of a bishopric, but was a major influence in Church affairs.

When [Netter] became aware that the English people were being led astray by certain Wycliffites, with their false theories of the sacraments, and that nobody was lifting a hand against them, he rebuked the king and the nobles of the kingdom at St. Paul's Cross, London, as being supporters of heresy; and so put himself in mortal danger. However, everyone was full of admiration for the man and for his zeal for fallen souls, especially the king himself, Henry, the fifth of that name, who not only employed him as the keeper of his conscience but revered him as a father.³³⁵

Among Netter's letters to his Carmelite brothers are requests for them to pray for the king, and it was at the monarch's request that the English Carmelite Province supplied friars to populate houses in French territory conquered by Henry. Thomas Netter undertook diplomatic missions at the king's request, and may well have composed his *Doctrinale* in response to an entreaty from Henry V.³³⁶

Following the death of Thomas Arundel in February 1414, the Bishop of St. David's, Henry Chichele, succeeded as Archbishop of Canterbury.³³⁷ According to Vincent Gillespie, 'Chichele and his men gave English orthodoxy a newly European, but also a newly austere, tenor in the wake of the Council of Constance. In their liturgical and institutional reforms they set a new course for the English Church.'³³⁸



Tomb effigy of Archbishop Henry Chichele. Polychromed stone, 1443. Canterbury Cathedral.

³³⁵ Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 35v; translated by Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

³³⁶ This suggestion is made by Anne Hudson, 'Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)', *ODNB*. Netter acted as confessor and envoy to Kings Henry V and VI. On Netter in the religious and political context of his day see: Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461*, *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 33, 392.

³³⁷ Jeremy Catto, 'Chichele, Henry (c.1362-1443)', *ODNB*; E. F. Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1967).

³³⁸ Vincent Gillespie, 'Vernacular Theology', in Paul Strohm (ed.), *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 401-20 [417].

Following the appointment of a new archbishop, the wider hierarchy of England underwent great development soon after, with almost all of the dioceses receiving new bishops. Chichele no doubt had a hand in the appointment of his replacement as Bishop of St. David's; in June 1415 he consecrated the Carmelite friar Stephen Patryngton.³³⁹

A consideration of Stephen Patryngton (d. 1417) is relevant to our appreciation of the role Carmelites played in the development and delay of vernacular theology in later medieval England.³⁴⁰ A glowing description of him is given by John Bale in his 1536-38 *Anglorum Heliades (The English Followers of Elijah)*:

The splendid period of Stephen Patryngton, and details of some English bishops.

From the records of the fathers.

After Kynnyngham's death and in the same year, Stephen Patryngton, a distinguished doctor, was appointed twenty-second leader of the English followers of Elijah at a congregation of the fathers held at Sutton. He was a man of acute mind, an eloquent and fluent speaker, endowed with great erudition. He never tired in his efforts during debates, and when speaking of holy matters, he drew all to him. He was confessor to king Henry V of England, queen Katherine, the prince of Wales, the duchess of Lancaster, and other nobles of the kingdom. Conscientiously and at the due times, he made visitations of the houses of the province, disliked by none nor causing anyone annoyance. For fifteen years, he governed with moderation; and (what is rare) he kept his hands clean of bribes. Eventually he accepted preferment from the king, and was made bishop of St. David's. This holy man was called to be bishop of Chichester, but declined the offer, being content

³³⁹ The English chronicler Thomas Walsingham, O.S.B., clearly noted the link in his *Historia Anglicana*: 'Hoc anno cecidit eminentissima turris Ecclesie Anglicanæ, et pugil invictus, Dominus Thomas de Arundelia, morti solvens debita decimo Kalendas martii. Cui successit in Archiepiscopatum Magister Henricus Chichele, Confessor Regis. Magister Stephanus de Patryngtone, Frater de Ordine Carmelitarum, vir eruditus in Trivio et Quadrivio, factus est Episcopus Menevensis.' Thomæ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol II (A.D. 1381-1422) (ed.) Henry Thomas Riley (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864), 300.

³⁴⁰ On Patryngton see: Jeremy Catto, 'Patryngton, Stephen (d. 1417)', *ODNB*; Copsey, *Biographical Register*; Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, 1435-6; Leonard A. Kennedy, 'A Carmelite Fourteenth-Century Theological Notebook', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 168-200; Leonard A. Kennedy, 'Late-Fourteenth-Century Philosophical Scepticism at Oxford', *Vivarium* 23:2 (1985), 124-51; G. R. Evans, *John Wyclif: Myth and Reality* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2005), 103-104.

with his first appointment. He died, at last, in London on 22nd September 1417, and was buried in the middle of the choir among the Carmelites.³⁴¹

Stephen Patrington joined the Carmelite Order in York before 1366, proceeding to further studies in Oxford where he became prior by 1373. In 1381 he presented John of Gaunt a letter composed by the mendicant friars of Oxford denouncing Nicholas Hereford and other disciples of John Wyclif.³⁴² Gaunt was later to become one of Patrington's patrons, eventually giving him an annuity of £10 'for good service to the duke and his duchess', suggesting that the Carmelite was one of the family's confessor-chaplains.

In 1382 Stephen Patrington attended the second session of the 'Earthquake Council' held at Blackfriars in London, and he signed its decrees. In Oxford he continued to be one of the leading opponents of Lollardy, and was Doctor of Divinity by 1390. Patrington was a writer of some significance, with some dozen known and surviving works matched by a dozen lost works and possible attributions.³⁴³ He was certainly well-cultured; as noted by Thomas Walsingham, the Carmelite was 'vir eruditus in Trivio et Quadrivio', that is, learned in the "three roads" (grammar, rhetoric, logic) and "four roads" (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy) that together made the Seven Liberal Arts of higher learning.³⁴⁴ It has been suggested that Patrington, as a reputed commentator on Aesop's *Fables*, might have influenced Chaucer's *fabulae*, 'Because Patrington was in London in the 1390s and perhaps even frequented the court of King Henry IV soon after his accession to the throne, the Carmelite may have crossed paths with a petitioner for royal favour there, Geoffrey Chaucer.'³⁴⁵

³⁴¹ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 33v-34. *Anglorum Heliades*, Book 1, Chapter 41, transcribed and translated by Richard Copsey and Brocard Sewell (private printing, Aylesford Priory). Bale is wrong in that Patrington did accept the bishopric of Chichester, but died before he could be installed.

³⁴² 'Epistola vel litera quatuor ordinum claustralium Oxoniæ ad dominum Johannem ducem Lancastriæ contra magistrum Nicolaum Herforde et alios pacem perturbantes', in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico* (ed.) W. W. Shirley (London: Rolls Series, 1858), 292-95. John Bale suggests that Stephen Patrington was the actual author of the letter: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 56v. On the Wycliffite see: Simon Forde, 'Hereford, Nicholas (b. c.1345, d. after 1417)', *ODNB*.

³⁴³ See: Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

³⁴⁴ On the Trivium see: Rita Copeland, Ineke Sluiter (eds.), *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300-1475* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³⁴⁵ Edward Wheatley, *Mastering Aesop: medieval education, Chaucer, and his followers* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2000), 97-98. Richard Copsey [*Biographical Register*] considers the attribution of the work – a commentary on the Latin poem *Ecloga Theoduli* – to Patrington as doubtful. On the wider literary context of Patrington and Henry's court, see: Jeanne E. Krochalis, 'The Books and Reading of Henry V and His Circle', *The Chaucer Review*, 23:1 (Summer 1988), 50-77.

In 1399, following the death of John Kynyngham, Stephen Patrington became Carmelite Prior Provincial in England. As Provincial he continued the Order's tradition of extending participation in the life and spiritual benefits of the Order to the laity through letters of confraternity.³⁴⁶

Moving in court circles, Stephen Patrington preached before King Henry IV on Christmas Day 1402. The king's successor, Henry V, appointed Patrington as his confessor in 1413. This significantly raised Patrington's annuity, and meant that the Carmelite moved into the king's hostel and wore the royal livery.³⁴⁷

In 1414 Stephen Patrington resigned as Carmelite Provincial, presumably because of his duties in the royal household. This included a commission from King Henry V 'to proceed against the Lollards in Oxford' on 4th January 1415.³⁴⁸ This commission is unclear, but Patrington is known to have preached against Lollardy.³⁴⁹ It has been suggested that it was Patrington who first gathered together the early documents pertaining to the Carmelites' exchanges with John Wyclif and his disciples that

³⁴⁶ To John Horssyngton and his wife Alice in 1400 (Cambridge, Peterhouse College, Ms. 251, flyleaf); to Sir William [...] in 1409 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. C. 72, flyleaf at beginning); to William Whyte and his wife Katherine (Aberdeen University, Special Collections, Ms. 123, fo. 116v). See: W. G. Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Further Letters of Confraternity', *Archaeologia*, Second Series, 79 (1929), 179-216 [212]. Patrington's closeness to leading mercantile families in different parts of the country is suggested by his being a beneficiary and witness in various wills, as noted by Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

³⁴⁷ On Carmelites employed as royal administrators, messengers, and chaplains (such as, in 1382, the scholar Francesc Martí in the household of the heir to the throne of Aragon), see: Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 30-31.

³⁴⁸ Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra* (ed.) Francis Green (London: Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1927), 66, quoted by Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

³⁴⁹ In 1413-14, whilst Patrington was Provincial, a visitation of the English Province was conducted by the Prior General of the recently reunited papal obediences of the Carmelite Order, Jean Grossi (d. 1435). Grossi, a Frenchman, was a keen historian particularly interested in the Carmelite Order's saints, priors general, and writers, and during his extensive travels as General he compiled notes and lists of *Carmelitana*. These he entered in his *Viridarium*, a brief history of the Carmelites followed by a list of the Order's saints and famous writers, first composed in Avignon c.1395, and then revised in Rome probably between 1411 and 1417. Grossi includes fourteen English Whitefriars in his work, with information he seems to have noted during his visitation of England. Patrington is among these notable writers, and Grossi records sermons he gave before king and court, as well as academic *Determinationes et alios actus contra lollardos et haereticos wicleffistas*, *Lib. I*, written whilst Patrington was Carmelite Regent of Studies at Oxford. Since Provincial and Prior General would have worked closely together during a visitation, Grossi's remarks on Patrington's writings ought to be accurate (more so than John Bale, who elaborated and expanded them). Richard Copley describes Grossi's *Viridarium* as marking 'the beginning of a renaissance in Carmelite historical writing and a renewed research into historical sources which will develop strongly during the fifteenth century' [*Carmel in Britain* 3, 26, n. 36]. Grossi's *Viridarium* circulated widely in the Order and was used by subsequent Carmelite historians such as Arnold Bostius, Giles Faber, Laurent Bureau, Thomas Scrope (subject of Chapter Seven), Nicholas Calciuri, Jean Soreth, John Oudewater, John Currifex, and the Benedictine abbot John Trithemius. Grossi's *Viridarium* was printed in Joannes Baptista de Cathaneis (ed.), *Speculum ordinis fratrum Carmelitarum* (Venice, 1507), fo. 101-104. It has been edited by Graziano di Santa Teresa, 'Viridarii auctore Joanne Grossi, Ordinis Carmelitarum prioris generalis, recensio Vaticana', *Ephemerides carmeliticae*, 7 (1956), 240-284. The *Viridarium* built on an earlier catalogue of priors general, *Catalogus priorum generalium*, that Grossi compiled in two versions: the earlier redaction (c.1390-95) written in Avignon, and the revised version between 1417-30. Grossi's *Catalogus* list is preserved in a copy Bale made in Toulouse in 1527, Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 109-107v, and is printed in Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 322-24. Grossi also compiled a text entitled *Tractatus de Scriptoribus Ordinis Carmelitarum*, written between 1413 and 1417. This has been edited by Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*, 42-53. On Jean Grossi see: Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*; Adrian Staring, 'Grossi (Jean), carme, †1435', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (1935-95), vi, 1058.

would later form the basis of the important anti-Wycliffite compendium known as the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (to be discussed shortly).³⁵⁰

On 1st February 1415 Patrington was appointed Bishop of St. David's in Wales, and he was consecrated in All Saints, Maidstone, by Archbishop Chichele in June that year, in the presence of King Henry and the new Carmelite Provincial, Thomas Netter. Patrington remained in the king's retinue, appointing vicars-general to run his diocese.

In August 1415 Patrington was present at St. Paul's Cathedral in London for the trial of the relapsed heretic John Claydon (discussed below); the Carmelite signed the sentence.

In January 1416 Stephen Patrington chaired a commission of religious and theologians convened by King Henry to draw up *Additiones* that would resolve some difficulties over the rule to be followed at the new Bridgettine house at Syon.³⁵¹ No doubt Patrington was chosen to steer this 'royal flagship of the orthodox reform movement'³⁵² because the monarch trusted him, and because, as a Carmelite, Patrington came from a tradition with eremitical inclinations and an appreciation of asceticism.³⁵³

Patrington was translated to the bishopric of Chichester in December 1416, but died the following year before he could be installed. He was buried in the Carmelite church in London, and John Bale records his epitaph:

³⁵⁰ This suggestion was made by Walter Waddington Shirley, editor of the 1858 Rolls Series edition; he suggested that Patrington was probably responsible for the early part of the text (up to 359 in his edition) in the period around 1392-94, and that he handed these over with other documents to his successor, Thomas Netter. The idea is considered by: James Crompton, 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum I & II', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 12 (1969), 35-45, 155-66. Richard Copsey [*Biographical Register*] considers the attribution doubtful.

³⁵¹ James Hogg (ed.), *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauioure and Other Middle English Brigittine Legislative Texts. Vol. 4: The Rewyll of Seynt Sauioure: The Syon Additions for the Sisters from the British Library Ms. Arundel 146*, Salzburger Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik 6 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1980). See also: Ann M. Hutchison, 'The Nuns of Syon Abbey in Choir: Spirituality and Influences', in Lars Bisgaard, Carsten Selch Jensen, Kurt Villads Jensen, John Lind (eds.), *Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Tore Nyberg* (Odense: Odense University Press, 2001), 265-74 [266]; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 2, 178; Vincent Gillespie, 'Dial M for Mystic', 252 n. 31; Vincent Gillespie, 'The Mole in the Vineyard: Wyclif at Syon in the Fifteenth Century', in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 131-62 [137 n. 19]; Richard Rolle, *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole* (ed.) Margaret Deanesly (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915), 111, 121, 124; Roger Ellis, *Syon Abbey: The Spirituality of the English Bridgettines*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 68:2 (Salzburg, 1984), 50-115.

³⁵² Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 35.

³⁵³ Gillespie points out that Henry V's new foundations were deliberately chosen because they 'marked a new beginning after the troubles with John Wyclif and his followers. No house of Birgittines or Celestines had before been founded in Britain. Nor had the Carthusians ('never reformed because never deformed') featured prominently in either side's arguments. None of these orders had therefore been tainted by the in-fighting, self-preservation, and name-calling that had characterized the campaigns run by the orders of friars and the older monastic orders': Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 5-6. It is probably fair to say that, among the mendicant orders, the Carmelites had emerged from the Lollardy disputes with the strongest reputation for orthodoxy, adding to Patrington's suitability, combined with his experience of leading a religious order as provincial.

Here lies the body of brother Stephen of Patryngton,
 He left a reputation as a father, exemplar of the Rule
 Leader of the Carmelite body, doctor, prior of the English;
 Confessor of Henry V, a famous king and his companion,
 And also bishop of St. David's.
 May Christ, for him, change his cap into a golden one,
 For he was made to hold together, well employed,
 The mitre of a bishop and the title of a doctor.³⁵⁴

The final line suggests that Stephen Patryngton blended well pastoral care and learning. Men such as Patryngton were talented and dedicated pastors who represented a new generation of bishops in England in the second decade of the fifteenth century.³⁵⁵ His activities and interests suggest that the Carmelite understood the Church's need for continued personal as well as institutional reform, combined with an emphasis on living a contemplative vocation through action in the world. Committed to fighting heresy, Stephen Patryngton was also interested in supporting new forms of religious expression. In this way he was significant in the development of English spirituality in the period after Thomas Arundel, and is a model of the manner in which Carmelites of that era sought to both police and promote matters of religious speculation and vernacular theology. Interest in Church renewal is no doubt why Patryngton was, until his death, due to accompany the king to the Council of Constance in 1417.³⁵⁶

The Council of Constance

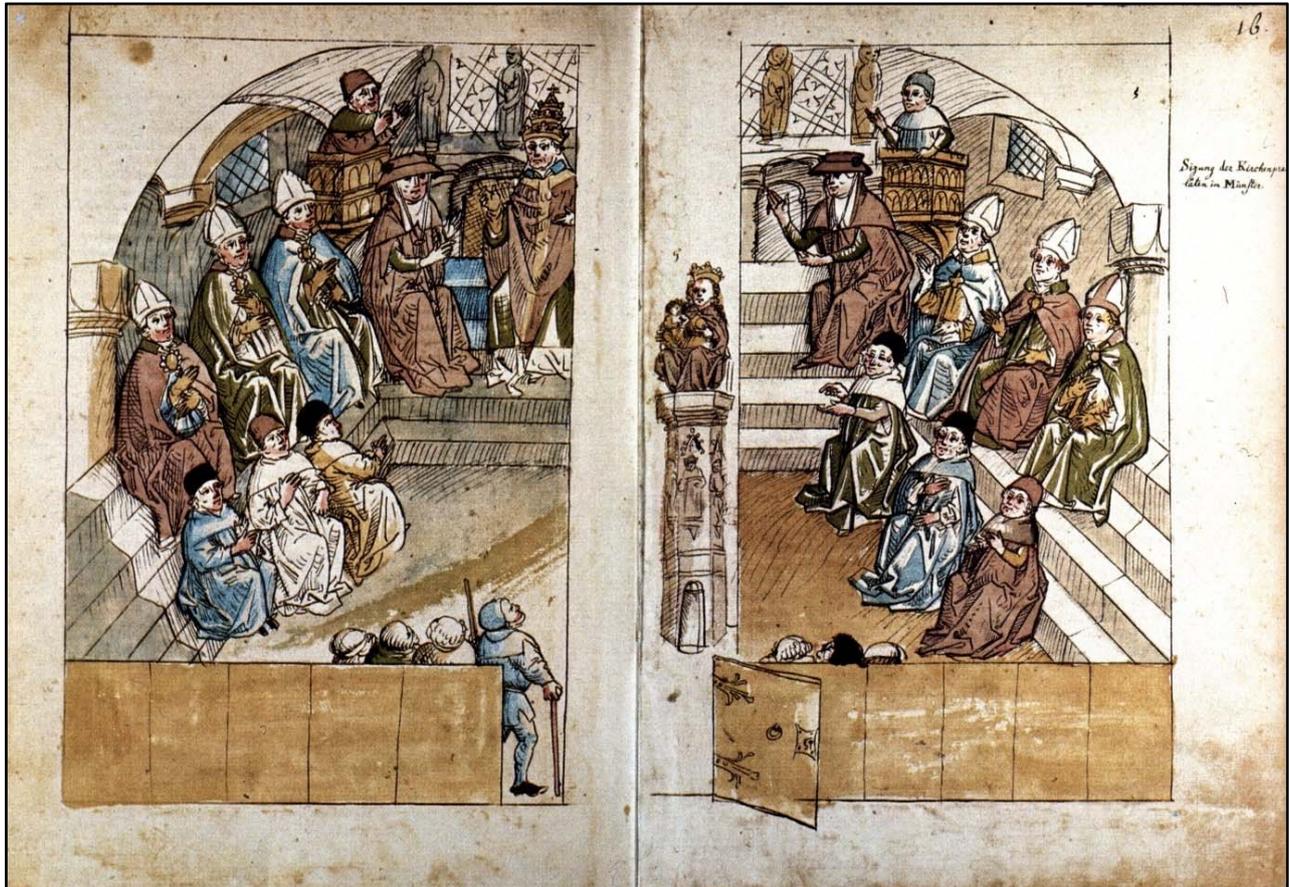
The new raft of bishops taking up English sees after the death of Thomas Arundel coincided with a watershed moment in the history of the Western Church. In April 1414 Henry Chichele was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and in November of that year an ecumenical Council of the Church was convened at Constance (or Konstanz) on the German-Swiss border, bringing together bishops, theologians, representatives of religious orders, and secular leaders (notably the Holy Roman

³⁵⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 50. Translated in Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

³⁵⁵ See: Joel Thomas Rosenthal, 'The Training of an Elite Group: English Bishops in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 60:5 (1970), 1-54.

³⁵⁶ E. F. Jacob, H. C. Johnson (eds.), *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1453*, 4 vols, Canterbury and York Society 42, 45, 46, 47 (1938-47), vol 1, 184; Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literæ, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliæ et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates...* (1101-1654), 20 vols (London, 1704-35), vol 9, 509; Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

Emperor Sigismund), to debate the most pressing issues of the day.³⁵⁷ The Council, by looking at the internal structures of the Church and the relationships between its members, was an opportunity for healing the wounds of the papal schism, as well as an occasion for the international exchange of artistic, humanist, and literary ideas.³⁵⁸



Depiction of Council Fathers (including a Carmelite friar in brown habit and white cloak on the right-hand page) in debate at Constance Cathedral, in *Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils* by Ulrich von Richental (1365-1437?), existing in various incunabula printings from the first half of the fifteenth century and 1483.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ On the importance of Sigismund as ‘the hammer of schismatic popes’, bestower of approval upon Henry V and the English Church during his visit to England in 1416, and granter of special favour to the Englishmen at Constance in 1417, see: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 3-9.

³⁵⁸ The Council is proposed as a defining moment in European identity in David Wallace (ed.), *Europe: A Literary History, 1348-1418* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

³⁵⁹ Richental was a city clerk in Constance who compiled a German record of the Council. See: Ulrich Richental, *Chronik des Konzils zu Konstanz (1414–1418). Mit einem kommentierten Beiheft von Jürgen Klöckler* (Stuttgart: Theiss-Verlag, 2013); Thomas Martin Buck (ed.), *Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils 1414–1418 von Ulrich Richental*, Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen Band 41 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2010); John Hine Mundy, Kennerly M. Woody (eds.), *The Council of Constance: the Unification of the Church* (trans.) Louise Ropes Loomis, *Records of Civilisation: Sources and Studies* 63 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 26-28. Images are available on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: www.inkunabeln.digitale-sammlungen.de/Ausgabe_R-178.html [accessed March 2016].

The Council sessions took place between 1414 and 1418, and considered three principal topics: an end to the Western Schism (which came about with the election of Pope Martin V in 1417); the eradication of heresies, especially those spread in England by John Wyclif and in Bohemia by Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague (Hus was condemned and executed during the Council in 1415); and to reform the corrupt morals of the Church where necessary.³⁶⁰

Historians continue to debate how successful the Council of Constance was in its last two aims, but attending the gathering was certainly a transformative experience for the English bishops, who hitherto had been somewhat cut off from the wider Roman Church by forty years of schism, and the diplomatic impasse of the Hundred Years War.³⁶¹ The Council was an opportunity for English bishops to learn from their Continental counterparts, and share ideas about reformist orthodoxy. The gathering provided the chance for delegates to articulate a sense of the English Church having a distinct identity, whilst being fully integrated into the universal Church.³⁶² It was also an occasion for the English Church to publicly display its theological orthodoxy, for example through religious dramas and impressive liturgical celebrations that defied John Wyclif's criticism of those matters.³⁶³

English delegates at Constance were keen to distance the mainstream national Church from the taint of association with the late John Wyclif. They did this by preaching sermons against heresy and in favour of orthodox reform, and by sitting on trial proceedings against Jan Hus and Jeroným Pražský (Jerome of Prague).³⁶⁴ On 4th May 1415 the Council declared John Wyclif to be heretical and excommunicate, his books to be burned, and his remains to be exhumed and burned as well (this

³⁶⁰ See: Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London: Sheed and Ward / Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990); Philip H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414-1418)*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 53 (Leiden: Brill, 1993); 'The Council of Constance: The Condemnation of Wycliffism / Hus's Errors', in Edward Peters (ed.), *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 274-76 / 286-88. To place Constance in its wider context see: Norman P. Tanner, *The Councils of the Church: A Short History* (New York: Crossroad, 2001). For a broader consideration of the impact of the conciliarism of the period see: Gerald Christianson, Thomas M. Izbicki, Christopher M. Bellitto (eds.), *The Church, the Councils, and Reform: The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 2008); Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 81 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

³⁶¹ On the Council's impact on the English bishops see: Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, especially 3-20, 28-41 *passim*. On the role of the Council in fostering national ecclesiastical identities see: Sophie Vallery-Radot, *Les Français au concile de Constance (1414-1418): Entre résolution du schisme et construction d'une identité nationale*, *Ecclesia militans* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

³⁶² On the idea of an 'English Church' echoing Bede's insular vision, and Thomas Polton's preaching about the unique national identity of the English, see: Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, especially 10-12, 15-16, 24-25.

³⁶³ See: Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 7.

³⁶⁴ See: František Šmahel, 'The Acta of the Constance Trial of Master Jerome of Prague', in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 323-34; Thomas A. Fudge, *The Trial of Jan Hus: Medieval Heresy and Criminal Procedure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 9.

eventually took place in 1428 at the instigation of Pope Martin V, the recipient of Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale*).

At the Council the question of vernacular translations of Scripture was discussed. Jean Gerson (1363-1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris, afraid that the laity's reading of the Bible would undermine their attentiveness to the clergy's preaching, proposed a general ban on Bible translations, but this was not accepted.³⁶⁵ As noted earlier, the connection of heresy and vernacular Bible texts was regarded as a peculiarly English problem, and the advent of the printing press on the European Continent saw the widespread production of vernacular Bibles after the Council.

Another important factor that the Church had to consider in the era of the Council of Constance was the reform and renewal of religious communities. Across various parts of Europe, the 'Observant Movement' was taking root in communities of monks, canons, friars and nuns. These communities desired to return to a more radical form of poverty, to promote a culture of 'observance' through visitation and inspection, and to foster devotions that reflected the pious trends of the day.³⁶⁶

It has been suggested, though the evidence is not clear, that Thomas Netter attended the Council of Constance, at least for a short while in 1414; certainly the international Carmelite Order had some delegates present, including friars from England, and whether Netter was present or not he followed its proceedings closely and it seems to have made a strong impression on him.³⁶⁷ A number of scholars argue that his production of the *Doctrinale*, which probably began at the request of Henry V in 1421, just three years after the close of the Council, sought in the aftermath of Lollardy to assert the antiquity

³⁶⁵ In the first chapter of one of his earlier works, *The Mountain of Contemplation*, Jean Gerson had defended his writing in the vernacular, and specifically for women: Jean Gerson, *Jean Gerson: Early Works* (trans.) Brian Patrick McGuire, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1998), 75-127. On Gerson see: Guillaume H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson – Apostle of Unity: His Church Politics and Ecclesiology* (trans.) J. C. Grayson, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 94 (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Daniel Hobbins, 'The Council of Basel and Distribution Patterns of the Works of Jean Gerson', in Michael Van Dussen, Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378-1536: Textual Transmission and Networks of Readership*, Medieval Church Studies, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 137-70; Nancy McLoughlin, *Jean Gerson and Gender: Rhetoric and Politics in Fifteenth-Century France*, Genders and Sexualities in History (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

³⁶⁶ See: James D. Mixson, *Poverty's Proprietors: Ownership and Mortal Sin at the Origins of the Observant Movement*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 143 (Leiden: Brill, 2009). The Franciscans were arguably the most fractured mendicant order, with branches of Spirituals (who sought the stricter observance of Francis' ideal of poverty), Conventuals (who accepted a more institutional model of religious life), and later the Observants (who lived more austere).

³⁶⁷ See: Richard Copley, 'Thomas Netter of Walden: A Biography', in Johan Bergström-Allen and Richard Copley (eds.), *Thomas Netter of Walden: Carmelite, Diplomat and Theologian (c.1372-1430)*, Carmel in Britain 4 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, 2009), 23-111 [57]; Copley, *Biographical Register*. In his *Doctrinale*, Netter used extensively the 267 conclusions of Wyclif condemned by the Council in 1415: Anne Hudson, 'Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)', *ODNB*. The English Carmelite John Sterling was at Constance, acting as proctor for fellow Carmelite William Exforthe, and taking the oath of fealty on his behalf on 10 November 1414 [National Archives SC 7/57/3]; on these Whitefriars see Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*. Jean Gerson [*Omnia Opera Ioannis Gerson* (ed.) M. Lud. Ellies Du Pin (Antwerp, 1706), 5, 1011] records that 'N. Cook' was a Carmelite who attended the Council c.1414-17; C. Crowder assumed Cook to be an Englishman [*Some Aspects of the English 'Nation' at the Council of Constance to the Election of Martin V, 1414-1417*, Doctoral Thesis, (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1953), 515], but as Richard Copley points out [*Biographical Register*], his nationality is unspecified by Gerson.

of the English Church and its relationship to the Church of Rome, and to shake off the embarrassment of Lollardy being considered ‘The English Heresy’.³⁶⁸ Vincent Gillespie perceives a direct link between Netter’s work and the effects of the Council of Constance:

New ideas flowed into the English church, and its sense of its historical anchorage was reinforced by the two greatest texts of institutional self-definition produced in this period: the Carmelite Thomas Netter’s *Doctrinale fidei antiquitatum ecclesiae catholicae* (1427), a systematic reply to Wyclif and Lollardy by appeal to the precedents and history of the English and the universal church, and William Lyndwood’s *Provinciale* (by 1429), a codification of English episcopal legislation for the province of Canterbury by one of Chichele’s right-hand men. Works like this created a sense of historical antiquity and doctrinal stability that was much needed in Chichele’s church. When we try and calibrate more carefully and subtly the fate of vernacular theology after Arundel, we need to pay careful attention to this Latin, European, and conciliar stratum in the output of religious books.³⁶⁹

It was not only scholars such as Thomas Netter who was influenced by Constance. Margery Kempe visited the city on her 1414 pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and her *Book* echoes the zeitgeist of the Council, with its calls for clergy to be attentive to preaching and the care of souls. Indeed, ‘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’.³⁷⁰

A significant outcome of the Council of Constance on the Carmelite Order, most notably in Italy, was an increased sense of loyalty to the papacy, expressed artistically in devotion to St. Peter, regarded in the Church’s tradition as the first Bishop of Rome and pope. This loyalty to Peter and the Successor of Peter was part of an orthodox movement to rally around the one pope agreed by the Council, as well as a defiance of statements by Wyclif and Hus against the very notion of papacy. It is perhaps unsurprising that this devotion to Peter was seen particularly strongly in Italy, renewed as the centre of papal strength. In the 1420s, shortly after the Council, Italian Carmelites commissioned artists such as Masaccio and Lippo di Andrea to create chapel frescoes and altarpieces that depicted members of

³⁶⁸ Anne Hudson, ‘Lollardy: The English Heresy?’, in *Lollards and their Books* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985), 141-63; Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*.

³⁶⁹ Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 26.

³⁷⁰ Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 32-33.

the Order alongside Saint Peter.³⁷¹ Though not so prevalent a tradition in England, we shall see in later chapters that devotion to the figure of Peter was part of the English Whitefriars' efforts to foster orthodox notions of ecclesiology.



Carmelites and laity gathered around Saint Peter enthroned.

Fresco by Masaccio, c.1425. Florence, Carmine Maggiore, Capella Brancacci.

³⁷¹ The most celebrated example is the Brancacci Chapel cycle of frescoes depicting the miracles of Saint Peter in the Carmine (Carmelite Friary) in Florence. On the Chapel as part of the Carmelites' 'propagandistic purposes' to promote papalism, see: Eliot W. Rowlands, *Masaccio: Saint Andrew and The Pisa Altarpiece*, Getty Museum Studies on Art (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), 27-28. On the Chapel see: Creighton Gilbert, 'Some Special Images for Carmelites, circa 1330-1430', in Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (eds.), *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 161-207; 'Masaccio's Brancacci Chapel Frescoes' in Jules Lubbock, *Storytelling in Christian Art from Giotto to Donatello* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 205-25; Nicholas A. Eckstein (ed.), *The Brancacci Chapel: Form, Function and Setting*, Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti 22 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2007); Nicholas A. Eckstein, *Painted Glories: The Brancacci Chapel in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Johan Bergström-Allen, 'The Text behind the Tempera: The Brancacci Chapel Vision of Carmelite Spirituality' (unpublished presentation).



The Virgin and Child surrounded by (reading left to right) Saints Albert of Trapani, Peter, Paul, and Anthony Abbot.
Lippo di Andrea (c.1370-before 1451), *Virgin and Child with Peter and Paul, and Carmelite Saints* (1420)
Tempera on panel. New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery, 1871.22a-d.³⁷²

The Council of Constance represents an important moment in the history of the Church, and hence the Carmelite Order, internationally and nationally. By asserting the unity of the Church – through the election of a single pope, the condemnation of heretics, and recognition of the need for reform – it ushered in a new era of Christian orthodoxy and observance. Ultimately this would impact on Carmelite attitudes towards appropriate forms of vernacular theology in England.

³⁷² For a bibliography see: <http://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/278> [accessed August 2016]

The English Church and Carmelite Order after Constance

Despite the sense of Christian unity and commitment to Church reform engendered by the Council of Constance, the theological and social tensions raised by the followers of John Wyclif and Jan Huss never entirely subsided. In 1419, Hussites protested against the wealth of the Church, leading to the Hussite Wars, and in March 1420 Pope Martin V proclaimed a crusade against heretics in Bohemia.³⁷³

In England, attempts by the Carmelites, the wider Church, and the Crown, to put down the Lollards were on a smaller, more localised, scale.³⁷⁴ Archbishop Chichele continued to prosecute heretics, presiding at the trial of John Claydon, a London Skinner, in 1415 (attended, as we have seen, by Stephen Patrington). Claydon had publicly abjured his heretical beliefs before Thomas Arundel, but years later was found in possession of the English text *The Lanterne of Ligt* which contained a number of Lollard-inspired beliefs.³⁷⁵ As a relapsed heretic, Claydon was handed over to the State and executed. Chichele later tried the excommunicated priest William Taylor, who was burned in 1423 for denying the intercessory power of the saints; the Carmelites Thomas Netter, Andrew Canterbury, and Thomas Ashwell participated in the trial.³⁷⁶

Carmelites remained significant players on the ecclesiastical and courtly scenes in the 1420s and beyond. In August 1422 King Henry V died suddenly at the age of 35. Thomas Netter was present at his deathbed in Valenciennes – it is said the king died in the Carmelite’s arms – and the Whitefriar preached the funeral homily in London some weeks later. The king was succeeded by his infant son Henry VI, who would rule until 1461 and again from 1470 to 1471 (the interval due to ill health and the dynastic conflict known as the War of the Roses).

In 1423 Thomas Netter was in London to attend the heresy trials of William Taylor and others, and it was probably shortly after presiding over the Order’s provincial chapter in Lynn in 1424 that he reproached Alan of Lynn for his Bible discussions with Margery Kempe. In 1426 Thomas Netter presented the first volume of his *Doctrinale* to Pope Martin V, and when his assistant John Keninghale presented another copy to Henry Chichele at a session of the King’s Council, the archbishop received

³⁷³ See: Thomas A. Fudge, *Heresy and Hussites in Late Medieval Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); ‘The Hussite Reformation’ in Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c.1250-c.1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, reprinted 1999), 606-707.

³⁷⁴ On English intellectual life after Constance see: Mishtooni Bose, ‘Intellectual Life in Fifteenth-Century England’, *New Medieval Literatures*, 12 (2010), 333-70.

³⁷⁵ Lilian M. Swinburn (ed.), *The Lanterne of Ligt*, Early English Text Society Original Series 151 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1917). Selected passages are translated in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, Fiona Somerset (eds. and trans.), *Wycliffite Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2013), 269-76. On Claydon see: Christina von Nolcken, ‘Claydon, John (d. 1415)’, *ODNB*.

³⁷⁶ John A. F. Thomson, ‘Taylor, William (d. 1423)’, *ODNB*. On Dr. Andrew Canterbury, who also attended the trial of Ralph Mungyn at St. Paul’s in London in 1428, see: Copsey, *Biographical Register*; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 2159; David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ab Anno MCCCL ad Annum MDXLV. Volumen Tertium* (London, 1737), 497.

it ‘rejoicing’.³⁷⁷ Netter secondarily dedicated this work to the members of his Order, and Carmelite friars began to copy, disseminate, abbreviate, and index this important text that ‘was intended to re-establish the orthodox credentials of the English church after the notoriety that an English heretic had gained at the Council of Constance, both in his own right and as the alleged theological begetter of Jan Hus.’³⁷⁸ In 1428 a number of Lollards were brought to trial by Bishop Alnwick of Norwich, including, in September of that year, William White.³⁷⁹ Again, Netter was in attendance.

When Thomas Netter died in 1430, his successor as Carmelite Prior Provincial in England, John Kenninghale, presented the final volume of the unfinished *Doctrinale* project to the pope. The English Church’s need for such rebuttals of Lollardy was still prevalent, with lay women such as Hawisia Moone and Margery Baxter being brought for trials between 1428 and 1431 before Bishop Alnwick (and various scholarly clergy including Carmelites).³⁸⁰ Coming from the villages of Loddon and Martham in Norfolk, the same county as Margery Kempe, it is clear from the cases of Moone and Baxter that John Wyclif’s influence was still widespread in East Anglia half a century after his death, and Thomas Netter’s concern about Lynn’s converse with Kempe – whilst firm-handed – was not baseless. No doubt Netter would have approved of the involvement of four Carmelite doctors in trying John Skyllly of Flixton for heresy in Norwich in 1429.³⁸¹

After the death of Thomas Netter, Carmelites continued to be concerned with suppressing John Wyclif’s legacy, particularly in East Anglia. A collection of Latin texts known as the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (*Bundle of Weeds*) was compiled by an unidentified Whitefriar in the region after 1436 (according to an internal reference), and probably around 1439 (according to a note on the first leaf). The *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* is one of the most important surviving sources on the Lollard heresy and its suppression.³⁸² Anne Hudson describes it as ‘a collection of materials, most of which relate to the

³⁷⁷ John Bale, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 94v.

³⁷⁸ Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*.

³⁷⁹ Norman P. Tanner, ‘White, William (d. 1428)’, *ODNB*.

³⁸⁰ The text of Moone’s confession is edited by Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, text 5 (and accompanying notes). On Hawisia Moone, see: David Aers, ‘*Vox populi* and the literature of 1381’, 452-53. On Baxter see: Steven Justice, ‘Lollardy’, 686; the text of her trial is translated in the chapter ‘Heresy Trials’ in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, Fiona Somerset (eds. and trans.), *Wycliffite Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2013), 319-66. See also: Norman P. Tanner, ‘Lollard women (act. c.1390–c.1520)’, *ODNB*.

³⁸¹ The Carmelites were John Kenninghale, John Thorpe, Peter of Saint-Faith, and Henry Wichingham. See: Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428-31*, Camden Fourth Series, 20 (1977), 51; Copesey, *Biographical Register*.

³⁸² The sole surviving copy of the *Fasciculi* is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo 86, a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript once owned and annotated by John Bale. Part of it has been edited: *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico* (ed.) W. W. Shirley (London: Rolls Series, 1858). On the disputed compiler of the *Fasciculi* see: Andrew E. Larsen, ‘John Wyclif, c.1331-1384’, in Ian Christopher Levy (ed.), *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1-65 [45 n. 156]. On the *Fasciculi* see: James Crompton, ‘*Fasciculi Zizaniorum* I & II’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 12 (1969), 35-45, 155-66; J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litolit Tretyz on the Seven Deadly Sins* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956), xxx-xxxii, xxxv; Hudson, *The Premature*

struggles of the orthodox against Wyclif and his followers (though some items list academic heresies of an earlier date) ... It seems likely that the compilation reflects Carmelite concern with heresy over a long period, and was supplemented from time to time with new material.³⁸³ As mentioned previously, Stephen Patrington has been suggested as the compiler of the earlier material, with Thomas Netter adding extra data until his death in 1430, after which other Carmelites continued the project. Netter's successor as Provincial, John Keninghale, probably organised the later documents; earlier materials covering Wyclif's lifetime had perhaps been compiled with a connecting narrative between 1393-99.³⁸⁴ In c.1439 the work was copied by a Carmelite whose hand has been identified as that of Roger Alban.³⁸⁵ One copy of the work is known to have been in the Carmelite library in Norwich, which is probably where John Bale copied extracts during the early 1520s, supplementing a number of Latin and English additions.³⁸⁶ The protracted process of compiling and copying suggests a corporate Carmelite interest in investigating heresy; indeed, one can think of the *Doctrinale* and the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* as English continuations of the Order's efforts to combat heterodoxy by documenting errors and ripostes begun a century earlier by Gui Terreni in his *Summa de Hæresibus et earum confutationibus*.

Reformation, 44, 67; Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 19, 85-6, 236; *Wyclif and His Followers: An Exhibition to mark the 600th anniversary of the death of John Wyclif, December 1984 to April 1985, Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1984), 18 no. 19; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 2, 148; Margaret Embree Turner, *Some Aspects of the English Carmelites in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century*, Masters Thesis (Manchester: Manchester University, September 1933), chapter 5; Kevin J. Alban, *John Wyclif and the English Carmelites* (private production at Balliol College, Oxford, 1979), 1; Valerie Edden, 'Marian Devotion in a Carmelite Sermon Collection of the late Middle Ages', *Medieval Studies*, 57 (1995), 101-29 [101]; Richard Copey, 'The Medieval Anglo-Welsh Carmelite Province: An Annotated Bibliography', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 205-50 [212]; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 62-63; G. R. Evans, *John Wyclif: Myth and Reality* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2005), 104; Wendy Scase, 'The Audience and Framers of the *Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards*', in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 283-301, and in the same volume František Šmahel, 'The Acta of the Constance Trial of Master Jerome of Prague', 323-34; Rita Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning*, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 44 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 176 n.; William O'Sullivan, 'The Irish 'remnaunt' of John Bale's manuscripts', in Richard Beadle, A. J. Piper (eds.), *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 374-87 [378]; Michael P. Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song: the Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England*, *Middle Ages Series* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 124, 274.

³⁸³ Anne Hudson, 'Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)', *ODNB*.

³⁸⁴ See the entry on Keninghale in Richard Copey, *Biographical Register*.

³⁸⁵ The claim is made by A. I. Doyle and noted by Valerie Edden, 'Marian Devotion in a Carmelite Sermon Collection of the late Middle Ages', *Medieval Studies*, 57 (1995), 101-29 [101 n.]. On Roger Alban – who will be discussed further in Chapter Four – see: Richard Copey, *Biographical Register*.

³⁸⁶ Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale – Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1976), 9; Richard Copey, *Biographical Register*, entry on Bale.

canones. statuta. sine consuetudines
 condendi. promulgandi & publicandi
 quas qdē leges. canones statuta &
 consuetudines rite editas & publicatas
 oēs & singuli subditi pōtū nūq̄ dūm
 sione potestatiū pōtūz vīc̄ leges
canones statuta & consuetudines dō nūq̄
īp̄e q̄ dēcreas. decretalibz ac ext̄ba
gantibz icorpata sūt p̄ totū nūmū
& p̄p̄m̄ x̄am̄ archiep̄oz ep̄oz per
suas p̄uicias & dīoc̄e obseruare te
uent̄ ac eisdem hūm̄līter obedire.
 Et sic in sup̄ Johes Oldcastell' errores
 pōtūos & h̄eses. oēm q̄ aliam h̄esim
 et errore exp̄sse decessibus eisdē q̄
 remanens. ad hec sc̄a dei eūngelia
 p̄ me corpali' tacta. nūq̄ pōtūas
 h̄eses alias uel quasūq; iposterū
 nō tenebo. nec tenentibz. pōtūtibz
 aut affinantibz eisdē sine quasūq;
 alias sicut. concilū. auctoritū aut
 fauore īpendi. sicut me d̄s admitter
 et hec sc̄a dei eūngelia. Qd̄ q̄ leges
canones. statuta & cōsuetudines roma
noz pontifical' archiep̄oz & ep̄oz. p̄nt
ī decreas decretalibz. cōsuetudibz. p̄
uincalibz aut sinodalibz cōtinent
et detinēnt̄ ī eisdē sine iposterū
p̄ eisdē rite detinēnt̄ aut cōsuet̄ factū
& īmolabilē obseruabo. ac eisdē me ī
oibz cōformabo. nō nō p̄nt̄ p̄ dicitū
reuerendū p̄m̄ ad cōtūat' archiep̄m. p̄
dicitū cōmissis meis ī ipostū īponē
dā. hūm̄lī subibo. & eandē factū adiple
bo. oēs q̄ & singlōs seudoctores meos
& alios q̄s non nōde h̄esibz & erroribz
suspectos erūt. Peniēdo pat' archiep̄
seu quoz uicereft qm̄ ato comode
potō effectualit' demit'abo. & eoz
comissionē. p̄uicabo factū nūq̄ vīc̄.

Exphat

*Abjuratio per magr̄ facta fuit ī domino
 die 20 Julij nūq̄ ad manus d̄m̄ p̄v̄oz
 nūq̄ facta fuit d̄m̄ abjuratio archiep̄oz
 Joh̄s. Exonora, St. Gifford. Hux.*

Inquit exauiaō sup̄ h̄esibz & erroribz
Willi Whyrte coram ep̄o Norwiche.
 Hic Thomie Linen. p̄ p̄sens publicatū
 sc̄m̄enatū cū asapeat euident q̄ Anno
 do' ab iur' nūq̄ et dē sc̄m̄ cursū et cō
 p̄ntatōem ecclie anglicane anno. CCC.
 XXVII. idiaone sexta pontificatus s̄ss̄i
 m̄ ī p̄ p̄s & d̄m̄ nūq̄ d̄ Anaram d̄na
 p̄uicia h̄e hūq̄ nois q̄nti Anno. XI.
 mens. v̄o sep̄tebz. die. XII. corā uic̄e
 m̄ p̄ pat' ac d̄no d̄no Willō d̄i sc̄a Norwiche
 Ep̄o ī capella palacij sui ep̄alis tam̄
 Norwiche st̄uati p̄t̄bunali sc̄ente assis
 centibz sibi uic̄e uic̄e uic̄e uic̄e & reli
 giosis v̄n̄s Masris. Willō Swozte p̄re
 ecclie cathed̄l' Norwiche. Thoma Skat̄rū
 ord̄is Carme. ac Joh̄e lothe ord̄is herē
 m̄icaz sc̄a Augusti p̄ozibz p̄uicālibz ī
 anglia. nec non thoma scharyng tone
 Thoma gūrlone. clemente Mlem̄ng.
 ham. & Willō Thetforde fr̄ibz d̄m̄ ord̄is
 h̄em̄ sc̄a Augusti. ac cā uic̄e Willō
 Thozp. Joh̄e thozp. Joh̄e Kenyngdale &
 per de sc̄a fice. fr̄ibz ord̄is Carme. & Joh̄e
 Elys ac uic̄e colman fr̄ibz ord̄is m̄ioz
 et Joh̄e gasle fr̄e ord̄is p̄m̄. sac̄ theo
 lox̄e. p̄fessoribz. n̄ nō iacobo Walsing
 hūm̄ ī legibz licentato ac Willō Verū
 hūm̄ & thoma r̄ngslede ītecrens baui
 larys. & alijs d̄ias nō nullis tam̄ theo
 logias qm̄ iuristas ī multitudine copiosi
 ī meī Joh̄is ex c̄s̄e dia. notarij publi
 a restūi subscriptoz p̄sencia adductis
 fuit ī uic̄e Willō Whyrte capellan' p̄
 p̄ h̄esim p̄ ip̄m̄ tentū p̄ns arrestatus
 et sub carceribz custodia detent'. cū qdē
 Willō Whyrte hic ibic̄e iudicialit' ex̄m̄. &
 p̄posita obiecta ac dicta fuit iudicialit' ter
 articuli s̄b̄sc̄p̄t̄ oēs & singuli sub hac
 que sequitur forma verborum.

fo. 639.

4
-1528-

7

7

A page of the Fasciculi Zizaniorum. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo 86, fo. 91.

In the 1430s it became increasingly evident that some of the conflicts within the Church that the Council of Constance had tried to settle were ongoing. Hence in July 1431 the Council of Basle was convened to continue the work of Constance, and among the delegates was the English Carmelite Provincial John Keninghale.³⁸⁷ When in December that year Pope Eugene IV dissolved the gathering, its members affirmed that a General Council is superior to papal authority and continued meeting. During a session in January 1433, John Keninghale accused the English Wycliffite/Hussite Peter Payne of both heresy and treason, and the Carmelite preached before the Council that December.³⁸⁸ Eventually recognising the legitimacy of the Council, the pope transferred it to Ferrara in 1437, and it moved again to Florence in 1439. John Keninghale and three other Carmelites (John Thorpe, William Thorpe, and Walter Hunt) were the only English theologians present at the Council of Florence as tensions between England and Burgundy prevented others from travelling.³⁸⁹ Debates over Conciliarism and Papalism show that strains continued within the broader Church well into the 1440s and beyond.³⁹⁰

Despite his concerted efforts, by the time of Henry Chichele's death on 12th April 1443, issues of division and heresy were still very much alive in mid-fifteenth-century England, and could even taint the highest officials of the Church. This is evidenced by the controversial career of Reginald Pecock (c.1392-1460). Despite being Bishop of St. Asaph (1444-50) and later Chichester (1450-58), and an opponent of Lollard doctrine, Pecock was several times accused of heresy and only narrowly escaped

³⁸⁷ On the Council of Basle-Ferrara-Florence see: Michiel Decaluwe, Thomas M. Izbicki, Gerald Christianson (eds.), *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 74 (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); Arthur N. Edward D. Schofield, 'England and the Council of Basel', in Walter Brandmüller, Remigius Bäumer (eds.), *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 5 (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1973), 1-117; Margaret Harvey, 'England, the Council of Florence and the End of the Council of Basle', in Guiseppe Alberigo (ed.), *Christian Unity and the Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438/39 - 1989*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1991), 203-225; Alexander Russell, *Conciliarism and Heresy in Fifteenth-Century England: Collective Authority in the Age of the General Councils*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Fourth Series, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). On Keninghale see: Richard Copsey, 'Keninghale, John (d. 1451)', *ODNB*; Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

³⁸⁸ As mentioned previously (n. 310), Payne had failed to appear for a debate with Thomas Netter in Oxford a decade or two earlier.

³⁸⁹ Thomas Rudborne, *Historia Major*, I, 268-70, cited by Joan Greatrex, 'Thomas Rudborne, Monk of Winchester, and the Council of Florence', *Studies in Church History*, 9 (1972), 171-76 [173-74]. It was noted above (n. 381) that John Thorpe was a major force in the Norwich heresy trials of 1428 onwards.

³⁹⁰ See: Emily O'Brien, *The Commentaries of Pope Pius II (1458-1464) and the Crisis of the Fifteenth-Century Papacy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015); Thomas E. Morrissey, *Conciliarism and Church Law in the Fifteenth Century: Studies on Franciscus Zabarella and the Council of Constance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

burning at the stake.³⁹¹ Writing ‘in the common peplis langage’³⁹² for the education of the laity and clergy, and ‘believing that the faculty of reason was given to everyone as the principal means to knowledge of God, Pecoock saw it as his duty to provide material for attaining this knowledge, despite ecclesiastical policies discouraging intellectual speculation’.³⁹³ His works were burned as a result in 1457, though six English texts survive, including the dialogue known as the *Donet* (a recodifying of Christian moral law), and *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* (a defence of the ecclesiastical status quo and critique of Lollard teachings on biblical interpretation).³⁹⁴ Steven Justice observes of Pecoock: ‘His books – the *Afore Crier*, the *Reule of Cristen Religion*, the *Donet* and *Folewer to the Donet*, and *The Repressing of Ouer Miche Wijting the Clergie*, all written ‘in the comoun peplis langage pleinli and openli and schortli’ as he says [in the *Repressor*] – comprise perhaps the most impressive accomplishment in Middle English intellectual prose ... Of particular interest ... are the names he gives to the Lollards. They are ‘Bible men’, ‘the lay party’: he thought at least that he was writing against a broad and coherent, and still vital, affiliation.’³⁹⁵ Pecoock’s experience shows that English Carmelites writing in the middle of fifteenth century (Richard Misyn and Thomas Scrope) still had to contend with the perceived threat of Lollardy, and the dangers of expressing theological ideas in the vernacular.

Conclusion

There is probably no period of history, in any culture, that has been without political, social, and religious unrest, but it is clear from this survey of late medieval England, and particularly its Church, that the period in which Carmelite vernacular writers were active – that is roughly 1375-1450 – was a time of particular focus upon issues of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, hence their desire to both encourage and restrain speculative religious activity.

As has been stated, this apparent binary of what was and what was not deemed acceptable in Christian thought and practice was, in fact, a broad spectrum, and it would be wrong to imagine the period of religious and social controversy in the late Middle Ages as solely a monoculture of orthodoxy’s punishment of heterodoxy. The fact that the ‘long fifteenth century’ was an era when

³⁹¹ See: Wendy Scase, ‘Pecoock, Reginald (b. c.1392, d. in or after 1459)’, *ODNB*; Mishtooni Bose, ‘Reginald Pecoock’s Vernacular Voice’, in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, Derrick G. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 217-36; Kantik Ghosh, ‘Bishop Reginald Pecoock and the Idea of ‘Lollardy’’, in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 251-65; Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 27-28.

³⁹² Prologue to the *Donet*, quoted in Wogan-Browne, et al (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 98, lines 6-7.

³⁹³ Ian R. Johnson in Wogan-Browne, et al (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 97.

³⁹⁴ Reginald Pecoock, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* (ed.) Churchill Babington, *Rolls Series*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860).

³⁹⁵ Steven Justice, ‘Lollardy’, 687.

hierarchies and monarchies were challenged means that it was also a period of artistic expansion, spiritual creativity, and testing the boundaries of acceptability. This is the context in which Carmelites were living and working as promoters and policers of scholarly and popular theology.

In this chapter, and in the chapters ahead, various writers of theological texts in Latin and the vernacular stand out, some more widely known in their own time than others, including Richard Rolle, Birgitta of Sweden, Catherine of Siena, Jan van Ruusbroec, Walter Hilton, Julian of Norwich, Jean Gerson, Nicholas Love, as well as anonymous figures such as the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*. Alongside these writings we can set growing devotion to various saints, and in England ‘hagiography is one of the most sprightly genres of vernacular textual production in the fifteenth century’.³⁹⁶ In the realm of art, on the European Continent the friars Fra Filippo Lippi (Carmelite, 1406-69) and Fra Angelico (Dominican, c.1395-1455) joined the ranks of Renaissance painters and architects such as Brunelleschi (1377-1446), Donatello (1386-1466), and Jan van Eyck (c.1390-1441) to find new visual expressions of religious ideas. In England artistic innovations were made in lavish manuscript decorations such as the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* and the *Sherborne Missal* (c.1400), the latter chiefly illuminated by a Dominican friar, John Siferwas.³⁹⁷ In the realms of liturgy, John Dunstaple (c.1385-1453), Leonel Power (c.1385-1445), Guillaume Dufay (1397-1474) and Johannes Ockeghem (c.1410-97) made important developments in the musical setting of the Mass, whilst Archbishop Henry Chichele used the Sarum rite to standardise the English liturgy, and introduced liturgical feasts that fostered orthodox piety.³⁹⁸

It is certainly true that in England the period between Arundel’s *Constitutions* in 1407/09 and the 1440s has been characterised by some recent scholars as a time when vernacular writing in English could not flourish.³⁹⁹ However, this period merits revisiting as it was a time of religious reappraisal, dominated by two Henrys – King Henry V, and Archbishop Henry Chichele – as Vincent Gillespie has powerfully argued:

Arundel’s decrees cast a long shadow across the following decades and encourage a sense that the role of the vernacular in innovatory religious writing was diminished, and its advocates cowed and anxious. But it was left to his long-serving successor, Henry Chichele, archbishop from 1414 until 1443, surrounded by a new cadre of bishops and

³⁹⁶ Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 15.

³⁹⁷ See: Timothy Graham, ‘Siferwas, John (fl. 1380–1421)’, rev. *ODNB*.

³⁹⁸ See: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 14.

³⁹⁹ As Vincent Gillespie points out, this has happened largely in the wake of Nicholas Watson’s influential article on ‘Censorship and Cultural Change’, but ‘many subsequent users of Watson’s argument have failed to be as subtle and nuanced in their interpretations as he is’: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 13, n. 22.

intellectuals, to shape and develop the distinctive features of English spirituality in the first half of the fifteenth century ... Henry Chichele had intellectual and ecclesiastical horizons that were broader than those of Arundel. At one of the first meetings of the Convocation of Canterbury after his election, Chichele promised to blow away the ‘pulvis negligentiae’ (‘the dust of neglect’) from the feet of the English church. This is hardly a ringing endorsement of the achievements of his predecessor, though it may contain more than a (dust) mite of truth. Chichele, an Oxford Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, was part of that generation of career clerics and bishops who had trained in Oxford alongside Wyclif or the next generation of his intellectual supporters. That generation shared more common ground with the *Wyclivisiti* than Arundel’s, and their analysis of the state of the institutional church would have frequently overlapped, even if they disagreed about the necessary remedies.⁴⁰⁰

Gillespie goes so far as to state that, because Chichele and his cadre were persuaded of the need for reform, and supportive of ‘continuing self-analysis’ of the Church at Oxford and within religious life, ‘The real story about vernacular theology in the fifteenth century is that, in the end, John Wyclif had more impact on the language and attitudes of the English church in the fifteenth century than his arch enemy Thomas Arundel’.⁴⁰¹

Having set out the context of early Carmelite history and the Order’s developing historiography, as well as the broader social and ecclesiastical environment of late medieval England, we are now in a position to consider in depth, chapter by chapter, the Whitefriars known to have written theological texts in the vernacular, considering the ways in which they were builders of both bridges and barriers in matters spiritual.

⁴⁰⁰ Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 13-14; cf. Vincent Gillespie, ‘1412-1534: culture and history’, in Samuel Fanous, Vincent Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 163-93.

⁴⁰¹ Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 21.

Chapter Three: PROCLAIMING OR PROHIBITING GOD'S WORD? – THE CASE OF RICHARD MAIDSTONE

The Carmelite theologian and poet Richard Maidstone (d. 1396) is the first English Whitefriar known to have produced vernacular literature to promote piety and spiritual development. His Middle English text *The Penitential Psalms* is a translation of and meditation on a biblical source which provided a wide range of readers with means of accessing a key portion of the Holy Scriptures. *The Penitential Psalms* may not be Maidstone's only vernacular text; as we shall consider, he might be the author of *The Lamentations of Mary*, another translation and meditation on a quasi-biblical source. He is certainly the author of two Latin texts commenting on contemporary social events. This same Whitefriar, probably a student in Oxford at the height of the controversies surrounding the ideas of John Wyclif, condemned discussion of complex theological matters by the unlettered and was a determined opponent of Lollardy. Richard Maidstone is thus the first exemplification of the tendency by some late medieval English Carmelites to tread a fine line in both promoting and policing theological exploration in the vernacular.

Building on the context of Carmelite encouragement and prohibition of vernacular theology set out in the previous two chapters, the first part of this chapter on Maidstone will consider his life and literary work as evidence of the Carmelites' commitment to promoting the life of prayer and broadening participation in the Order's contemplative charism, coupled with a strong awareness of the vexed religious and social climate of the late fourteenth century and the desire to suppress heresy. The Carmelites' careful balancing act of fostering and forbidding theological speculation will also be highlighted in the second part of this chapter which considers in more detail the text and technique of *The Penitential Psalms* within its broader literary and social context.¹

¹ This chapter greatly expands on, and in some instances, corrects the brief entry on Maidstone in my Masters Thesis.

1. Biography of Richard Maidstone²

Richard Maidstone's significant and formative contribution to the promotion and policing of vernacular theology by the Carmelite Order in medieval England is best understood against the backdrop of his life and times.

Richard Maidstone's year of birth is not known, but working back from the date of his priestly ordination in 1376 it is likely to have been in the early 1350s or before.³ His name would suggest that he was born in or near the town of Maidstone in the southeast English county of Kent. Maidstone is only four miles from Aylesford Priory, the second oldest Carmelite foundation in England (established shortly after Hulne in 1242), where it is presumed (not only from his surname but from his eventual burial there) that the young Richard entered the Order.

Kent and London

The fact that Maidstone's probable first contact with Carmelites and his initial formation as a novice took place in Kent may be significant in the development of his interests. A county located

² The most comprehensive biographies of Richard Maidstone are by Richard Copsey in the *ODNB* (superseding Charles Letherbridge Kingsford's entry on Maidstone in *DNB* (1885), vol 12, 783-84), his article 'The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings', and his *Biographical Register*. Other sources not referred to elsewhere in this chapter include: Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), entry 1352, 492; John Bale, *Catalogus*, vol 1, 498-99; *idem*, *Summarium*, 172v-73; *idem*, *Index*, 355; Leland, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, 390-1; John Pits, *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis* (Paris, 1619), 560-61; Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica: siue, De scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia ad saeculi XVII initium floruerunt, commentarius* (London: 1748, reprinted (ed.) D. Wilkins, London, 1974), 627; Johannes Trithemius, *De Laudibus Ordinis Carmelitarum* (1492), reprinted in Daniel a Virgine Maria, O.Carm., *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680), vol 2, part 2, 896-904 [903]; Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols (Orléans, 1752, reprinted (ed.) Gabriel Wessels, Rome: 1927), vol 2, columns 682-83; Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*, 48-49; P. R. McCaffrey, *The White Friars – an Outline Carmelite History, with Special Reference to the English-Speaking Provinces* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1926), 136, 225; Alberto de la Virgen del Carmen, *Historia de la Filosofía Carmelitana*, Manuales del Colegio Filosófico de "La Santa" (Madrid: Tipografía Florez, 1947), 108; Emanuele M. Boaga, 'Bibliotheca Carmelitana Rerum Naturae Speculatorum', *Carmelus*, 12 (1965), 252-81 [255]; Arnold Bostius, *Speculum Historiale* (written before 1491), unprinted manuscript preserved in Milan, Biblioteca Brera, Ms. AE xii.22, fo. 569-70; A. Hofmeister, 'Richard v. Maidstone', *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, VIII (Freiburg: Herder, 1963), 1291; Matías del Niño Jesús, 'El Carmelo frente a la falsa Reforma', *Revista de Espiritualidad*, 5 (January-June 1946), 305-33 [307 no. 18]; Claire C. Olson, Martin M. Crow (eds.), *Chaucer's World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 35-39; 'Richard de Maidstone', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903-50), vol 13, 2669; Adrian Staring, 'Richard Maidstone', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988), XIII, 569-70; Thomas Frederick Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, The Chamber and The Small Seals*, 6 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920-33), vol 3, 479-81; Arnold Williams, 'Two Notes on Chaucer's Friars', *Modern Philology*, 54 (1956), 117-20; Arnold Williams, 'A fourteenth century English Carmelite', *Aylesford Review*, IV, 1 (Winter 1960-61), 26-30.

³ This conjecture is shared by Valerie Edden, (ed.) *Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms*, Middle English Texts 22 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1990), 10 [henceforth, to distinguish from an article of the same title, 'Penitential Psalms edition']; Kingsford, *DNB*; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 1204; David R. Carlson (ed.), *Richard Maidstone – Concordia (The Reconciliation of Richard II with London)*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), 8. The usual minimum age for subdiaconate was 19, with diaconate and priesthood following some years later.

between London and continental Europe, and containing at Canterbury both England's foremost episcopal see and pilgrimage shrine, Kent was an extremely vibrant region in the later Middle Ages for the flow of religious trends and social ideas (including unrest, in the case of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt when, as discussed in Chapter Two, the Archbishop of Canterbury was killed).⁴ It was at Aylesford that the hermits from Mount Carmel had resolved, in 1247, to take steps that led to them becoming mendicants, and though the notion of Aylesford as a 'Second Mount Carmel' is a modern one within Carmelite circles, the house that hosted the decisive proto-general chapter of the Order presumably enjoyed some special prestige in the English Province's self-consciousness. A stopping place offering extensive hospitality facilities for pilgrims and prelates between London and Canterbury, Aylesford was extremely well connected for an otherwise rural hermitage.⁵ As a place of welcome for the spiritually motivated, it is likely that at Aylesford the novice Richard Maidstone was exposed to a flow of pious interests and ideas from a broad social and religious spectrum.⁶



Aylesford Priory (photographed in 2007) where Richard Maidstone almost certainly entered the Carmelite Order.

⁴ See: Sheila Sweetinburgh (ed.), *Later Medieval Kent, 1220-1540*, Kent History Project Series (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), especially the chapters by Barrie Dobson, Elizabeth Edwards on 'The Religious Houses of Kent, 1220-1540', and by Robert Lutton on 'Heresy and Heterodoxy in Late Medieval Kent'.

⁵ Aylesford was on The Pilgrims' Way between Winchester and Canterbury, and a crossing point on the River Medway; its name means 'crossing place for all people'. In 1528 John Bale recorded in one of his notebooks [London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 196v-197v, 200r-v] extracts from the letters of the Carmelite Prior Provincial Nicholas Kenton (provincial 1456-64, 1469-82, died 1487). One of these is a letter from Kenton to the Archbishop of York assuring him that a room had been reserved for him at Aylesford. Cited by Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 294.

⁶ On the foundation of Aylesford see: William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Kent: Volume II*, Victoria County History (London: The St. Catherine Press, 1926), 201-03; Keith J. Egan, 'Medieval Carmelite Houses: England and Wales', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 1-85 [4-11]; James H. Sephton, *The Friars, Aylesford* (Aylesford, Kent: James H. Sephton, 1999).

Aylesford was not, however, a particularly major centre of studies in the medieval English Carmelite Province. Maidstone must have proved himself a scholar with potential since his formation continued in London at the Province's *studium generale* for more accomplished students. It was in the capital, specifically at Merton Augustinian Priory, that Maidstone was ordained priest in December 1376, presumably (by the stipulations of Canon Law) in at least his mid-twenties.⁷

The Carmelite victory at Cambridge, 1375

It is worth noting that Richard Maidstone was made a priest at a time when the Carmelite Order enjoyed a growing sense of confidence and prestige, after a period of ridicule and rivalry with other religious orders. Very shortly before Maidstone was ordained, a Dominican friar in Cambridge, John Stokes, had publicly questioned various claims made by the Carmelite Order, including its foundation by the prophet Elijah, its Marian title, and its legal confirmation by the Church. The Carmelite Regent Master (senior lecturer) at Cambridge that year was the professor of Sacred Scripture, John Hornby, who sought a debate with Stokes before the Chancellor and Doctors of the University. The dispute between the two friars took place in February 1375, with the Chancellor ruling in favour of the Carmelites and issuing a decree affirming the origins, title, and ecclesiastical confirmation of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel. This document – a highly significant vindication by one of Christendom's leading universities of Carmelite claims to privilege – was quickly copied, notarised, and disseminated by the Order to its network of houses. As we shall see in due course, Richard Maidstone was later to engage in scholarly debate in defence of his Order, and the 1375 Cambridge episode must surely have been formative in impressing upon the young Carmelite the importance of the academic arena, and the value of disseminating texts of authority in defence of received orthodoxy.⁸ Equally important and perhaps impressive upon Maidstone is the fact that, in addition to his scholarly dispute, John Hornby preached to the people (*ad populum*) on material

⁷ Thomas Frederick Kirby (ed.), *Wykeham's Register* [Register of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1367-1404], Hampshire Record Society, 2 vols (London: Simpkin and Co. Limited, 1896, 1899), vol 1, 282. It was common for mendicant candidates in the same city to be ordained together in a given year, with the venue rotating between the orders, hence a Carmelite receiving the sacrament in an Augustinian priory.

⁸ The text of the dispute, possibly copied by a student or assistant to Hornby, is preserved as *Conclusiones ac Determinaciones magistri Johannis de Hornby* in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* collection of texts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 86 (S.C. 3629), fo. 176-211v. The text is described (but not edited) with an account of the dispute by J. P. H. Clark, 'A Defence of the Carmelite Order by John Hornby, O.Carm., A.D. 1374', *Carmelus*, 32 (1985), 73-106, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 1-34. As Richard Copley notes [*Biographical Register*], the text has been transcribed by Rudolph Hendriks, O.Carm., in an unpublished manuscript (1956), a photocopy of which has been preserved in the Institutum Carmelitanum, Centro Internazionale Sant'Alberto, Rome. A translation of the Chancellor's decree, and information about a copy known to have been in London c.1504-05, is included in Richard Copley's *Early Carmelite Documents* (forthcoming). On John Stokes' theses against the Carmelites, see: 'The Treatise of Robert Ormeskirk' in Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 417-21.

relating to the Carmelite Order. The sense of duty upon scholars to share their knowledge with the general public can certainly be seen in Maidstone's vernacular theology.⁹

Studies in Oxford

Post-ordination, Richard Maidstone continued his studies at the University of Oxford. John Bale's claim (in his later printed *Catalogus*) that Maidstone was a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, before joining the Carmelite Order is perhaps a confusion with his ordination at Merton Priory, though studies previous to the novitiate might have given impetus to Maidstone's progression to the Order's *studium* in London and then Oxford. At some point, perhaps in the 1380s, Maidstone gained a Bachelor of Theology (B.Th.) degree at the University of Oxford. As will become clear, the date of Maidstone obtaining this qualification is indicative for dating his *Penitential Psalms* which was possibly written whilst he was at Oxford.

On 24th March 1390 Richard Maidstone was licensed to preach and hear confessions in the Diocese of Rochester.¹⁰ Aylesford was located in this diocese, but mendicant exemption from episcopal control in internal matters meant that Maidstone would not have needed a licence to function pastorally within his own Order's houses. The Rochester licence means Maidstone must have been active as a preacher and confessor elsewhere in Kent, beyond Aylesford. Valerie Edden believes that Maidstone must have been promoted Doctor of Theology (which he is called in later documents) before taking up this pastoral ministry in Rochester Diocese, but Richard Copsey suggests it was soon after.¹¹ Either way, it is clear from his academic title and episcopal licence that at various times Maidstone was engaged in both scholarly and pastoral work, moving between Kent and Oxford.

Studying and teaching in Oxford in the 1380s and 90s, Maidstone would have encountered other Carmelites interested in what is now termed 'vernacular theology' and the promotion of spirituality amongst clergy, religious, and laity. For example, the Carmelite writer Richard Lavenham (subject of

⁹ Hornby's sermon is appended to the debate text in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* collection [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 86, fo. 211v-213v (219va-221vb modern foliation), incomplete] under the title *Sermo ad populum de materia tangente ordinem nostrum*, "*Datus est ei decor Carmeli, Esaie 35. O virgo virginum, O virginum decus*". The text, preserved in Latin, is edited by J. P. H. Clark, 'A Defense of the Carmelite Order', Appendix I [*Carmelus*, 32 (1985) 98-106; Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2*, 26-33]. Introducing the text, Clark states that: 'The first section is concerned with the Blessed Virgin as exemplified in Mount Carmel, and as in turn exemplifying the hope held out to every faithful soul, and is closely related in subject-matter to the *conclusions ac determinaciones*, to the extent of substantial verbal co-incident. There is some additional material.' This reveals the sometimes close relationship between academic and public preaching. Siegfried Wenzel points out that Hornby's sermon is one of only 23 sermon texts in late medieval England he has found 'that bear a rubric, or perhaps contain an explicit reference in their body, that they were given *ad populum*': *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 242.

¹⁰ Reg. *William Bottlesham*, Rochester, ii, fo. 2v.

¹¹ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 11; Copsey, *ODNB*.

the next chapter) was an influential preacher and debater in Oxford at the height of the Wycliffite controversy, having gained his doctorate before 1384. It seems probable that, for at least a short while, the two Richards lived and studied together at the Carmelite priory in Oxford, and (as we shall consider shortly) it is likely that Lavenham is the addressee of one of Maidstone's Latin poems.¹²

Both Maidstone and Lavenham had demonstrable interest in the production of vernacular theological texts, and in the creative milieu of Carmel in the 1380s and 90s it would be unwise to dismiss out of hand the tentative attribution to Maidstone's authorship of another vernacular work in addition to *The Penitential Psalms*, as we shall now consider.



Seal of the medieval Carmelite friary in Oxford, where Richard Maidstone studied and taught.¹³

¹² On the Carmelites and other mendicant orders in medieval Oxford see: G. R. Evans, *John Wyclif: Myth and Reality* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2005), 33. The Latin poem is Maidstone's *Concordia*, discussed below. As Carlson points out in his edition [31], the *Concordia* is preserved in a single copy in a manuscript also containing a work by Lavenham.

¹³ The seal represents King Edward II presenting to a party of Whitefriars the manse of his manor near the north gate at Oxford (The King's Houses, sometimes called Beaumont Palace), in pursuance of a vow which he had made in the Scottish war to the Virgin Mary, patron of the Order, who stands behind them. Underneath is an ox in a ford, the arms of the city. The inscription runs: *S. Commune fratru' ordi's be' Marie de Carmelo Oxonie*. See: Samuel Lysons, note on the seal of Oxford Whitefriars in the Appendix of *Archaeologia*, 18 (1817), 437-38. On medieval seals in general see: Phillipp Schofield (ed.), *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015).

***The Lamentations of Mary and Dormi Secure* attributions**

An otherwise anonymous text, *The Lamentations of Mary to St. Bernard*, is attributed by some later commentators to Richard Maidstone.¹⁴ This poem occurs (among other codices) in the famous Vernon Manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. poet. a. 1), which also includes a version of Maidstone's verse paraphrase of Psalm 50(51) from *The Penitential Psalms*.¹⁵ The Vernon Manuscript, the largest and arguably most important surviving medieval English anthology of religious texts compiled for pious users, perhaps a community of women, copied and illuminated around 1390-1400, has been described as 'a vernacular Bible, or its close equivalent'.¹⁶ The incorporation of Maidstone's Psalm paraphrase within such a codex privileging extracts of Scripture indicates how successfully the Carmelite's text promoted access, albeit mediated and interpolated access, to the Bible in the vernacular.

Mediated access to Scripture was also provided by another text in the Vernon collection, *The Lamentations of Mary to St. Bernard*, a Middle English verse adaptation of a Latin meditation by pseudo-Bernard known as the *Quis dabit*, that also exists in an Anglo-Norman translation. Though the attribution of *The Lamentations* to Richard Maidstone asserted by nineteenth-century commentator Carl Horstmann cannot be certain, various thematic and stylistic features comparable to the Carmelite's known works mean the possibility deserves more consideration than it has received.¹⁷

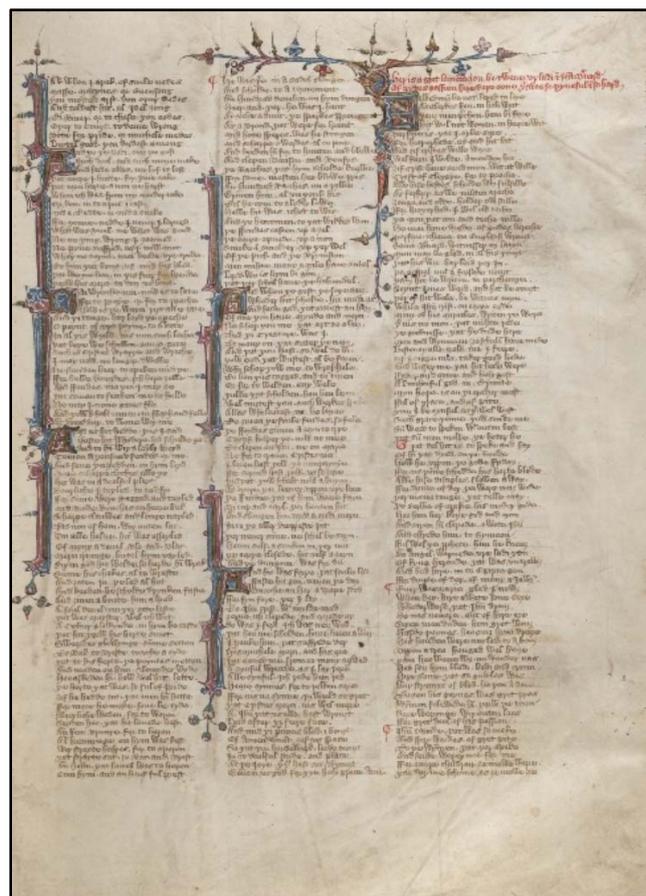
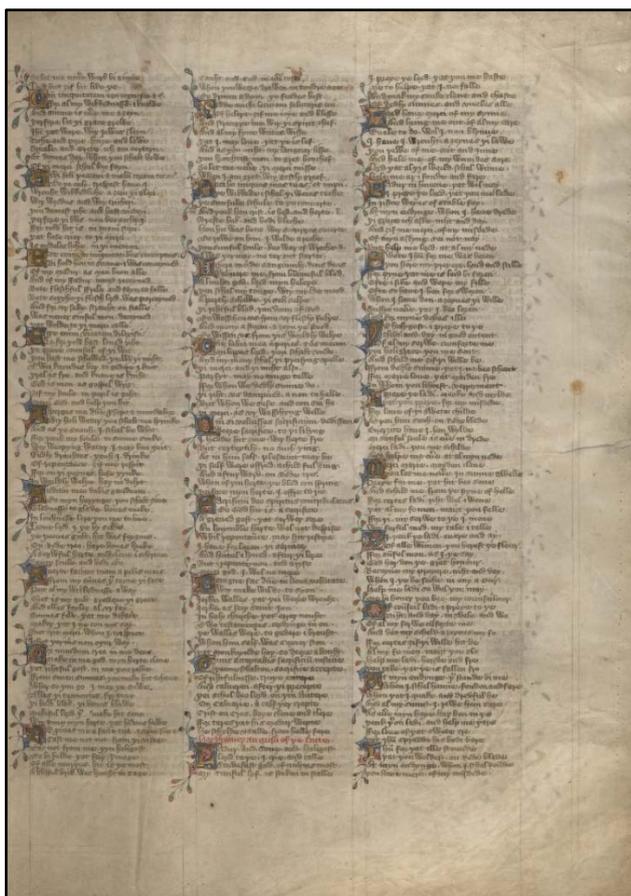
¹⁴ *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* 3066: www.dimev.net.

¹⁵ Psalm 50 of *The Penitential Psalms* occurs at fo. 114 columns a and b of the Vernon Manuscript (lines 407-544 in Edden's edition), and *The Lamentation of Mary to St. Bernard* at fo. 287 column c. On the Vernon codex see: Wendy Scase (ed.), *A Facsimile Edition of The Vernon Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Eng. Poet. A.1*, Bodleian Digital Texts 3 (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2010); Wendy Scase (ed.), *The Making of the Vernon Manuscript: The Production and Contexts of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. poet. a. 1*, Texts and Transitions 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). Maidstone's authorship of *The Penitential Psalms* in connection with the Psalm 50 text in the Vernon Manuscript is mentioned by: N. F. Blake, 'Vernon Manuscript: Contents and Organisation', in Derek Pearsall (ed.), *Studies in The Vernon Manuscript* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), 45-59 [51], see also 220; Julia Boffey, 'Middle English Lyrics and Manuscripts', in Thomas G. Duncan (ed.), *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 1-18 [10].

¹⁶ David Lawton, 'The Bible', in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: Volume 1 – To 1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 193-233 [216]. The Vernon Manuscript is a compilation mostly in English with a few Latin and French texts that some women would have been able to read. As well as an extract from Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*, the codex contains works by Walter Hilton and anchoritic texts addressed to women. It was probably read by devout laywomen or a community of nuns. See: Felicity Riddy, '“Women talking about the things of God”: a late medieval sub-culture', in Carol M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, Second Edition 1996), 104-27; Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 17; Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1988), 213; John P. H. Clark, 'Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology and the English Contemplative Tradition', in Marion Glasscoe, *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, Volume V, 1992* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), 1-16 [7-8]; Derek Pearsall (ed.), *Studies in The Vernon Manuscript* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990).

¹⁷ The attribution to Maidstone (rather than Rolle who had previously been proposed) was confidently asserted (though not explained) in the edition by Carl Horstmann (ed.), *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, Early English Text Society Original Series 98 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1892), 297-328 [297]. The poem is discussed by: C. W. Marx, 'The Middle English Verse "Lamentation of Mary to Saint Bernard" and the "Quis dabit"', in Derek Pearsall (ed.), *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), 137-57; Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in*

The manuscript tradition of this poem is very complex. More work needs to be done to strengthen the attribution to Maidstone, in particular an examination of the version in British Library, Ms. Cotton Vespasian A.iii and the date of this manuscript. The poem's devotional (specifically penitential) and didactic tone, its Marian perspective, and its verse scheme (eight-line stanzas of alternate rhymes) practically identical to *The Penitential Psalms*, make Richard Maidstone a definite contender as author for this dialogue in which Saint Bernard, with a view to becoming a better penitent, asks the Virgin Mary about her experience of Christ's Passion.¹⁸



The Vernon Manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. poet. a. 1.

Left: Psalm 50 of Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* (fo. 114 columns a and b).

Right: *The Lamentation of Mary to St. Bernard* (fo. 287 column c).

the Age of Richard II (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 258 ff. By way of comparison, an alternative *Lament of Mary* derived from the *Quis dabit* is transcribed by George Shuffelton (ed.), *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008).

¹⁸ In his article C. W. Marx does not speculate on the *Lamentation's* authorship. He notes [138] that the verse form (eight-line stanzas rhyming a/b) 'aligns the *Lamentation* with popular religious literature and was used, for example, in verse-sermons such as *The Devil's Parliament* and the drama' [i.e. *The York Cycle*], but fails to mention *The Penitential Psalms* or address Horstmann's attribution of the poem to Maidstone.

Such ‘Lamentations of the Virgin’, popular in English verse and prose,¹⁹ are known to have been written by Carmelites contemporary with Richard Maidstone. In Italy, the Prior General of the Urban/Roman Obedience of the Order between 1381-86, Michele Aiguani (discussed more fully later in this chapter), wrote around 1380 a *Planctus Mariae* dialogue evoking imagined conversations that Mary held with the Women of Jerusalem and some of the Apostles en route to Christ’s crucifixion.²⁰ In France the Carmelite friar and chronicler Jean de Venette (also known as Jean Fillons, or Jehan Fillous de Venette, c.1307-c.1370) wrote *L’Histoire des Trois Maries* in 1357. This is a life of the Virgin, her two eponymous half-sisters, and their offspring, written in the French vernacular over some 35,000 verses, which puts considerable emphasis upon the death and resurrection of Christ.²¹



The Three Marys and their children,
and Jean de Venette
in Carmelite habit writing,
in a copy of Jean de Venette’s
Histoire des Trois Maries
created in Paris c.1380-95.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de
France, Ms. Fr. 1532, fo. 1.

¹⁹ For example, see: C. William Marx, Jeanne F. Drennan (eds.), *The Middle English Prose Complaints of Our Lady and Gospel of Nicodemus*, Middle English Texts 19 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1987). On the link between this subject matter and vernacular theology see the chapter ‘Marian Lament and the Rise of a Vernacular Ethics’ in Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

²⁰ Paul Chandler, ‘The Lamentation of the Virgin: A *Planctus Mariae* Sermon by Michael Aiguani of Bologna, O.Carm.’, in Paul Chandler, Keith J. Egan (eds.), *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O.Carm* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), 209-29. The text is translated by Richard Copley in *Early Carmelite Documents* (forthcoming), and discussed by Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 44-45.

²¹ The text [contained for example in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 12468] is mostly unedited. Venette, Prior of the Carmelites in Paris, went on to become Provincial of the Order in France. He also wrote a short chronicle of the history of the Order, and at times has been identified as the author of a Latin chronicle of the Hundred Years War (*Chronique dite de Jean de Venette*). On Venette see: A. Coville, ‘Jean de Venette, auteur de l’*Histoire des Trois Maries*’, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 38 (Paris, 1949), 355-404; Michael Terence Driscoll, ‘L’*Histoire des Trois Maries*’: *An Edition with Introduction*, Masters Thesis (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1973); Michael Terence Driscoll, ‘“L’*Histoire des Trois Maries*” by Jean de Venette, O.Carm.’, *Cahiers de Joséphologie*, 23 (1975), 231-54; Jean de Venette, *The Chronicle of Jean de Venette* (trans.) Jean Birdsall (ed.) Richard A. Newhall, *Records of Civilisation, Sources and Studies* 50 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953); Gilette Tyl-Labory, ‘Chronique dite de Jean de Venette’, in Geneviève Hasenohr, Michel Zink (eds.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Age* (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 290-91; Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *Sacred Fictions of Medieval France: Narrative Theology in the Lives of Christ and the Virgin, 1150-1500* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), 68-79; ‘Jean de Venette: Chronicle’, in Carter Lindberg (ed.), *The European Reformations Sourcebook* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, Second Edition 2014), 3. On the Carmelite devotion to the Three Marys, see: Claudia Rabel, ‘Des histoires de famille. La devotion aux Trois Maries en France du XIV^e au XV^e siècle, textes et images’, *Revista de História da Arte*, 7 (2009), 121-37; ‘Les Trois Maries: Des Frères de Jésus à la Propagande de l’Ordre des Carmes’, in Hélène Millet, Claudia Rabel, *La Vierge au Manteau du Puy-en-Velay: Un chef-d’œuvre du gothique international (vers 1400-1410)* (Lyon: Editions Fage, 2011), 81-92.

Another element in *The Lamentations* particularly suggestive of Carmelite authorship comes to the fore when the Middle English text is compared with the original Latin *Quis dabit* and its Anglo-Norman translation. The Middle English version places considerable focus upon Mary's waiting for the resurrection of her son, which C. W. Marx describes as bringing about 'significant shifts in emphasis which suggest deliberate policies of revision, partly to accommodate different literary contexts, partly in response to problems in the *Quis dabit* itself, and partly in response to doctrinal and literary pressures.'²² According to Marx, *The Lamentations* promotes 'the idea that Mary alone maintained faith in Christ's resurrection during the three days of the passion'.²³ Though, as Marx points out, this was a popular idea in devotional writing of the time, it was particularly important in Carmelite veneration of Mary as the woman of faith who trusted in the Lord's promises, nurtured by the Order's liturgical emphasis on the Resurrection.²⁴ Carmelite authorship of *The Lamentations* might account for why in the poem 'Mary is shown to be attempting to articulate a human dilemma, the conflict between faith and grief', and perhaps Maidstone is indeed to be credited with penning a text in which 'human grief is placed alongside doctrine, reassurance and understanding'.²⁵ This combination of affective piety and more restrained doctrine presents Mary as 'a symbol of faith', who demonstrates in the interplay between heart and head that 'there is a practical purpose for compassion; it is a sign of grace, and a defence against the devil'.²⁶

As we shall see from Maidstone's approach to Scripture in *The Penitential Psalms*, further evidence of possible Carmelite authorship of *The Lamentations* can perhaps be detected in the author's preferences of source material when it comes to 'authorising' his subject matter. Marx points out that the Middle English *Lamentations*, in contrast to the *Quis dabit* which inspired it, bases itself on 'a different type of authority', preferring to root the (com)passion narrative in the Gospel account of John rather than in a supposed personal revelation to St. Bernard.²⁷ As we have already noted in the exchanges between Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn, though the Carmelites had an interest in hagiography and the writings of the saints, their spirituality was first and foremost based upon pondering Scripture.

²² Marx, 146-47.

²³ Marx, 152.

²⁴ Arie Kallenberg, 'The Resurrection in the Early Carmelite Liturgy and Carmelite Spirituality', *Carmelus*, 44 (1997), 5-20. A popular devotion for modern-day Carmelites, with roots in medieval practice, is the 'Saturday Station' liturgy when members of the Order 'keep station' with Mary as she awaits in faith her son's resurrection the following day.

²⁵ Marx, 153, 155.

²⁶ Marx, 156.

²⁷ Marx, 147, 156.

Whether or not *The Lamentations* is by Richard Maidstone, the poem reveals the desire of some late medieval clerical authors, no doubt Carmelites among them, to share ‘monastic spirituality translated into the language of lay piety’²⁸ as indicated in its introductory lines:

Her is a gret lamentacion betwene vr ladi and seint Bernard, Of cristes passion, hire dere sone, þat was so pyneful and so hard.

Lewed men be not lered in lore,
As Clerkes ben in holi writ;
Þauȝ men prechen hem bi-fore,
Hit wol not wonen in heore wit:
Þerfore is þat I syke sore,
Ffor broþurhede, as God hit bit,
And, ȝif cristes wille wore,
Wel fayn I wolde amenden hit.

ȝif Crist haue send mon wit at wille,
Craft of Clergye, for to preche,
Alle hise hestes scholde we fulfille
As ferforþ as we mihten areche.
ȝonge and olde, holdeþ ow stille:
Ffor broþerhed I wol ow teche –
Þe Man þat con, and teche nille,
He mai haue drede of godes wreche.

Þerfore ichaue on Englisch wrouȝt,
Seint Bernard witnesseth in Latyn –
Mon may be glad in al his þouȝt
Þat his wit haþ leid þer-In.
Þe gospel nul I forsake nouȝt,
Þauȝ hit be writen in parchemyn;
Seynt Iones word, and hit be souȝt,
Þer-of hit wole be witnes myn.

²⁸ Staley, *Languages of Power*, 259, n. 251.

While Ihesu crist on eorþe eode,
 Mony of his Miracles writen þei were:
 Þer nis no mon þat mihte rede
 Þe goodnesse þat he dude here.
 Men and wymmen, ȝe schulen haue mede,
 Lusteneþ alle now me I-feere;
 Ȝif I sigge mis, takeþ good hede,
 And wisseþ me, þat hit betere were.

ffader and sone and holy gost,
 Al-mihtiful god in Trinite,
 Myn hope is on þi Modur most,
 fful of grace and of pite:
 Þouȝ I be sinful, as þou wel wost,
 Such grace þenne þow sende me
 Sum word to speken wiþ-outen bost,
 Pat sum men mowe þe beter be. [lines 1-40]

Whether written by Richard Maidstone or a near contemporary, the opening stanzas of *The Lamentations* throw light on the pastoral situation in which Carmelite doctors of theology were ministering. Though preachers with the ‘Craft of Clergye’ teach ‘holi writ’ to ‘lewed men ... not lered in lore’, the Scriptures do not stick in the mind (‘wonen in heore wit’). Though Christ’s miracles were written down whilst he was on earth (line 26), no one [but clergy] can read them. Therefore, the author of *The Lamentations* is motivated by ‘broþurhede’ (mentioned twice, perhaps indicating a mendicant sense of fraternal duty to those whom Julian of Norwich would call ‘my even-Christian’) to amend the situation so that the witness of the Gospel can be recovered from parchment (line 22), allowing God’s commandments to be better known and observed (line 11), ‘Pat sum men mowe þe beter be’ (line 40). References in this prologue to the cleric’s obligation to instruct the unlettered place *The Lamentations* ‘in the context of didactic writing’, since ‘the Middle English text absorbs much popular literature: biblical paraphrase, passion narrative, legend and the sermon; this is the literature of popular piety.’²⁹ As Marx notes, in *The Lamentations* ‘what we find in the reshaping of the *Quis dabit* is not only the movement from Latin to the vernacular, but also the transformation of a text from one

²⁹ Marx, 156.

medieval genre to another.’³⁰ The shift of language and of genre go hand-in-hand; the author has ‘on Englisch wrouzt’ (line 17) the Latin of Saint Bernard’s text for the spiritual well-being of his reader, and though the inspirational text is revelatory rather than purely biblical, the author protests ‘þe gospel nul I forsake nouzt’ (line 21), since he will incorporate passages from John’s account of the Good News. Just as Saint John’s words will be ‘souzt’ by the *Lamentations*-author, so Maidstone in the introductory stanza of *The Penitential Psalms* declares ‘þe seuen salmes are þourze souzte’, and so ‘in Englisshe þei ben brouzte’. These are not the only verbal echoes between *The Lamentations* and *The Penitential Psalms*; in similar manner the address of *The Lamentations* to ‘ʒonge and olde’ (line 13) is echoed (albeit it in a slightly different context) in the reference to ‘ʒouþe and elde’ in the opening stanza of *The Penitential Psalms*.

Likewise, both *The Penitential Psalms* and *The Lamentations* express the desire to expound on the Scriptures. It is clear in *The Lamentations* that the authorial voice is the poet-teacher (line 14), and thus the text provides access to the Bible that is clerically-mediated, and which in its imagined dialogue between two saints provides Scriptural paraphrase within a devotional framework, precisely like *The Penitential Psalms*. The emphasis upon taking account of the Gospel source is perhaps motivated by Wycliffite complaints that too many religious texts relegated scriptural authority to second place after hagiographic writings.

The Lamentations presents itself as the work of a preacher, and perhaps because of his renown in that ministry Richard Maidstone has been suggested (including in some of the earliest printed editions in France dating from c. 1475 to 1530) as the compiler of, or contributor to, a collection of homilies for the liturgical year, known as *Sermones ‘Dormi Secure’*. These so-called ‘sleep-well’ sermons in Latin could be adapted by preachers at the last minute and thus save clergy having to work into the night preparing a homily. Though John of Verdena (Verdun) is now generally regarded as a more likely author, the early attributions of *Dormi Secure* to Maidstone suggest that the Carmelite enjoyed a posthumous reputation as a preacher and teacher whose intellectual ministries supported the clergy in their pastoral obligations to the laity.³¹

Anti-Wycliffite activities: Maidstone’s dispute with Ashwardby

Whilst Richard Maidstone’s composition of *The Lamentations* is possible and *Dormi secure* is unlikely, there is no doubt about his industriousness as a preacher, nor his involvement in scholarly activities whilst at Oxford. Having received his doctorate perhaps around 1390, Maidstone engaged

³⁰ Marx, 157.

³¹ A link between Maidstone and *Dormi Secure* (*Sermones Dominicales et de Sanctis ‘Dormi secure’ nuncupati*) is made by, amongst others, Mabel Day (*The Wheatley Manuscript*, xvii).

in the refutation of Wycliffite beliefs and the assertion of orthodoxy. As discussed in Chapter Two, some of John Wyclif's views had been condemned in 1382 at the so-called 'Earthquake Council' at Blackfriars in London, and Wyclif himself had died two years later, but posthumously his ideas continued to grow in influence. His followers worked on producing a vernacular translation of the Bible, prefaced by a General Prologue written about 1387-88 arguing for widespread access to the Scriptures in English as fundamental to reform within the Church. Wyclif himself had remarked on the ability of secular lords to study recently translated gospels, and on the subsequent 'horror of bishops and friars at this achievement'.³²

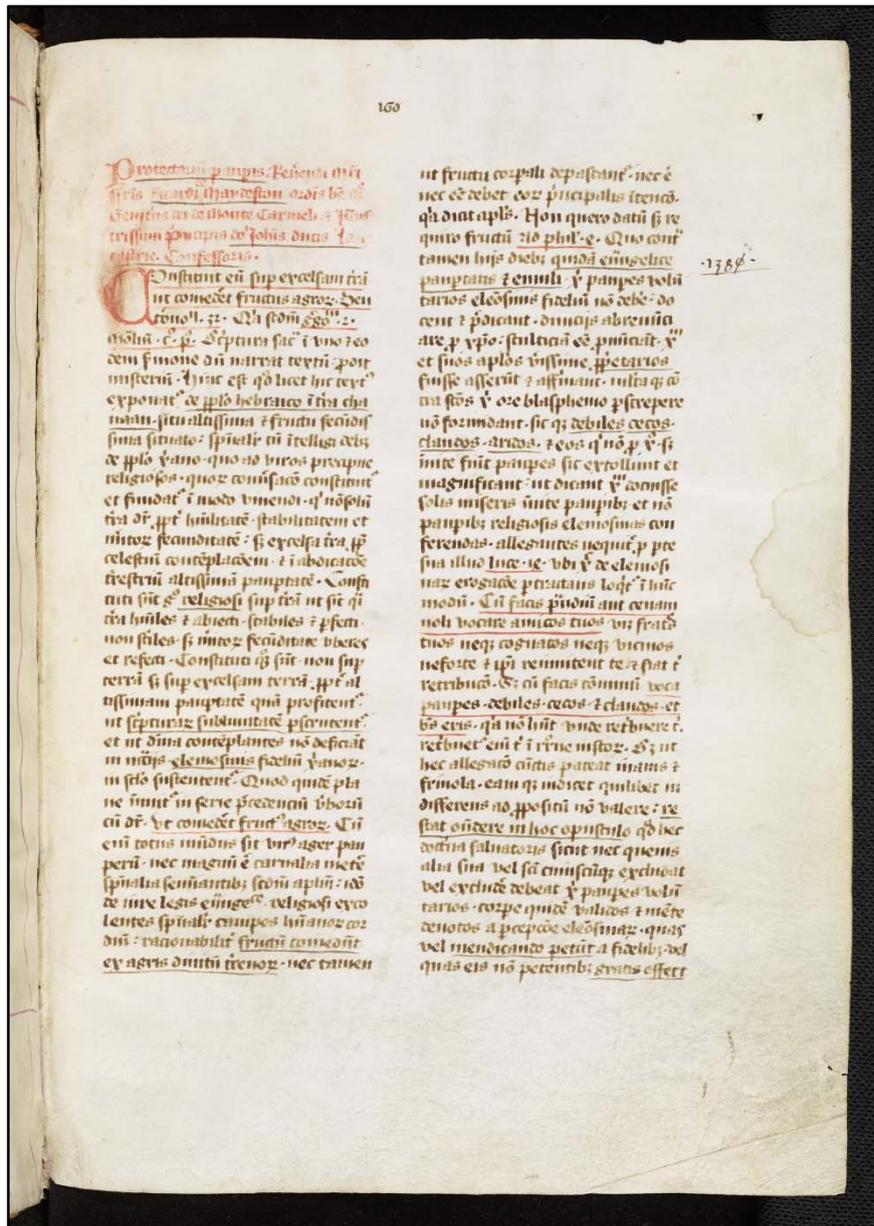
It was against such innovations which seemed to undermine the power and authority of the clergy that Richard Maidstone devoted his energies as an academic and preacher. Among various writings by Maidstone now sadly lost, but once noted by later Carmelites Jean Grossi and John Bale, are two sets of *determinationes* (scholastic sermons or pronouncements on a disputed question in a public forum), one 'contra lollardos',³³ and the other on the role and preaching office of the priest. Maidstone's own license to preach in Rochester Diocese, and the various sermon titles noted by Bale, suggest that preaching was an office the Carmelite undertook with vigour.

As a preacher, Maidstone rose to particular prominence in disputing with Doctor John Ashwardby, vicar of St. Mary's University Church in Oxford. Ashwardby had preached provocative sermons against the friars and their mendicant ideal of evangelical poverty, probably during the period 1390-92, though the surviving documentation is undated, and – as is common with such disputes – all we know of Ashwardby's views (preached but quite possibly never set down in writing) comes second-hand from Maidstone's 'orthodox' riposte, his *Protectorium pauperis* ('In defence of the poor man / pauper'), a sustained theological attack on anti-fraternal ideas which were characteristically embraced by Wyclif and the Lollards.³⁴

³² Margaret Aston, 'Wyclif and the Vernacular', in Anne Hudson, Michael Wilks (eds.), *From Ockham to Wyclif*, Studies in Church History Subsidia 5 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 281-330 [284].

³³ As Richard Copsey has recorded (see the Appendix of surviving and lost works, and Copsey's *Register*), the Carmelite Prior General Jean Grossi, visiting England in 1413-14, noted Maidstone's lectures given at Oxford as *Determinationes contra lollardos*, *Lib. 1*: "*Fluat ut ros eloquium meum ostenso superius quomodo iuxta metaphoricum modum loquendi.*": Jean Grossi, *Tractatus de Scriptoribus Ordinis Carmelitarum* (c.1413-1417), edited in Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*, 42-53 [48]. John Bale, who probably saw a copy at Oxford, dates the lectures to 1394: Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 205v. Bale gives alternative titles, *Contra hereticos* in 1536 [*Anglorum Heliades*, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 84v], and *Contra Wicklevistas* in a later printed work [*Summarium*, 172]. On Maidstone's anti-Lollard thought see: Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 95-97; Mishtooni Bose, 'The Opponents of John Wyclif', in Ian Christopher Levy (ed.), *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 407-55 [426-27].

³⁴ The *Protectorium pauperis* survives in full in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo 86, fo. 160-175v (fo. 168-183v pencil numbering) which is the so-called *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* collection of documents relating to Wyclif and the Lollards compiled by an anonymous Whitefriar in East Anglia in 1439 (S.C. 3629), and in part (the last third) in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo, 94 (S.C. 3631), 162/74-180 or fo. 1-5 (new pagination), both manuscripts once belonging to John



The opening of Richard Maidstone's *Protectorium pauperis* in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo 86, fo. 160.

Bale. The *Protectorium pauperis* is edited by Arnold Williams, 'Protectorium Pauperis: a defence of the begging friars by Richard of Maidstone, O.C.', *Carmelus*, 5 (1958), 132-80, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 35-83. See also: Margaret Embree Poskitt, 'Protectorium Pauperis', *Aylesford Review*, II, 3 (Spring 1958), 95-97; Valerie Edden, 'The Debate between Richard Maidstone and the Lollard Ashwardby', *Carmelus*, 34 (1987), 113-34, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 84-105. Based on later marginal notes, and internal evidence relating to Wyclif's trial in 1382, Williams proposes 1380-82 as a probable date for the *Protectorium*, but this is contested by Edden, Hudson (*Premature Reformation* 95) and Scase, 10. On the broader debate about poverty in England at this period, see: Helen Barr, 'The Place of the Poor in 'the *Piers Plowman* Tradition'', in Tomonori Matsushita, A. V. C. Schmidt and David Wallace (eds.), *From Beowulf to Caxton: Studies in Medieval Languages and Literature, Texts and Manuscripts*, Studies in Historical Linguistics, 7 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), 79-98; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 'Religious poverty and the search for perfection', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 39-53.

As Arnold Williams points out in the introductory notes to his edition of Maidstone's *Protectorium pauperis*, the Carmelite focussed his treatise on the single issue of evangelical poverty. Whatever arguments Ashwardby put forward in attacking the mendicants, Maidstone clearly regarded evangelical poverty as the crux of the matter.³⁵ This is telling, since it reveals something of Maidstone's self-perception as a Carmelite. As Williams summarises it:

Maidstone's argument is that the mendicant friar renounces all property both as an act meritorious in itself and also to free himself to evangelize the world. Mendicancy is only a product of this renunciation. The mendicant friar does not vow mendicancy; he vows rather poverty and evangelical work. Mendicancy follows from the fact that he cannot live off his property, since he has none; nor off the work of his hands, since his evangelical duties leave no time for manual labor. Thus he depends on the alms of the faithful.³⁶

For Maidstone, defending evangelical poverty was nothing less than a defence of the Carmelite's very vocation to spread the Gospel.³⁷

It would seem that the dispute between Richard Maidstone and John Ashwardby was a protracted affair, because the Carmelite attacked the vicar's Lollard sympathies in a second text that is the only surviving part of a series of *determinatio* sermons that he preached specifically against Ashwardby's beliefs in St. Mary's.³⁸ The *Determinatio contra Magistrum Johannem, vicarium ecclesie sancte*

³⁵ Fiona Somerset suggests that perhaps Maidstone took his debate with Ashwardby as an opportunity to give a belated riposte to the antifraternal statements of Richard Fitzralph: Fiona Somerset, 'Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard Fitzralph to Margery Kempe', in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Nancy Warren, Duncan Robertson (eds.), *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 59-79 [68].

³⁶ Williams, 36.

³⁷ For a consideration of poverty as a key theme in Carmelite hagiography and identity, see: Giovanni Grosso, '«Beati I poveri in spirito» (Mt 5,3). I santi carmelitani e la povertà', *Carmelus*, 60 (2013), 147-66; Jean-Marie Dundji Bagave Makanova, *Abdicatio Proprietatis: Sens et défi de la Pauvreté Religieuse selon la Règle du Carmel et son Inculturation dans le Contexte de l'Afrique*, Vacare Deo 26 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2016). On the topic as an enduring topic of contention see: F. R. H. Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel between the Carmelite Friars and the Secular Clergy of London, 1464-1468', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, VI (1955), 156-74; Janet H. Stevenson (ed.), *The Register of Edward Story, Bishop of Chichester 1478-1503*, Canterbury and York Society CVI (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), xviii; S. A. Farmer (ed.), *Approaches to Poverty in Medieval Europe: Complexities, Contradictions, Transformations, c.1100-1500*, International Medieval Research 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016); Lyn M. Falzon Scheuring, *Paradox of Poverty: Francis of Assisi and John of the Cross* (Quincy, Illinois: Franciscan Press, 2001).

³⁸ Maidstone's *Determinatio contra Magistrum Johannem, vicarium ecclesie sancte Marie, Oxoniensis* is preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo, 94, fo. 5-8v (fo. 125-28 in older foliation). It is edited by Valerie Edden, 'The Debate between Richard Maidstone and the Lollard Ashwardby', *Carmelus*, 34 (1987), 113-34, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 84-105. On Maidstone's sermons, see: Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 11. For further details on the controversy see: Jeremy I. Catto, 'Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford 1356-1430', in J. I. Catto, Ralph Evans (eds.), *History of the University of*

Marie, Oxoniensis is more acerbic in its strongly-worded condemnation of Ashwardby, whom Maidstone accuses not of Lollardy directly but of echoing those ‘qui sunt de secta lollardorum’.³⁹ Again the *Determinatio* refutes Ashwardby’s attacks on evangelical poverty and mendicancy because ‘Maidstone understood where such arguments might lead: to the undoing of pilgrimage and other forms of veneration of the saints, and to a wholesale despoiling of the church’.⁴⁰

Very importantly for our consideration of Carmelite attitudes towards vernacular theology, in his *Determinatio* Maidstone criticised not only Ashwardby’s beliefs but specifically the forum and manner in which he had propounded them. In his *Determinatio* Richard Maidstone objected not only to John Ashwardby’s criticism of the mendicant lifestyle but specifically condemned the fact that the vicar had expressed his doubts to a lay audience in English, rather than to a clerical audience in Latin. As Anne Hudson summarises his position:

Maidstone’s contributions were declaredly *in scolis* and in Latin; Ashwardby’s had apparently been partly in the same form and language, but the sermons had been *publice, ad populum*, and, worst of all in Maidstone’s eyes, *in vulgari*. Ashwardby, according to Maidstone, tried ‘se tamen magnificare coram laicis in lingua materna’; he, on the contrary, tried ‘me defendere in scolis et coram clericis in lingua Latina’.⁴¹

Since these accusations are made in Maidstone’s *Determinatio* rather than in his earlier *Protectorium*, it is possible that the Carmelite’s views on the public discussion of ‘vernacular theology’ became progressively conservative in the intervening year or two, but more likely Ashwardby had only begun to preach in the mother tongue before the laity during the course of the dispute. David R. Carlson no doubt accurately summarises Maidstone’s estimation in saying of his later discourses that ‘Ashwardby’s interventions were Lollard-like, both in his resorting to English for conducting his

Oxford, Volume II: Late Medieval Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 175-261 [229]; Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 11; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 95-7; Lawrence M. Clopper, ‘Langland’s Persona: An Anatomy of the Mendicant Orders’, in Steven Justice, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (eds.), *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 144-84 [178, n. 26]; Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites – A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Volume I, ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, revised edition 1988), 35; Fiona Somerset, ‘Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard Fitzralph to Margery Kempe’, in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Nancy Warren, Duncan Robertson (eds.), *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 59-79 [68]; Fiona Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 157, 171-72, 176-77, 216.

³⁹ Quoted by Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 96.

⁴⁰ Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 14.

⁴¹ Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 96, quoting from Ms. e Mus. 94, fo. 5v; translated by Carlson [*Concordia* edition, 13] as ‘in English for a lay audience in the mother tongue, rather than in the schools for a clerical audience in Latin’.

public doctrinal discussion and in the substance of what he had to say'.⁴² Maidstone's opposition to the use of the vernacular for theological debate would underline the suggestion, discussed in the previous chapter, that with the spread of Wyclif's ideas English increasingly came to be perceived as the language of theological waywardness, confirming Lollardy as 'the English heresy' both geographically and linguistically. A decade before Ashwardby's vernacular preaching, that is in 1382, Maidstone may have experienced at first hand the damage done to the mendicants by Nicholas Hereford preaching in English in Oxford against the friars.⁴³ As the targets of some of Wyclif's most virulent criticisms, the mendicants had particular cause to fear the use of English in making Lollardy appeal to the masses.

Maidstone's argument in his *Determinatio* indicates that the Carmelite disapproved of complex theological debate and discussion of contentious issues in English. It is important to note that Maidstone did not condemn such discussion in Latin, nor did he prohibit the laity's engagement in less weighty theological matters that he deemed suitable for them. His vernacular writings show that Maidstone did not disapprove of all preaching and religious teaching in English; this would render the pastoral work of mendicants in the pulpits and confessionals impossible.⁴⁴ Maidstone believed that there was a duty for the clergy of the Church to give the laity appropriate theological material that would encourage their spiritual growth, but likewise a clerical duty to restrict the laity's absorption of inappropriate theological material that could lead to heresy.

Maidstone the preacher

Richard Maidstone's own preaching ability was praised in a catalogue of Carmelite writers compiled by Jean Grossi, Prior General of the Order, who visited England in 1413-14.⁴⁵ Writing almost two decades after Maidstone's death, Grossi's comments show that the English Whitefriar had an enduring posthumous reputation. Grossi observed that Maidstone had preached not only before the university in Oxford but also to the leading nobility of England, especially John of Gaunt, Duke of

⁴² Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 16.

⁴³ Wendy Scase, "'Heu! quanta desolatio Angliae praestatur': A Wycliffite Libel and the Naming of Heretics, Oxford 1382", in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, Derrick G. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 19-36 [24]. On other preaching by Wyclif and his followers against Carmelites see 34-35.

⁴⁴ On the widely-acknowledged 'good sense of preaching to the vulgar in the vulgar tongue' [56] see: H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 55-58, 64, 118-33.

⁴⁵ Jean Grossi, *Tractatus de Scriptoribus Ordinis Carmelitarum* (c.1413-17), edited in Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*, 42-53 [48-49]. An area worth further investigation is the possible impact of sermons on Richard Maidstone as a writer of vernacular verse. Recent scholarship has highlighted the common features and topoi found in penitential materials, lyrics, and sermons. See: Holly Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday: Macaronic Sermons of Late Medieval England*, Sermo 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

Lancaster and uncle of King Richard II, to whom – according to a reference in the heading of the *Protectorium pauperis* manuscript, and later commentators – Maidstone was confessor, as were a number of other Carmelites.⁴⁶ The Whitefriar Nicholas of Lynn dedicated his *Kalendarium* to Gaunt in 1386, the duke having encouraged (and possibly commissioned) his work.⁴⁷ Lynn Staley points out that ‘The Carmelite confessors who formed an inner core of Gaunt’s household were also distinguished men of letters, men such as William Badby, Walter Diss, and John Kynyngham, as well as Richard Maidstone.’⁴⁸ Thus at least one sector of Maidstone’s audience for his writing and preaching was aristocratic and educated. Indeed, the criticism specifically alleged against the Carmelites in an anonymous Latin antifraternial poem from the period (possibly 1388) is that they were ‘confessors to lords and ladies both, and seducers of their souls’.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ As mentioned in Chapter Two. See also: Edden, ‘The Debate’, 115 n. 10; Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 9. On Gaunt see: Simon Walker, ‘John, duke of Aquitaine and duke of Lancaster, styled king of Castile and León (1340–1399)’, *ODNB*; Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1992). According to Goodman [254] Gaunt intended to be buried wearing the scapular of the Carmelite habit, which would signify his close association with the Order.

⁴⁷ Nicholas of Lynn, O.Carm., *Kalendarium* (ed.) Sigmund Eisner, The Chaucer Library (London: Scolar Press, 1980). See: Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 386.

⁴⁸ Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 188–89; for a discussion of the Carmelites’ strong influence on Gaunt see 208, 220.

⁴⁹ ‘Ac Carmelitas tamquam falsos heremitas / Sunt confessores dominorum tum dominarum / Et seductores ipsorum sunt animarum’. The Latin poem and a Modern English translation are given by Michael van Dussen, ‘Three Verse Eulogies of Anne of Bohemia’, *Medium Ævum*, 78:2 (2009), 231–60 [234]. The poem was recorded by John Bale in one of his notebooks (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 139v) in which he says the poem was composed in 1388 and ‘displayed at various places throughout England’ (translated by Richard Copsey as ‘Lollard verses against the mendicants’ in *Early Carmelite Documents*, forthcoming).

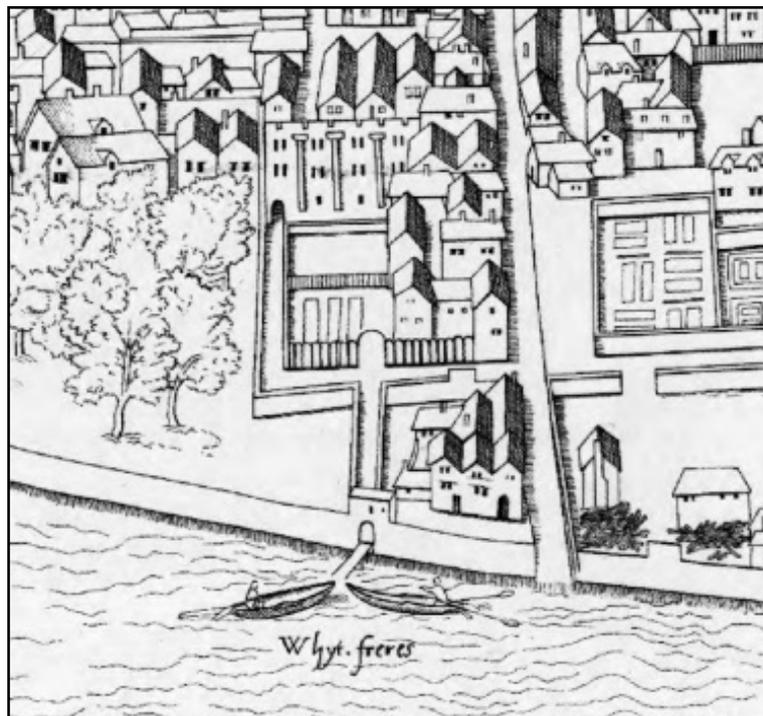


Zodiacal man in a copy (c.1424?) of the Carmelite Nicholas of Lynn's astronomical *Kalendarium*.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ashmole 370, fo. 27v (detail).

Maidstone, London, and the *Concordia*

Such preaching and pastoral care in court circles presumably took place predominantly in London, the centre of national government since the 12th Century, where the Carmelite community (established by 1247) was ideally located geographically and socially for intercourse (however frequent or limited) with the governing classes. The Carmelite house in London was in a fine site, close to palaces and episcopal residences in the western suburb, between Fleet Street and the Thames, outside the city walls and immediately east of The Temple. Correspondence in 1246 from Pope Innocent IV to the Bishop of London negotiating the establishment of the Carmelite friary shows that a presence in the English capital was a priority for the Whitefriars, even before they resolved at the 1247 General Chapter in Aylesford to request papal mitigation to their *formula vitae*/rule allowing urban foundations.⁵⁰ Although Jens Röhrkasten believes that the influence of London-based mendicants, such as Richard Maidstone, upon political events was probably negligible, and though their political verse is generally poorly rated, the Carmelites' involvement at court as religious and political chroniclers and 'script-editors' is an important aspect of their ministry deserving further study.⁵¹



A copperplate map of London produced in the 1550s and preserved in the Museum of London shows the former site of the *Whyt freres*, which gave the Carmelites access to some of the country's leading political and social figures.

⁵⁰ On the London Carmelite friary see: William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 70, 95; Margaret E. Poskitt, 'The English Carmelite Province: 15th century', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 149-54 [151]; McCaffrey, *The White Friars*, 129-71.

⁵¹ Jens Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London 1221-1539* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), p. 542.



A map of London in 1520 showing the Carmelite Friary in the west.⁵²

Richard Copley believes Maidstone's contact with court circles most probably occurred between the period of his debate with Ashwardby in Oxford and the Carmelite's death, that is, between 1392 and 1396.⁵³

This would concur with Maidstone's composition in 1393 of a long encomium in Latin verse, possibly at the instigation of John of Gaunt, that recounts the festivities celebrating the 'reconciliation' between Richard II and the City of London, entitled *Concordia facta inter Regem Ricardum Secundum post Conquestum et Cives Londinienses*.⁵⁴ As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1392

⁵² From Mary D. Lobel (ed.), *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c.1520*, British Historic Towns Atlas Volume III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), available online at www.historictownsatlas.org.uk [accessed October 2015].

⁵³ This is in contrast to Charles Roger Smith, who suggests that Maidstone was Gaunt's confessor around 1389-92: Charles Roger Smith, *Concordia Facta inter Regem Ricardum II et Civitatem Londonis per fratrum Ricardum Maydiston*, Doctoral Thesis (Princeton: Princeton University, March 1972).

⁵⁴ David R. Carlson (ed.), *Richard Maidstone – Concordia (The Reconciliation of Richard II with London)*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, 2003); available online at: <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/maidfrm.htm> [accessed July 2007]. Translations here quoted are from this edition. The *Concordia* was previously edited by Charles Roger Smith for his doctoral thesis, and before that by Thomas Wright (ed.), *Alliterative Poem on the Deposition of King Richard II: Ricardi Maydiston de Concordia inter Ric. II et Civitatem London*, Camden Society 3 (1838), 31-51. See also: Thomas Wright, *Political Poems and Songs relating*

the king demanded money from the City of London which the merchants refused, resulting in Richard removing the City's liberties and imposing a huge fine, an episode sometimes dubbed the 'Metropolitan Crisis'. With the City forced to capitulate, eventually a 'reconciliation' was effected with various festivities held in London in August 1392, the detailed descriptions of which in Maidstone's extant work strongly imply that the Carmelite was present as an eyewitness, though as commentators have observed it is 'not an account of the pageant ... but a reading of it', an 'interpretation of its script in terms of contemporary political language'.⁵⁵

The 546 lines of the *Concordia* begin with a praise of friendship, Maidstone addressing the poem (at least in the one surviving copy of it) to 'Richard ... joined to me by double yoke / (You share my name and symbol: we're companions)'. Though Lynn Staley identifies this 'Richard' as the king, David R. Carlson suggests it is most probably a reference to Richard Lavenham, joined to Richard Maidstone by the 'double yoke' of sharing his name and the symbol of the Carmelite crest.⁵⁶

to *English History*, Rolls Series 14 (1859-61), i, 282-300. For further assessment of the work, see: David R. Carlson, 'The invention of the Anglo-Latin public poetry (circa 1367-1402) and its prosody, especially in John Gower', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch (International Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies)*, 39:3 (2004), 389-406; A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 242, 285-86, 309, 313; Marion Turner, *Chaucerian Conflict: Languages of antagonism in late fourteenth-century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), especially 61-64; Federico, 126-9, 144-55; Bowers, *passim*; Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 107-11; John Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 349-75 [370]; Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), *passim*; Lynn Staley in David Aers, Lynn Staley, *The Powers of the Holy: Religion, Politics, and Gender in Late Medieval English Culture* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 249-51; Michael Hanrahan, 'Defamation as Political Contest during the Reign of Richard II', *Medium Ævum*, 72:2 (2003), 259-76; Anthony Goodman, James L. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 244-46, 253. For an extended account of the divide between Richard II and the citizens of London, see: Kipling, 11-21 (on Maidstone, 12 n. 16.); Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461*, *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 475-76. Maidstone was not the first English Carmelite political writer; Robert Baston (d. before 1348), prior of Scarborough, wrote verse on the Battle of Bannockburn (1314), on whom see the resources listed in the previous chapter, n. 175.

⁵⁵ Lynn Staley in David Aers, Lynn Staley, *The Powers of the Holy: Religion, Politics, and Gender in Late Medieval English Culture* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), pp 250; Lynn Staley, *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 169. Pageantry was an important factor in asserting religious and political ideals in medieval Europe, as noted by Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*.

⁵⁶ 'Hinc tibi, Ricarde, duplante iugo michi iuncte / (Nomen et omen habes: sic socius meus es).' Lines 9-10. On the likelihood of this reference being to Lavenham, as well as the possibility that Maidstone wrote different introductions for different recipients of copies of his work, see: Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 32-33; cf. Staley, *Languages of Power*, 189. The reference Maidstone makes to the obedience he owes Richard would make sense in a Carmelite context given that Lavenham was prior of the London friary.



A 20th-century ceramic interpretation (from Aylesford Pottery) of the medieval Carmelite crest, for example as found in archaeological stone remains at Blakeney in Norfolk.⁵⁷

Another possible contender as dedicatee of Maidstone's *Concordia* is Richard Northalis (d. 1397), a Carmelite born in London, possibly of noble parentage, his father perhaps being John Northale (alias Clerk), who was Sheriff of London in 1335-36.⁵⁸ Richard Northalis was a close spiritual and political advisor of King Richard, who regularly entrusted the Whitefriar with affairs of state and diplomatic missions. Northalis was made Bishop of Ossory in 1386, and would rise to become Archbishop of Dublin in 1395, after serving as Lord Chancellor for Ireland. Northalis's London roots, his father's civic role, and the Carmelite's closeness to Richard II certainly would have made him interested in Maidstone's *Concordia*. Whichever Richard is referred to in the dedication, it is possible that the primary audience anticipated for the poem was within the Carmelite Order; there is no reference to Gaunt or other royal patrons, though no doubt it was also written with this broader audience in mind, and copies specifically addressed to such potential benefactors may have been lost.

⁵⁷ Other than perhaps Blakeney, and Maidstone's literary reference, the earliest known visual appearance of the Carmelite crest appears in a *Life of Saint Albert* dated 1499. The symbol is in the form of a *vexillum*, that is, a sign, standard, or banner. With the passing of time this was modified until the present form of a heraldic shield. On the crest see: B. Borchert, 'L'Immaculée dans l'iconographie du Carmel', *Carmelus*, 2 (1955), 121-26, illustrations 19-26; Rafael María López Melús, *El escudo del Carmen* (Onda: Cesca, 1980, second edition Castellón: Apostolado Mariano-Carmelitano, 1993); Emanuele Boaga, *Come pietra vive ... nel Carmelo – Per leggere la storia e la vita del Carmelo* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1993), 135.

⁵⁸ See: A. G. Little, 'Northalis, Richard (d. 1397)', revised by D. B. Johnston, *ODNB*; Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*.



An artist's impression of Richard Northalis
wearing his Carmelite habit and archbishop's pallium.
Painting in the Carmelite Friary, Krakow, Poland.

Like the pageantry it describes, the principal aim of the *Concordia* is to praise Richard II and his queen, Anne of Bohemia, to offer him princely counsel, and to stress the correct social order after a period of civic upheaval.⁵⁹ It is thus somewhat catechetical and didactic in nature, giving both social and religious instruction which in Maidstone's eyes were two inseparable sides of the same coin.⁶⁰ Indeed, Maidstone makes it quite clear that among the causes of the societal 'Metropolitan Crisis' was the outbreak of religious heresy. Among the monarch's first achievements that Maidstone lists is the defence of the Church's ancient faith:

Quid cupit hic servire deo, nisi semper et esse
Pacificum, letum, nilque perire bonum?
Sic fovet ecclesiam, statuens statuum moderamen,
Sternere ne liceat quod statuere patres. (lines 31-34)

⁵⁹ Richard Maidstone describes the king as attractive and youthful, and recent scholarship has shown the importance of the quest for perpetual youth in the monarch's public image and private life: Jonathan Hughes, *The Rise of Alchemy in Fourteenth-Century England: Plantagenet Kings and the Search for the Philosopher's Stone* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012). Hughes notes (albeit rather vaguely) the impact on Richard II of *Sedacina*, an alchemical text written in the 1370s by Guillem Sedacer (William Sedacerius, d. 1382), a Catalan Carmelite friar. It is interesting, given the scope of this thesis, that Sedacer wrote his work in exile (his Order being suspicious of his interests), and called for alchemy to be conducted in secret so that the uninitiated may be excluded. For an edition and study see: Pascale Barthélémy, *La Sedacina ou l'Œuvre au crible: L'alchimie de Guillaume Sedacer, carme catalan de la fin du XIV^e siècle*, 2 vols: *Vol 1: Études et outils*, *Vol 2: Sedacina, édition critique et traduction, suivie du Liber alterquinus*, Textes et Travaux de Chrysopœia 8 (Paris: SÉHA and Milan: Archè, 2002).

⁶⁰ An interesting comparison can be made with the blending of civic and religious symbolism by the Mayor of London a few years later: Caroline Barron, 'Mass at the Election of the Mayor of London, 1406', in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, Princeton Readings in Religion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 333-38. Between submission of this thesis and before its public defence, an insightful study into Maidstone's theological and political verse was published: Lynn Staley, 'Maidstone's Psalms and the King's Speech', in Tamara Atkin, Francis Leneghan (eds.), *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature: From the Conversion to the Reformation* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), 255-70.

*What service will he offer God? He'll always be
In peace and joy, and never let the good decline.
He tends the church, decreeing guidance for its ranks
Not to destroy that which our ancestors decreed.*

Among the various groups who greet the royal party in the streets of London, Maidstone makes sure to describe the encounter with the mendicants, and to stress the king's piety in relation to them:

Musica nulla tacet: cantus, strepitus, neque clangor;
Altaque concussit ethera dulce melos,
Dumque chori fratrum psallunt regemque salutant;
Incipit amplecti mox venerando cruces.
Basia dat crucibus; imitatur eum sua coniux;
Et rogat ut regnum servet uterque deus. (lines 171-76)

*The music's never still: the song, the roar, and shout;
The pleasing melody strikes all the air above,
While choruses of friars sing and greet the king;
He clasps the crosses to him, showing reverence.
He presses them with kisses, and his wife does too
And both send prayers to God to keep and save the realm.*

The link between civic order and right religious faith – a key element of the Ricardian concept of royal power – is again stressed towards the end of the poem when King Richard makes a speech of warning:

Vos ideoque cavete deinceps principis iras;
Contemptu proceres non habetote meos.
Antiquam servate fidem. Nova dogmata semper
Spernite, que veteres non didicere patres.
Ecclesiam quoque catholicam defendite totam:
Non habet illa gradum, quin colat ipse deum.
Iudicibus vestris insit timor onnipotentis;
Pauperis in causam fraus mala ne veniat;

Sit et in urbe mea bona pax – contencio nulla,
Nec conventiculum federis insoliti. (lines 519-528)

*So, citizens, henceforth beware the prince's wrath;
Don't scorn or hold my lords and nobles in contempt.
Observe the ancient law. Reject for evermore
New doctrines that the ancient fathers did not learn.
Also defend and guard the total catholic church:
It has no sacred rank that does not worship God.
Let all your judges hold the Lord in awe;
Let no misuse or fraudulence afflict the poor;
And in my city let there be fair peace – not strife,
And no newfangled gatherings in novel leagues.*

The 'nova dogmata' (new doctrines) concocted by 'conventiculum federis insoliti' (newfangled gatherings in novel leagues) surely refers to Lollard conventicles, and the resonance of such terms cannot have escaped any audience familiar with Lollard and anti-Lollard rhetoric. The king's call for the defence of the Church and all its 'sacred ranks' who offer proper worship is a rebuttal to Lollard critiques of religious orders.⁶¹ By Maidstone's use of a tone of moral authority and socio-religious instruction, as David R. Carlson has pointed out, the *Concordia* is:

not primarily a report ... like Maidstone's other writings, the poem is above all an ideologically driven literary intervention, produced at a particular moment, addressing a particular political circumstance. The nature of the audience it aims at is difficult to divine – certainly clerical, certainly secular or secularizing, possibly even narrowly courtly or courtly-clerical, certainly not popular, though not exactly learned either – but, be that as it may, the poem is propaganda. In certain respects (e.g. the anti-Lollard remarks put into King Richard's mouth), the agenda may be Carmelite or idiosyncratically Maidstonian; chiefly, though, its agenda is royalist. The poem engrosses royal power, apologizing for and promoting a peculiarly Ricardian notion of

⁶¹ Carlson [*Concordia* edition 14-15] highlights the fact that in his critique of Ashwardby, Maidstone accused the Lollards of being 'thieves and killers and church-pillagers' whose refusal to support mendicant alms-giving led to the friars suffering 'more wretched deaths than swine or cattle'. This gives a particular slant on the king's call in the *Concordia* that 'no misuse or fraudulence afflict the poor', the mendicants having embraced voluntary poverty.

“peace,” in the form of submission to royal authority, however wilful or arbitrary it may show itself to be. This is the sense made by the poem of the key term in its title, *Concordia*: blank authoritarianism.⁶²

Comprehending Maidstone’s view of the world order as properly regulated by submission to Crown and Church is essential in understanding his efforts and those of the wider Carmelite Order to both promote right religious thought and counter error.⁶³

In this attitude Richard Maidstone was not idiosyncratic but rather reflecting a world view more broadly endorsed by his Order (the ‘Carmelite agenda’ Carlson refers to). There already existed within the Order by Maidstone’s time a well-established culture of reverence for saintly monarchs – such as Louis IX of France (d. 1270)⁶⁴ – adopted as ‘honorary Carmelites’, and reference has already been made to an anonymous antifraternal poem that criticised the Carmelites for their seduction of the souls of lords and ladies. In the early sixteenth century this poem was copied into the notebook of John Bale, with the introductory note ‘In 1388, England was almost lost to traitors and, in that year, a Lollard composed a very nasty attack on the four mendicant orders in verse as follows.’⁶⁵ This is a reference to the so-called ‘Merciless Parliament’ of 1388 that sentenced to death or dismissed from office a number of Richard II’s retinue. Either in Bale’s mind, or more likely in an unknown Carmelite source he was copying from, there was a clear link between heresy and treason, the actions of the Merciless Parliament and the Lollard poet perceived as being more than coincidence. The fracturing and fragmenting of social order that Maidstone witnessed in the 1380s with the Peasants’ Revolt and the Merciless Parliament was – in the minds of many Carmelites – also reflected within the Church, not only with the rise of Lollardy in England but also in the Western Schism which had split the Latin Church (including the Carmelite Order) in 1378, just two years after he was ordained.

⁶² Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 17-18. This analysis is repeated and elaborated upon in David R. Carlson, ‘Compulsion in Richard Maidstone’s *Concordia* (1392)’, in *John Gower: Poetry and Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century England*, Publications of the John Gower Society VII (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 93-109 [100-01].

⁶³ An interesting episode in 1394, that is the year after Maidstone wrote his *Concordia*, sheds further light on the social and religious scene of the capital at this time. The *London Plea and Memoranda Rolls* recount the appearance of John Rykener before the mayor’s court, charged with prostitution and cross-dressing. Rykener confessed to sexual encounters with, among others, friars, secular clergy, and nuns. Scholars have considered the case as very illuminating for the production of texts in late fourteenth-century London that generate public discourse about political events. See: Jeremy Goldberg, ‘John Rykener, Richard II and the Governance of London’, *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series XLV (2014), 49-70.

⁶⁴ Carmelite legends said that the crusading Saint Louis had brought hermits from Mount Carmel back to France. He is depicted in various Carmelite texts, including the ‘Reconstructed Carmelite Missal’, London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 135v. On Carmelite devotion to the pious French monarch see: Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 245.

⁶⁵ Translation by Richard Copsey, *op. cit.* n. 49.

The Carmelite ‘world view’ of social order is also demonstrated in a painting from c.1400-10. *La Vierge au Manteau du Puy-en-Velay* (‘The Virgin of the Mantle’) was probably created in Paris, perhaps (it is conjectured on stylistic grounds) by an artist from the Low Countries.



La Vierge au Manteau du Puy-en-Velay. Tempera on canvas. Created in Paris c.1400-1410.

Le Puy-en-Velay, Musée Crozatier, inv. 852.9.

The image depicts the infant Jesus in the arms of Mary, her cloak outspread in the Marian iconographic pose known as the ‘Virgin of Mercy’. Within the folds of her protecting mantle the ranks of religious figures are shown on the viewer’s left, arranged from right-to-left in a hierarchy of importance from pope to cardinal, then bishop, Carmelite, and other religious. On the Virgin’s opposite side secular society is likewise arranged, with a left-to-right succession from emperor to king, then lords, bourgeoisie, and common folk. The painting was re-discovered in 1850 in the Carmelite church of Saint-Pierre-des-Carmes in the French town of Le Puy-en-Velay, and various symbols suggest it was (co-)commissioned by the Order: Mary’s cloak is held open by her two sisters (the ‘Three Marys’ was a particularly Carmelite devotion); the kneeling Whitefriar (probably the

painting's patron, Carmelite prior Nicolas Coq) has particular prominence immediately behind the bishop; and greatest prominence among the religious figures, even in front of the pope, is Elijah, spiritual father of the Order (perhaps numbered among the ranks of the Church Militant rather than Church Triumphant because of debates about whether his ascent to Paradise numbered him among the saints of Earth or Heaven). With its careful arrangement of religious and secular figures, rank by rank, the canvas has been interpreted as a counterimage to the divisions of the Great Schism, and its perspective on the right ordering of Church and Society strongly reflects that of Richard Maidstone in his *Concordia*.⁶⁶



A similar French Carmelite depiction of social ordering is found in this half-page miniature painting of the mid-fifteenth-century 'Carmelite Missal of Nantes', produced for and purchased by the Whitefriars of that city. It depicts the Virgin Mary and Christ Child flanked by kneeling clerics. Behind the pope are Carmelites wearing habits, one of whom also wears a cardinal's hat. On the opposite side, in order of rank, are the Holy Roman Emperor, King of France, Duke of Brittany, and courtiers. Princeton, University Library, Ms. Garrett 40, fo. 229v (detail).

⁶⁶ See: H el ene Millet, Claudia Rabel, *La Vierge au Manteau du Puy-en-Velay: Un chef-d' uvre du gothique international (vers 1400–1410)* (Lyon: Editions Fage, 2011); Stephan Kemperdick, Friso Lammertse (eds.), *The Road to Van Eyck, Exhibition Catalogue* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2012).

Partly because of its socio-religious endorsement of ‘blank authoritarianism’, and partly on stylistic grounds, most modern critics have not received Richard Maidstone’s *Concordia* as well as his English verse,⁶⁷ but the poem is extremely helpful in reinforcing what we know of Maidstone’s views on social and religious matters, and – for him – the inextricable nature of the two. As Edden and Carlson have pointed out with regard to Maidstone’s academic work, what mattered for Maidstone was the proper exercise of legitimate authority: ‘The mendicancy that Maidstone defended was right because authority – popes and lesser officers of the hierarchy, fathers of the church and other saints, and the established tradition of church practice – said it was right.’⁶⁸ The fact that Church and State, at home and abroad, were riven and in revolt in the 1390s was deeply distressing to Richard Maidstone and many of his co-religionists.



A visual depiction of the link between orthodoxy and good governance is perhaps made in a page from Thomas Netter’s *Doctrinale*: Oxford, Merton College, Ms. 319, fo. 41 (detail). As described in a previous chapter, the roundels of this illumination depict Thomas Netter pointing at John Wyclif and his burning books. The central image depicts the elevation of the host during the Eucharist. The priest’s chasuble is of the same colour and design as the cloak worn by the crowned king kneeling in worship. This perhaps suggests a link between right religious and secular authority.

⁶⁷ The remark of Thomas Wright is typical: ‘as a work of taste it does little credit to its author, for it is poorly written, and some lines sin grievously against the sage rules of Latin prosody’ [*Alliterative Poem*, vii]. This is a salient reminder that writing in Latin was no guarantee of stylistic prowess in medieval England. Richard Copsey [*ODNB*] says that Maidstone’s Latin ode is ‘marked more by good intentions and length rather than by any poetical skills’. Fleming is slightly more favourable in describing the *De Concordia* as ‘spirited if sycophantic’: ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 370.

⁶⁸ Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 16-17.

Maidstone's *Nobis natura florem*

Recent scholarship has persuasively demonstrated that the *Concordia* was not Richard Maidstone's only piece of Latin verse. In 2009 Michael van Dussen convincingly attributed a Latin verse eulogy of Anne of Bohemia, Richard's II's queen, to Maidstone.⁶⁹ *Nobis natura florem* is similar in many stylistic regards to the *Concordia*, and in likewise giving an apparently eye-witness account of the very public royal obsequies it would seem that Maidstone was in London for the funeral on 3rd August 1394.



Tomb effigy of Anne of Bohemia in Westminster Abbey, London. Gilt-bronze, c.1395-97.

Though only 100 lines in length, *Nobis natura florem* again allows Richard Maidstone to stress the link between royal power and piety, describing Anne in somewhat beatific terms. The Carmelite describes her royal lineage and the virtues of her imperial parents:

Nam de se gignunt Annam, que nomine tanto
 Digna vocari sit, 'gratia' quod resonat.
 Cogaris asserere quod gratia fulsit in anna,
 In qua fulserunt spes, pietas et amor:
 Spes pec[c]ata fugat, pietas succurrit egeno,
 Regna mererique celica fecit amor. (lines 23-28)

⁶⁹ The text is transcribed and translated by Michael van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies of Anne of Bohemia', *Medium Aevum*, 78:2 (2009), 231-60. See also: Michael van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 86 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 26-31. On Anne of Bohemia see: Nigel Saul, 'Anne (1366–1394)', *ODNB*.

*For from themselves they brought forth Anna, worthy to be called
 By such a name, which resounds 'grace'.
 You will have to admit that grace shone forth in Anne,
 In whom shone hope, piety and love:
 Hope drives away sins, piety runs to the aid of the destitute,
 And love caused [her] to win [earn/merit?] heavenly kingdoms.*

In Anne's driving away of sins and aiding the destitute we hear echoes of Maidstone's endorsement in the *Concordia* of the royal routing of heresy and protecting those (including the mendicants) who live poor. The Carmelite goes on to stress the orthodox piety of Anne who was 'betrothed in the eyes of the Church' (line 42). Given her spiritual qualities, it is only fitting that Anne's obsequies were attended by impressive numbers of significant prelates, lending the event an air of canonisation:

Tales exequie non sunt vise muneris huius,
 Quoniam plebs orat clerus et officiat,
 Primates aderant, bini cum plesule pluri,
 Quos numero constat sistere quinquedecim.
 Quinquaginta viri varii dicti monachorum
 Abbates assunt: splendida turba fuit.
 Addas xv quos noveris esse priores:
 Cum reliquo clero psallere suffragia.
 Ex alio latere secularis et alta potestas
 Affuit: obtulit munera precipua. (lines 55-64)

*For the service at hand, such a funeral was never seen,
 For the commoners pray, and the clergy officiates,
 The primates were there, both with many bishops,
 Whose number is agreed to be fifty.
 Some fifty different men titled abbots of monks
 Are present: there was a splendid crowd.
 Add XV whom you know to be priors:
 They chanted intercessions with the other clergy.
 And from the other side the high power of the secular arm
 Was there: it offered special tributes.*

Maidstone goes on to list the ranks of dukes and knights present, and again his motivation seems not to be to present so much a factual account of the event as to use it as propaganda for the proper ordering of society, rank upon rank arranged in hierarchy. The commoners are present to pray, but the officiating role in prayer belongs to the clergy, overseen by the various ranks of the magisterium. The priors, among whom must be ranked a number of mendicant superiors, have the specific role of chanting intercessions.⁷⁰ At this national event the Church leadership on one side is mirrored ‘from the other side [by] the high power of the secular arm’. Thus, Maidstone sets out his vision of the right ordering of God’s world, albeit that – as he goes on to reflect – mortality wastes all, and ‘Neither any dignity upon the throne, nor any bodily vigour in their world / Can destroy the decree of death’ (lines 77-78) which is no respecter of noble birth, eloquence of speech, fortune or glory. In both his Latin poems – the *Concordia* and *Nobis natura florem* – Richard Maidstone sets out in literature a traditionalist view of Church and Social order that would be depicted visually a decade later in *La Vierge au Manteau du Puy-en-Valey*.

Maidstone’s *Annulus philosophicus* commentary (?) and London book production

1394 may have been a particularly prolific period for Richard Maidstone as a writer, if he can be credited with composing in the same year as his *Nobis natura florem* a commentary on the *Annulus philosophicus*, a perpetual Church almanac drawn-up by fellow Carmelite John Avon. Enabling readers ‘to find the moveable and immoveable feasts, the aspects of the heavens, the changes of the moon and all things relating to the ordering of the Divine Office throughout the year’, Maidstone’s reputed interest in such a text reinforces the impression we have of the Carmelite as someone interested in the celestial ordering of the world.⁷¹

Whether commenting on Avon’s almanac or not, it may have been a document that Maidstone consulted whilst in the London Carmelite convent, and his residence there at various points in the last quarter of the fourteenth century meant that he was present in the capital at a time of great literary and

⁷⁰ Evidence exists of Carmelites playing a role in certain royal obsequies. In 1368 John Swafham, Bishop of Cloyne, took part in the funeral cortège of John of Gaunt’s wife, Duchess Blanche, at St. Paul’s Cathedral in London: Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (London: Longman, 1992), 244.

⁷¹ The description of the *Annulus* comes from Copsey, *Biographical Register*. As Copsey notes, ‘John Bale saw a copy of this commentary in the house of Dr. Robert Record c.1550 and it was Record who attributed the work to Richard of Maidstone.’ Although this attribution is not widely accepted, it is telling that Record considered Maidstone the author. Avon’s almanac, written in 1348, is now lost, known only indirectly through a commentary that survives in three manuscripts: London, British Library, Royal Ms. 12 E XVIII, fo. 1-40 (a 15th-century copy which dates the work to 1394); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 68 (S.C. 2142), fo. 1-13 (a 14th/15th-century copy); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 98, fo. 41-48 (15th-century copy, incomplete).

artistic creativity.⁷² London was a major centre of book production, and (as discussed in a previous chapter) it seems likely that the famous *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* was ‘produced in or at the direction of London Whitefriars’ during this period (about 1375 when Maidstone was a student in London).⁷³

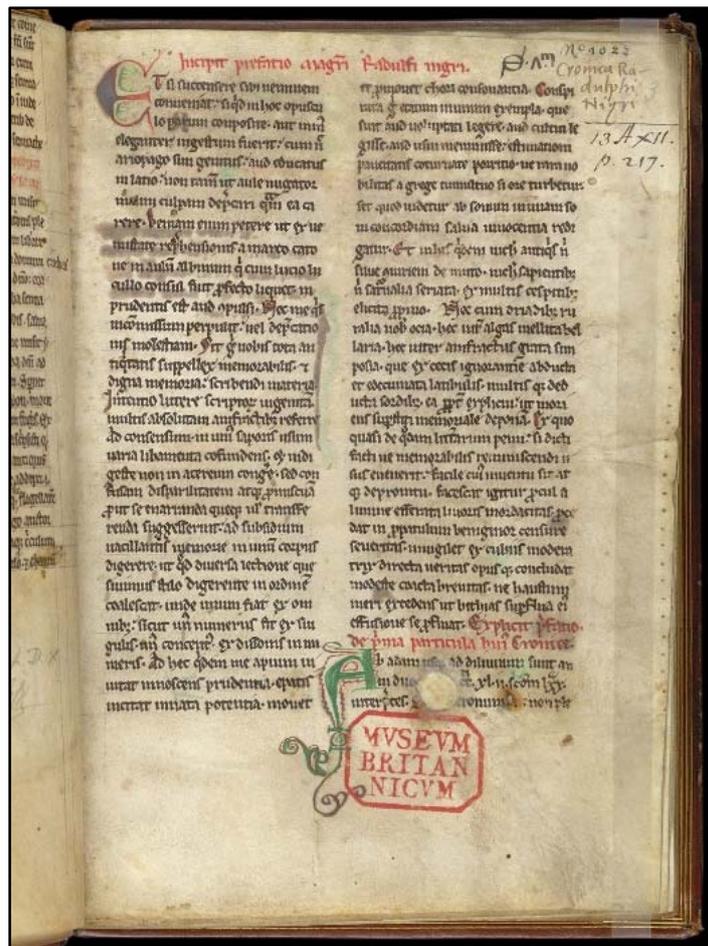


A miniature in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* depicting Pentecost, when the apostles were divinely enabled to speak in various tongues. London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 27v (detail).

⁷² On questions of cultural identity in the late medieval capital, see: Alison Wiggins, ‘The city and the text: London literature’, in Elaine Treharne, Greg Walker (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 540-56; Ralph Hanna, ‘Images of London in medieval English literature’, in Lawrence Manley (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 19-33 [Maidstone at 24-25].

⁷³ Valerie Edden, ‘A Fresh Look at the Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: London, British Library, Ms. Additional 29704-05’, in Stephen Kelly, John J. Thompson (eds.), *Imagining the Book, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 111-26 [112]. On the London book trade around this time see: Maureen Jurkowski, ‘Lollard Book Producers in London in 1414’, in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 201-226.

We will also see in later chapters, with regard to Maidstone’s contemporary Carmelite writers such as Richard Lavenham, that the London friary was a centre of copying and disseminating religious literature in both Latin and English. The library of the London Whitefriars was also a repository of texts of heresy and anti-heresy law, a subject highly pertinent to Carmelites.⁷⁴ It was no doubt one of the main resources consulted by a former student of the house, Thomas Netter, and if the immense scholarship of his *Doctrinale* is a reflection of the books available to him, then the library of the London Whitefriars must have been enormous.⁷⁵



This copy of chronicle texts, dating from the first half of the thirteenth century, was once in the library of the London Whitefriars; now London, British Library, Ms. Royal 13 A XII, fo. 3.

⁷⁴ This statement is made by Ian Forrest, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 100. On the library at the London Whitefriars see: Nick Holder, *The Medieval Friaries of London: A topographic and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution*, Doctoral Thesis (Egham: Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), 121-22.

⁷⁵ This suggestion is made by Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*, who also notes that ‘John Leland, in his description of the London Carmelite house library, states that Netter gave many books to it’. Three surviving manuscripts contain a note that they were part of Netter’s gift to the London Carmelites: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 730 (Cassian’s *Collationes*); Oxford, Trinity College, Ms. 58 (a glossed psalter); Cambridge, St. John’s College, Ms. I.15 (computistical material).

Death of Richard Maidstone

After a career, both illustrious and contentious, of promoting his understanding of right faith, Richard Maidstone died on 1st June 1396 and was buried in the cloister at Aylesford Priory, according to John Bale over a century later,⁷⁶ who credited Maidstone with versatile achievements, describing him as ‘poeta ... rhetor, philosophus, mathematicus ac theologus.’⁷⁷ If Bale’s dating of Maidstone’s death is accurate, and if we accept from his ordination record in 1376 the likely date of his birth as the early 1350s, then it would seem that the Whitefriar died rather prematurely in his forties. Although death under or around the age of fifty is quite credible due to mishap or illness (the latter might account for Maidstone having returned to what was probably his *conventus natus*), it is not a typical age of mortality among medieval Carmelite Doctors of Theology. If Maidstone died in his sixties or seventies (as was more common in the Middle Ages for those who survived beyond their thirties), this would lend more credence to Bale’s statement that Maidstone might have been a student in Oxford before entering the Carmelite Order, as well as afterwards.

In summing up Richard Maidstone’s biography, the germane points for a study of his Order’s promotion and policing of vernacular theology are: that he was active in Kent, London and Oxford at a time of both innovation and restriction in matters artistic and theological; that he was contemporary with Carmelites both in England and abroad who were writing and preaching in the vernacular; that like them he was interested in devotional as well as academic literature; and he became embroiled in the early debates against the followers of John Wyclif. Against a backdrop of schism, heresy, and popular rebellion against those who were his patrons and confessees, Richard Maidstone commented, in Latin verse and sermons, on issues of local and national importance, promoting a conservative and even authoritarian view of the inter-related matters of secular and religious authority. Though opposed to discussion of complex theological matters before the laity and in the vernacular, Richard Maidstone wrote at least one (and possibly more) theological texts in English, and we now turn to consider *The Penitential Psalms* in more detail.

⁷⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 52v.

⁷⁷ Quoted by Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 370.



The opening of Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* (following Lydgate's *Prayer to the Virgin*) in a miscellany of religious prose and verse compiled between 1450 and 1467. One of the most beautiful copies of the Carmelite's text, it begins with a 6-line initial in particoloured blue, green, and pink on a gold ground, infilled with a richly shaded flower, with a full bar and foliage border. San Marino, Huntington Library, Ms. HM 142, fo. 22v.

2. Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*

Though a relatively prolific (if ostensibly anonymous) writer of Latin prose and verse covering a diverse range of subjects – spiritual, scientific, and secular – Richard Maidstone is best known today, as perhaps he was in his own day, for a religious text in English, *The Penitential Psalms*, published in a critical edition in 1990 by Valerie Edden.⁷⁸

Attracting the interest (and normally praise) of numerous modern scholars, *The Penitential Psalms* has received only passing attention for what it reveals about Maidstone's views towards vernacular theology,⁷⁹ rarely set in the broader context of the Carmelite Order's preoccupation with both promoting and restricting theological speculation. In the second half of this chapter I want to analyse in greater depth the text of *The Penitential Psalms*, considering Maidstone's artistic technique, the sources and genres he drew upon, the various audiences his work attracted, and the place of the poem within the specific interests of the Carmelite Order as regards the importance of the Scriptures and the late fourteenth-century Bible debate.

The Penitential Psalms is a vernacular translation in verse of biblical texts, the so-called *septem Psalmi pœnitentiales*, that is, seven of the Psalms of David lamenting the Psalmist's sinfulness, often prayed in the late Middle Ages, increasingly by the laity, from Primers or Books of Hours as a form of para-liturgical Office or in preparation for or in satisfaction of the sacrament of confession.⁸⁰ In the corpus of known medieval Carmelite texts in English, Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* survives in the

⁷⁸ Valerie Edden, (ed.) *Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms*, Middle English Texts 22 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1990). Complete and partial versions of *The Penitential Psalms* from individual manuscripts, and various considerations of the text, have also been published including: F. J. Furnivall, *Political, Religious and Love Poems from Lambeth MS. 306 and other sources*, Early English Text Society, Original Series 15 (1866); M. Adler, M. Kaluza, 'Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole, III', *Englische Studien*, 10 (1887), 215-55; Carl Horstmann, (ed.) *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript – Part 1*, Early English Text Society Original Series 98 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1892), 12-16; F. S. Ellis (ed.), *Psalmi Penitentiales* (London: Kelmscott Press, 1894); Mabel Day, *The Wheatley Manuscript*, Early English Text Society Original Series 155 (London: Oxford University Press, 1921); Curt Bühler, 'The Kelmscott Edition of the Psalmi Penitentiales and Morgan Manuscript', *Modern Language Notes*, 60 (1945), 16-22; Valerie Edden, 'Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*', *Leeds Studies in English*, 17 (1986), 77-94, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain, Volume 2 – Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 106-24; George Shuffelton (ed.), *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), 279-310. I am currently working on a Modern English translation for Richard Copsey's collection of *Early Carmelite Documents* (Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming). *The Penitential Psalms* is listed in the *Index of Middle English Verse*, entries 1961, 2157, 3755 (see also the online version at www.dimev.net); Carleton Brown, *A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916), vol 2, entries 1215, 2421; J. Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), Volume 2 – Part 4 (1970): Charlotte D'Evelyn, Frances A. Foster, 'Translations and Paraphrases of the Bible and Commentaries', 388, 540-41; James H. Morey, *Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 177-80.

⁷⁹ See, however, Lynn Staley, 'The Penitential Psalms and Vernacular Theology', *English Language Notes: Literary History and the Religious Turn*, 44.1 (Spring 2006), 113-20.

⁸⁰ On the growth of penitential practice in the Middle Ages, see the following chapter on Lavenham; Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 9; Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 10-12 (especially the secondary literature listed in n. 42).

largest number and widest dispersal of copies: twenty-seven containing the poem in full or in fragment.⁸¹

Attribution

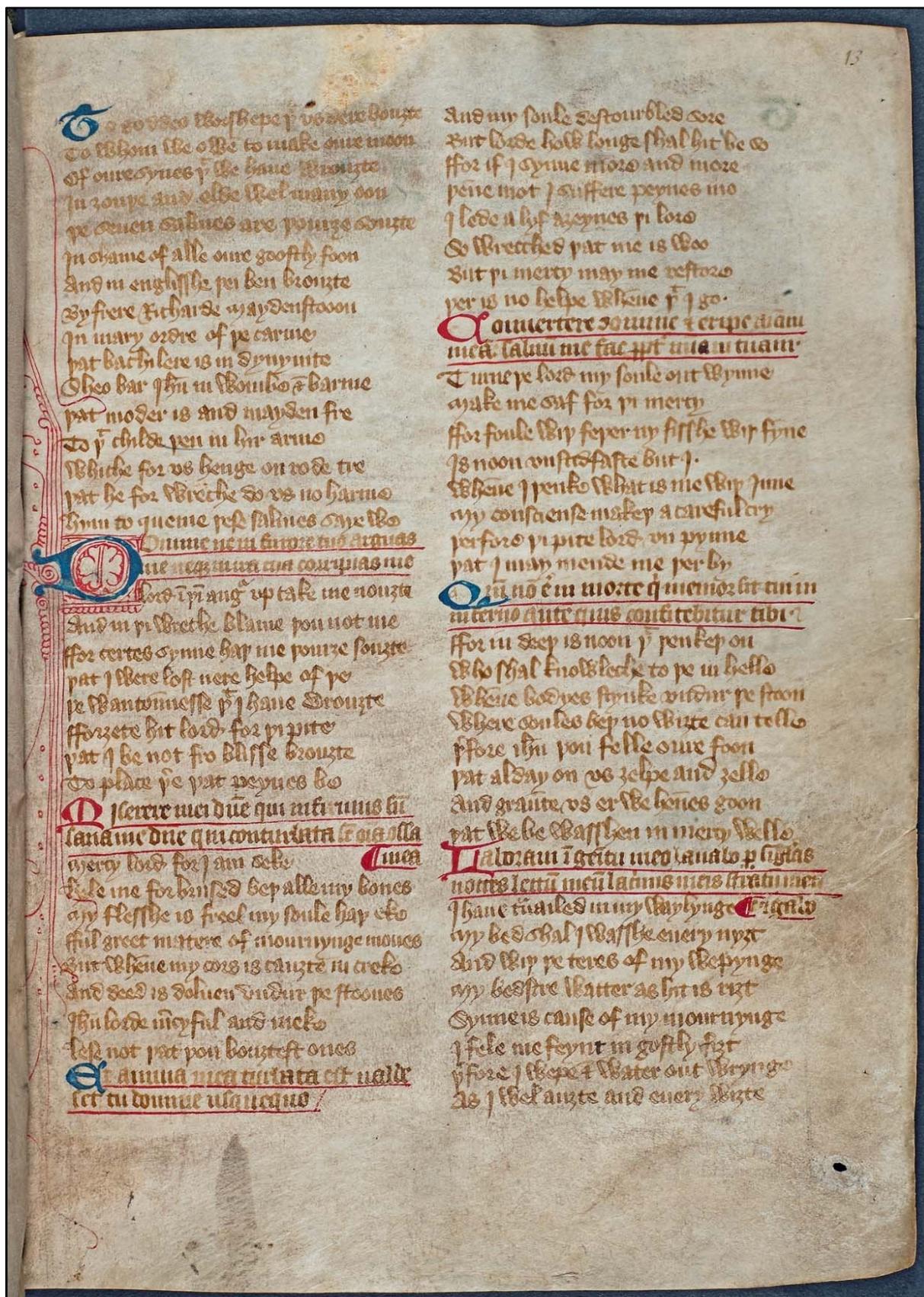
Only two of these manuscripts attribute the work directly to Maidstone, where he is described in an additional second stanza as ‘frere Richarde Maydenstoo[o]n / In Mary ordre of þe Carme / þat bachilere is in dyuynite’.⁸² It is striking that apart from the author’s name, the two credentials given in this attribution are Maidstone’s academic qualification (Bachelor of Divinity), and his belonging to the Order of Carmel which is under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary. As I will argue with regard to later vernacular texts produced by English Whitefriars, the identification of the author as Carmelite in prefaces such as this, albeit brief, may have been as important in establishing his theological credentials as the fact that he has a Bachelor’s degree in Divinity, basking in the Order’s reputation for orthodoxy.

Valerie Edden remarks that, rather than being authorial, these introductory lines were probably added by later scribes.⁸³ However, no scholar has ever disputed the attribution of the poem to Richard Maidstone. Even if these lines are indeed a later and non-authorial addition it adds further weight to the perceived significance of *The Penitential Psalms* being identified as Carmelite, and specifically Maidstonian, in origin. Perhaps as an act of humility on his part, Maidstone did not identify himself as the author of any of his other metrical writings in either Latin or English, leaving it to contemporaries and later antiquarians to attribute works to his name. However, for reasons discussed shortly, we cannot rule out that the attributive stanza is in fact authorial, or at least written by close contemporaries.

⁸¹ Twenty-one manuscripts contain the penitential psalms (mostly in some truncated form since only six present the text in its entirety) and six preserve Psalm 50 only. All the manuscripts are listed in the appendix, and they – along with their relationships to one other – are described in full in Edden’s edition. A brief codicological survey is included in my Masters Thesis.

⁸² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson A 389 (spelling changed slightly) and Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Ms. English 5: in Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 109.

⁸³ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 33. Edden bases her statement on the assumption that Maidstone ‘must have been a doctor by the time he wrote this poem’, rather than a bachelor, a point I contest below. As Edden points out [13] one of the two manuscripts containing the attribution, Rawlinson A 389, belonged to the prebends of Lichfield from at least the second half of the fifteenth century. We can only speculate who might have owned it prior to this, and who might have incorporated the words of attribution if they are not authorial.



Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson A 389, fo. 13,

the base text for Edden’s critical edition, which includes the stanza attributing authorship to Maidstone, and clear rubrication of the Latin psalm verses.

When we consider the attributive stanza in its entirety, a reason why it might have been included in, subsequently added to, or indeed removed from the authorial original becomes apparent:

By frere Richarde Maydenstoo[o]n
 In Mary ordre of þe Carme
 Þat bachilere is in dyuynite;
 Sheo bar Ihesu in wombe and barme,
 Þat modir is and mayden fre,
 To þat childe þen in hir arme,
 Whiche for vs henge on rode tre,
 Þat he for wreche do vs no harme,
 Hym to queme þese salmes saye we.

The final line – ‘þese salmes saye we’ – suggests a collective recitation of *The Penitential Psalms*, perhaps performed communally by Whitefriars who knew the author and were practiced in communal recitation of the Latin Psalter, or perhaps lay persons linked to ‘Mary ordre of þe Carme’ (suggestions we shall return to later).⁸⁴ It is understandable, perhaps, that as *The Penitential Psalms* spread in popularity, particularly for private devotion, the explicitly Carmelite and perhaps communal traits of the attributive stanza came to be dropped by copiers and compilers.

Whatever the provenance of the attributive stanza, it seems safe to assume that its composer was correct in identifying the work as Richard Maidstone’s, for as will be demonstrated, the subject matter is well suited to the pastoral interests of a friar. His authorship was further attested to some two centuries later by John Bale, who records amongst Maidstone’s writings *In septem psalmos, Anglice, incipit Ad honorem dei, qui nos redemit*.⁸⁵ One manuscript (Digby 18) attributes the work to Richard Rolle.⁸⁶ The style is not in keeping with the known work of the Hermit of Hampole, but significantly this is not the only occasion when Rolle and Carmelite authors are mistaken for one another by later readers, as will be shown in later chapters.

⁸⁴ Edden states ‘The *we* and *us* in the stanza refer clearly to those who use *The Psalms* as a devotional exercise rather than to their author’: *Penitential Psalms* edition, 33.

⁸⁵ Bale (1557) 498. Quoted in Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 10.

⁸⁶ On the Rolle attribution, see: Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 10, 12, 21.

Date of composition

If Maidstone's authorship of *The Penitential Psalms* is not a matter of debate among scholars, then the date of composition is. Richard Copey claims that it was during Maidstone's time as a baccalaureus (an unknown period but presumably early in his life, either before or shortly after his entry into the Order) that he wrote *The Penitential Psalms*, which would concur with the designation of him as 'bachilere in dyvynite' in the two attributive manuscripts.⁸⁷ Valerie Edden, on the other hand, claims in her 1990 edition that Maidstone 'must have been a doctor by the time he wrote this poem', because the obvious appeal of *The Penitential Psalms* to a lay audience would suggest that the work 'may reasonably be assigned to the last decade of his life, when he was more involved in public life'.⁸⁸ However, this argument for composition in the 1390s is not conclusive, since most friars were – to some extent – engaged in public life throughout their membership of the Order by virtue of their blending private meditation with active pastoral ministry; as Richard Maidstone himself argued when confronting John Ashwardby, by professing evangelical poverty all friars were inherently engaged in evangelism and thus were under public scrutiny (and hence deserving of public support). Furthermore, there seems no particular reason why Carmelites should have risen in prominence before embarking upon public literary efforts (as will later be argued in the case of Richard Spalding who wrote poetry whilst still engaged in initial studies, perhaps as a means of making a name for himself, literally). Copey's conclusion that 'there seems no good justification for ignoring the title of "batchelor", nor any reason for supposing that the work was not written in the 1380s' is reasonable; indeed, the precision of the title 'bachilere' compels us to reassess Edden's statement that the attributive stanza was a later addition when 'doctor' would have given Maidstone's authorship more authority.⁸⁹ The dating of *The Penitential Psalms* to the 1380s onwards is also supported by the fact that Maidstone's choice of verse-form, the eight-line ballade stanza, was – according to Vincent Gillespie – 'often used for such moral poems after about 1380'.⁹⁰

The 1380s thus seems a very reasonable period for composition of *The Penitential Psalms*. A slightly earlier date might be argued if we accept the possibility, raised by Bale and discussed in the first part of this chapter, that Maidstone entered the Carmelite Order after having already been a fellow of Merton College, in which case a date for his Bachelor of Theology degree some years before his

⁸⁷ See: Copey's entries on Maidstone in the *ODNB* and *Biographical Register*.

⁸⁸ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 33, 11. In her 1996 article, she widens this scope slightly to 'some time in the last two decades of the fourteenth century' [91, n. 2].

⁸⁹ Copey, *Biographical Register*. Staley likewise suggests *The Penitential Psalms* 'may have been finished either sometime around 1380, just after he completed his Bachelor of Divinity and was teaching at Oxford, or possibly a decade later' (*Languages of Power*, 189).

⁹⁰ Vincent Gillespie, 'Moral and Penitential Lyrics', in Thomas G. Duncan (ed.), *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 68-95 [81].

ordination in 1376 is possible. The lines attributing his authorship could have been added some years after the poem was written, so it is unclear whether the reference to him being both a Bachelor and a Carmelite is a useful indicator of the date of composition, but if copies were made by scribes who knew Maidstone (which is not necessarily the case), then the attributive stanza would give us a *terminus ad quem* of *c.* 1390 when it seems Maidstone received his doctorate and thus would no longer be referred to by his lower academic qualification. The likelihood of *c.* 1390 being the last possible date for composition is further corroborated by the fact that Psalm 50 from *The Penitential Psalms* appears in the Vernon Manuscript (previously discussed) which is usually dated around that time.⁹¹

The issue of dating *The Penitential Psalms* is further complicated by the fact that, according to Valerie Edden, at various points in the text Maidstone seems to have derived some of his lexicon of words from idiosyncratic translations used in the Psalter of the Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible, usually dated to the mid-1390s.⁹² Since Maidstone died in 1396 I am inclined to think it more likely that either this is coincidental; or the result of later scribal revision; or that the reviser(s) of the Wycliffite Bible may have borrowed terms from Maidstone rather than the other way around; or that both Carmelite and Wycliffite derived inspiration from a common source; or used words in common parlance that had not previously been set down in a text which has survived.

Taking all the evidence into consideration, Richard Maidstone's composition of *The Penitential Psalms* seems to have been sometime between the early- to mid-1370s and 1390, most likely the 1380s. When we consider the social and religious turmoil of that period – typified by events such as the Western Schism of 1378, the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and John Wyclif's condemnation by the Earthquake Council of 1382 – we can appreciate that Richard Maidstone was writing at a time of significant debate over spiritual matters, particularly issues of authority and language.⁹³

⁹¹ This observation is made by O. S. Pickering, 'Middle English Metaphysical Verse? Imagery and Style in Some Fourteenth-Century Religious Poems', in O. S. Pickering (ed.), *Individuality and Achievement in Middle English Poetry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), 85-104 [96].

⁹² Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 109, n. 52. As Edden observes: 'It is interesting that Maidstone appears to have used the later version of the Wycliffite Bible, giving striking proof that initially vernacular versions of the Bible did not excite hostility even from the most vocal of Wycliffe's opponents' [1986 article, 80]. Edden gives various examples ['Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*', 92 n. 16; *Penitential Psalms* edition, 109 n. 52]. Shuffelton comments that 'despite the irony that Maidstone seems to have borrowed a few translations from the later Wycliffite Bible, the extensive commentary and orthodox interpretation would have kept this text from the kind of suspicion faced by some vernacular translations of scripture and doctrine after the Wycliffite controversy' [534].

⁹³ The situation of Carmelites writing in 1370s England can be contrasted with that of Carmelites in France at the same period. In *c.* 1372-74, the Carmelite Jean Golein (1325-1403) translated a popular religious text, William Durand's *Rationale*, from Latin into French at the request of the Valois king Charles V. In his act of translation Golein did not have to contend with the same social and religious turmoils witnessed by his English confrere. See: Timothy M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), xxii-xxiii.

In terms of the most likely locations where Maidstone composed *The Penitential Psalms*, it is logical to posit the places where he studied and ministered, viz. Oxford, London, or Kent, all of which, were seats of ecclesiastical and royal power, and thus sites of notable religious and social protest.

Poetic method / layout

In its most complete version, *The Penitential Psalms* contains 119 eight-line stanzas of English octosyllables, which follow an *abababab* rhyme scheme. In most manuscript copies Richard Maidstone prefaces each stanza by quoting, over two lines, the original biblical text of the Psalms in Latin (apparently following the divisions of Rolle's *English Psalter* rather than the Vulgate).⁹⁴ After the Latin psalm text Maidstone opens each stanza with a paraphrase in English verse, offering a 'close translation' of the Bible that is 'careful and accurate', a telling indication that the Carmelite sought to present the sacred text faithfully.⁹⁵ Maidstone then concludes the stanza with a meditation or prayer which often shifts the focus away from the psalm's Old/First Testament narrative towards an allegorical pondering of the New, usually with a Christological or eschatological perspective. In other words, each stanza consists of two linked quatrains, the first translating the Psalm text, and the second expounding upon it. The opening stanza of the first penitential psalm ('Lord, do not rebuke me in your anger, or discipline me in your wrath')⁹⁶ is a typical example:

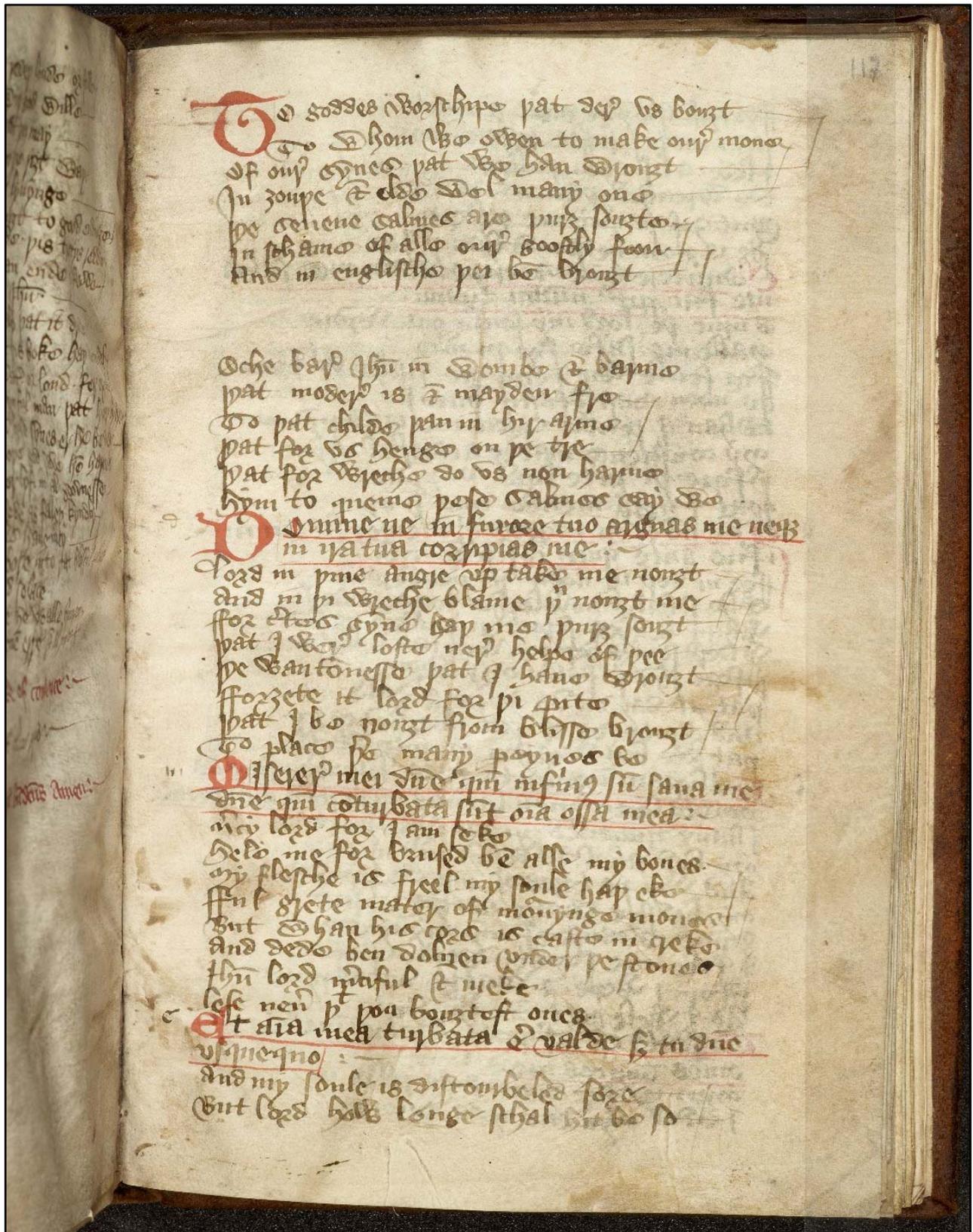
Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me.

Lord in þin angur vptake me nouzte
 And in þi wrethe blame þou not me,
 For certes synne haþ me þourze souzte,
 þat I were lost, nere help of þe.
 Þe wantounnesse þat I haue wrouzte,
 Forzete hit lord, for þi pite,
 þat I be not fro blisse brouzte
 To place þere þat peynes be. (lines 9-16)

⁹⁴ 'Whilst in some places his version of the Latin seems to be entirely his own, there appears to be many places where it is indebted to previous English psalters, notably Rolle's which it resembles in combining meditation with translation', Edden (1996), 80.

⁹⁵ Pickering (1997), 97; Edden (1996), 80. A comparable translation technique is found in Robert Ray Black, Raymond St-Jacques (eds.), *The Middle English Glossed Psalter, Edited from Cambridge, Magdalene College, Ms. Pepys 2498*, in 2 parts, Middle English Texts 45 and 46 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012).

⁹⁶ Modern English translations of the Psalms are taken from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, New Revised Standard Version (New York: Oxford University Press, revised edition 1994).



The opening (with truncated introductory verse) of Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* as it appears in Manchester, Manchester University, John Rylands Library, Ms. Eng. 51, fo. 117.

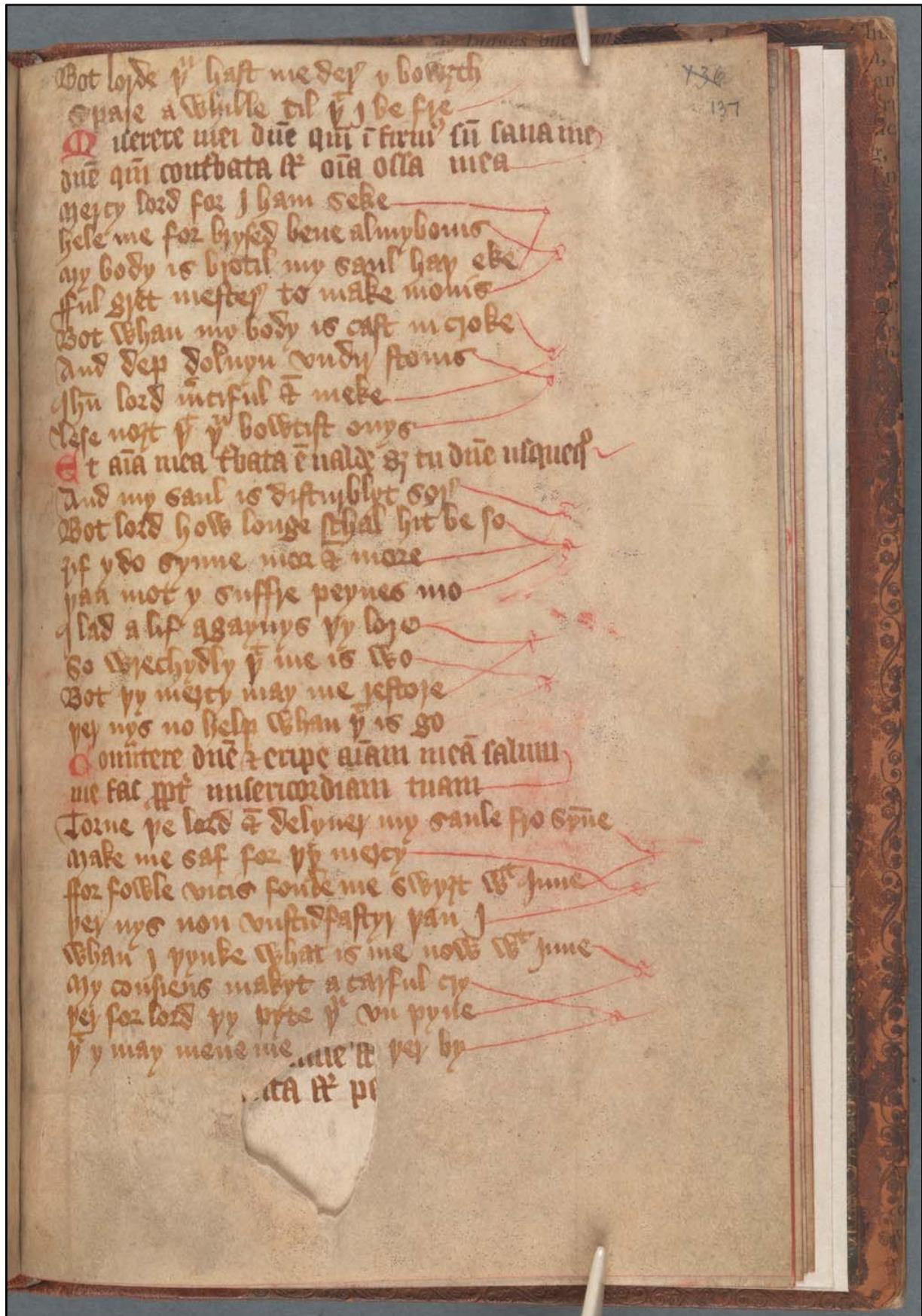
In just eight lines of compact metre, Richard Maidstone achieves much, translating the literal meaning of the Latin text into English, and expanding upon it to make the Scriptures directly and personally relevant to his audience. The first person ‘I’ voice of the psalmist becomes the voice of both the author/penitent and his audience, the immediacy of the words enhanced by the tight alliterative rhythm and rhyme. The same artistic precision and intellectual compression is found in the following stanza (‘Be gracious to me, O Lord, for I am languishing; O Lord, heal me, for my bones are shaking with terror’):

Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum; sana me, Domine, quoniam conturbata sunt omnia ossa mea.

Mercy, lord, for I am seke;
 Hele me, forbrused beþ alle my bones,
 My flesshe is freel, my soule haþ eke
 Ful greet matere of mournynge mones.
 But whenne my cors is [caste] in creke
 And deed is doluen vndur þe stones,
 Ihesu lorde, mercyful and meke,
 Lese not þat þou bouztest ones. (lines 17-24)

Again, within just eight lines of verse Maidstone not only translates the Bible text into English but articulates the penitent’s sense of his own mortality, weaving in a prayer referring to the salvific work of Jesus Christ (nearly every stanza of the poem invokes his mercy). In so doing, Maidstone helps the reader to overcome some of the ‘genuine difficulties’ of understanding the Psalms that many medieval readers experienced.⁹⁷ Maidstone provides a seamless progression of ideas conveyed in a few short lines, testimony to the Carmelite’s considerable skill as a poet.

⁹⁷ As Shuffelton [532] observes, Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* respond to the fact that ‘the psalms posed genuine difficulties for medieval readers. Many of these difficulties were the kinds posed by any lyric poetry read outside of its original context; the form, voice, and historical context of the Hebrew poems were largely obscure to medieval readers. Scholastic exegesis never resolved debates about whether or not David wrote all 150 psalms, and individual phrases prompted considerable dispute.’



The second stanza of Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* as it appears, with rhymes highlighted by rubricated lines, in Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 156, fo. 137.

The Four Senses of Scripture

Richard Maidstone's poetic skills reveal something of his attitudes towards interpreting the Bible. Just as the author of *The Lamentations* – quite possibly Maidstone – had said that clerics were obliged to share the fruits of their learning with the unlettered, so in many respects *The Penitential Psalms* is a sharing of the Carmelite's theological formation with a broader audience, because – without ever explicitly it stating as such – the poem is a rendering of the academic notion of 'The Four Senses of Scripture' in the format of vernacular theology.

Medieval biblical exegetes from John Cassian onwards believed that there were four ways of interpreting the Sacred Scriptures: (1) the literal/historical meaning; (2) the allegorical reading; (3) the figurative or tropological interpretation; and (4) the symbolic or mystical extrapolation.⁹⁸ Though devised by scholars, the notion of Scripture having four senses or layers of meaning to be interpreted was widely known in the medieval Church, the idea being explained in the vernacular as well as in Latin by a diverse range of preachers, writers and texts.

For example, in Chapter 12 of *The General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible*, written by one or more anonymous followers of John Wyclif in 1387-88, it is stated that:

hooli scripture haþ foure vndurstondyngis: literal, allegorik, moral and anagogik. Þe literal vnderstonding techiþ þe þing doon in deede, and literal vnderstonding is ground and fundament of þre gostli vnderstondingis, in so myche as Austin in his pistle to Vyncent, and oþere doctors, seyn oneli by þe literal vnderstonding a man mai argue aȝenus an aduersarie. Allegorik is a gostli vnderstonding þat techiþ what þing men owen

⁹⁸ As modern scholars summarise it, the four senses of Scripture are 'the literal sense (what the text literally means on the surface, "literally" being defined so as to include figurative language), the allegorical sense (what the text can be taken to say about Christian doctrine or the Church), the tropological (or moral) sense, and the anagogical sense (what the text can be taken to say about the future of this world and the next)': summary provided at the start of the extract from *The General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible* in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 91-97 [92]. Another modern explanation of the fourfold interpretation of Scripture is given in the 1992 *Catechism of the Catholic Church* §115-119. For an overview of the idea see: Ineke Van 't Spijker (ed.), *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture: The Role of Exegesis in Early-Christian and Medieval Culture*, Commentaria 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale, 1: Les quatre sens de l'écriture* (Editions Montaigne, 1959), translated into English by E. M. Macierowski and published as *Medieval Exegesis – Volume 3 The Four Senses of Scripture*, Ressourcement: Retrieval and Renewal in Catholic Thought (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998); Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Barry D. Walfish, Joseph W. Goering (eds.), *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), especially the chapters by Joseph W. Goering, 'An Introduction to Medieval Christian Biblical Interpretation', Edward Synan, 'The Four "Senses" and Four Exegetes', and James R. Ginther, 'Laudet sensum et significationem: Robert Grosseteste on the Four Senses of Scripture'; 'Medieval Hermeneutics' in Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Leading scholars of the use of the Four Senses of Scripture in medieval English culture include Beryl Smalley and Mary Carruthers. For an analysis of the former, see: Robert Sweetman, 'Beryl Smalley, Thomas of Cantimpré, and the Performative Reading of Scripture', in McAuliffe *et al* (eds.), *With Reverence for the Word*, 256-75.

for to bileue of Crist or of hooli chirche. Moral is a gostli vndurstanding þat techiþ men what vertuse þei owen to sue and what vices þei owen to fle. Anagogik is a gostli vndurstanding þat techiþ men what blisse þei shulen haue in heuene.⁹⁹

This understanding of the four-fold senses of Scripture was echoed by Walter Hilton, whose major writings – including *The Scale of Perfection* – date from the last decade before he died as an Augustinian Canon in Thurgarton, Nottinghamshire, perhaps in 1396.¹⁰⁰ We know that Hilton’s *Scale* was translated from English into Latin by the Carmelite Thomas Fishlake by around 1400 (to be discussed in Chapter Six), and it was quite possibly Carmelites who read ‘Hilton’s Book’ to Margery Kempe (as discussed in the opening chapter of this thesis). In Book One of *The Scale* Hilton had spoken of the contemplative vocation as the preserve of those people (mostly professional religious) who lived a life vowed to God. Some years later (perhaps c. 1394–96), Hilton composed Book Two of *The Scale*, broadening the scope of the contemplative life to incorporate potentially all Christians, especially those lovers of Jesus who seek to understand the words and insights of Holy Scripture, for:

It is expounded, declared litterali, morali, mistili and heveneli, yif the mater suffre it. Bi the lettre, that is lightest and most playn, is the bodili kynde confortid; by moralité of Hooli Writ, the soule is enformed of vices and vertues, wiseli to kunne departe the toon from the tother; bi mystihede it is illumined for to seen the werkes of God in Holi Chirche, redili for to applien wordes of Holi Write to Crist our heved and to Holi Chirche that is His mystik bodi; and the firthe, that is heveneli, longeth oonli to the werkyng of love, and that whanne al soothfastnesse in Hooli Writte is applied to love, and for that is most like to heveneli feelynge, therefore I calle it heveneli.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Mary Dove (ed.), *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible: The Texts of the Medieval Debate*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 63.

¹⁰⁰ For a Middle English edition see: Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection* (ed.) Thomas H. Bestul, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000). A Modern English translation is given by John P. H. Clark, Rosemary Dorward, *Walter Hilton: The Scale of Perfection*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1991). On Hilton see: J. P. H. Clark, ‘Hilton, Walter (c. 1343–1396)’, *ODNB*. For a recent appraisal of Hilton (alongside the *Cloud*-author) see ‘Two Mystical Masters of Late Medieval England’ in Bernard McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism (1350–1550)*, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* 5 (New York: Crossroad, 2012), 371–424.

¹⁰¹ Bestul edition, 251, lines 3308–16. It is translated in Walter Hilton, *Walter Hilton – The Scale of Perfection* (eds. and trans.) John P. H. Clark, Rosemary Dorward, Classics of Western Spirituality (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1991), 294: ‘It is expounded and declared literally, morally, mystically and heavenly, if the matter allows it. By the letter, which is easiest and plainest, the bodily nature is comforted; by the morality of holy scripture the soul is informed about vices and virtues, how to separate them wisely one from the other; by mysticism it is illuminated to see the works of God in holy church, and to apply easily the words of holy scripture to Christ our head and to holy church, which is his mystical body; and the

Perhaps because the first sense of the Bible, the literal meaning, was ‘lightest and most playn’, this was the most commonly expounded level of Scripture in the Middle Ages. Just as the uneducated were encouraged to meditate on the ‘manhood’ of Christ rather than speculate on his divine nature, so the literal level of Scripture was broadly considered more appropriate for them than more complicated readings. For this reason, the Carthusian author of the *Speculum Devotorum* explained in its preface his desire to ground his book in the gospels [line 65] and to follow the exegesis of those Doctors of the Church who ‘goo neryste to the storye and to the lettural undyrstandynge’ [71-2] of the Scriptures, whilst also citing ‘othyr doctorys in diverse placys as to the moral vertuys’ [73-4].¹⁰²

The ‘Truth’ of Scripture debate: John Kynyngham vs. John Wyclif

In the late fourteenth century those calling for Church reform in England encouraged this exegetical focus on the literal meaning of the Bible text as the Word of God. Writing on Scripture’s four senses and related matters in his 1377-78 treatise *De veritate sacrae scripturae* (*On the Truth of Holy Scripture*), John Wyclif argued for the literal truth of the Bible and its supreme authority over all subsequent human teachings and tradition.¹⁰³ Wyclif’s treatise was written a few years after he had debated such issues with a Carmelite in Oxford, John Kynyngham, between 1372 and 1374.¹⁰⁴

Kynyngham disputed the claim that Scripture’s truth must be maintained according to what Wyclif believed to be its intended literal sense, since, as the Carmelite pointed out, such a reading of God’s Word had led to a number of heresies in the Church’s history. Kynyngham believed that sometimes it was not sufficient to read the Bible at face value, but rather God’s intended sense must be detected beyond the literal words and grammar.

The Oxford debate between John Kynyngham and John Wyclif shows the importance of a nuanced appreciation of medieval Carmelite translation theory and practice: Carmelites were not inherently opposed to the translation of the Bible *per se*, but rather feared that heresy could arise from

fourth, which is heavenly, concerns only the working of love, and that is when all truth in Holy Scripture is applied to love, and because that most resembles heavenly feeling, I therefore call it heavenly.’

¹⁰² Quoted in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 75-76. For an edition see: Paul J. Patterson, *A Mirror to Devout People* (*Speculum Devotorum*), Early English Text Society Original Series 346 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016 for 2015).

¹⁰³ John Wyclif, *On the Truth of Holy Scripture*, translated with an introduction and notes by Ian Christopher Levy, TEAMS Commentary Series (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001).

¹⁰⁴ Kynyngham (also spelt Kenningham) joined the Carmelite Order in Ipswich and studied at Oxford, probably gaining his doctorate between 1365 and 1372. He was involved in disputes with controversialists at Oxford from 1363 and was one of the first to argue against John Wyclif. Becoming Carmelite Prior Provincial, Kynyngham took part in the 1382 Blackfriars Council which (without naming him) condemned Wyclif, and the Whitefriar preached the concluding sermon (as discussed in the previous chapter, n. 218). On Kynyngham see: Anne Hudson, ‘Kenningham, John (d. 1399)’ *ODNB*; Copsey, *Biographical Register*; J. A. Robson, *Wyclif and the Oxford Schools* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 162-70.

improper translation, specifically by those who made strictly grammatical transliterations rather than translating the fuller sense intended by divine inspiration and the human author(s).

Kynyngham was one of the first scholars to dispute against Lollardy, from as early as c.1363, composing an *Ingressus* and three *Determinationes* against Wyclif.¹⁰⁵ Aside from tackling the content of Wyclif's theology, Kynyngham's *determinationes* were important (and surely formative for Richard Maidstone as a Carmelite student at the time) in tackling Wyclif's whole methodology and approach to debate. Paving the way for Maidstone's attack on Ashwardby's methods two decades later, John Kynyngham articulated a Carmelite perspective on 'the role and responsibilities of the theologian' who could not be in any sense 'a detached figure, separated from the community of faith'.¹⁰⁶ Appreciating this Carmelite notion of the theologian as an authority figure with real responsibilities for the well-being of the wider Church is essential for understanding the Whitefriars' attempts to both promote and police religious speculation. Ian Levy usefully summarises the key issues of the debate, and the legacy it would impress upon those later Carmelites, like Maidstone, who sought to promote what they saw as an authentic and responsible engagement with the Bible:

John Kynyngham was surely no less committed to the truth of Scripture than Wyclif, though he saw in his scholastic opponent the very sort of reckless tendencies which, however unwittingly, might just advance the destructive cause Wyclif was fighting so hard to thwart. No mere grammarian, but a theologian himself, Doctor Kynyngham nonetheless understood Scripture to be a collection of sacred texts written over many hundreds of years, the product of inspired human authors, but human authors just the same. Scripture is unquestionably true, but defending that truth demands that the theologian recognise his own limitations as a temporal creature reading the works of earlier creatures also constrained by space and time ... Theology is a public task, exercised in and for the Church, and thus requires a corresponding awareness of the ways in which the faithful public hears and responds to the proclamation of their faith.

¹⁰⁵ Included in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 86 (S.C. 3629), fo. 4-28; printed edition 4-103.

¹⁰⁶ Ian Christopher Levy, 'Defining the responsibility of the late medieval theologian: The Debate between John Kynyngham and John Wyclif', *Carmelus*, 49 (2002), 5-29 [6]. The debate (see Levy's article, 23) touched on important notions of exegesis in the Church and the interpretation of scriptural signs, tropes, and figures, of obvious relevance to Maidstone's project in *The Penitential Psalms*. Valerie Edden notes that Maidstone himself debated with Ashwardby on the authority to be attached to different interpretations of the Scriptures [*Penitential Psalms* edition, 11]. As Levy states, Kynyngham was a formidable opponent, who subjected Wyclif to a 'near-rout' [7]. On the Kynyngham-Wyclif debate see also: Levy's translation of *On the Truth of Holy Scripture*, 11-13; Mary Dove, 'Wyclif and the English Bible', in Ian Christopher Levy (ed.), *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 365-406 [376-77].

Kynyngham knew this and had tried throughout the debate to situate the results of seemingly harmless academic musing within the context of their practical application in the Universal Church ... Eight years after this debate concluded Wyclif was out of Oxford, in exile at Lutterworth, whilst Kynyngham was among those at the Blackfriars Council who passed judgment on his theological propositions. One wonders if the Carmelite had, back in 1374, foreseen such an end, or whether, in retrospect, marvelled that he had not.¹⁰⁷

From 1374 onwards a growing chasm opened up in ecclesiastical and university circles between the Carmelites and the forces of conservative orthodoxy on one side, and Wyclif and the forces of radical reform on the other. Wycliffites such as the writer of *The General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible* increasingly privileged the literal sense of Scripture, calling upon Church authorities to make the Bible accessible in an ‘unmediated’ form, and criticising those who presented it only through paraphrases and glosses. Wycliffites promoted a close attentiveness to a literal reading of God’s Word, the ‘lanterne of liȝt’, even amongst the theologically uneducated, who they believed would be enlightened in their Bible-reading by charity and divine grace if freed from the manipulations of clerical interpretation, ‘fo þe apostlis of Crist and oþir seintis weren not graduat men in scolis but þe Holi Goost sodenli enspirid hem and maden hem plenteuous of heuenli loore’.¹⁰⁸ Carmelites, on the other hand, followed more conventional biblical hermeneutics, their interpretation of Scripture being ‘predominantly spiritual (i.e. allegorical and moral) without paying too much attention to the literal sense of biblical texts’.¹⁰⁹

This ongoing debate about the proper way to read and interpret the Bible is what forms the backdrop to Richard Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms*, and influenced the ways in which the Carmelite sought to both encourage and enclose reflection on the Bible through his academic work and his poetry.

Maidstone would have been well aware of the debates raging about Bible interpretation and translation in Oxford during his residency there, and his own academic standpoint was surely influenced by the positions that fellow Carmelites took on the proper interpretation of the four senses

¹⁰⁷ Levy, ‘Defining the Responsibility’, 28-29.

¹⁰⁸ Lilian M. Swinburn (ed.), *The Lanterne of Liȝt*, Early English Text Society Original Series 151 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1917), 5, lines 15-18.

¹⁰⁹ Henricus Pidyarto, ‘How Biblical is the *Ignea Sagitta*?’, in Giovanni Grosso, Wilmar Santin (eds.), *Memoriam Fecit Mirabilium Dei: Scritti in onore di Emanuele Boaga, O.Carm.*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 31 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2009), 467-80 [468].

of Scripture, a popular topic among scholastics, including several Whitefriars.¹¹⁰ This approach to the Scriptures had directly pastoral implications for preaching, since the four-fold exegetical approach required preachers to firstly explain the historical background and literal meaning of a text, before interpreting it allegorically (often by linking the Old and New Testaments together), then figuratively (showing the moral significance of the extract), and finally giving a mystical or eschatological interpretation revealing the deepest layer of theological understanding. Carmelite friars in England are known to have preached in this way, and it certainly helps us to better appreciate Maidstone's approach to laying out Scriptural translation and extrapolation in *The Penitential Psalms*.¹¹¹

The Senses of Scripture in *The Penitential Psalms*

For example, it is clear that in each stanza of his *Penitential Psalms* Richard Maidstone's first act is to translate the literal meaning of the Latin text into English, thus expounding the first of the four senses of Scripture. The allegorical interpretation of Scripture is then propounded in Maidstone's frequent linking of the Old Testament psalm to a New Testament image or idea; the connection of various psalm verses to the life of Christ, especially the Passion, is (according to James H. Morey) 'the characteristic feature of Maidstone's paraphrase'.¹¹² Interpreting the Old Testament allegorically as a precursor of Christ is hardly unique to fraternal texts, but since 'the actual written life of Christ became one of the mendicant literary genres *par excellence*' we might see in Maidstone's allegorising

¹¹⁰ Examples can be seen in the writings of some of the earliest-known Carmelites, including Conrad of Saint-George, prior of the convent at Cologne, who emphasised the importance of Scripture study and *Lectio Divina*. On Conrad, who died in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, see: Jos Huls, 'Conrad's Allegorical Reading of 1 Samuel 14: An analysis of a sermon by Conrad of Saint George on the worthy reception of the Blessed Sacrament', *Acta Theologica* [journal of the Faculty of Theology of the University of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa], 2011, Supplement 15, 200-19. Geoffrey Alienand (*fl.* 1350) produced a course of lectures which, in England, followed those on the *Sentences*, known as the *Introitus ad Bibliam*, and probably dates from 1344-49; for details see the list of surviving writings in Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3. During Maidstone's own period of activity treatises on the topic were written by Catalonian Carmelites Francesc Bacó (*c.* 1300-72) and Felip Ribot (d. 1391, better known for his *Decem libri* anthology): see Jaume de Puig i Oliver, 'El Tractatus de quattuor sensibus sacrae Scripturae de Felip Ribot, O.Carm. (m. 1391)', *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 16 (1997), 299-389.

¹¹¹ After Maidstone's death, Margery Kempe's confidante Alan of Lynn wrote *De quattuor sacre scripture sensibus* (*On the Four Senses of Scripture*), now mostly lost but surviving partially in a fragment (recorded by John Bale in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 139). In the treatise, Lynn – who as we have seen spoke about the Bible with Kempe – records that 'a Carmelite doctor of our Order, by the name of John Beston, was in the habit, in his preaching on the Sunday epistles and gospels, of carefully explaining the four senses of scripture, which was greatly enlightening to the people' ['Quidam doctor ordinis nostri Carmelitarum, Johannes Beston nomine, epistolas et evangelia dominicalia in suis predicacionibus .4tuor. solemnizare consuevit ad non modicam populi edificacionem, etc.': translated by Richard Copsey in his forthcoming *Early Carmelite Documents*]. Studying at various times in Cambridge and Paris (where each university awarded him a doctorate in theology), John Beston seems to have resided predominantly in Lynn. Bale claims he was prior there when he died in 1428. It seems quite likely that Margery Kempe would have heard his preaching at some point.

¹¹² James H. Morey, *Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 179. Morey usefully lists some 21 stanzas in which Maidstone makes a link between the Psalm text and the life of Christ.

a typically mendicant focus on the person of Jesus.¹¹³ The moral and mystical reading of Scripture in *The Penitential Psalms* comes in the final part of the stanza, when Maidstone turns from translation and extrapolation to prayer.

This fourfold unravelling of the psalm text occurs throughout Maidstone's English poem; one example of it will therefore suffice, stanza 16 ('Then I acknowledged my sin to you, and I did not hide my iniquity'):

Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et iniusticiam meam non abscondi.

My gilt to þe I haue made knowen,
 I haue not hid fro þe my wrong;
 Þourȝe shrifte wol I fro me þrowen
 Al my mysdede and mourne among;
 For certis, lorde, we truste and trowen
 Þe welle of grace wiþ stremes strong
 Out of þi faire flesshe gan flowen,
 Whenne blood out of þi herte sprong. (lines 121-28)

The first two lines of the stanza are a translation into Middle English of Psalm 31(32) verse 5, from whose literal sense Maidstone can give rise to the spiritual senses. The second sense of Scripture, the allegorical, is conveyed by Maidstone's choice of the word 'shrifte' (line 3), with its sacramental overtones, linking the acknowledgment of sin to the practice of oral confession within the life of the Church. Maidstone here shows how the psalm text says something about Christian doctrine. In the second half of the stanza the Carmelite progresses to typologically link the Old Testament Psalm to the New Testament narrative of the crucifixion, with the purpose of arousing compunction and repentance in his audience, exposing the tropological or moral sense of the psalm. Maidstone, in the final three lines, gives an allegorical interpretation, showing how the Psalm text points towards Christ and the Paschal Mystery ('Þe welle of grace wiþ stremes strong / Out of þi faire flesshe gan flowen, / Whenne blood out of þi herte sprong'). The fourth – anagogical – sense is less apparent in this stanza

¹¹³ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 371. Fleming goes on to point out the emphasis placed by mendicants on the humanity of Christ as seen through his suffering: 'The friars did not invent the cult of Christ's Passion nor that of His Mother; but they did foster them with an unprecedented energy and a programmatic thoroughness that has left a defining impress on late medieval Europe, and especially on the lyric, the drama and the sermon.' On the humanity of Christ in medieval English literature see the three chapters by David Aers in Aers, Staley, *The Powers of the Holy*.

and *The Penitential Psalms* generally, but it is implied in Maidstone's attempt to evoke repentance and good living in his audience in preparation for the Christian's heavenly destiny.

Through this approach, common throughout *The Penitential Psalms*, Maidstone takes the fourfold interpretation of Scripture out of the university classroom or the pulpit and renders it in a vernacular form which could be read privately or aloud, from manuscript or from memory, almost anywhere. In its sophisticated blending of images and ideas, its use of synchronous imagery and synergy of theological concepts, Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* truly offers 'vernacular theology'.¹¹⁴

Though Maidstone's vernacular theology propounds in popular form an academic understanding of the four senses of Scripture, the Carmelite presents the Bible in a style just as reminiscent of monastic *lectio divina* pondering of God's Word (discussed in Chapter One). This approach required an opening of heart rather than the purely intellectual, logical, and speculative approach of the scholastics.¹¹⁵ Maidstone's compositional device of presenting the Word of God and then his own words is reminiscent of *lectio divina*. Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*, though not providing access to the Scriptures in a form as direct as more literal prose, do lend themselves to a meditative, ruminative reading of the divine Word in keeping with the spirituality of the Carmelite *Rule*. If Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* had more 'movement' between stanzas, rather than consisting of stand-alone units of verse, the impulse would be to read it as an ongoing narrative which would not lend itself so well to slow rumination. According to Pickering, a factor in Maidstone's ability to combine strong argument and imagery is the 'Christian Latin imagery of the Bible and the liturgy, specifically the life of Christ and in Maidstone's case the Psalms'.¹¹⁶

This *lectio divina* style of delivery is enhanced by the fact that, whilst the whole of *The Penitential Psalms* is united by an overall theme of repentance and redemption, between stanzas there is no linking narrative or progression of ideas. Each stanza is 'self-contained thematically and poetically',¹¹⁷ capable of being read alongside other stanzas or as a stand-alone unit. Maidstone's presentation, translation, and meditation upon a single verse of the Penitential Psalms, one by one, deepens the impression of each stanza being a 'self-sufficient entity', and produces 'not a concentrated

¹¹⁴ At a conference on 'The Virgin Mary in Britain and Ireland' held at York St John University in June 2014, Dr. Cathy Oakes of the University of Oxford argued that the Four Senses of Scripture (which she described as historical, moral, allegorical and eschatological) can be seen in another piece of vernacular verse, the well-known carol *Adam lay ybounden*, contained in an early 15th-century collection of sacred and secular lyrics (London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 2593). On the importance of imagery in medieval Christianity, and the debates around it, see: Sara Lipton, 'Images and their uses', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 254-82.

¹¹⁵ Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading*, Cistercian Studies, 238 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press for Cistercian Publications, 2011).

¹¹⁶ Pickering (1997), 102.

¹¹⁷ Pickering (1997), 97.

poem, overall, but a poem of small-scale concentrated effects'.¹¹⁸ The result is 'a sort of prototype sonnet sequence' where the stanzas 'work either as stand-alone lyrics or as part of a cumulative verse monodrama'.¹¹⁹ This flexibility partially accounts for why *The Penitential Psalms* circulated so successfully, and survives in both complete and fragmentary versions.

An insular vernacular tradition

In translating the Scriptures into English and using poetry to expound upon the Bible, Maidstone was building on an insular vernacular tradition that included not only Richard Rolle's *English Psalter* but also the unknown compiler of the *Northern Homily Cycle*. Like Maidstone (and multiple other English translators), the *Cycle*-author had the same technique of opening each of his homilies with the Latin gospel text, followed by a paraphrase in English rhyming verse, concluding with illustrative *exempla*. Dating from at least the early fourteenth century, and doubtless written by a cleric, in a Yorkshire dialect, the *Northern Homily Cycle* begins (like *The Lamentations of Mary*) with a prologue explaining the necessity for preachers to make the Scriptures accessible to the laity in their native tongue; such sentiments perhaps prompted and encouraged Richard Maidstone in his writing of vernacular theology:

Forthi wil I of my povert,	<i>shortcoming</i>
Schau sum thing that ik haf in hert,	<i>I have</i>
On Ingelis tong that alle may	<i>English</i>
Understand quat I wil say,	
For laued men haves mar mister,	<i>ignorant; have greater need</i>
Godes word forto her,	
Than klerkes that thair mirour lokes,	<i>who examine themselves</i>
And sees how thai sal lif on bokes;	
And bathe klerk and laued man,	
Englis understand kan,	
That was born in Ingeland,	
And lang haves ben tharin wonand.	<i>dwelling</i>
Bot al men can noht, iwis,	<i>certainly</i>

¹¹⁸ Pickering (1997), 97, 100. Looking at the poem as a whole, rather than at individual stanzas, Edden claims that 'Maidstone's poem unites the psalms into a single meditation' [*Penitential Psalms* edition, 9]. Both observations hold true.

¹¹⁹ Vincent Gillespie, 'Moral and Penitential Lyrics', 81. On the increasing late medieval practice of reading longer religious texts selectively or 'strategically', see Gillespie's article, n. 28.

Understand Latin and Frankis.	<i>French</i>	
Forthi me think almous it isse,	<i>charity</i>	
To wirke sum god thing on Inglisse,	<i>compose</i>	
That mai ken lered and laued bathe		
Hou thai mai yem thaim fra schathe,	<i>protect; harm</i>	
And stithe stand igain the fend	<i>firmly; against; devil</i>	
And til the blis of heven wend.	<i>go</i>	(Prologue, lines 61-80) ¹²⁰

As Anne B. Thompson comments in her edition of the *Northern Homily Cycle*, preachers had an obligation to preach God's Word, but became increasingly wary of word-for-word translation in the later Middle Ages. Later manuscripts of the *Cycle* include less and less biblical material in either Latin or English, with the English paraphrases never appearing on their own, and sometimes only the *exempla* being given.¹²¹ Maidstone's full inclusion of the scriptural text (at least in his original version) and close translation of it suggest that either the Carmelite was writing *The Penitential Psalms* before the translation of the Bible became so contentious, or he deliberately did so to confound Wycliffite critics who complained at clerical restrictions on Bible access.¹²²

The question of language choice and the pastoral needs of the unlettered are specifically addressed by Richard Maidstone's authorial voice in the introductory stanza of *The Penitential Psalms*, preserved in five manuscript copies:

To Goddes worshepe þat dere vs bouʒte,
 To whom we owen to make oure moon
 Of oure synnes þat we haue wrouʒte
 In ʒouþe and elde, wel many oon;
 Þe seuen salmes are þourʒe souʒte
 In shame of alle oure goostle foon,
 And in Englisshe þei ben brouʒte
 For synne in man to be fordon. (lines 1-8)

¹²⁰ Anne B. Thompson (ed.), *The Northern Homily Cycle*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008).

¹²¹ Thompson's edition, 7-8.

¹²² As Shuffelton [534-45] points out, the scribe of Ms. Ashmole 61 ('Rate') radically abridged the stanzas of Psalm 129 in *The Penitential Psalms* by omitting the last four lines, leaving only the translation and a line or two of commentary, but 'Since many of Maidstone's stanzas divide naturally in half, Rate's abridgement does not render the text in any way unreadable'.

This opening stanza makes explicit the fact that the ensuing text is a translation, with the seven Penitential Psalms having ‘ben brouzte’ into ‘Englisshe’ for the purpose of meditation upon the sinfulness of humanity and its redemption by God ‘þat dere vs bouzte’ (a recurring refrain throughout the ensuing text). Far from the suggestion (later?) articulated by Richard Maidstone against John Ashwardby, and echoed by other ecclesiastical authorities, that inappropriate use of the vernacular was the cause of sin and division within the Church, here the mother tongue is shown by the Carmelite to have a redemptive value, English being the very means by which ‘synne in man’ may be repented. As Clare Costley King’oo observes of the prologue: ‘Here the vernacular language is presented as a neutral vehicle that far from altering or diminishing the beneficial content of the Penitential Psalms actually *facilitates* it.’¹²³ The work is suffused with the theme of repentance, beginning with an acknowledgment of sin and a call for the mercy of God through Christ’s redeeming work. Maidstone’s stated intention was to benefit his audience pastorally by bringing about in them, through his translation, a renewed commitment to a relationship with God which classically always begins with an acknowledgment of the need for repentance before progressing through meditation to divine union.

Maidstone as catechist and commentator

In his sweeping statement about humanity and its need of repentance, Richard Maidstone’s style is decidedly didactic and catechetical. As Charles F. Briggs has pointed out, it is important to remember when considering Latin-to-vernacular translation ‘the utilitarian pedagogical concerns that motivated many of the translators ... who argued for the utility of their translations as a means to educate their intended lay audiences.’¹²⁴ We have seen that Richard Maidstone in his *Concordia* did not hesitate to offer counsel and instruction to King Richard II (albeit in suitably deferential terms), so we need not be surprised at his presuming to teach others of lower social status.

Aside from Maidstone’s opening reference to the use of the vernacular, *The Penitential Psalms* does not allude in any overt way to contemporary theological debates, unlike Maidstone’s (presumably later) Latin writings (both his poetry and academic texts). Observations made of a late fifteenth-century Sunday sermon cycle recently edited apply equally to *The Penitential Psalms*, in that the orthodox clerical writer shows ‘little sign of wishing to address points of controversy. No direct mention is made anywhere of Lollardy, although the cycle was obviously put together at a time

¹²³ Clare Costley King’oo, *Miserere Mei: The Penitential Psalms in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ReFormations: Medieval and Early Modern (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 109.

¹²⁴ Charles F. Briggs, ‘Teaching Philosophy at School and Court: Vulgarization and Translation’, in Fiona Somerset, Nicholas Watson (eds.), *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 99-111 [99].

when the proponents of that movement were still a force to be reckoned with, the language in which their teaching is couched is, appropriately, that which is applicable to all times and situations; topical allusion, as is common with orthodox sermon collections, is conspicuously absent from their pronouncements.¹²⁵ Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* likewise makes no reference to contemporary concerns and the major upheavals Church and State were experiencing in England in the 1380s. Though very much a product of late medieval English spirituality, Maidstone's silence about topical issues has given his text a somewhat atemporal quality which has appealed to compilers right up to the present day.¹²⁶ As King'oo observes, *The Penitential Psalms* is set by Maidstone in 'an enduring and unbounded present', cast as 'applicable to, and repeatable by, any penitent, guilty of any sin, at any point in time ... it creates a thoroughly universalized context for the psalm sequence to follow by incorporating its readers or auditors into a broad first-person plural ("we," "us," "oure"), as well as by insisting that the seven psalms are useful in countering not merely one particular sin (e.g., adultery) or one particular temptation (e.g., lust) but rather "alle the synnes that we haue wroughte" and "alle oure goostli foon".¹²⁷ The Carmelite's silence on the specific matter of heresy could indicate that he was writing at a time before John Wyclif's ideas had become widespread, perhaps in the early 1370s. Alternatively, conspicuous silence could be because the Carmelite did not want to draw undue attention and afford significance to the Wycliffites. Given that Richard Maidstone (ventriloquising Richard II) lashed out against the Lollards in his *Concordia*, a poem that – like his *Nobis natura florem* – addresses very contemporary events, we know that the Carmelite was not averse to making topical comments in Latin, but given his aversion to discussion of theological debate in the vernacular – as stated in his dispute with John Ashwardby – it is probably a deliberate and disdainful silence on the Carmelite's part.

This is not to say that Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* is devoid of material that could be read as social commentary by those 'in the know'. As previously observed, Maidstone's *Concordia* propagandised what the poet perceived to be the correct social order of secular subjection to the king's authority and religious subjection to the authority of the Church. Similar ideas are to be found in *The Penitential Psalms*. Stanza 9, for example ('Depart from me, all you workers of evil, for the Lord has heard the sound of my weeping') refers to the proper obedience the repentant Christian owes to Christ the King having 'lede a lyf aʒeynes þi lore' (line 29):

¹²⁵ Stephen Morrison (ed.), *A Late Fifteenth-Century Dominical Sermon Cycle*, Early English Text Society Original Series 337-38 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 for 2011), vol 1, xlv.

¹²⁶ For example, brief excerpts from *The Penitential Psalms* were included in a late twentieth-century popular compilation on prayer: Wilfrid McGreal, *Praying in the Carmelite Spirit* (Rattlesden: Kevin Mayhew Ltd., 1998), 31.

¹²⁷ Clare Costley King'oo, *Miserere Mei: The Penitential Psalms in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ReFormations: Medieval and Early Modern (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 109.

Discedite a me omnes qui operamini iniquitatem, quoniam exaudiuit Dominus uocem fletus mei.

Ȝe þat done wronge, goþ fro me alle,
 For God my wepyng voice haþ herd.
 To his foot wol I riȝt fayn falle,
 And be chastised wiþ his ȝerde. *rod*
 Now, curteys kyng, to þe I calle,
 Be not vengeable, put vp þi swerd!
 In heuen, whenne þou holdest halle,
 Lat me not be þeroute isperde! (lines 65-72)

These sentiments and images almost directly echo the pleas for mercy made to King Richard in the *Concordia*. Though probably written before both the ‘Metropolitan Crisis’ of 1392 and the ‘Merciless Parliament’ of 1388, *The Penitential Psalms* nevertheless reinforce Maidstone’s view of social and religious proprieties.

Richard Maidstone’s *Nobis natura florem* concluded with a reminder that death is no respecter of rank, and in stressing the established social conventions we should not imagine that the Carmelite in any way belittled the importance of any particular feudal class. This may be indicative of the fact that he intended *The Penitential Psalms* to circulate to more than just aristocratic readers. In stanza 86 Maidstone states that Christ values the prayers of the meek, and never sought great office: ‘Cryst Ihesu, vche man may lere / For he to noon astate ne steȝe / But euer was lowe in word and chere’ (lines 686-88). Therefore, as Maidstone states in stanza 52, all can rely on the mercy of Christ, regardless of social status: ‘Riche and pore, heyȝe and lowe, / [Smale and grete], I am certayne, / At domesday whenne hornes blowe, / Of þi mercy shul be ful fayn’ (lines 413-16).

Maidstone’s verse form and poetic skill

Richard Maidstone’s choice of verse form invites comment. His *Penitential Psalms* are a vernacularisation and a versification of a Latin text, the psalms (Vulgate and other versions), which might be described as ‘poetic prose’ (the psalms as found in the Bible are certainly not rhyming verse). Vernacularisation and versification can dramatically alter a text, and we must ponder why Maidstone chose a rhyming verse form.

Verse, especially rhyming verse, has a mnemonic function, since it can often be committed more easily to memory than prose, supporting the catechetical function of *The Penitential Psalms*.¹²⁸ As well as being a *stimulus penitentiae* for the sacraments of confession and extreme unction, reflections on the Penitential Psalms could have been used for general catechesis, no doubt – in Maidstone’s eyes – never needed more than in the days following the seditious teachings of John Wyclif.

Verse also has an aesthetic element; from the time of Virgil onwards poetry has been widely regarded and privileged across cultures as the ‘most beautiful’ literary form. The 1380s in England was a time when the ‘lay voice’ in the vernacular developed new forms in poetry. John Gower, for instance, having already written French and Latin verse, wrote his *Confessio Amantis* in English in the 1380s.¹²⁹ Richard Maidstone had undoubted skill as a poet, not only as ‘an accomplished metropolitan writer’¹³⁰ in Latin, but also in a vernacular style that still attracts admiration to this day. I concur with Oliver Pickering that Maidstone in his *Penitential Psalms* shows a ‘high degree of poetic control’ and ‘limited but very conscious ambition’, and with Lynn Staley that ‘there is certainly nothing contemptible about the craftsmanship’.¹³¹ How do we account for this poetic achievement?

In Pickering’s estimation, Maidstone’s success arises from three factors: his use of imagery (from the Bible and liturgy); his ‘individual creativity and the desire to exercise it’; and his immersion in ‘an English literary tradition, which supplied ... a tersely direct style of writing, the possibility of using a wide range of concrete vocabulary, and sufficiently demanding stanza forms’.¹³² I have no doubt that this is true, but it begs further consideration of just how Carmelite friars such as Richard Maidstone were aware of this vibrant English literary tradition.

Medieval Carmelite communities in England were surely far from being detached from the culture of the day – and their confreres in Italy are known to have had vernacular poetry in their libraries¹³³

¹²⁸ ‘As we would expect, the psalms were frequently put into verse (as well as into prose); they invite memorising and being recited or sung aloud’: Evelyn Birge Vitz, ‘Medieval verse paraphrases of the Bible’, in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 835-59 [854].

¹²⁹ For a consideration of Gower’s discussion of religious themes in the vernacular as a lay person, see: T. Matthew N. McCabe, *Gower’s Vulgar Tongue: Ovid, Lay Religion, and English Poetry in the ‘Confessio Amantis’*, Publications of the John Gower Society (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011).

¹³⁰ John J. Thompson, ‘Literary Associations of an Anonymous English Paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm L’, *Medium Ævum*, 57 (1988), 38-55 [41].

¹³¹ Pickering (1997), 101; Staley, *Languages of Power*, 195.

¹³² Pickering (1997), 102.

¹³³ Frances Andrews points out that the Carmelite library in Florence held copies of Dante’s *Divina commedia* and Albertanus of Brescia’s *Tale of Melibee* in the vernacular [*The Other Friars: Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 61]. For information on the Florence library see: K. W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Carmelites at Florence at the End of the Fourteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Erasmus Booksellers, 1964); L. Pellegrini, ‘Libri e biblioteche nella vita economica dei mendicanti’, in *L’economia dei conventi dei frati minori e predicatori fino alla metà del Trecento*, Convegno del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, Ottobre 2003 (Spoleto, 2005). On the link between another mendicant order and medieval vernacular poetry see: Lawrence

– but exactly how English Carmelites interacted with the vernacular poetry of their day remains as yet unclear. Until a fuller picture emerges of mendicant libraries, education systems, and reading tastes, there must inevitably be more questions than answers, such as: Did Richard Maidstone have access to collections of poems, and to specific sources that might have inspired him, such as Rolle's *English Psalter*?¹³⁴ Who was Maidstone writing for? Was poetry or rhetoric part of the mendicant curriculum? How was Maidstone's mind encouraged to develop word-play and such seemingly original imagery as the Christ-child in Mary's womb as a caged bird (line 477)?¹³⁵

In his 1986 book *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, Siegfried Wenzel highlights the fact that medieval poetry – especially the lyric – 'is intimately related to late medieval preaching, not only because many lyrical poems have been preserved in sermon manuscripts, but also because preaching furnished a unique opportunity to create and utilize poems'.¹³⁶ Wenzel illustrates the link with reference to a mendicant, the Franciscan friar John de Grimestone, who gathered preaching tags in a commonplace book compiled in 1372.¹³⁷

Preaching can only be done to an audience, and likewise verse lends itself to public performance as much as to personal meditation. In their poetic delivery Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* provide religious rhetoric for public as well as private consumption.¹³⁸ Versification can be a good means of simplification, rendering complex ideas more accessible through versified theology. Sometimes

M. Clopper, *Songes of Rechelesnesse: Langland and the Franciscans*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1997); S. Casciani (ed.), *Dante and the Franciscans* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

¹³⁴ Pickering [1997, 104] points out that the newly emerging tradition of English religious poetry in which Maidstone's work can be included seems to be associated more with the eastern half of the country, whereas Maidstone was mostly in Oxford and London. In Aylesford, he would have come into contact with the classic texts of medieval theology, since the priory had a 'substantial library' [Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 10] containing at least 75 volumes in 1381 [Copsey, *English and Scottish Medieval Carmelite Libraries*, 2]. In London, he studied at the Carmelite *studium*, contemporary with vernacular writers such as Richard Lavenham. All Carmelite graduates would have learnt rhetoric and composition as part of the grammar school curriculum. Larger mendicant libraries held copies of *arts poetica* (guides to poetry). Even though the 1433 Hulne cartulary had no books recorded under the category 'Rhetorica cum Poetria', the inclusion of that category at all suggests that Carmelites were familiar with such works [K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (London: The British Library, 1990), xvi, 166]. On the genre of vernacular translations of the psalms see: Katherine Zieman, 'Rolle's *English Psalter* and the Possibilities of Vernacular Scriptural Commentary', in Tamara Atkin, Francis Leneghan (eds.), *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature: From the Conversion to the Reformation* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), 149-70.

¹³⁵ On this image see: Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 114; Pickering (1997), 99.

¹³⁶ Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), flyleaf.

¹³⁷ Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' Library, Ms. 18.7.21. See the chapter devoted to Grimestone by Wenzel in *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, as well as: Edward Wilson, *A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book*, Medium Ævum Monographs New Series 2 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediæval Languages and Literature, 1973); Karen Saupe (ed.), *Middle English Marian Lyrics*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999); Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 361.

¹³⁸ On the performative element of *The Penitential Psalms* see: Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300-1660* (London, New York: 1959), I (1300-1576), 64-70.

versification can place more emphasis on form than content, with the text being severely altered to fit the metre and rhyme, and subject matter losing out to the dominance of alliteration.¹³⁹ This is not the case with Maidstone who used verse as a vehicle to convey the more precious cargo of God's Word. Maidstone may have chosen to write about Sacred Scripture in verse deliberately to counter Lollard opposition to rhetorical embellishments, poetic forms, and use of rhyme that some of Wyclif's followers believed detracted from the 'plainer meaning' of prose.¹⁴⁰

Layout

Maidstone's method of laying-out his poem is intriguing and informative, macaronic in its juxtaposing Latin and the vernacular. As the latest editor of the text observes, 'Maidstone's translation of the seven penitential psalms is often called a paraphrase, but this does not accurately characterize his method. He provides both translation and commentary, and manages to split this process neatly in two while retaining the appearance of a single text. The first two lines of each eight-line stanza generally translate a single Latin verse, and the remaining lines of the stanza draw out the broader Christian significance of the text in various ways'.¹⁴¹ The effect is to both emphasise the original Scripture, and amplify it with commentary.¹⁴² This is seen in stanza 91 where the psalm text ('Peoples gather together, and kingdoms, to worship the Lord') is translated, and then Maidstone offers a social commentary against treachery that would not be out of place in his *Concordia*:

In conueniendo populos in unum, et reges ut seruiant Domino.

In gaderynge of pepul in oon,
 And of kynges, God to serue;
 To be studfaste as þe stoon,
 Fro his seruyse þat we not swerue,
 Þe waye of treuþe þan shul we goon;

¹³⁹ On a poem's content being shaped and animated by metrical form, see: Michael D. Hurley, Michael O'Neill, *Poetic Form: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹⁴⁰ This argument is put forward by the author of *The Lanterne of Lizt*. See: Lilian M. Swinburn (ed.), *The Lanterne of Lizt*, Early English Text Society Original Series 151 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1917). Issues in form and rhyme were important in Lollard texts, and counter-texts. As noted in the previous chapter (n. 307), Helen Barr argues that in the Digby Lyrics part of the reason for citing the Bible in English was to rob Lollardy of its attractiveness.

¹⁴¹ George Shuffelton (ed.), *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), 532-33.

¹⁴² A comparison can be made with a later text, *The Counsel of Conscience* (1426), in which John Audelay includes Latin headnotes to each stanza of vernacular verse, linking the verse to the authoritative teachings of the Church at the Council of Constance. See: Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 36.

To tricchery shulde we not terue,
 For, if we did þus eueruchone,
 Per shulde no kare oure counfort kerue. (lines 721-28)

A typical Lollard complaint was that glosses or paraphrases or homiletic summaries of Scripture were inferior substitutes for direct access to the biblical text. Maidstone responds to this by giving the text (in Latin prose then English verse) before offering his own commentary-interpretation. In this ‘Maidstone evinces familiarity with commentaries upon the Penitential Psalms, displaying a deeply spiritual sense of the ways in which the voice of the psalmist might be translated into English’.¹⁴³ Such clerical interpretation of God’s Word, though sophisticated and insightful, would not have satisfied John Wyclif and his followers who, during the 1380s, produced a full English prose translation of the Scriptures in the form of the *Wycliffite Bible*.¹⁴⁴

As described above, Maidstone concludes each stanza with reflections, meditations and prayers arising from the Latin Psalm text and its translation, often moving from the Old Testament narrative to a typological pondering of the New. A good example of this arrangement is stanza 67, where the 18th verse of Psalm 50 (‘Do good to Zion in your good pleasure; rebuild the walls of Jerusalem’) is rendered thus:

Benigne fac, Domine, in bona uoluntate tua Syon, ut edificentur muri Ierusalem.

Wiþ meke wille do to Syon
 Þat Ierusalem walles were wel wrou3t!
 Ierusalem, as seiþ seynt Ion,
 Is holy chirche þat erreþ nou3t.
 Two testaments acorde in oon;
 Þese walles were togider brou3t
 Wheene Crist himself was cornerston,
 Þat mannes soule þus dere haþ bou3te. (lines 529-36)

¹⁴³ Lynn Staley, ‘The Penitential Psalms and Vernacular Theology’, 116.

¹⁴⁴ Staley perceptively observes: ‘Like his contemporary Julian of Norwich, Maidstone is less concerned with God’s force than he is with the qualities of his lordship, which he characterizes as working towards our salvation through mercy. For both Maidstone and Julian, the experience of God occurs within the protection of the sacramental Church, where grace is mediated through the clergy, and thus both authors create works that speak directly to a reader whose desire for spiritual enlightenment finds expression in private reading, but a reader who can expect that reading to be guided by a clerical figure. What is private is thus anchored.’ Lynn Staley, ‘The Penitential Psalms and Vernacular Theology’, 116.

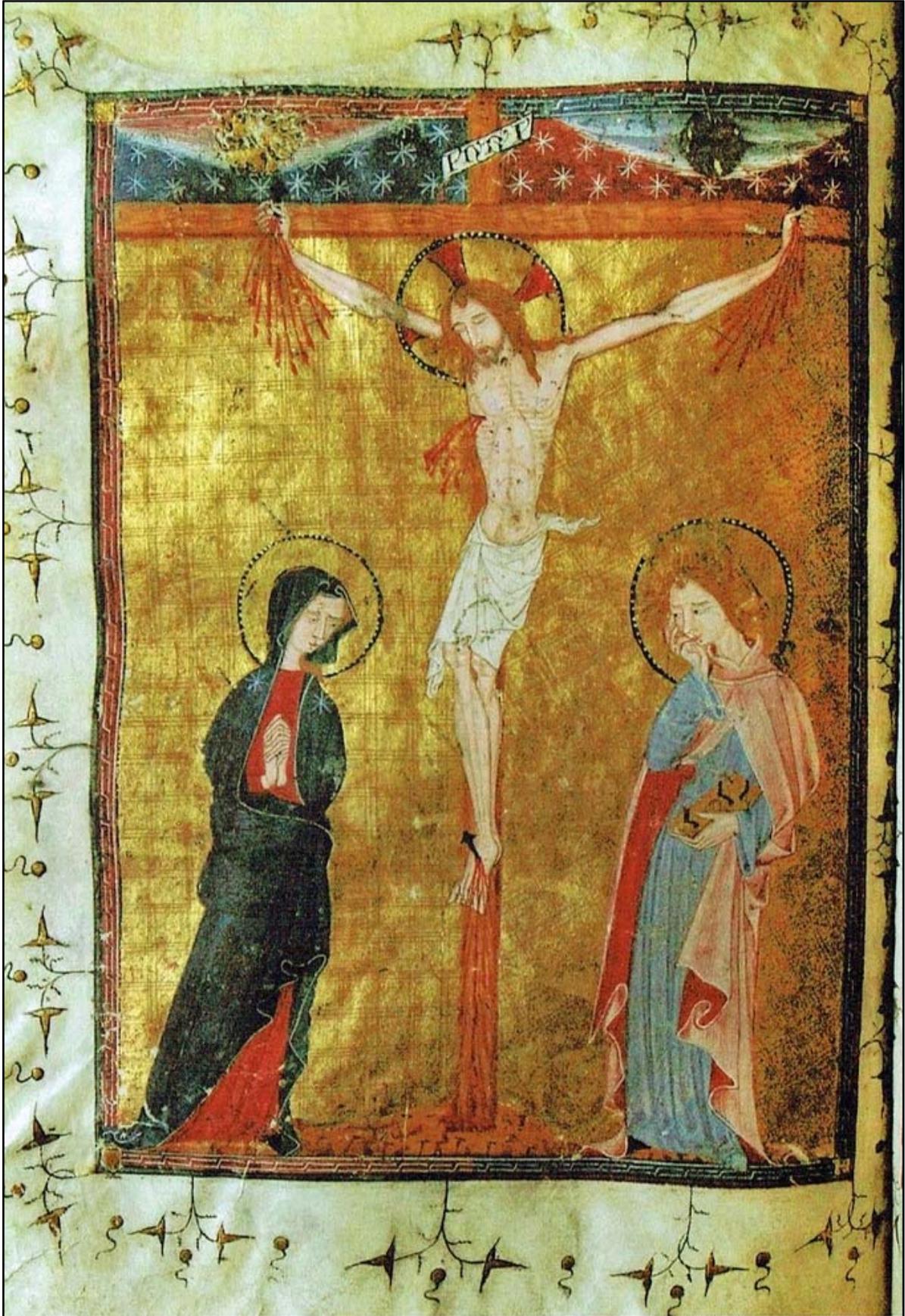
This equation of Syon (Jerusalem) with the Church (New Jerusalem) – repeated in stanza 82 (‘Syon is holy chirche trewe’, line 651) – is common in medieval Biblical commentary, and demonstrates Maidstone’s ability to show how ‘two testaments acorde in oon’.¹⁴⁵ In his linking of images – Syon, the Church, and Christ the cornerstone (*Luke 20:17; Ephesians 2:20*) – Maidstone blends the Psalms together with Gospel narrative, New Testament epistles, and Church teachings on ecclesiology.¹⁴⁶ One might argue that Maidstone’s merging of subject matter from the Old and New Testaments is reflected in the layout of the text, blending as it does both Latin and English, ancient language and contemporary. Maidstone’s method is highly sophisticated, and theologically much more complex than mere paraphrase, because the blending of these materials creates suggestive mental links. For example, whether intended by Maidstone or not, to certain audiences the psalmist’s prayer ‘Pat Ierusalem walles were wel wrou3t!’ may have called to mind images of Jerusalem and meditative texts that encouraged ‘virtual pilgrimage’ to the holy city.¹⁴⁷ Comparing Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* with other prayers, meditations, and lyrics in Ms. Ashmole 61, George Shuffelton rightly remarks that it ‘makes greater demands on its audience. The shifts of speaking voices (the penitent sinner, Christ on the cross, etc.) and richly figurative language might pose genuine difficulties for many audiences, but Maidstone’s interpretative paraphrase aims to make these less problematic.’¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ A discussion of the different interpretations of the ‘foure vnderstandingis ... takun in þis word ‘Ierusalem’ is included in the *General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible* (ed.) Dove, 63, line 2175.

¹⁴⁶ For Maidstone to say that ‘Syon is holy chirche trewe’ is significant in a period of calls for Church reform. Some years after Maidstone’s death, King Henry V’s ‘great work’ would include the establishment of a monastery deliberately named Syon. On the symbolism of the name and associated images of corruption and reform, see: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 4, 18, 29.

¹⁴⁷ The devotional idea of mentally walking in Christ’s footsteps might have had particular appeal to the Carmelites, whose liturgy derived from the Rite of the Holy Sepulchre and whose origins were in the Holy Land. On the devotional exercises that encouraged such meditation see: Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Later Middle Ages*, *Disciplina Monastica*, 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). Just over a century after Maidstone, in c.1530, the Carmelite Jan Pascha (Jan van Paesschen, c.1459-1539) from Mechlin wrote in Flemish *Een devote maniere om gheestelijck Pelgrimage te trecken (The Spiritual Pilgrimage to Jerusalem)*. This comprised of 365 *dachvaeten* (day trips) whereby Pascha described a section of the journey between the Holy Places for daily meditation over the course of a year. The Dutch text was published in Leuven in 1563, translated into French, and printed in English translation by the recusant John Heigham in 1604-05, a facsimile of which was published by Scholar Press in 1972. A new printing, with notes by Edward J. Clemmer, was recently published: Jan Pascha, John Heigham, *The Voyage of the Cross: The Spiritual Pilgrimage to Hierusalem (1604-1605)*, *Carmel in the World Paperbacks 20* (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2016). On the text see: Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late-Medieval Religious Life – Devotion and Pilgrimage in the Netherlands*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 97* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 73.

¹⁴⁸ George Shuffelton (ed.), *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), 11.



The Crucifixion depicted in a missal created c.1390-1400 for the Carmelites of Toulouse.
Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Ms. IL. 122, fo. 141v (detail).

Mental leaps

Such concentration of ideas ‘makes the meditative portion of each stanza not so much a reflection as an argument’,¹⁴⁹ and thus Richard Maidstone plants in the mind(s) of his audience theological reflections in the vernacular that are some considerable mental leap from the inspiring Latin verse. Vincent Gillespie points out another example of this in Psalm 50, where Maidstone refers to the examination of conscience and ‘substantially expands the Latin to bring this aspect to the fore’.¹⁵⁰ This is not so surprising when we bear in mind that Maidstone is not preoccupied with providing only a literal interpretation of the Scriptural text, but also an allegorical or moral one. Just as Maidstone’s aim in his *Concordia* was not to present a blow-by-blow account of precise events but rather an overall reflection on the ‘meaning’ of the 1392 civic pageantry, so his *Penitential Psalms* are less concerned with the minutiae of the biblical text and more interested in making a broad statement about the ‘meaning’ of the Psalms generally as understood by Church tradition. As Lynn Staley puts it, ‘What Maidstone captures in his poem is the very tone of vernacular devotion. In effect, he translates both the spirit and the letter of the psalms.’¹⁵¹ Staley recognises in Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* a highly ambitious project of vernacular theology, presenting no less than ‘an inquiry into the very nature of the God to whom we turn and into the terms of our relationship to divine sovereignty’.¹⁵²

Whilst such clerical mediation and interpretation of Scripture was rejected by John Wyclif and his adherents, Richard Maidstone’s use of biblical Latin as a springboard to develop paradoxes, typologies, images, and devotional language is entirely in keeping with liturgical and theological interpretations of the Psalms familiar to orthodox medieval Christians. By doing so, Maidstone introduces through the Jewish Psalm text Christian notions of theology and religious practice such as redemption (line 1),¹⁵³ conscience (38), the rosary (75), the world, devil, and flesh (85, 291), shrift/confession (123), the intercession of saints (142), deadly sin (167), crucifixion (195), Lazarus (238), and Our Lady (323), most of these subjects completely anachronistic as far as the Psalmist is concerned.

Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* is thus indeed much more than a paraphrase; it is a creative and erudite exposition of theology that concedes no reference to contemporary religious debates but asserts the author’s orthodox position in an imaginative way. An example of this is Maidstone’s reference to the rosary. In an early fifteenth-century text listing sixteen ‘poyntis wiche ben putte be

¹⁴⁹ Pickering (1997), 97.

¹⁵⁰ Gillespie, ‘Moral and Penitential Lyrics’, 81.

¹⁵¹ Staley, *Languages of Power*, 196.

¹⁵² Lynn Staley, ‘The Penitential Psalms and Vernacular Theology’, 114.

¹⁵³ References here are to the line numbers in Edden’s edition.

bischoppis ordinaries vpon men whiche þei clepen Lollardis’, one of the accusations that the Lollard respondents seek to refute is ‘þe eleuenþe: þat it is not leful to preye to seint Marie neiþer seientis, seying þe latanye or oþer orisouns, but only to God men owen to preie’.¹⁵⁴ Though the Lollard response to this accusation is nuanced (saying that it is legitimate to pray to the saints if the worship is ultimately offered to God), the widespread caricature of Lollard views was that they condemned Marian piety, just as they did other popular devotions such as the making of pilgrimages and the veneration of God through images. It is in this light that Maidstone’s subtle reinforcement of established Catholic practices can be seen in his reference to the intercession of saints (‘biseke shal euery seynt ... Hem wole I praye’) in stanza 18, particularly Mary (‘þat lady fre’) in stanza 41, and his reference to the rosary (‘þe bedes þat we sayen’) in stanza 10 of *The Penitential Psalms* (‘The Lord has heard my supplication; the Lord accepts my prayer’):

Exaudiuit Dominus deprecationem meam; Dominus oracionem meam suscepit.

Oure lord haþ herkened my prayere
 And receyued myn orisoun,
 For alle þe bedes þat we sayen here
 To him þei beþ [ful] swete of soun;
 Now lorde þat bouztest man so dere,
 Wiþ bloody bak and body broun,
 Þou vouchesaf so vs to here,
 Þat neuer synne vs drawe adoun. (lines 73-80)

In his blending of the ‘two testamentes’, Old and New, and linking them with contemporary Church practices, the associations Richard Maidstone creates in the minds of his audience may be novel, but they draw on and reinforce familiar and orthodox theological imagery. As Gillespie points out, Maidstone invokes ‘not only the Deadly Sins but also the affective language of lyrics on the Passion of Christ’.¹⁵⁵ The Carmelite thus not only translates the language of the Psalms, but evokes metaphors that are resonant of contemporary vernacular religious literature, exhibiting his own

¹⁵⁴ Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 38 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 19-24.

¹⁵⁵ Gillespie, ‘Moral and Penitential Lyrics’, 81. On such lyrics see also: Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

familiarity with such writing (which he himself contributed to, if he is indeed the author of *The Lamentations of Mary*).

Theological danger and altered texts

In Pickering's estimation, the reflective nature of Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* makes it 'slow-moving', yet simultaneously allows the author to move 'quickly away from the biblical text to make difficult theological points'.¹⁵⁶ In this, Maidstone both focuses upon the original text and detracts from it. Every stanza begins with the Word of God, and concludes with the word of Richard Maidstone. Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* 'offer a path to the understanding of God that begins in measured and empathetic reading ... The voice Maidstone finds for the poem, in its humility, provides a reader with a voice that can be easily internalized'.¹⁵⁷ Though at times fast-paced and vigorous, segueing from one idea to another in an instant, the overall process is nevertheless ruminative, and as such *The Penitential Psalms* could perhaps be interpreted as more theologically dangerous than some other medieval religious lyrics. Richard Maidstone's diversity of diction, originality of imagery, and mental dexterity allow the reader's imagination and intellect much more scope for private speculation than a simple paraphrase or translation would do.¹⁵⁸ In my Masters Thesis I argued that *The Penitential Psalms* was a text that is 'devotional rather than speculative, and entirely orthodox',¹⁵⁹ a view I would now nuance: of itself Maidstone's text is theologically entirely orthodox, but the possible effect in the reader may be otherwise (which Maidstone would surely have objected to, but is a reality nonetheless). This particular piece of Carmelite vernacular writing highlights the limited usefulness of the terms 'orthodox' and 'heterodox', since even the most conservative readers of *The Penitential Psalms* might find their imaginations being fired-up in unexpected ways.

Indeed, some of the earliest copiers of *The Penitential Psalms* seem to have felt free precisely to speculate on Richard Maidstone's intended meaning, to the extent that a few scribes changed the text considerably. Valerie Edden has divided the manuscripts of *The Penitential Psalms* into three textual variational groups (α , β and γ), saying that 'the differences between these three groups are major and

¹⁵⁶ Pickering (1997), 96, 98. Pickering elaborates on Maidstone's 'occasional vigour', to use Derek Pearsall's phrase, on 100.

¹⁵⁷ Lynn Staley, 'The Penitential Psalms and Vernacular Theology', 117.

¹⁵⁸ Pickering (1997, 101) points out that Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* contrast strongly with English religious lyrics that 'make very little use of either intellectual ideas, imagery, or paradox'. John Fleming, speaking of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* which encouraged the use of imaginative meditation prompted by Bible narratives, says that one of the principles of its mendicant author was that 'pious invention *consistent with the scriptural text* is a licit spiritual enterprise': Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 373. Fleming's emphasis on the need for this to be *consistent with the scriptural text* is the key point here.

¹⁵⁹ Bergström-Allen (2002), 17.

are clearly the result of an intelligent response to the text; on several occasions they involve quite different versions of whole stanzas’, resulting in ‘different versions of the same poem’.¹⁶⁰ As she goes on to observe, *The Penitential Psalms* was not a stable text, being ‘revised and ‘improved’, possibly by Maidstone and certainly by other people ... for devotional reasons ... Whether or not those who commissioned, wrote or owned these manuscripts knew the authorship of the poems, it seems likely that the scribes/compilers themselves felt less respect than modern editors for the author’s intentions and simply appropriated the poem for themselves.’¹⁶¹

The most altered text (occurring on its own in six manuscripts) was Psalm 50, with some redactors apparently reinforcing orthodox theological ideas whilst other revisers challenged them. The last stanza (68) of Psalm 50 in the γ group – which demonstrates an attempt by the reviser to offer a more literal translation of the Latin – makes for very interesting comparison with the equivalent text in the β group which is closer to Maidstone’s original.¹⁶² Dealing with the psalm text ‘then you will delight in right sacrifices, in burnt-offerings and whole burnt-offerings; then bulls will be offered on your altar’, the two textual versions give quite different biblical interpretations:

Tunc acceptabis sacrificium iusticie oblacones et holocausta; tunc imponent super altarem tuum vitulos.

[Manuscript group β]

Penne shaltou sacrificise accepte
 Of riȝtwisnesse and treuȝe entere;
 And calueren after þi precepte
 Shulden be leyd on þin autere.
 On caluery a calf þer crepte
 Cryst on cros boȝe clene and clere;
 For teres þat his moder wepte
 He shilde vs alle from helle fyre. (lines 537-44)

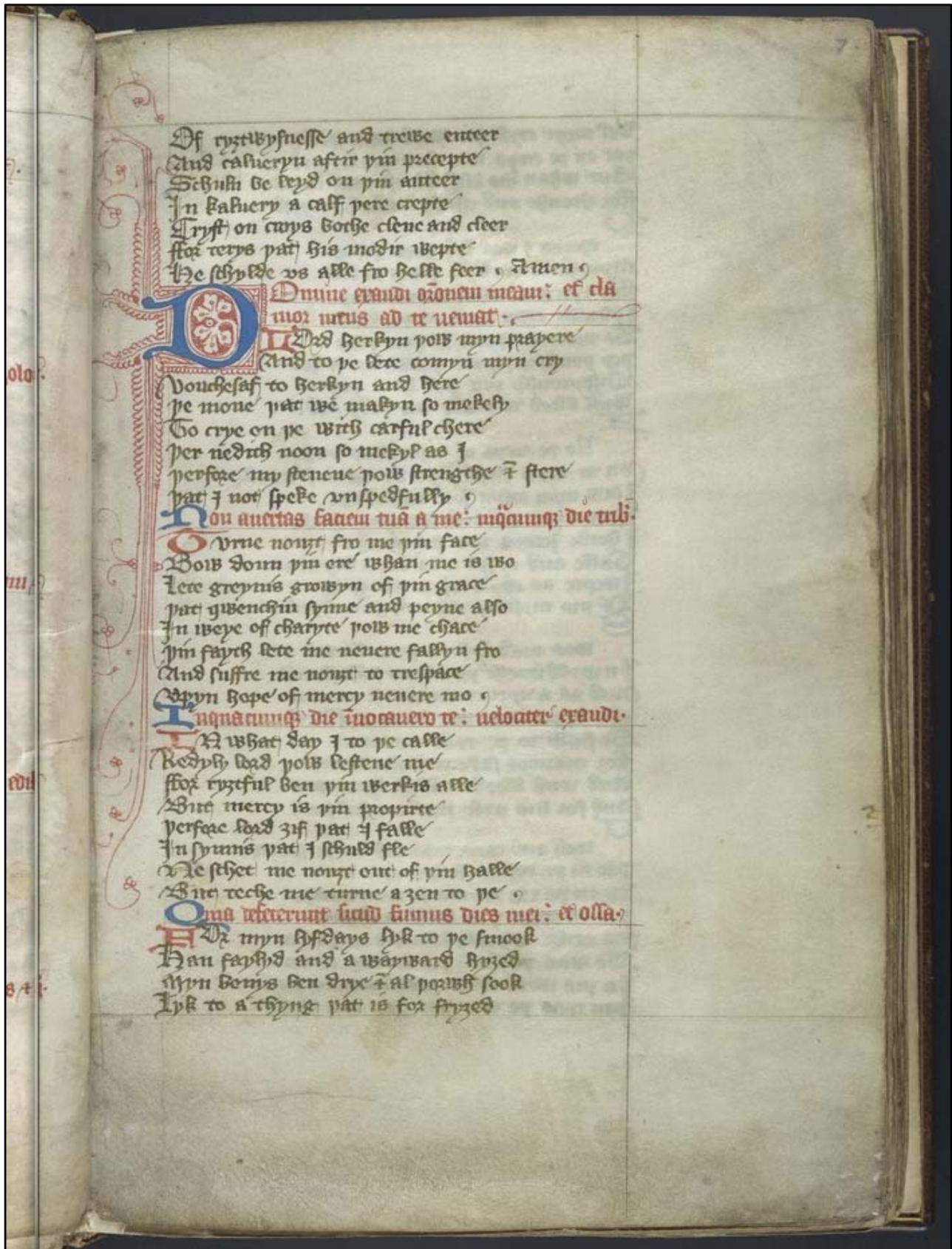
[Manuscript group γ]

Thanne þou shalt take sacrifice
 Of riȝtwis men on þin auter;
 Of þi calueren on þis wise
 [Bi tirauntis handis] offrid here,
 Bi tribulacioun þat þanne shal rise,
 Þi chirche shal be maad ful cleer,
 But sore moun þin enemyes grise
 Þat putten himself in sich daungeer.

¹⁶⁰ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 21.

¹⁶¹ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 21.

¹⁶² Edden states ‘the three γ manuscripts derive from a common β ancestor which has been revised by an intelligent copyist’ [*Penitential Psalms* edition, 32]. Edden also points out [119], with regard to stanza 110, manuscript evidence that some scribes consulted the Latin text of the psalms when unsure of a particular reading.



Stanza 68 of *The Penitential Psalms* (minus the first line which is on the preceding folio) as it appears at the top of Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Ms. Codex 196, fo. 7 (an example of manuscript group β).

In her explanatory notes, Valerie Edden summarises the stanza thus: ‘The psalmist offers his God burnt offering and sacrificial calves; the poet meditates on the offering of Christ as the final redemptive sacrifice; Christ becomes the sacrificial calf on Calvary.’¹⁶³ The two versions of the stanza translate the Latin psalm in differing ways that lend themselves to quite distinct interpretations. The β text states that God will accept a sacrifice of righteousness and truth: ‘Þenne shaltou sacrificise accepte / Of riȝtwisnesse and treuþe entere’. The γ text, however, states that God will accept a sacrifice from (or more sinister ‘of’) men who are righteous: ‘Thanne þou shalt take sacrifice / Of riȝtwis men on þin auter’. It is unlikely that many readers had the two versions of the poem in front of them at the same time, but any who noticed the difference and was familiar with Lollard thought would recognise in the γ text a strong echo of Wyclif’s belief that the efficaciousness of a sacrament was down to the celebrant’s state of grace. To say that God will receive a sacrifice offered by ‘riȝtwis men’ recalled Wyclif’s teachings on ‘Dominion’, that is, the ownership rights and possession of authority of religious and civil leaders. John Wyclif said that only the righteous could properly exercise dominion, and that since, in his view, many members of the clergy were not righteous but rather in mortal sin, their dominion was in appearance only. Reading further in the γ group version of the stanza, however, it seems that the sacrifice ‘Of riȝtwis men’ refers not to them offering sacrifice, but rather they themselves are the sacrifice being offered to God. This startling reading replaces the notion of calves being laid on God’s altar with the suggestion that righteous men are being offered to God ‘Bi tirauntis handis’. This could well be a reference to the execution of Lollards (particularly after 1409 as discussed in Chapter Two). The γ group redactor entirely removes the β group reference to Christ on the cross and instead presents the righteous men as martyrs whose tribulations shall cleanse the Church (‘Bi tribulacioun þat þanne shal rise / Bi chirche shal be maad ful cleer’). The Marian piety found in the closing lines of the β text (‘For teres þat his moder wepte / He shilde vs alle from helle fyre’) is expunged from the γ text, which says that any crying out will be done by God’s enemies who put themselves in the dangerous position of sacrificing righteous men (‘But sore moun þin enemyes grise / Þat putten himself in sich daungeer’).

This quite possibly Lollard redaction reinforces the ways in which Richard Maidstone’s creative poetry and imaginative vernacular theology could prompt idiosyncratic readings of *The Penitential Psalms* that he himself would have balked at. Many critics have overlooked this more speculative and thus potentially dangerous aspect of Maidstone’s otherwise theologically orthodox devotional work, John Fleming dubbing it nothing more nor less than ‘an able series of elaborate English

¹⁶³ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 114.

translations and paraphrases of the penitential psalms'.¹⁶⁴ Valerie Edden calls the texts which accompany Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* in the majority of manuscripts 'avowedly orthodox, pro-ecclesiastical, pro-sacerdotal'.¹⁶⁵ This is undeniably the case, and David Carlson too is no doubt correct in pointing out the use of Maidstone's paraphrase to help the reader prepare 'to enter the more thoroughly into the sacrament of penance, confession particularly, requiring of course the church's mediation and the ministrations of a priest-confessor'.¹⁶⁶ Given the medieval Carmelite Order's renown for orthodoxy coming specially to the fore in England in the 1380s and 90s, this seems very much the context in which Maidstone probably foresaw his work being accessed. However, whether Maidstone was aware of it or not, his approach to the Scriptures and his creative poetic method opened up imaginative possibilities for his audience by encouraging them to engage personally with God through private meditation and access to the Scriptures outside the context of public liturgical practice. This would seem to be borne out not only by the γ group revisions, but also by the more 'heterodox' manuscript codices in which *The Penitential Psalms* is sometimes included.¹⁶⁷ It seems logical to

¹⁶⁴ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 370.

¹⁶⁵ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 12.

¹⁶⁶ Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 10-11. Conversely, the vernacular paraphrase by the Franciscan Thomas Brampton suggests that the Penitential Psalms be prayed not so much in preparation for confession, but as a resulting act of penance in satisfaction of the sacrament (stanzas 4 and 6): Thomas Brampton, *A paraphrase on the Seven Penitential Psalms* (London: The Percy Society, 1862); J. R. Kreuzer, 'Thomas Brampton's Metrical Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms: A Diplomatic Edition', *Traditio*, 7 (1949-51), 359-403.

¹⁶⁷ Probably the most intriguing of the manuscripts to contain Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 102 [fo. 128-136], a collection of religious texts with political significance written in the mid-late fifteenth century. Among the manuscript's diverse mix of writings is the C-text of William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, the version which is perhaps the most interesting in terms of Langland's self-presentation. As Ralph Hanna points out, the figure of Will seems to explore the vocation of a hermit, whose contemplative lifestyle might seem to contrast with that of the labourer: Ralph Hanna, 'Will's Work', in Steven Justice, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (eds.), *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 23-66 [54 n. 5]. 'Will evokes the practice of hermits ... in order to claim that his poeticizing might be licit activity': Ralph Hanna, 'Meddling with makings' and Will's work', in Alastair J. Minnis (ed.), *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, York Manuscripts Conferences: Proceedings III (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 85-94 [89]. There are interesting echoes here for Carmelite writers given the Order's eremitic heritage. The debates over the content of *Piers Plowman* and Langland's religious leanings continue. The ambiguities of the text (particularly with regard to mendicant religion) are discussed by: Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 372-73; Lawrence M. Clopper, 'Langland's Persona: An Anatomy of the Mendicant Orders', in Steven Justice, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (eds.), *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 144-84; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 398-408. 'Misappropriation' of Langland's text is discussed by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 'Langland and the Bibliographic Ego', in Steven Justice, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (eds.), *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 67-143. In addition to the C-text, Digby 102 contains moral poems referring to political events dating up until 1418, and the *Debate of Body and Soul*. Vincent Gillespie has commented on the political nuances of the moral lyrics in his article 'Moral and Penitential Lyrics', and points out elsewhere that the religious texts accompanying the Digby poems, whilst suggesting the codex's 'affinity with traditional collections of moral and penitential verse', all in fact 'have the potential to carry substantial political freight': Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 34. The inclusion of *The Penitential Psalms* alongside texts which, if not seditious, could certainly be read as offering criticism of the status quo, shows that Carmelite theological material in the vernacular was not restricted to compilations of orthodox devotional material. The 24 short lyrics also show that religious writing in the vernacular was not entirely stifled by the Church in this period; in her recent edition Helen Barr argues that they were probably written by a Benedictine monk in the early years of the reign of King Henry V, c.1413-14. References to Digby 102 are legion,

conclude that just as Richard Maidstone was keenly aware of the activities of those opposed to him – conveniently grouped together as ‘the Lollards’ – some of those same ‘Lollards’ would have been well aware of his writings and opposed to any desire he might have had to promote *The Penitential Psalms* as a *stimulus penitentiae* (penitential tool) in preparation for oral confession, a practice which Wyclif rejected.¹⁶⁸

As previously discussed, the effect of Maidstone’s poetic structure (stand-alone stanzas which offer translation and commentary on single verses of Scripture) lends itself very naturally to slow, ponderous reading of *The Penitential Psalms*. It evokes in the audience an attitude of reflection upon the psalm verses that is both open to individual mental development by the reader, and simultaneously constrained by Maidstone’s own imagery. In this poem, Richard Maidstone both encourages and delineates the boundaries for meditation upon Scripture. What can we know of the way in which the text was actually received? It is important to understand how *The Penitential Psalms* could have been used in personal reflection. Again, we cannot presume to enter entirely the minds of either Maidstone or his audience, but as David Lawton states, further appreciation of *The Penitential Psalms*, as with any Englishing of the Bible, ‘depends with absolute diversity on context: date, place, identity and cultural frame of writer and potential audience, and on how people construed what they read, heard, or saw’.¹⁶⁹ Whilst the manuscript evidence shows that Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* moved to readers outside of the Carmelite friary, some of them probably laypeople, we cannot overlook the possibility that the text was read by the cleric’s confreres. The slow, ruminative style of the poem would seem to make it eminently suitable for an ordained friar and/or lay brother who was required by *The Rule of Saint Albert* to ‘remain in his cell or near it, meditating day and night on the Word of the Lord’ (as discussed in the previous chapter).

The Penitential Psalms was clearly a text popular in its day, reaching a diverse audience as witnessed by its survival in extracts or in its entirety in some twenty-seven manuscripts compiled for

including: R. W. Hunt, A. G. Watson, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues IX: Digby Manuscripts* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1999), 116-17; J. Kail (ed.), *Twenty-six political and other poems (including ‘Petty Job’) from the Oxford mss. Digby 102 and Douce 322*, Early English Text Society Original Series 124 (London: K. Paul, 1904); Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 18; J. Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), Volume 5 – Part 13 (1975): Rossell Hope Robbins, ‘Poems Dealing with Contemporary Conditions’, 1418; Edden in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 106-124; Robbins, *Historical Poems*, xxvi, xxviii, xlii, 39-53; Helen Barr, *The Digby Poems: A New Edition of the Lyrics* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009); Louis Johan Philip Verheij, *Where of is mad al mankynde’: an edition of and introduction to the twenty-four poems in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 102*, Doctoral Thesis (Leiden: Leiden University, 2009), available online at: <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/14129> [accessed February 2015].

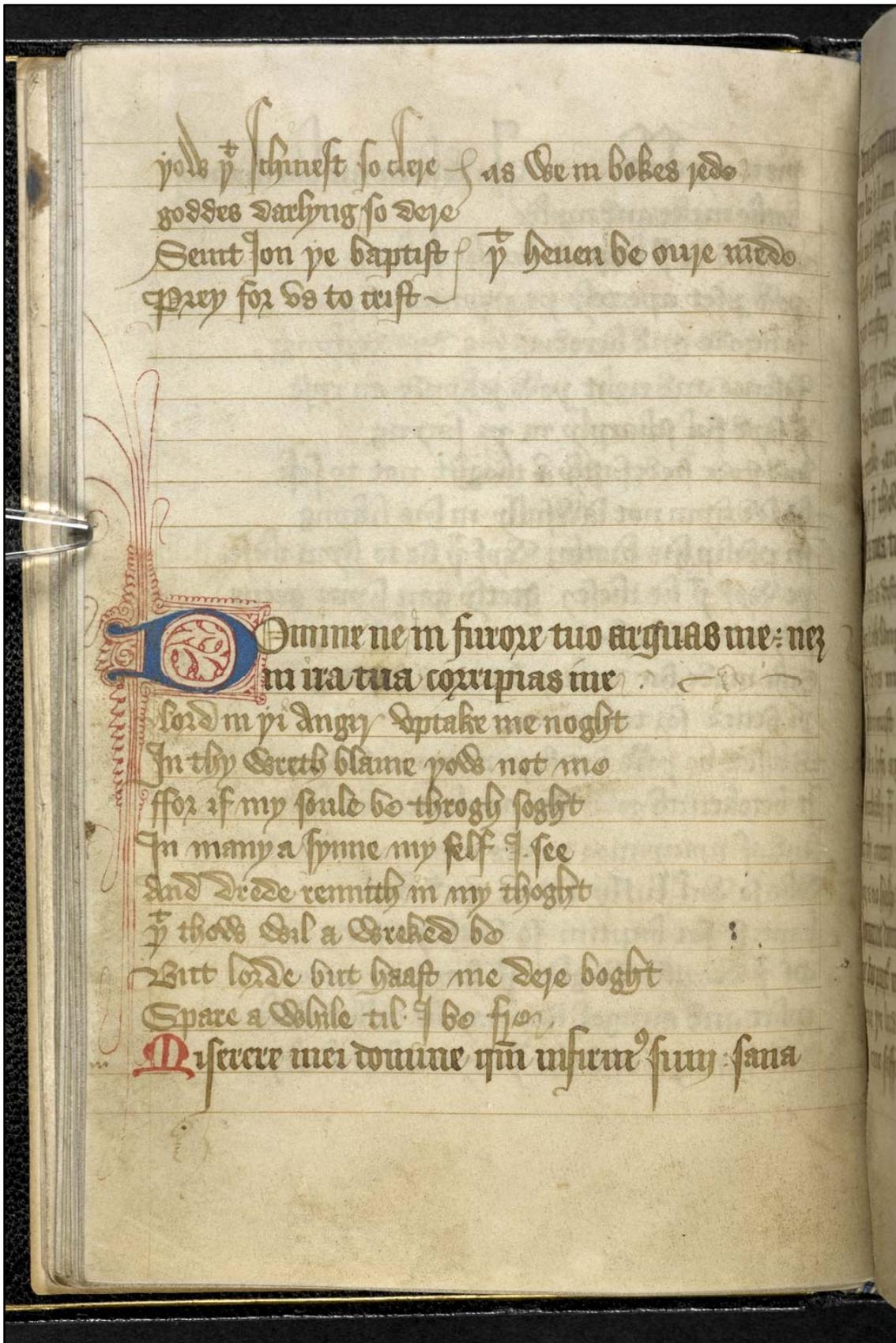
¹⁶⁸ On Lollard opposition to the sacrament of confession, see: Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 12.

¹⁶⁹ David Lawton, ‘Englishing the Bible’ in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 454-82 [460].

both clergy and laity, including the celebrated Vernon, Wheatley, and Heege Manuscripts. Whilst a large number of surviving manuscripts is not necessarily a guarantee of wide readership in Ricardian England, the fact that (unattributed) excerpts from Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* were added to prayer books used by both secular clergy and laity stands testimony to the reality that erstwhile 'Carmelite' texts circulated beyond the immediate confines of the Order.¹⁷⁰ John Thompson is right to regard Maidstone's decision to write on the Penitential Psalms as proof of Carmelites responding to the growing demand for vernacular devotional material in the later Middle Ages, but this requires further analysis.¹⁷¹ To appreciate the reasons behind, reception of, and responses to Maidstone's most surely attributed vernacular text, we must put it into the context of genre and the broader literary and theological context of the late fourteenth century to see how the Carmelite Order promoted and policed 'life in the Spirit' through the English language.

¹⁷⁰ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 11; Doyle, 'Publication', 114-5; John J. Thompson, 'Literary Associations of an Anonymous English Paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm L', *Medium Ævum*, 57 (1988), 38-55 [42]. Carlson [*Concordia* edition, 11] highlights the suggestion made by John Thompson that 'Maidstone's psalms may have been conceived and written precisely for the kind of bundled circulation with other brief vernacular items on doctrinal basics in which it does occur.'

¹⁷¹ John J. Thompson, 'Literary Associations', 40.



The opening of Richard Maidstone's *The Penitential Psalms* as it appears (unattributed) after a hymn to Saint John the Baptist in *The Wheatley Manuscript*: London, British Library, Ms. Additional 39574, fo. 15v.

The genre of the Seven Penitential Psalms

The *septem Psalmi pœnitentiales*, seven of the one-hundred and fifty Psalms of David in the Old/First Testament, were first grouped together by Saint Augustine (354-430) and subsequently used by Christians to prompt reflection on the theme of a sinner seeking God's forgiveness.¹⁷² Traditionally thought to have been composed by King David after committing adultery with Bathsheba and vicariously murdering her husband, the psalms considered specially 'penitential' in tone were (depending on the counting system used) numbers 6 (*Domine ne in furore... miserere*), 31/32 (*Beati quorum*), 37/38 (*Domine ne in furore... quoniam*), 50/51 (*Miserere... secundum magnam*), 101/102 (*Domine exaudi... et clamor*), 129/130 (*De profundis*), and 142/143 (*Domine exaudi... auribus percipe*). The very personal and confessional tone of the Psalmist's voice in these particular psalms encouraged their recitation as a preparation for sacramental confession, and they are thought to have been instrumental in the development of the first-person 'I' voice in that sacrament. Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) particularly recommended the recitation of the Penitential Psalms with their accompanying antiphons during Lent.¹⁷³

As a prerequisite for a healthy relationship with God, preaching penitence and confession was at the heart of the Carmelites' mission as mendicant friars. As Fleming says of the fraternal orders, 'their pastoral agenda focused on the Pentecostal injunction to repentance, that comprehensive conversion of will and morals that was the necessary prolegomenon to personal salvation. The friars accordingly stressed penance and the homiletic moral instruction and exhortation that might encourage and support it.'¹⁷⁴ Seen in this pastoral context, Maidstone's purpose in writing *The Penitential Psalms* is obvious, as highlighted in the affective invitation in stanza 62 ('I will teach transgressors your ways, and sinners will return to you') to meditate on the wounds inflicted on Christ's body during the Passion:

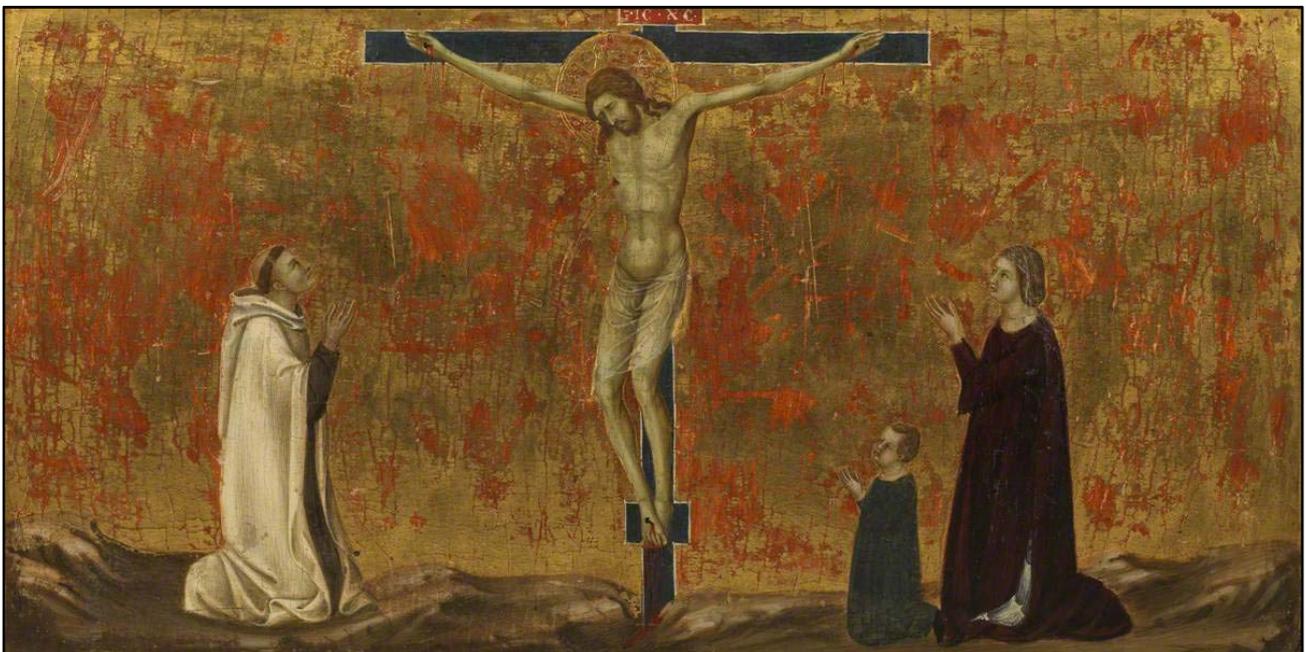
¹⁷² On the genre and interpretation of the penitential psalms in the Middle Ages, and how the Psalms in general have been translated and interpreted over the centuries, see: Michael P. Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), on Maidstone 125-135; Clare L. Costley, 'David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 57:4 (Winter 2004), 1235-77; Susan Gillingham, *Psalms through the Centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008); Clare Costley King'oo, *Miserere Mei: The Penitential Psalms in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ReFormations: Medieval and Early Modern (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), on Maidstone 104-117; Bruce K. Waltke, James M. Houston, Erika Moore, *The Psalms as Christian Lament: A Historical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014), 14-17; Alastair Hunter, 'Psalms', in Andrew W. Hass, David Jasper, Elisabeth Jay (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 243-58; Annie Sutherland, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages, 1300-1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹⁷³ On the use of the Penitential Psalms by clergy and laity, particularly Psalm 50, see: John J. Thompson, 'Literary Associations of an Anonymous English Paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm L', *Medium Ævum*, 57 (1988), 38-55.

¹⁷⁴ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 355. He devotes considerable space in his article to 'the friars and penitential literature'.

Docebo iniquos vias tuas et impij ad te conuertentur.

Þe wickede I shal [þi] weyes teche,
 Þe synful shul to þe conuerte;
 Þou synful soule bewar of wreche,
 And þenke on Cristes heed and herte,
 Breste [and backe] and [body] bleche,
 How hit was beten wiþ scourges smerte.
 To rewe on him I wold reche;
 Alas! þer may no teere outsterte. (lines 489-96)



Meditation on Christ's suffering by a Carmelite friar and lay persons can be seen in *Crucified Christ with Donors* painted between 1317 and 1327 by Sieneese artist Ugolino di Nerio. Tempera on panel. London, The Courtauld Institute of Art, P.1947.LF.242.

Carmelites and the Psalms

In understanding the role of the Psalms in penitential practice, Richard Maidstone was writing within a mendicant and specifically Carmelite culture. Surveying the known scriptural commentaries written by medieval Carmelites, it is clear that the Order had a general preference for the Bible's wisdom literature (*The Song of Songs, Proverbs, and Psalms*) over its historical books. Writing and lecturing on the Psalms, in Latin, was common among those friars pursuing advanced studies. A contemporary of Maidstone, the Carmelite Thomas Maldon (d. 1404) delivered a series of 48 lectures

on the psalms at the University of Cambridge, and in his surviving commentary on Psalm 118 we see many interesting parallels with Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*, such as a stress on the spiritual (rather than literal) understanding of Scripture, a comparison of the Old and New Laws, the justice and mercy of God, the value of sacramental confession, and the excellence of religious life (prefigured by the Psalmist David himself, Maldon claims).¹⁷⁵

One of Richard Maidstone's Italian confreres and contemporaries, Michele Aiguani (1320-1400), also wrote on the Psalms. Prior General of the Urban/Roman Obedience of the Order between 1381-86, Aiguani became one of Carmel's outstanding scholastics, lecturing in Bologna. In addition to the c.1380 *Planctus Mariae* dialogue discussed earlier in this chapter, Aiguani wrote a *Biblical Dictionary*, and one of the most extensive commentaries on the Psalms ever written, the five-volume *Lectura super psalterio*.¹⁷⁶



Tombstone of Michele Aiguani preserved in the cloister of the Carmelite Friary, Bologna, Italy.

¹⁷⁵ Part of one lecture, on Psalm 118, is preserved in Oxford, Balliol College, Ms. 80, fo. 190-232, and is analysed by J. P. H. Clark, 'Thomas Maldon, O.Carm., a Cambridge theologian of the fourteenth century', *Carmelus*, 29 (1982), 193-235, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 125-67. On Maldon see: Richard Copsey, 'Maldon, Thomas (d. 1404)', *ODNB*; Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

¹⁷⁶ Extracts from the *Dictionarium biblicum* have been printed in *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 8 (1932-37), and translations from that text and the *Lectura super psalterio* are included in Richard Copsey's forthcoming *Early Carmelite Documents*. On Aiguani (sometimes spelled Ayguani, and dubbed the *doctor incognitus* because many early copies of his work were unattributed) see: Emanuele Boaga, 'L'attività teologica del carmelitano bolognese Michele Aiguani', in *Ateneo e Chiesa di Bologna*, Convegno di studi Bologna 13-15 aprile 1989 (Bologna: Istituto per la storia della chiesa di Bologna, 1992), 131-45; Emanuele Boaga, 'Aiguani, Michele', in Emanuele Boaga, Luigi Borriello (eds.), *Dizionario Carmelitano* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2008), 12-13; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 44-45; Leonard A. Kennedy, 'Michael Aiguani (†1400) and Divine Absolute Power', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 249-55; Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

Though Aiguani's work has largely remained in manuscript form unedited, his Psalms commentary attained a wide dissemination, especially once printed (in at least 52 editions over a 200-year period), and his approach to Bible study became influential across the Carmelite Order. In his commentary on Psalm 72 (verse 8: 'May he have dominion from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth'), Aiguani reflected on the requirements for true penitence:

By "sea" the state of penitence is sometimes understood; sea [*mare*] comes from bitterness [*amaritudine*]. Whence, *Richard, Super psalm 135*, "He who divided the red sea into parts says, "The waters of the sea are very bitter." What, therefore, is the sea if not the bitterness of penitence? The sea, therefore, remains undivided when one can sigh only out of fear of damnation. But the sea is divided when the bitterness of the heart sighs from compunction, when namely one sighs the tears of compunction, so that one not only laments the evil which one fears, but also the good which one desires." In this sea of penitence the Egyptians are submerged, because by penitence all sins are cancelled. Whence, *Mic. 7*, "He will cast all our sins into the bottom of the sea." Therefore, that is the sense of the Psalm, *and he shall rule from sea to sea*, because the dominion of Christ, by which through his grace he rules over the faithful, began in the sea of the glorious Virgin Mary, when, namely, he was conceived in her, and continued through the whole world from sea to sea, that is, to all who are bitter through penitence for their sins.¹⁷⁷

One can well imagine Margery Kempe being inspired by such texts in her practice of compunction. Intended to foster a deeper relationship with Christ, mendicant penitential texts (both academic and especially pastoral) focussed on his humanity and suffering, and as such they were often affective. John Fleming speaks of 'the characteristic emotionality of mendicant style ... an affective piety founded in the description, delineation and meditation about the life of Jesus' that can be 'part of a conscious strategy of emotional manipulation designed to lead the reader towards penitential contrition'.¹⁷⁸ This can certainly be found in Maidstone's work, as seen in stanzas 73 and 74 when in Psalm 101 the Psalmist's voice becomes that of Christ in crying out 'Because of my loud groaning my bones cling to my skin':

¹⁷⁷ Translation by Joachim Smet, 'Aiguani's Commentary on Psalm 72', in Keith J. Egan, Craig E. Morrison, Michael J. Wagstag (eds.), *Master of the Sacred Page: essays and articles in honor of Roland E. Murphy, O.Carm.* (Washington: Carmelite Institute, 1997), 353-87.

¹⁷⁸ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 371, 373.

A voce gemitus mei adhesit os meum carni mee.

For þe voice of my weyling
 Vnto my flesshe my boon con shrink;
 I sawe my cosyn Ion mournyng,
 I sawe my modur in swonyng synk;
 I herde þeoues me scornynge,
 Galle and aysel was my drynk,
 I wepte as childe of 3eres 3ing
 On þis myscheef whenne I gan þinke. (lines 585-92)

Through this close immersion into Jesus' experience, Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* is typically mendicant in its Christocentrism and affective emotional impulse.

Expressing a spirit of repentance, the Penitential Psalms were also traditionally recited at the Christian's deathbed, as Philip de Mézières recorded in his biography of his master the Carmelite friar and papal legate Saint Peter Thomas (d. 1366):

He began to recite the penitential psalms in a loud clear voice suggestive of a man in full health "Lord, rebuke me not in your anger." With those around him making the responses he continued till about half way through the seven psalms. At last, however, his strength gave out, though his mind remained clear, and he signalled to his vicar-bishop to join in and support him, and thus the whole seven psalms were completed.¹⁷⁹

Again, such episodes reveal a specifically Carmelite context in which to appreciate the vernacular theology being proffered by Richard Maidstone through his *Penitential Psalms*.

Books of Hours and contemporary interest in the Psalms

No doubt such saintly examples of contemporary Carmelites reciting the Penitential Psalms made an impression on Richard Maidstone, but he would not have had to look far to see the popular impact of the devotion in English society in general. The most common format in which the Penitential

¹⁷⁹ Joachim Smet (ed.), *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières*, *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana* 2 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954), 150. Translated in the Carmelite *Proper of the Liturgy of the Hours* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1993), 50-51. See also: Nicholas Coureas, 'Philippe de Mézières' portrait of Peter Thomas as a preacher', *Carmelus*, 57 (2010), 63-80.

Psalms were found was in Primers (handbooks of devotion for the laity also used to instruct children in the basics of Latin) and Books of Hours (prayer books modelled on the canonical hours of the breviary used primarily by the laity from the thirteenth century onwards).¹⁸⁰



Pentecost depicted in a Book of Hours (Use of Rome) produced c.1490-c.1500 and illustrated by Cornelia van Wulfschkercke (d. 1540), a nun at the Carmelite Monastery of Sion in Bruges. London, British Library, Ms. Stowe 19, fo. 22v-23.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ On the tradition of praying the penitential psalms see: Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 28; Kathleen E. Kennedy, 'Reintroducing the English Books of Hours, or "English Primers"', *Speculum*, 89:3 (July 2014), 693-723. For an example of an illustrated Book of Hours containing the Penitential Psalms, see: Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 228. On the literary genre of the Book of Hours, see: Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Sandra Hindman, James Marrow (eds.), *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History 72 (Turnhout: Brepols / Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013); Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 9; 'Books of Hours' in Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 428-30.

¹⁸¹ Cornelia van Wulfschkercke (Wulfekkercke, fl. 1505), a nun at the Carmelite Monastery of Sion in Bruges, ran a workshop circle of fellow sisters who illuminated manuscripts at the beginning of the sixteenth century. See: Alain Arnould, *De la production de miniatures de Cornelia van Wulfschkercke au couvent des carmélites de Sion à Bruges*, *Elementa Historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 5 (Brussels: Vicariat Général des Dominicains, 1998); Anne Margreet As-Vijvers, *Re-Making the Margin: The Master of the David Scenes and Flemish Manuscript Painting around 1500*, *Ars Nova* 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); www.lesenluminures.com/inventory/miniatures/circle-of-cornelia-van-wulfschkercke-20819 [accessed January 2016].

Contents commonly included a liturgical calendar, the *Little Office of Our Lady*, suffrages and litanies (intercessory prayers addressed to God and the saints), the *Office of the Dead*, and the seven Penitential Psalms. Additional materials were sometimes included to reflect the personal devotions of the owner, who – because of the money and literacy required – was generally a member of the bourgeoisie. The Penitential Psalms were typically more popular with laypeople who did not recite the full *Opus Dei* chanted or recited by religious (monks, friars and nuns),¹⁸² and increasingly in the fifteenth century the Psalter became ‘daily reading for the secular nobility and for the middle classes’.¹⁸³ Whilst the appeal of *The Penitential Psalms* to a pious mercantile lay woman such as Margery Kempe is obvious, we should not overlook the possibility that Maidstone envisaged his vernacular poetry reaching the same nobility that had a natural interest in his Latin verse. As Staley observes of *The Penitential Psalms*, ‘it is certainly not a work to which John of Gaunt or members of his household would have been indifferent ... a translation of the seven penitential psalms into English poetry might be a welcome volume in the Lancastrian household and might well have recommended Maidstone to Gaunt when he returned to England in 1389.’¹⁸⁴



A late fifteenth-century example of an Italian Book of Hours containing the *Hours of the Virgin* (Use of Rome) and *Office of the Dead* (probably Carmelite Use). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Buchanan e. 7, fo. 1.

¹⁸² On the tradition of the seven Penitential Psalms, their use as private lay devotion during the Low Mass, who read the Psalter, and when it was used, see: Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome I (Paris, 1927); Victor Leroquais, *Les Psautiers Manuscrits Latins des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, 3 vols (Macon: Protat Frères, 1940-41); 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: Clarendon Press, 1991), 67-72; Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Continuum, Second Edition 2001), 599; Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1988), 36.

¹⁸³ Wogan-Browne, et al (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 186 n. 65.

¹⁸⁴ Staley, *Languages of Power*, 196.

Texts such as the Penitential Psalms within Books of Hours increased the ability of the laity to participate in the Divine Office, the regular recitation of the Psalms at various moments throughout the day by clergy and religious (the second most popular collection of biblical texts after the gospels in the Middle Ages).¹⁸⁵ Laypersons in the later Middle Ages desirous of participating in versions of this *Opus Dei* but excluded from officiating in the celebration of the sacraments increasingly imitated clerical and monastic practice by regularly attending public liturgies and reciting private devotions in the home as a form of paraliturgy.¹⁸⁶ However, as the anonymous writer(s) of the *General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible* wrote in 1387-88, the Psalter needed some explanation:

þe Sauter comprehendþ al þe elde and newe testament and techiþ pleynli þe mysteries of þe Trinite and of Cristis incarnacioun, passioun, rising aȝen and stiyng into heuene and sendyng down of þe Hooli Goost and prechyng of þe gospel, and þe coming of antecrist, and þe general doom of Crist, and þe glorie of chosun men to blisse and þe peynes of hem þat shulen be dampned in helle; and ofte rehersiþ þe stories of þe elde testament, and bryngēþ in þe kepyng of Goddis heestis and loue of enemyes. No book in þe elde testament is hardere to vndurstandyng to vs Latyns [i.e. Western Christians] for oure lettre discordiþ myche fro þe Ebreu, and many doctoruris taken litil heede to þe lettre but al to þe gostli vndurstanding. Wel were hym þat coude wel vndurstone þe Sauter and kepe it in his lyuyng and seie it deuoutli and conuycte [persuade] Iewis þerbi, for many men seien it vndeououtli and lyuen out of charite lien foule on [lie foully concerning] hemsilf to God and blasfemen him whanne þei crien it ful loude to menus eeris [i.e. to those hearing them] in þe chirche.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ David Lawton, 'Englising the Bible', 455. Shuffelton [532] usefully summarises the practice of religious with regards to the Psalms: 'Of all the books of the Hebrew Bible, none was more important to the daily life of the medieval Church than the psalms. Psalms were a major part of the earliest Christian liturgy, and the Divine Office of the Benedictine Order required monks to read all 150 psalms over the course of a week's worship. In the eighth century (and possibly earlier) monks also began reciting the fifteen "gradual" psalms (Vulgate numbers 119-133) and the seven penitential psalms (Vulgate numbers 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142) in private devotion.' On the Psalter see: Theresa Gross-Diaz, 'The Latin psalter', in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 427-45.

¹⁸⁶ On the growth of this lay piety, particularly in the fifteenth century, see the introduction to 'Pety Job' in Susanna Greer Fein (ed.), *Moral Love Songs and Laments* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1998).

¹⁸⁷ Chapter 11. Mary Dove (ed.), *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible: The Texts of the Medieval Debate*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 58-59.

Other vernacular Penitential Psalms texts

Recommendation of Maidstone's *seuen salmes* by 'clerical intermediaries' in a penitential and catechetical context would have ensured its dissemination,¹⁸⁸ though Maidstone was not the only author to have paraphrased the Bible in verse, or to have translated the Penitential Psalms.¹⁸⁹ Other vernacular versions include the Franciscan friar Thomas Brampton's verse paraphrase of 1414,¹⁹⁰ and Dame Eleanor Hull's *Commentary on the Penitential Psalms*, a prose translation of an unknown Old French commentary written sometime before 1449.¹⁹¹ As Carlson points out, the manuscript contexts of these writings would suggest that part of the developing function of the Penitential Psalms in the fifteenth century was for the text to be circulated alongside other vernacular writings on the basics of Christian dogma, including most commonly *The Prick of Conscience*, a text often found alongside Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*.¹⁹²

Like the Brampton and Hull versions, Maidstone's rendition of the Penitential Psalms was written by a person linked to a religious community, and as mentioned before we cannot exclude the possibility of fellow Carmelites having read Maidstone's vernacular verse. Moreover, we know that some surviving manuscripts containing *The Penitential Psalms* (such as Ms. Rawlinson A 389) were compiled for (or later amassed by) secular clergy.¹⁹³ As with the other medieval Carmelite texts surviving in English, we must ask the question whether we should assume that – because it is in English – it was intended for readers outside the convent, rather than for the friars themselves. As we will see in the case of Thomas Scrope's vernacular writings, there was an 'internal market' for English writing within the Carmelite Order. Maidstone's text might naturally have attracted interest from

¹⁸⁸ Doyle, 'Publication', 115; John Thompson, 42.

¹⁸⁹ See: Evelyn Birge Vitz, 'Medieval verse paraphrases of the Bible', in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 835-59. On Middle English translations of the Psalms see: James H. Morey, *Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

¹⁹⁰ Editions listed *op. cit.* n. 166. On Brampton's work see: Gillespie, 'Moral and Penitential Lyrics', 82.

¹⁹¹ Alexandra Barratt (ed.), *The Seven Psalms: A Commentary on the Penitential Psalms translated from French into English by Dame Eleanor Hull*, Early English Text Society Original Series 307 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). See also: Wogan-Browne, *et al.* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 220-21, 291-97; David Lawton, 'Psalms as Public Interiorities: Eleanor Hull's Voices', in Tamara Atkin, Francis Leneghan (eds.), *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature: From the Conversion to the Reformation* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), 298-317. Eleanor Hull was probably born sometime in the 1390s. Interestingly, Hull's husband was a retainer of John of Gaunt and thus possibly knew his confessor Richard Maidstone. Hull also bears witness to the quasi-religious aspirations of some devout lay people at this period; as well as joining the Benedictine confraternity of St. Alban's Abbey in 1417, after being widowed she spent some time at Sopwell Priory, a house of Benedictine nuns attached to the Abbey. Her translation is undated, but from manuscript evidence must have been before 1449.

¹⁹² Carlson, *Concordia* edition, 11-12. The very influential and widespread *Prick of Conscience* has recently been transcribed and edited: James H. Morey (ed.), *Prick of Conscience*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2012); Ralph Hanna, Sarah Wood (eds.), *Richard Morris's Prick of Conscience*, Early English Text Society Original Series 342 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). The latter is a revision of the first edition printed by Richard Morris in 1863.

¹⁹³ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 11.

confreres such as Richard Lavenham to whom he probably dedicated his Latin work, so we should not exclude the possibility of clerical readers, who would have found particular resonance in the words of stanza 99: ‘Whateuer I rede, whateuer I synge, / Listen hit, lord, wiþ louely chere’ (lines 787-88). We also know that Maidstone’s *Concordia* reached a lay-audience that could read Latin, so it need not be assumed that all laity in late fourteenth-century England would have needed a vernacular translation of the Penitential Psalms.

The potential lay audience

It cannot be overlooked, however, that in the late fourteenth century religious communities experienced a growth of interest in their spirituality and way of life from devout laypersons, and Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* would have responded well to this phenomenon. The Psalms in general had been recommended in the mid-fourteenth century by Richard Rolle (drawing on patristic sources) in the Prologue to his *English Psalter*:

Grete habundans of gastly conforth and ioy in God comes in þe hertes of þaime þat says or synges devoutly þe psalmes in lovyng of Jhesu Crist. Þai drop swetnes in mans saule and helles delites in þeire thoghtes and kyndelis þaire willes with þe fire of luf, makand þam hate and brynnand within, and faire and lufly in Cristes eghen. And þam þat lastes in þaire devocioun he rayses þam in to contemplatif lyf and ofte syth in to soun and myrth of heuen. Þe sange of psalmes chaces fendes, excites aungels tille oure help, it dose oway synne, it qwemes God, it enfourmes parfitnes, it dose oway and destroys noy and angere of saule and makes pees bytwix body and saule, it bringes desire of heuen and despite of erthly thinge.¹⁹⁴

Richard Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* may have been received by the laity in the light of such fulsome praise of the Scriptures, and it seems clear that Maidstone himself was inspired by Rolle’s efforts in his *English Psalter* to cater to those both within and beyond the cloister seeking to be raised by God ‘to contemplatif lyf’ by pondering the Scriptures.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Hatton 12, fo. 4, printed in Hope Emily Allen (ed.), *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931, reprinted Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1988), 4-5. See: J. Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), Volume 9 – Part 23 (1993): Valerie M. Lagorio, Michael G. Sargent (with Ritamary Bradley), ‘English Mystical Writings’, 3055-56.

¹⁹⁵ David Lawton sees Rolle’s *Psalter* as the inspiration for Maidstone, Brampton, and Hull. See: David Lawton, ‘The Bible’, in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: Volume 1 – To 1550* (Oxford: Oxford

Lay access to the Psalms in the English vernacular was facilitated by Richard Rolle in his *English Psalter*, an abbreviated translation which also featured the Latin commentary on the Psalms by Peter Lombard.¹⁹⁶ Such translations allowed increased access by the laity to the different texts of the Bible, sometimes to the disquiet of Church authorities.¹⁹⁷ Rolle's *English Psalter* inspired (undated) Lollard redactions,¹⁹⁸ as well as more orthodox texts,¹⁹⁹ and access to the Psalms provided by orthodox and Lollard writers alike allowed Margery Kempe to quote Scripture as a defence against her critics: 'Sche for to excusyn hirselve leyd scriptur ageyn hem, versys of the Sawter'.²⁰⁰ Richard Maidstone was well aware of the challenges and opportunities presented by increased lay access to the Bible, and his *Penitential Psalms* may even have been the provocation of, or response to, the Lollard appropriation of Rolle's psalm commentary.²⁰¹

Perhaps because of the laity's increasing ability to quote the Psalms in debate, access to the Psalms in English was not universally regarded as necessary or desirable. Some vernacular writers claimed that reading the Psalms in Latin – even if you didn't understand them – was a beneficial way of

University Press, 2008), 193-233 [229]. On the use of the Bible by Rolle and other 'mystics' see: E. Ann Matter, 'The Bible in the spiritual literature of the medieval West', in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 693-703.

¹⁹⁶ For details see: Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 244-49; Ralph Hanna, 'Rolle and Related Works', in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 19-31. For an introduction to Lombard see: 'Peter Lombard and the systematization of theology' in Rik Van Nieuwenhove, *An Introduction to Medieval Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 147-66; Clare Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse: Peter Lombard's 'Sentences' and the Development of Theology*, Europa Sacra 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Matthew Doyle, *Peter Lombard and his Students*, Studies and Texts 201 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016). A number of English Carmelites wrote commentaries and *questiones* on the *Sentences*, including Osbert Beaufeuf of Pickenham (*fl.* 1350), on whom see: Richard Copsey, 'Pickenham, Osbert (*fl.* 1350)', *ODNB*; Leonard A. Kennedy, 'Osbert of Pickenham O.Carm. (*fl.* 1360) on the Absolute Power of God', *Carmelus*, 35 (1988), 178-225, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 201-248.

¹⁹⁷ On the issues surrounding vernacular Bible translation, see: M. Lamberigts, A. A. den Hollander (eds.), *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450-1800*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 198 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006).

¹⁹⁸ Anne Hudson (ed.), *Two Revisions of Rolle's English Psalter Commentary and the Related Canticles*, 3 vols, Early English Text Society Original Series 340, 341, 343 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-14). According to Hudson's interpretation (in her notes in volume 3), Rolle's commentary on the seven Penitential Psalms seems not to have attracted substantial Wycliffite redaction. On the redactions see also: Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 259-64; Michael P. Kuczynski, 'Extracts from a revised version of Richard Rolle's *English Psalter* in MS Longleat 3, an early version Wycliffite Bible', *Medium Ævum*, 85:2 (2016), 217-35.

¹⁹⁹ See: A. B. Kraebel, 'The Use of Richard Rolle's *Latin Psalter* in Richard Ullerston's *Expositio Canticorum Scripturæ*', *Medium Ævum*, 81:1 (2012), 139-44.

²⁰⁰ *Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 2, Chapter 6 [404-405 in Windeatt's 2000 edition]. Carmelites likewise based their defence of Kempe on Scriptural authority. In Chapter 69 of Book 1 of *The Book of Margery Kempe* we read that two clerics (presumably Alan of Lynn and her confessor Robert Spryngolde) spoke out 'excusyng the seyde creatur, bothyn in the pulpit and besyden, wher thei herd anything mevyd ayen hir, strengthnyng her skyllys be auctoriteys of holy scriptur sufficiently, of which clerkys on was a White Frer, a doctor of divinite. The other clerk was a bachelor of lawe canon, a wel labowrd man in scriptur.' Notably Kempe stresses Spryngolde's experience in reading the Bible.

²⁰¹ Richard Rolle (ed.) Allen, 65; Margaret Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915), vi; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 27, 259-64, 421-22.

warding off evil spirits. Hence in the devotional compendium *The Chastising of God's Children* we read that:

seint hildegard, an hooli nunne, whanne she saide her sawtier, al be it þat she vndirstode nat what she saide or radde, 3it at certeyn verse, and speciali anoon as she bigan þis psalm, she sai hou þe deuels rannen awei from hir.²⁰²

Further on in the same text which (manuscript evidence suggests) was especially popular in religious houses, the author says it is important to keep the Psalms in their original language:

Many men repreuen it to haue þe matins or þe sautir or þe gospels or þe bible in englisshe, bicause þei mowe nat be translated into vulgare, word bi worde as it stondiþ, wiþoute grete circumlocucion, aftir þe feelynge of þe first writers, þe whiche translaticid þat into latyn bi techyng of þe holi goost. Naþeles, I wil nat repreue suche translacion, ne I repreue nat to haue hem on englisshe, ne to rede on hem where þei mowen stire 3ou more to deuocion and to þe loue of god; but uttirli to usen hem in englisshe and leue þe latin, I holde it nat commendable, and namly in hem þat bien bounden to seien her sautir or her matins of oure lady, for if a mannes confessour 3iueþ hym in penaunce to seie his sautir wiþoute ony oþer wordis, and he gooþ forþ and seiþ it in englisshe and nat in latyn as it was ordeynd, þis man, I wene, dooþ nat his penaunce ... If 3ee wil aske hou 3e shuln preie deuoutli in preier whiche 3e vndirstonde nat, I answeere 3ou þerto and seie þat for þe uertu of þe wordis and 3oure lownesse and obeisaunce to holy chirche, wiþ a feruent desire upward to god aftir 3oure entent, þou3 3e vndirstonde no word þat 3e seie, it may be to 3ou more medeful, and more acceptable to god þanne grete deuocioun þat 3e wene 3e haue in oþer preuy deuociouns.²⁰³

It would seem from this that whilst some clergy accepted the devotional benefits of reading a translation, they also promoted the recitation of the Psalms in Latin as a penance in itself (perhaps

²⁰² Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge (eds.), *The Chastising of God's Children* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), 203-204. *The Chastising* is addressed to a woman religious by her confessor. The combating of heresy is one of the *Chastising*-author's major concerns (see 47, 49-54). Dating from after 1373 and possibly shortly after the Lollard recantations of 1382, it is perhaps contemporaneous with *The Penitential Psalms*. For a discussion of the work, which dates it post-1391, see: Annie Sutherland, 'The Chastising of God's Children: A Neglected Text', in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 353-73.

²⁰³ *The Chastising*, 221-22. On the issue of Latin and literacy see the introductory notes, 35, 65-78.

because the tedium of reciting an incomprehensible language was deemed to have ascetic benefits), as an act of faith in the potency of God's Word whether the language was comprehended or not, and as proof of a layman or woman's obedience to religious superiors regardless of the immediate value of comprehension.

This would not seem to be the interpretation of the value of the Penitential Psalms recognised by Richard Maidstone's Carmelite contemporary Richard Lavenham. Writing in his *Litil Tretys* of the sin of 'heuynesse' (a branch of sloth), Lavenham quotes the translator of the Vulgate Bible, Saint Jerome: 'Beter is he seyþ þe seyng of seune psalmis w^t clenness of herte and a gostly gladnesse þerw^t þan þe seyng of an hool sawter w^t heuynesse of herte and care'.²⁰⁴ In the estimation of Maidstone's brother in religion, an important aspect of prayer is to enter into it with proper devotion and to avoid needless repetition.

Psalms for associates of the Order

As we have remarked, increasingly in the fourteenth century laypersons felt inspired not only to imitate clergy and religious in reciting biblical texts from the Divine Office, but also to seek some sort of affiliation with religious communities. Although no Third Order of lay members was officially organised by the Carmelites until the seventeenth century, and then on the Continent, we do know of several types of lay person in England who were associated with the Order by letters of confraternity or some other relationship, codified or not: lay brothers, anchorites, hermits, *mantellate*, *conversi*, servants, guild-members, and so on. As shown in Chapter One, this broad group of Carmelite associates included, in Lynn, Margery Kempe and two sets of spouses recorded in corrodies.

It seems likely that an abbreviated version of the Psalter, such as the Penitential Psalms, may sometimes have formed part of the daily spiritual regime required for affiliation to the Carmelite Order, just as it was specified in the Lynn corrodies, and in the fifteenth-century legislation for laity affiliated to another group of mendicants, the *Reule of the Thirde Order of Seynt Franceys*:

Of prayer of the bretherne and susterns of thes reule. Eche of theme muste say euery day ther service, that is Matyns, Prime and owers, Evynsong and Complyn, and thei that be clarkes than can þe Saulter shall say at prime *Deus, in nomine tuo* and *Beati immaculati* unto *Legem pone* whith other psalmys wt *Gloria Patri*, as clerkes done... In Saint Martyn

²⁰⁴ J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956), 19/10-13.

lent and also in the great lent they shall go to matens to the parishe chirche wher they dwell withoute they haue a lafull excuse.²⁰⁵

In writing *The Penitential Psalms* Richard Maidstone may have had the spiritual discipline of such quasi-religious laypersons in mind.

For Maidstone, the Penitential Psalms act as a device for him to expound Christian teaching and reflect upon the need for Christ's salvific work, but as Pickering points out, 'Maidstone has no interest in literal explication of the psalm text and everywhere prefers a spiritual or moral-devotional explanation'.²⁰⁶

The Bible is a collection of texts that in proclaiming their status as the Word of God perpetuates their own spiritual value. The cultural context of Maidstone's work is one of conflicting desires on the part of the Carmelite Order and the wider medieval Church to preach the Word of God yet simultaneously prevent its misuse by those regarded as heretical.²⁰⁷ Certainly Maidstone expressed no explicit concern in *The Penitential Psalms* about translating the Scriptures, as Rolle did in his *English Psalter*,²⁰⁸ or that his Carmelite brethren did in later vernacular works, which is perhaps further proof that his poem predates the more overt wranglings about translation in which he personally engaged during the 1390s. Maidstone seems more occupied with using the English language to express and reiterate the teachings of 'holy chirche þat erreþ nouzt' (line 532). Certainly in this Richard Maidstone conforms to the observation made by David Lawton that the fourteenth-century debates about Latinity and the translation of the Bible were not so much conflicts over theology and language as they were about ecclesiastical hierarchy and the assertion of the Church's infallibility against detractors.²⁰⁹

Ornamental English to teach Latin?

Indeed, Maidstone's verse revels in the possibilities offered by the diversity of the English language and poetic form. For instance, his choice of diction gives the poem alliteration that is ornamental rather than structural, and 'held back for special purposes'.²¹⁰ Maidstone blends the Latin

²⁰⁵ Walter M. Seton (ed.), *A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book and Two Fifteenth-Century Franciscan Rules*, Early English Text Society Original Series 148 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914, reprinted 1962), 51.

²⁰⁶ Pickering (1997), 96.

²⁰⁷ For an overview of scriptural homiletics in the late medieval Church see: Siegfried Wenzel, 'The use of the Bible in preaching', in Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible from 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 680-92.

²⁰⁸ David Lawton, 'Englising the Bible', 470.

²⁰⁹ David Lawton, 'Englising the Bible', 459.

²¹⁰ Pickering (1997), 98.

with an innovative English style where ‘words and rhythm combine, simply and unpretentiously, to create cadences of seemingly effortless effectiveness’.²¹¹ We know from Rolle’s prologue to his *English Psalter* – a text in which Latin and English alternate in what seems to have been a deliberately literal translation – that one of his hopes was that it would increase the reader’s awareness of the original text and grasp of Latin:

In þis werke .i. seke na straunge ynglis, bot lyghtest [easiest] and comonest. and swilk þat is mast lyke til þe latyn. swa þat thei þat knawes nocht latyn. by þe ynglis may com til mony latyn wordis. In þe translacioun .i. folow þe lettere als mykyll as .i. may. And þare .i. fynd na propire [appropriate] ynglis. i. folow þe wit [sense] of þe worde, swa þat þai þat sall red it þaim þare nocht dred erryng[e] [so that those who shall read it need not fear making a mistake].²¹²

It may be that Maidstone likewise hoped that ‘thei þat knawes nocht latyn. by þe ynglis may com til mony latyn wordis’. His *Penitential Psalms* would certainly have helped young Carmelite novices to develop their knowledge and understanding of the Divine Office, but it is never overtly set out as his agenda. Without dismissing the Psalmist’s words, which Christian dogma would have taught Maidstone was divinely-inspired, the Carmelite’s concern is not to translate the text with slavish adherence to the Latin original (as will later be seen in the work of his confrere Richard Misyn). Maidstone faithfully presents the Latin original, but also moves beyond it to a personal realm of reflection that is more meditative, theological, speculative and yet simultaneously didactic.

Oliver Pickering discerns in Maidstone’s combination of argument and concentrated imagery in *The Penitential Psalms* a ‘metaphysical style’ comparable to the achievements of the so-called metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century.²¹³ As Pickering points out, the first-person confessional voice of the author echoes that of the Psalmist ‘but its purpose is inescapably didactic’.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Pickering (1997), 98.

²¹² Henry R. Bramley (ed.), *The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles: with a Translation and Exposition in English by Richard Rolle of Hampole* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884), 4-5. Quoted / translated by: Alexandra Barratt, ‘Take a Book and Read’: Advice for Religious Women’, in Cate Gunn, Catherine Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 193-208 [197]; David Lawton, ‘Englishing the Bible’, 470.

²¹³ Pickering (1997), 85-104, especially 91 ff. Staley compares Maidstone with John Donne (*Languages of Power*, 195). On the important distinction (made by Rosemary Woolf and echoed by Valerie Edden) between the medieval poet who provokes meditation in the reader and the seventeenth-century poet who is himself the meditator, see: Pickering, 101.

²¹⁴ Pickering (1997), 96. On the role of the first-person voice in the development of religious texts, see: Elisa Miller Mangine, *Selfhood and the Psalms: the First-Person Voice in Old English and Old Icelandic Literature*, Doctoral Thesis, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 2000).

The authorial voice is intended to direct the reader's attention to God, not to itself. It is likely that Richard Maidstone was well aware of other Biblical translations and paraphrases, but seems to have no interest in placing himself personally as an 'auctour' in their succession.²¹⁵ As Pickering remarks, 'Maidstone is clearly medieval in not drawing attention to his individuality ... he is writing wholly for the benefit of others'.²¹⁶ The matters of audience and purpose – so much as anything can be deduced about them – are intrinsically linked. It is interesting that Edden should regard *The Penitential Psalms* as a late Maidstonian work, composed in the 'public' years of his life. Yet as has been argued before, it seems that they were written before his higher profile role. We must ask why he wrote the *Concordia* as an ostensibly 'public' work in Latin, and why his work in English seems so much more private and intimate. Could it hark back to his accusation against Ashwardby preaching in English?

The extent to which Maidstone was responding to popular demands for the Bible – whether you read his translation as opening or restricting access to the Scriptures – depends partly on understanding the nature of this demand. When it comes to accessing the Bible, as David Lawton points out medieval notions of 'textual purity' were rather different from today's understanding.²¹⁷ It was common for the Penitential Psalms to appear 'unedited' in Books of Hours, so would Maidstone's 'commentary' or reflection have distracted from the unadulterated text or given it new layers of interpretation? Very few people in the Middle Ages ever had access to 'The Bible' as a single volume, and Maidstone's supplementing of the biblical text with his own reflections may not have been dismissed by a medieval reader as distractive or derivative.

Maidstone's practice of quoting a biblical text first in Latin and then translating it was common both in written and preached religious texts of the late Middle Ages, as was the hierarchy of differently sized and coloured scripts used in manuscript copies for presenting the Latin more formally. Maidstone's use of these techniques does not need much consideration here. However, it is not clear whether macaronic texts such as Maidstone's arose – as some contemporary medieval critics claimed – from the writer's desire to show off his linguistic skills,²¹⁸ or rather from a desire to render the original text available to the reader.

²¹⁵ This is very different from an author such as John Walton, an Augustinian canon of Oseney near Oxford, who prefaces his translation into English of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* by stating his awareness of previous translations and poetic renderings by authors such as Chaucer and Gower; see Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 36, line 25 ff.

²¹⁶ Pickering (1997), 101.

²¹⁷ David Lawton, 'Englising the Bible', 456-57.

²¹⁸ Such a claim is discussed by H. Leith Spencer, 56.

The Bible translation debate

It is clear that participation in the recitation of the Psalms was becoming increasingly important to the laity in the fourteenth century, but also increasingly problematic. To appreciate Maidstone's achievement in *The Penitential Psalms* it is important to place his work within the context of the theological and linguistic arguments – the so-called 'Oxford translation debate' described in Chapter Two – taking place from the last quarter of the fourteenth century when it seems most likely he wrote his only vernacular work.

As we saw in the previous chapter, the last three decades of the fourteenth century witnessed a growing debate about the value of access to the Bible to the general Christian population of England, partly prompted by the production of the so-called *Wycliffite Bible* translated in two versions.²¹⁹ This was followed by a number of texts written in both Latin and English, by conservatives, orthodox reformers, and Wycliffites, discussing the issue of Bible translation, such as *The Holi Prophete David Seith*.²²⁰ By the close of the fourteenth century, the translation of Biblical texts from Latin into English was widely (though not exclusively) regarded as evidence of Lollard sympathies and heretical leanings, and debate over this continued into the fifteenth century.

We know that by the time of Richard Maidstone's debate with John Ashwardby (c.1390), the Carmelite had subscribed to the orthodox view that complex theological discussion was appropriate only for those formally schooled in theology, and therefore by default only for those who could read Latin.

Though modern critics such as Nicholas Watson claim that the 1407-09 *Constitutions* of Archbishop Thomas Arundel prohibited rather than encouraged the production of theological literature in English, it is certainly true that clerics such as Nicholas Love were producing orthodox theological work in the vernacular specifically to counter Lollard thought. Writing before the *Constitutions*, but possibly at the height of the 1382 dispute over Wyclif, could Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* have served a similar purpose?

The Bible in the Carmelite Order

There can be no doubt that Maidstone's knowledge of the Scriptures would have been extensive, both from his participation in the Carmelite community's liturgy (such as the recitation of the Psalms at Divine Office and hearing the Scriptures preached), and from his academic studies. The spirituality

²¹⁹ For a study of the Bible translation technique of Wyclif and his followers, which makes an interesting comparison with Maidstone's, see: Conrad Lindberg, 'The Alpha and Omega of the Middle English Bible', in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 191-200.

²²⁰ See: Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 149-56.

of his Order would also have been important in developing the way he regarded the sacred text. The Carmelite Order's approach to Scripture in the Middle Ages is a topic beyond the scope of this chapter, or the comments made in previous ones. However, as Carmelite approaches to the Bible form the backdrop to some of Richard Maidstone's own literary project in promoting and policing vernacular theology, it is worth briefly highlighting some texts which reveal to us something of the role Scripture played in his Order's ministry and spirituality in the late-fourteenth century.

Probably the most fundamental text on the life and identity of the Whitefriars was their *Rule*, which (as mentioned in Chapter Two) was approved as a *formula vitae* by Saint Albert Avogadro sometime during his office as Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem (1205-15).²²¹ This text, the shortest of all medieval monastic rules, is largely a compendium of Scripture, a masterpiece of *lectio divina*, which places great emphasis upon the role of the Bible in the life of the Carmelite community. As well as making dozens of allusions to the Old and New Testaments, Albert specifies that the primary work of the Carmelite is to reflect upon God's law: 'Each one of you is to remain in your cell, pondering the Lord's law day and night' (Chapter 10).²²² The *formula vitae* specifies that Carmelites should gather for weekly meditation (Chapter 15), perhaps a sort of communal *lectio divina*, and those who can read should pray the Psalms of the Divine Office: 'Those who know how to say the canonical hours with those in orders should do so, in the way those holy forefathers of ours laid down, and according to the Church's approved custom.' (Chapter 11).²²³

One of the stipulations that Pope Innocent IV added to Albert's *formula vitae* when making it a formal *regula bullata* in 1247 was that the Carmelites should take up the common practice among religious orders of regularly listening to the Bible at mealtimes: 'You are to eat whatever may have been given you in a common refectory, listening together meanwhile to a reading from Holy Scripture where that can be done without difficulty' (Chapter 7).²²⁴

²²¹ The extent to which the *Rule* impacted on the daily life of the Carmelites varied according to time and place in medieval Europe, but in conjunction with the *Constitutions* Albert's text was crucial to the Order's self-regulation. Latin quotations of the *Rule* (Innocentian adaptation of 1247) come from Kees Waaijman, *The Mystical Space of Carmel: A Commentary on the Carmelite Rule*, Fiery Arrow Series 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 20-29. English translations and chapter numberings follow the system of citation agreed by the Carmelite and Discalced Carmelite Orders in 1999: John Malley, Camilo Maccise, Joseph Chalmers, *In obsequio Jesu Christi: The Letters of the Superiors General OCarm and OCD 1992-2002* (Rome: Edizioni OCD, 2003), 127-39, available online at: www.ocarm.org. The text is included in Appendix 2 of this thesis. On the Bible in the Carmelite *Rule*, see: Carlos Mesters, *Lectio Divina*, Horizons Carmelite Spiritual Directory Project 10 (Melbourne: Carmelite Communications, 1999).

²²² 'Maneant singulis in cellulis suis, vel iuxta eas, die ac nocte in lege Domini meditantēs'.

²²³ 'Hii, qui horas canonicas cum clericis dicere norunt, eas dicant secundum constitutionem sacrorum patrum et Ecclesie approbatam consuetudinem'.

²²⁴ 'Ita tamen ut, in communi refectorio ea qua vobis erogata fuerint, communiter aliquam lectionem sacre scripture audiendo, ubi commode poterit observari, sumatis'.

The *Rule* and its emphasis on Scripture was elaborated upon by a large number of medieval Carmelite scholars. Echoing the New Testament itself, Chapter 19 of the *Rule* says that no aspect of the Carmelite's life should be without the divine inspiration encountered through Scripture, for God's word 'must abound in your mouths and hearts. Let all you do have the Lord's word for accompaniment'.²²⁵ Citing this passage from the *Rule* in his *Tractatus super regulam* (*Treatise on the Rule of the Carmelite Order*), the English Carmelite theologian John Baconthorpe (c. 1290-1345+) states:

Mary was also a preacher, for after she had conceived the Son of God, she made a mighty sermon, first praising God, and saying, "My soul doth magnify the Lord." Secondly, applying it to conduct, she said, "And His mercy is from generation to generation." Thirdly, as the object of the sermon, she quoted the prophecies, saying, "As He spoke to our Fathers, to Abraham and to his seed forever." Whence in the *Rule*: *May the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, dwell abundantly in your mouth and in your hearts.*²²⁶



The Virgin Mary depicted reading (from the Scriptures?) at the Annunciation, with a Carmelite friar kneeling in prayer before her. London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 99.

²²⁵ 'habundanter habitet in ore et in cordibus vestris; et quecumque vobis agenda sunt, in verbo Domini fiant'.

²²⁶ *Tractatus super regulam*, quoted in Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 193-99. This passage is translated by Richard Copley in *Early Carmelite Documents*, forthcoming. On Baconthorpe see the resources noted in Chapter Two, n. 133.



Imagined portrait of John Baconthorpe: fresco in the old library of the Carmelite Friary, Krakow, Poland.

Writing in the first half of the fourteenth century, John Baconthorpe makes a bold claim that Mary was a preacher. One implication of such a statement is that if women could be preachers then presumably all people should have access to the Scriptures. Baconthorpe does not go so far as to state this explicitly, but it would seem that he shared his Order's concern with unlocking the treasures of the Bible. Richard Maidstone would not have been unaware of the work of a major Carmelite theologian such as John Baconthorpe, and other Whitefriars who likewise directly or indirectly promoted lay access to the Bible.

Citation of the Bible was, of course, a necessity for all medieval scholars seeking to support their arguments from the ultimate authority, the divinely-inspired setting-down of God's Word, and critics of such scholastics in the fourteenth century alleged that only the literate could follow their sophistries. However, John Baconthorpe was praised by John Bale, centuries later, for (amongst many other gifts) his ability to make clear the complexity of Scripture.²²⁷

When Bale wrote of another Carmelite, Richard Maidstone's late fourteenth-century prior provincial Robert Ivory, he highlighted the provincial's knowledge and exposition of the Scriptures as one of his many attributes:

²²⁷ 'He was venerated as one of the splendours of the age, or rather as a divine being descended from on high. Because of his great store of wisdom, he was known as the *Resolute Doctor* and if anyone wants advice on how to study the deepest divine mysteries, no one has treated more ably and accurately than he of such abstruse matters ... He resolved difficulties in scripture, and made every obscurity plain.' Bale, *Anglorum Heliades (The English Followers of Elijah)*, Part 1, Chapter 35 (translated by Richard Copsey and Brocard Sewell, private printing).

A chapter was called at Oxford in 1379 AD, where in a full session of the fathers, Robert Ivory, a theologian from Cambridge, was chosen by all to be the elected twentieth leader of the Order in England. There is no need to devote much space on the learning of this father since his praises will live for a long time, clear as daylight to everyone. He was a distinguished preacher of the gospel, and an able interpreter of the sacred scriptures.²²⁸

Assuming this is not mere hyperbolic convention on Bale's part, the leadership of the Carmelite community in England by such men no doubt made an impression upon Richard Maidstone and the religious climate of his age.

A near-contemporary of John Baconthorpe, Nicholas the Frenchman, gives further insight into the Carmelite Order's preoccupation with the Bible. As discussed in Chapter Two, Nicholas was prior general of the Carmelite Order but reputedly resigned his office following his circulation of a letter known as the *Ignea Sagitta* (*Flaming Arrow*) in 1270/71. Although this text probably did not circulate widely until the early fifteenth century, it speaks of the cleric's moral duty to promote the Word of God amongst the people: 'Those endowed with learning, industrious in the study of the Scriptures, and of adequate moral probity, the Lord established in the city, so that they could exercise their zeal in nourishing the people with his word.'²²⁹ Given the importance of Scripture for Carmelite ministry, prior general Nicholas complains to his fellow Whitefriars that they are unequal to the task:

Where among you, tell me, are to be found preachers, well versed in the word of God, and fit to preach as it should be done? Some there are, indeed, presumptuous enough, in their craving for vain glory, to attempt it, and to trot out to the people such scraps as they have been able to cull from books, in an effort to teach others what they themselves know neither by study nor by experience. They prate away before the common folk – without understanding a word of their own rigmarole – as bold-faced as though all theology lay digested in the stomach of their memory, and any tale will serve their turn if it can be given a mystical twist and made to redound to their own glory. Then, when they have done preaching – or rather tale-telling – there they stand, ears all pricked up and itching to catch the slightest whisper of flattery. But not a vestige do they show of the endowments for which, in their appetite for vain glory, they long to be praised.²³⁰

²²⁸ Bale, *Anglorum Heliades*, Part 1, Chapter 39.

²²⁹ *Ignea Sagitta*, Chapter 7, translated by Richard Copsey in *Early Carmelite Documents* (forthcoming).

²³⁰ *Ignea Sagitta*, Chapter 4.

Here Nicholas (or a later writer using his name) rehearses a criticism of his confreres that would be commonly levied by the Lollards in the time of Richard Maidstone, namely that the friars do not preach the Word of God but fabricate their own stories and fables, seeking praise rather than the spreading of the Gospel. Whether Nicholas' assessment is fair or not, or a piece of rhetoric, it points to the expectation held by the head of the Order that fellow Carmelites should either devote themselves to being fit for spreading the Word of the Lord or else return to the solitude of Mount Carmel.

The Carmelites' dedicated service of opening up the Scriptures to the people in part derives from another important aspect of their spirituality: the medieval Order's claim to have descended from the Old/First Testament prophets Elijah and Elisha (discussed in an earlier chapter). This claim was fostered particularly in the collection of texts called the *Decem Libri* (*Ten Books*), better known as the *Liber de institutione primorum monachorum* (*Book of the First Monks*), a very influential synthesis of the Order's heritage compiled by Catalonian Whitefriar Felip Ribot c.1385, and thus contemporaneous with Richard Maidstone. The *Decem Libri* echoes what is specified in the Carmelite *Rule* about Bible meditation when describing the first monks of the Order:

... they built a chapel on Mount Carmel dedicated to God and in honour of this first virgin. This was near the spring of Elijah ... From that time onwards the said members always gathered there, commending themselves to the Virgin in the seven canonical hours each day, pouring forth fervent prayers, petitions, and praises to the said Virgin and her Son. There also they assembled for humble colloquy on the word of God, on avoiding faults, and on procuring the salvation of souls.²³¹

One of the key features of early Carmelite life here mentioned is 'humble colloquy on the word of God', or communal *lectio divina*. Ribot further claims that the early Carmelites met not only to discuss the Scriptures amongst themselves, but also to expound the Word of God to those visiting the first community:

... devout persons were accustomed to visit Elisha and the other monks of Mount Carmel on feast days, bringing food with them as an offering, but especially out of devotion to hear the Word of God from Elisha and the other prophets.²³²

²³¹ Book 6, Chapter 5, translated by Richard Copsey, *The Ten Books*, 89.

²³² Book 4, Chapter 4, translated by Richard Copsey, *The Ten Books*, 62.

Through this legend, Felip Ribot promotes the idea that making the Scriptures accessible to the people, who come to the followers of Elijah ‘out of devotion to hear the Word of God’, has always been central to the Carmelites’ ministry. By claiming to descend from Elijah and Elisha, Carmelites regarded themselves as among the first to hear the Gospel preached, and to take up the task of preaching. Hence, in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Carmelite artwork as well as literature, Carmelites are depicted attending to the Scriptures and sharing the preaching mission of the apostles.²³³



Carmelites (right) among the crowds in Jerusalem listening to Saint Peter preaching.
Brancacci Chapel frescoes, Carmine (Carmelite Friary), Florence (c.1423-28).

²³³ See particularly the Masaccio and Masolino frescoes that depict Carmelites listening to the preaching of Peter, painted in the Brancacci Chapel of the Whitefriars in Florence sometime in the 1420s. On the Chapel see Chapter Two, n. 371.

Conclusion

Though John Bale was a recent convert to Protestantism when writing his *Anglorum Heliades* in 1536, the former Whitefriar clearly regarded the second half of the fourteenth century as something of a golden age for the Carmelite Order in England, listing Richard Maidstone among a succession of great scholars and pastors in Chapter 40 on ‘How the Carmelites flourished in England at this time and how they spread splendidly to other countries’:

There should not be any reticence in proclaiming the achievements of the English Carmelites during these times. There were then of this Order in England more than 1500 brethren [probably an over-estimation on Bale’s part], who were men of great learning. They studied in Paris, Avignon, Toulouse, Barcelona, Salerno, Padua, Bologna, Vienna in Austria, Cologne and other centres of learning overseas. Among them at this time there were such a number of learned doctors and other such erudite men that you would not have thought there could be so many of their equal in the whole kingdom ... John the second, king of Castile and Leon, duke of Lancaster [i.e. John of Gaunt], then had as his confessors, from the Order, besides the aforementioned John Kynnyngham, Walter Disse, William Badby, John Acton [Langton?], Thomas Lovey [Lombe], Richard Maidstone and others.²³⁴

It was as a polymath and confessor to princes that Richard Maidstone was remembered 140 years after his death, and beyond.

Valerie Edden’s assessment is that, beyond any religious response, there are two aspects of *The Penitential Psalms* which interest the modern critic: firstly, its use as evidence of the devotional tastes of the fourteenth and primarily fifteenth century when it circulated, and secondly for what it can tell us about the sort of vernacular verse written by a particular late fourteenth-century Carmelite friar.²³⁵ Edden is right in calling the latter – the authorial intention of Maidstone’s heart and mind –

²³⁴ ‘Capitulum 40: Quales in Anglia Carmelite tunc fuerint et quam splendide in alienis regnis se gesserint ... Silencio videtur pretereundem minime quam splendide se gesserint Angli Carmelicole per hec tempora. Erant ex hoc sodalities tunc in Anglia plusquam mille et quingenti fratres, apud quos etiam erat miranda literarum peritia. Parhisiium, Avenionem, Tholosam, Barchinonam, Salernum, Paduam, Bononiam, Viennam Austrie, Coloniam, et alia externa frequentabant studia. Fuerunt apud hos per illud tempus tot docti patres, et tam eruditi homines, ut vix crederes in toto regno tot et tales tunc esse ... Ioannes Secundus Castelle et Legionis rex et Lancastrie dux qui pro sua tunc confessione ex hiis habuit preter prefatum Kynnynghamum, Walterum Dissum, Guilhelmum Badby, Ioannem Ayktonum, Thomam Loreyum, Ricardum Maydstonum et alios.’ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 33-33v. Translation by Richard Copley and Brocard Sewell, altered.

²³⁵ Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 21.

‘irrecoverable’. However, it is not inexorable, particularly when we realise that, like contemporary Carmelite vernacular writings, Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* was composed at a time when a writer’s choice of language – either Latin or the vernacular – had serious consequences.

Richard Maidstone wrote on the cusp of a time of conflicting theological and social demands, an era when Carmelites were seemingly torn between, on the one hand, the tradition of their Order in preaching the Scriptures and promoting the Christian faith in the vernacular, and on the other, the fears of the wider Church in so doing. Maidstone was well aware that the Psalms ‘offer a voice for the subjective experience of divine power that is also an exploration of God’s nature’;²³⁶ thus in translating and commentating on the biblical text, the Carmelite was encouraging guided participation in vernacular theology. Through his *Penitential Psalms*, as well as his other writings, Richard Maidstone both promoted and subtly controlled the theological development of others, supporting his Order’s vision of the proper ordering of the secular and spiritual realms.

²³⁶ Lynn Staley, ‘The Penitential Psalms and Vernacular Theology’, 118.

Chapter Four: VERNACULAR THEOLOGY FOR RIGHT RECKONING – THE CASE OF RICHARD LAVENHAM

A particular vision of the proper ordering of Church and Society expounded in verse by Richard Maidstone (and depicted in the painting of *La Vierge au Manteau du Puy-en-Velay*) is paralleled in prose by his Carmelite contemporary Richard Lavenham (fl. 1399), whose *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* affords important insights into how the Whitefriars in late medieval England both promoted and policed theological speculation through vernacular religious literature.

The *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* was published in a scholarly edition by Dr. van Zutphen in 1956,¹ which drew the attention of medievalists to a text he and later scholars described as ‘concise, carefully constructed ... balanced and intellectual’,² hitherto largely overlooked in the ‘vices and virtues’ genre of medieval *pastoralia*.

This chapter begins with a biography placing Lavenham’s vernacular work in the broader context of his life and times. This is followed by a consideration of various passages from the *Litil Tretys* which demonstrate something of Lavenham’s literary technique, as well as his theological and social worldview. This worldview is illuminated by a survey of Lavenham’s Latin oeuvre. A consideration of the *Litil Tretys*’ place within the genre of the ‘vices and virtues’ then illuminates further the Carmelite Order’s desire for, and apprehension in, educating the Christian faithful by recourse to vernacular culture. Finally, consideration will be given to one of the seventeen surviving manuscripts (second only in number to *The Penitential Psalms* among the surviving corpus of medieval Carmelite texts in English), for what it can tell us about Carmelite efforts to both promote and prohibit vernacular theology.

¹ J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956). All quotations are taken from that edition [by page and line number] and follow his expansion of standard abbreviations in italics. Italics are also used to indicate rubricated texts. Modern translations of more obscure Middle English words are occasionally inserted by me in square brackets. A Modern English translation of the entire treatise is included in Richard Copey’s *Early Carmelite Documents* (forthcoming).

² Leo M. Carruthers, ‘Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob’s Well*’, *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18 (1991), 17-32 [26], echoing van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxiv. The *Litil Tretys* is listed in a number of bibliographies of medieval literature: P. S. Jolliffe, *A Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 79-80, entry F.2.; *Index of Printed Medieval English Prose*, entry 789; J. Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), Volume 7 – Part 20 (1986): Robert R. Raymo, ‘Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction’, 2527 [106], 2.

1. Biography of Richard Lavenham³

The earliest known biographical sketch of Richard Lavenham of any substance (other than a brief listing of his writings by Prior General Jean Grossi in 1413) was not written until 1536, more than a century after his death, when the antiquarian and recently ex-Carmelite John Bale composed his *Anglorum Heliades*. In the first book of this history of ‘The English Followers of Elijah’, John Bale lists Richard Lavenham among the ‘learned fathers’ who came from ‘the great monastery at Ipswich’, and in the second book, containing bio-bibliographies of major Carmelite writers, Bale attributes forty-four works to Lavenham.⁴ Twenty years later, Bale used his notebooks of *Carmelitana* to elaborate the bio-bibliographies in his *Catalogus*,⁵ and along with subsequent biographers he attributes approximately sixty academic treatises (and, revealingly, no vernacular texts) to Lavenham. Today the total number (allowing for uncertain attribution as well as lost and incomplete texts) is reckoned to be between sixty and seventy.⁶

According to John Bale, John Leland, and some later biographers, presumably working from sources now lost to us, Richard Lavenham was born on an unknown date in the county of Suffolk. At an early age he joined the Carmelite Order at the county town of Ipswich, a significant house in the London distinction of the English Province some twenty miles from the East Anglian village which had probably given Lavenham his name.⁷

Brief consideration of some events at the Carmelite priory at Ipswich, probably within or around Richard Lavenham’s lifetime, is germane for what they reveal about the Order’s interaction with the

³ Throughout this chapter I have used the modern spelling of Lavenham’s name (alternatives are listed in Copey’s *Biographical Register*). The most comprehensive biographies of Richard Lavenham include: Charles Letherbridge Kingsford’s entry in *DNB*, vol 11, 652-53, updated by Paul Vincent Spade, ‘Lavenham, Richard (fl. 1399–c.1403)’, *ODNB*; and Richard Copey’s *Biographical Register*. Other sources include: John Bale, *Scriptores illustrium maioris Brytanniae ... Catalogus* (Basle: 1555-57, reprinted Farnborough, Hampshire: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1971), vol 1, 508-09; John Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (ed.) A. Hall, 2 vols (Oxford, 1709); Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica: siue, De scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia ad saeculi XVII initium floruerunt, commentarius* (London: 1748, reprinted (ed.) D. Wilkins, London, 1974), 470; Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols (Orléans, 1752, reprinted (ed.) Gabriel Wessels, Rome: 1927), vol 2, column 679; Sharpe, *Handlist of the Latin Writers*, Entry 1349, 487-91; Richard Copey, ‘The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings’, *Carmelus*, 43 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996), 175-224 [193-200]; *idem*, ‘Surviving Writings – Additions and Corrections 1’, *Carmelus*, 44 (Rome: Instituto Carmelitano, 1997), 188-202 [195-96]; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 1109-1110; P. R. McCaffrey, *The White Friars – an Outline Carmelite History, with Special Reference to the English-Speaking Provinces* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1926), 137; Leo M. Carruthers, ‘Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob’s Well*’, 20-21.

⁴ Bale, *Anglorum Heliades*, in London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838: fo. 23v (Capitulum 25), fo. 80v-81v.

⁵ John Bale, *Scriptores illustrium maioris Brytanniae ... Catalogus* (Basle: 1555-57), entry on Lavenham: vol 1, 508-09. The two-volume *Catalogus* was expanded from Carmelite material Bale used when composing his famous biographical dictionary of British writers, *Scriptores illustrium magnae Brytanniae ... Summarium* (Wesels, 1548).

⁶ A list of Lavenham’s Latin writings, as well as editions and translations of some of them, expanded from Copey’s lists, is appended to this thesis.

⁷ On the fourteenth-century village of Lavenham see: Carruthers, ‘Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob’s Well*’, 21.

laity.⁸ The Whitefriars' convent at Ipswich – an important port town and site of England's most visited Marian shrine after Walsingham – had been established in the 1270s or earlier, during the Carmelite Order's early expansion in the wake of embracing mendicancy.⁹ By the time of Lavenham's entry into the Order, the Ipswich Whitefriars had expanded into a large site just south of the town centre, and the fact that several provincial chapters were held there in the fourteenth century suggests the friary must have been spacious and socially/politically significant. In 1380 the Ipswich Carmelites gave sanctuary to Edmund Brounfeld who as abbot of the nearby Benedictine monastery in Bury St Edmunds had met great opposition from his own monks. The following year, during the Peasants' Revolt, the house of the Rector of St. Stephen's Church in Ipswich was ransacked.¹⁰ Whether or not Richard Lavenham was resident in, or in communication with, Ipswich Whitefriars on these occasions we cannot know, but they bear testimony to the fact that Carmelites in his *conventus nativus* witnessed social unrest in the 1380s that specifically targeted senior churchmen. Despite such turmoil, records of various bequests of money and land to the Ipswich Carmelites throughout the late medieval period suggest that the community enjoyed a close relationship with bourgeois members of the laity.¹¹ When Richard Lavenham entered the Carmelite friary at Ipswich, he would have become aware of the prowess of one of its most famous sons, John Kynyngham, who had been born in Suffolk *c.* 1335 and entered the Order there. He enjoyed an illustrious career as one of the chief opponents of John Wyclif (preaching the final sermon at the 1382 Blackfriars Council), as confessor to John of Gaunt, and later as Prior Provincial (1393 until his death in 1399).

One factor hinting at the composition of the *Litil Tretys* early in Richard Lavenham's religious career is the fact that the dialect of approximately half of the seventeen surviving copies can be located to East Anglia.¹² The apparent popularity of this work in the region of Lavenham's youth might be

⁸ On the Ipswich Whitefriars see: Benedict Zimmerman, 'The White Friars at Ipswich', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, Volume 10, Part 2 (1899), 196-204; Vincent Burrough Redstone, 'The Carmelites of Ipswich', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, Volume 10, Part 2 (1899), 189-95; 'Carmelite friars: Ipswich', in William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of Suffolk: Volume 2* (London: Victoria County History, 1975), 130-131; Richard Copsey, *Chronologies of Medieval Carmelite Houses* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming).

⁹ On the town's mercantile importance see: Nicholas R. Amor, *Late Medieval Ipswich: Trade and Industry* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011). On the shrine of Our Lady of Grace see: Francis Haslewood, 'Our Lady of Ipswich', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, Volume 10, Part 1 (1898), 53-55; Anne Vail, *Shrines of Our Lady in England* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2004), 102-111.

¹⁰ Vincent Burrough Redstone, 'The Carmelites of Ipswich', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, 10 (1898-1900), 189-95 [193].

¹¹ To give just one example, in 1463 in his will John Drayle requested to be buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Carmelite church near the body of William Debenham, merchant, and desired that the friars should have 105 marks yearly to sing Mass for his soul. His name was to be woven upon the friar's surplice. [Redstone, 'The Carmelites of Ipswich', 192-94].

¹² According to Carruthers, though he names only 14 manuscripts: 'Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 18.

evidence of one or two possibilities: firstly, that the *Litil Tretys* circulated in East Anglia independently of its author's location; or secondly, that it was composed and copied whilst he was resident in Ipswich, before going to other locations. The latter suggestion would probably make it an early work, predating his Latin writings which were intended for a scholastic audience more likely to have been found in greater numbers in London and Oxford. However, as Carruthers points out, van Zutphen noted that the majority of extant manuscripts of the *Litil Tretys* date from the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹³ If the *Litil Tretys* was written in the late fourteenth century, the predominance of fifteenth-century copies suggests that either Lavenham's text (and perhaps he himself) had returned to East Anglia by the beginning of the fifteenth century, or that earlier East Anglian copies have been lost.

At Richard Lavenham's own request, John Bale says, he left Ipswich to study at Oxford, where apparently he was a noteworthy preacher and debater, becoming Doctor of Theology before 1384, making him a contemporary of the brother perhaps joined to him (as the *Concordia* puts it) 'by double yoke of name and symbol', in both his years of study and in his academic and rhetorical aptitude, Richard Maidstone.¹⁴ Working backwards, Lavenham's appointment as doctor in the 1380s would suggest his being born in roughly the 1350s, and corroborate Vincent Spade's dating the period of Lavenham's philosophical writing to the 1370s or 80s.¹⁵ Given that Lavenham was probably active as a writer in Latin in the 1370s and 80s, it might be tempting to date the *Litil Tretys* similarly.¹⁶ Lavenham's title of 'Magister' in the colophon of the one manuscript directly identifying him as author of the *Litil Tretys* could be a contemporary reference to him as a Doctor of Theology, but the manuscript in question is not his holograph and we do not know Lavenham's academic status when he originally wrote the text.

Lecturing as a *magister regens* at the height of the Wycliffite controversy in Oxford, Richard Lavenham would have followed closely the debates between scholars such as Richard Maidstone and John Ashwardby, and lectured against Lollardy himself.¹⁷ Some critics argue that it is also possible

¹³ Carruthers, 'Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 25.

¹⁴ On previous uncertainty regarding Lavenham's academic titles, see: van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxix. Spade, in his *ODNB* entry, queries the suggestion that Lavenham was a renowned preacher, and is inconclusive about his title of doctor, though it is asserted in various manuscripts, and by Richard Copley.

¹⁵ Paul Vincent Spade 'Notes on Richard Lavenham's so-called *Summulae logicales*, with a partial edition of the text', *Franciscan Studies*, 40 (1980), 370-407 [370]; Gordon Anthony Wilson, Paul Vincent Spade, 'Richard Lavenham's treatise *Scire: An edition, with remarks on the identification of Martin (?) Bilond's Obiectiones Consequenarivm*', *Medieval Studies*, 46 (1984), 1-30 [2].

¹⁶ Certainly Carruthers [25] supposes Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* to date from this period.

¹⁷ The Carmelite Prior General Jean Grossi, visiting England in 1413-14, compiled a list of prominent writers, noting that Lavenham's *Determinaciones contra lollardos, Lib. 1.* were lectures were given at Oxford: Jean Grossi, *Tractatus de Scriptoris Ordinibus Carmelitarum (c.1413-1417)*, edited in Xiberta, *De Scriptoris*, 42-53 [49]. A century later John

to discern in some of Lavenham's Latin writings a reaction to the spreading ideas of John Wyclif.¹⁸ Given the anti-Wycliffite endeavours of his co-religionists, Lavenham would have known of the various contemporary denouncements against Lollardy, but it seems that as a lecturer in logic the Carmelite had some admiration for the philosophical teachings of Wyclif the logician, 'distinct from the evangelical doctor adulated or execrated by controversialists'.¹⁹

According to John Bale, Richard Lavenham left Oxford and Ipswich behind to become prior of the Carmelite house at Bristol in western England, though this claim is hard to corroborate.²⁰ Like Ipswich, Bristol was a major port and urban centre of medieval England, where various bequests and other records again indicate the close relationships the Carmelites enjoyed with a number of leading citizens.²¹

Significantly, for our appreciation of Richard Lavenham (for reasons to be discussed shortly), Bristol was also a centre of Lollard activity. As was noted in Chapter 1, it was in Bristol that Margery Kempe dined with the Carmelite friar Thomas Peverel, who had attended the trial of Henry Crumpe at the Carmelite friary in Stamford in 1392, and as Bishop of Worcester had been responsible for John Badby's conviction and burning as a Lollard in 1410.²² In 1420 a Carmelite friar in Bristol denounced to the mayor and sheriff of the city conversation between the Rector of Holy Trinity Church and the known Wycliffite William Taylor.²³

Bale altered the title to *Contra hereticos* [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81], and in his published work [*Catalogus*, vol 1, 508-09] added a second title, *Lectiones Oxonienses*, which Richard Copley [*Biographical Register*] states is clearly a double.

¹⁸ Wilson, Spade, 2, 10.

¹⁹ Jeremy Catto, 'Thomas Moston and the Teaching of Wyclif's Logic in Oxford, c. 1410', in Helen Barr, Anne Hutchinson (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 119-30 [130]. For an introduction to the teaching and literature of the university schools in this period, see: Paul Vincent Spade, 'Logic in Late Medieval Oxford, 1330-1500', in J. I. Catto, T. A. R. Evans (eds.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, Volume 2 Late Medieval Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 35-64.

²⁰ As Spade notes in his *ODNB* entry, 'Some sources from the sixteenth century and thereafter say that Lavenham became prior of the Carmelite convent at Bristol, but all such reports appear to be derived from John Bale, whose account of Lavenham is untrustworthy in other details.' As Anne Hudson notes, Emden has shown Bale's description of Lavenham to have been incorrect in various aspects, and therefore Lavenham's location in Bristol should be read with caution: Anne Hudson, 'John Purvey: A Reconsideration of the Evidence for his Life and Writings', in *Lollards and their Books* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1985), 85-110 [91 n. 28]. Van Zutphen [*A Litol Tretyz*, xlix] sees a connection between three western and southwestern copies of the *Litol Tretyz* and 'Lavynham's stay at Bristol', his location in Bristol being linked with the suggestion that John Purvey was then preaching heresy in the city. Purvey will be discussed below.

²¹ Again one example will suffice: in 1382 the Carmelite Provincial, Robert Ivory, whilst in Bristol, issued a letter of confraternity to Giles and Christiana Tyler. The document survives as the end flyleaf in a concordance (London, Lambeth Palace, Ms. 172), and is transcribed in Richard Copley's forthcoming *Chronologies of Medieval Carmelite Houses*, and translated in his *Early Carmelite Documents*.

²² *Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapter 45.

²³ On this and other cases see: Chapter 2 of John A. F. Thomson, *Later Lollards, 1414-1520*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965); Chapter 4, 'Lollardy in Bristol', in Charles Kightly, *The Early Lollards: A survey of Popular Lollard Activity in England, 1382-1428*, Doctoral Thesis (York: University of York, 1975); Clive Burgess, 'A Hotbed of Heresy? Fifteenth-Century Bristol and Lollardy Reconsidered', in Linda Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century – 3 – Authority and Subversion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 43-62 [56].



This sketch (left, date unknown) of the elaborate *pulpitum* (rood or choir screen) formerly in Bristol Cathedral, transported there after the Reformation from the city's demolished Carmelite church, shows that the friary attracted the support of wealthy donors, in this instance the merchant Thomas White who donated the screen to the friary.

Fragments survive in the south choir aisle of Bristol Cathedral (right, photographed in 2008).²⁴



Fifteenth-century red earthenware tile from the Carmelite Priory in Bristol, stamped with the English royal arms (3 lions passant guardant, in reverse).

London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Museum Number 1152-1892.²⁵

The next certain dating of Richard Lavenham's whereabouts is September 1399 when he is recorded as prior of the Carmelite friary in London, in Bishop Braybrooke's register of that city, presenting three friars for ordination.²⁶ This is significant because it shows that Lavenham was at one time the Whitefriar responsible for the Order's only *studium generale* (graduate study house) in the medieval English Province, where (as discussed in earlier chapters) advanced students from across the country and abroad came to study. Being in the capital in the 1390s, we can understand why Lavenham might well have been the recipient (or among several) of Richard Maidstone's *Concordia* poem, written in 1393 and recounting the events of the 'Metropolitan Crisis' the previous August.²⁷

²⁴ See: Robert Hall Warren, 'Bristol Cathedral: The Choir Screen', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 42 (1920), 127-130.

²⁵ On other tiles found at Bristol Whitefriars see: J. E. Pritchard, 'Bristol archaeological notes 1913-19', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 41 (1920), 129-39.

²⁶ *Reg. Braybrooke*, London, cited by A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957-59), 2.1109-10.

²⁷ As David R. Carlson suggests [*Concordia* edition, 32, n. 91], since Lavenham was later prior of the London house, and 'though the date at which he was elected is not attested, it is possible that he took some part in the 1392 London pageantry in an official capacity.' This may account for Maidstone's specific reference to the priors of the city being involved.

The ordination record contradicts the statement by John Bale and derivative biographers (such as Cosmas de Villiers) that Richard Lavenham either was killed (like Archbishop of Canterbury Simon Sudbury) by the insurgents of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, or that he died in 1383 in Bristol (according to Bale) or Winchester (according to Leland).²⁸ Bale's unreliability regarding Lavenham's death has made later critics sceptical of the antiquarian's claim that Lavenham was confessor to King Richard II, though as a contemporary of Carmelites who were it is likely that Lavenham was socially well-connected.²⁹

A second document that contradicts Richard Lavenham's purported death in the early 1380s is also highly revealing of his theological and literary interests, namely a list he compiled of the Wycliffite beliefs purported to be professed by the priest John Purvey.³⁰ As Anne Hudson has demonstrated, John Purvey seems to have been regarded as a significant heretic by Church authorities from about 1387-88,³¹ that is, several years after Bale reports Lavenham's death. It seems unlikely that Lavenham should have compiled Purvey's views before the Wycliffite was regarded as dangerous by the authorities, and it is possible that the Carmelite recorded the cleric's preaching whilst in Bristol around 1387-88.

Between 28th February and 5th March 1401 John Purvey was brought before Archbishop Thomas Arundel in London for investigation on seven heretical views, at the end of which he recanted at St. Paul's Cross. Purvey subsequently spent a short while as rector of West Hythe in Kent, and little is known about his location or theological opinions until his arrest in January 1414 as a reputed instigator of the Oldcastle Rebellion (discussed in Chapter 2), and his death, seemingly from natural causes, in London's Newgate Prison in May that year. A list of the property confiscated from his London home at the time includes nineteen books, though from their titles it is not possible to establish their nature as Wycliffite. Writing in the following decade, the Carmelite Thomas Netter claimed in his *Doctrinale* that among the books taken from Purvey in prison was a *De compendiis scripturarum, paternarum doctrinarum et canonum*, which cited Scripture, Canon Law and the Doctors of the Church in defence

²⁸ Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, vol 2, column 679. For the references and discussion of them, see: van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretyz*, xxxi. Bale also claims [*Catalogus*, vol 1, 508] that Lavenham was a friend of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, and Sir Robert Hales, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England and Treasurer of England. Again, Bale cites no evidence for this, but if true, this claim would establish Lavenham (like some contemporary Carmelites) within the sphere of influence of the governing classes.

²⁹ Van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretyz*, xxx; Spade, *ODNB*.

³⁰ *Hereses et errores Domini Johannis Purvey, sacerdotis, extracti de libello suo heretico: "De sacramento eucharistie dicit, quod illud capitulum de penitencijs et remissionibus*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 86 (S.C. 3629), fo. 88-90v; edited in W. W. Shirley (ed.), *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico* (London, Rolls Series, 1858), 383-99; translated into English by John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments*, fourth edition of 1583, (ed.) Josiah Pratt, 8 vols (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1877), vol 3, 286-92. On Purvey see: Anne Hudson, 'Purvey, John (c.1354-1414)', *ODNB*.

³¹ Anne Hudson, 'John Purvey: A Reconsideration', 86, and *ODNB*.

of the right of all priests and laity (men and women), to preach, very much a key tenet of Wycliffite belief, and demonstrating that the official ‘authorities’ of Church teaching could be used to both undermine and reinforce ‘orthodoxy’.³²

Exactly when Richard Lavenham would have encountered John Purvey and his views is unclear; possibly in Bristol if he was there in 1387-88, or during his investigation by Arundel in 1401, or subsequently. Two texts relating to Purvey are set down in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* condemnation of John Wyclif and his followers compiled from the writings of various Carmelites by a Whitefriar in East Anglia around 1439.³³ The recorder of Purvey’s confession and abjuration of seven errors before Archbishop Arundel in 1401 [400-07] is unnamed, but that text is preceded by another with the explicit ‘haereses et errores libelli Purvey Lollardi, collecti per reverendum magistrum fratrem Ricardum Lavynham Carmelitam’ [383-99]. The title of that preceding text, *Haereses et errores domini Johannis Purvey sacerdotis, extracti de libello suo haeretico*, likewise states that the errors are extracted from Purvey’s ‘heretical book’. Whether this refers to a book of Lollard tenets which Purvey professed, or a book actually written by him, is not clear, and no text survives that can be firmly attributed to Purvey’s own hand.³⁴ In either eventuality it is not unusual that such a book, or extracts from it, should have come into Carmelite possession. It is possible that, like fellow Carmelites John Kynyngham and Thomas Netter, Richard Lavenham assisted bishops in examining Lollards and thus had access to their books. It is quite possible that the two texts in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* dealing with Purvey, though collated, are quite distinct, not arranged chronologically, and that Lavenham’s recording took place after 1401.³⁵ According to Hudson, ‘in content and in interest the Lavenham errors [i.e. Purvey’s errors as recorded by Lavenham and added to the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*] are closely similar to the 1401 trial articles’; however, it is impossible to establish a direct link between them. A much closer correlation can be seen between Lavenham’s listing of Purvey’s errors and a

³² On Netter’s statement see: Anne Hudson, ‘John Purvey: A Reconsideration’, 94; *ODNB*. On heterodox book production in the year of Purvey’s incarceration see: Maureen Jurkowski, ‘Lollard Book Producers in London in 1414’, in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 201-226.

³³ Page numbers here refer to W. W. Shirley (ed.), *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico* (London, Rolls Series, 1858). English translations, adapted from those made by the Protestant martyrologist John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments*, are from Richard Copsey’s forthcoming collection of medieval Carmelite documents.

³⁴ On the division of the text by either Lavenham or Bale, see: Anne Hudson, ‘John Purvey: A Reconsideration’, 99.

³⁵ Anne Hudson, ‘John Purvey: A Reconsideration’, 91. Cf. Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, *Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching* 38 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978): ‘there is no close connection between the contents of the extracts and Purvey’s confession’ [204]. Hudson argues that it is unlikely that Lavenham’s list of Purvey’s errors formed the basis of the 1401 trial since ‘topics of certain heterodoxy listed by Lavenham do not appear in the trial material ... [Lavenham’s text] may consequently date from after that event as probably as from before it’.

text probably dating from about 1410 generally known as the *Lollard Disendowment Bill*.³⁶ This text, often attributed to Purvey, echoes Lavenham's account of Purvey's views on the temporalities of the clergy to such an extent that either the contents of the *Bill* 'seem to have been in circulation within the Lollard movement for a considerable period of time'³⁷ or else Lavenham at least partly based his list upon it, in which case the Carmelite was still alive at the time of the *Bill*'s production around 1410. If Lavenham was born in the 1350s, this would place him at about the age of 60 in 1410.

The significance of Richard Lavenham's writing of the *Litil Tretys* in terms of his promotion and prohibition of vernacular theology is perhaps best appreciated in contrast to the views of John Purvey. Among the eleven errors of Purvey that Lavenham recorded, the second touches on the sacrament of penance. Lavenham claims that Purvey opposed the Church's requirement of annual auricular confession to a priest, the papal decree enjoining it being full of 'hypocrisy, heresy, covetousness, pride, and blasphemy'. According to the Carmelite's record in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, Purvey objected that:

Innocent III brought in a new-found confession, whereby the priests do oppress the simple laymen, and many other things they do, compelling them to confess themselves to blind and ignorant priests, in whom is nothing else but pride and covetousness, having such in contempt as are learned and wise ... the decretal of Innocent III, touching the aforesaid auricular or vocal confession, was brought in and invented to intricate and entangle men's consciences with sin, and to draw them down to hell; and furthermore, that such manner of confession destroyeth the evangelical liberty, and doth hinder men from inquiring after and retaining the wise counsel and doctrine of such as be good priests, who know faithfully how to observe God's precepts and commandments, and who would willingly teach the people the right way to heaven: for which abuse all Christian men, and especially all Englishmen, ought to exclaim against such wicked laws.³⁸

³⁶ Anne Hudson, 'John Purvey: A Reconsideration', 92, 98-99. The text is reproduced by Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, text 27 (and accompanying notes). Carruthers links Lavenham's list to Purvey's *Ecclesia Regimen*: 'Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 20-21.

³⁷ Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, 204.

³⁸ *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (ed.) Shirley, 386-87, translated by Copey based on Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol 3, 288.

Set against such Lollard invective against the sacrament of confession, echoed in many other Wycliffite texts, it is possible to regard the entirety of Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* – dealing as it does with sin and its various branches – as either a rebuff or provocation to John Purvey and his ilk.³⁹

A similar comparison might be made between the *Litil Tretys* and the vernacular text *Dives and Pauper*, a didactic work written between 1405 and 1410 in which the unnamed author 'presents his material as a discussion between Dives, a rich lay man with strong and often well-informed opinions concerning religious matters, and Pauper, a respondent of even greater learning whose life closely parallels that of a later medieval friar'.⁴⁰ Ian Forrest has pointed out that a passage in the *Litil Tretys* citing a prophecy of Saint Boniface in order to establish a link between lechery and instability in England also features in *Dives and Pauper*, where the English are called 'harlotis in lyuynge, vnstable in þe feyth, vnable in batayle'.⁴¹ As Forrest states, *Dives and Pauper*

was and sometimes is associated with lollardy. In this passage, the author seems to position himself against those who prevent the people from having the gospel 'in her moder tunge', which could be construed as a lollard stance, but then describes the English as being out of step with all Christendom, perhaps a critical reference to those who bring the disrepute of heresy to the country. This text is a prime example of how intellectual sympathy with suspect ideas need not have been concurrent with rejection of the established church. In this context the adoption of the Boniface prophecy suggests that those who in certain circumstances could be described as lollards shared a range of cultural foci with those who sought to designate them heretics.⁴²

³⁹ On orthodox notions of confession and Lollard challenges to the sacrament, see the chapter 'Clerical Power and Lay Agency' in Judy Ann Ford, *John Mirk's Festival: Orthodoxy, Lollardy and the Common People in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 32-69.

⁴⁰ Moira Fitzgibbons, 'Women, Tales, and 'Talking Back' in *Pore Caitif* and *Dives and Pauper*', in Nicole R. Rice (ed.), *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 181-214 [181].

⁴¹ Forrest points out that Lavenham seems to be the first person since Gratian to cite the prophecy: Ian Forrest, 'Anti-Lollard Polemic and Practice in Late Medieval England', in Linda Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century: 3 – Authority and Subversion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 63-74 [67]. See: Priscilla Heath Barnum (ed.), *Dives and Pauper*, 3 vols, Early English Text Society Original Series 275, 280, 323 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976-2004), vol 2, 63-64; Edward Kylie (ed. and trans.), *The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface* (London: Chatto and Windus 1911, reprinted New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966), 167. The text was used by the jurist Gratian in his compilation of Canon Law known as the *Decretum*: Gratian, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (ed.) Emil Friedberg, Volume 1 *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, Volume 2, *Decretalium Collectione* (Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1879-81, reprinted Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1956), 1, 222 [D.56.10].

⁴² Ian Forrest, 'Anti-Lollard Polemic and Practice in Late Medieval England', 68.

A *terminus ad quem* for Richard Lavenham's death might be 1413 when the Carmelite Prior General, Jean Grossi, visited England and compiled a list of prominent Carmelite writers. Since Grossi writes of Richard Lavenham in the past tense, and refers to a major work on the Order's history that Lavenham had begun but not finished, it seems highly probable that the Englishman had died by this date.⁴³

The date of Lavenham's death is important if we are to understand the context in which the Carmelite was writing. The only date we can give with any certainty for Lavenham's death seems to be post-1399 and pre-1413. Before this, as a Carmelite active in Ipswich, Oxford, London, and possibly Bristol, he would have witnessed the rise of both John Wyclif and the Western Schism from 1377. If Lavenham lived beyond 1399, as seems possible in the light of his list of Purvey's errors (particularly in comparison with the 1410 *Lollard Disendowment Bill*), he may have been aware of a number of significant national events: the deposition of King Richard II in 1399; the debate on Bible translation which took place in Oxford in 1401; the passing of the anti-Lollard act *De Heretico Comburendo* in the same year; and the *Constitutions* formulated and promulgated by Archbishop Thomas Arundel between 1407-09 to combat Wycliffite heresies.

The formulation of Arundel's *Constitutions* at the end of the first decade of the fifteenth century infamously prohibited the production of new theological works in the mother tongue (as discussed in Chapter 2). There was indeed a marked decline in the production of vernacular writings after the clamp-down imposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but recent scholarship has shown that, whilst the *Constitutions* do mark a watershed in the production of 'original' vernacular literature, they also led to the revival of texts that predated the prohibition, and (in the case of Nicholas Love's *Mirror* for example) to the licensing of vernacular translations of Latin texts. Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* can probably be categorised more as an inventive compilation rather than an original composition or direct translation, and might therefore have been exempted from a strict interpretation of the *Constitutions* if written late in the Carmelite friar's career. As I have argued with respect to Margery Kempe in Chapter 1, and as I will argue with respect to Richard Misyn in Chapter 6, a reference to the Carmelite Order in manuscript colophons of this period may have functioned as a guarantee of orthodoxy, given the prominent role the Whitefriars played in combating heresy. This is hard to ascertain in the case of the *Litil Tretys*, since Lavenham's name and Order only appear in one of the surviving manuscripts. Whenever Lavenham wrote, he would not have been oblivious to the political and philosophical implications of writing in the vernacular. He was greatly preoccupied with the definition and

⁴³ Grossi's record as a *terminus ad quem* for Lavenham's death does not seem to have been realised by any modern commentators.

‘philosophy’ of language, grammar, parts of speech, semantics, and syntax, as witnessed by such texts as his *De propositionibus modalibus*, and the so-called *Summulae Logicales*.⁴⁴

In terms of dating the *Litil Tretys* we face a ‘chicken and egg’ scenario: did John Purvey attack the sacrament of penance in the early fifteenth century as a result of its having been promoted by such literature, or did Richard Lavenham write the *Litil Tretys* to defend the sacrament in the wake of Lollard attack? This question is one that Richard Lavenham, consummate teacher of facts, does not answer for us. Even on the basis of the paucity of evidence that can be gathered, it seems likely that Richard Lavenham wrote in English before it became so contentious to do so in the early 1400s, and possibly (for reasons to be considered) after the turbulences of 1381-82 when Carmelites were so keen to combat the effects of Watt Tyler, John Wyclif, and their followers. Living up to and quite possibly beyond the turn of the fourteenth century, we can conclude with certainty that as a pastor, scholar, and prior, Richard Lavenham was preaching, teaching, and writing in Oxford and London, and probably elsewhere, at a time of great debate in both academic and popular circles, when questions of language, theology, and philosophy were understood to be intricately linked, and the vernacular could be employed to both threaten and shore up the Church’s status quo.

We can also note with certainty, in both Lavenham’s *Litil Tretys* and his *Heresies and Errors of John Purvey*, the Carmelite’s desire to list and reckon sins and faults, as he sees them, in a well-structured and concise manner. The major difference, of course, is that Lavenham writes his own ‘orthodoxy’ in English for maximum circulation, whereas he records Purvey’s ‘heterodoxy’ in Latin so it can only be scrutinised by those suitably equipped with the linguistic and theological nous to deal with it. In this regard, Richard Lavenham is again very comparable to his brother in Carmel, Richard Maidstone, who criticised the use of the vernacular for discussing the complexities of theology before an unschooled audience.

2. The *Litil Tretys* as testament to Richard Lavenham’s views on vernacular theology

Though (like Richard Maidstone in his poetry) the author of the *Litil Tretys* never directly identifies himself by name or religious profession, with only one manuscript attributing the work to Richard Lavenham (something to be considered later), and despite its brevity, the text is a testament to the Carmelite’s theological preoccupations, and his simultaneous desire to both encourage and limit the extent of his audience’s spiritual speculation.

The *Litil Tretys* is a prose work, but it opens with three lines of poetry:

⁴⁴ Edited by Paul Vincent Spade in 1973 and 1980 respectively; see the full references below.

Crist þ^t deyde vp on þe crosse for sauacion of mankynde
 Grawnt vs grace so to a skapyn þ^e sley ensaylingis of þ^e fende
 That we be not for synne lost in owr last ende [1/1-3]

Likewise, the *Tretys* ends with lines that, albeit written as prose, are effectively rhyming and alliterative verse:

Fro þe seed of sorwe þat is synne god schyld vs þorwh his mercy and grawnt vs his grace.
 That we mowe after our hennys wending [wending from this life] come to heuene þ^t
 blisful place. Amen. [25/28-30]

These short poetic sections – which in their references to Christ on the cross, God’s mercy, and appeal for grace are reminiscent of the ‘dere vs bouzte’ refrain in Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* – frame the prose, giving a more reflective tone to a text that is otherwise a practical theological summary as much as a devotional work.⁴⁵ Even if Lavenham, when he wrote *The Litol Tretys*, did not already know his confrere’s *Penitential Psalms*, he was clearly able to emulate popular religious poetry in the vernacular.

Though Richard Lavenham never identifies himself in the *Litol Tretys*, a first-person authorial voice in the opening paragraph sets out clearly the aim of the work:

Too thingys y haue purposyd þorwh goddis grace to don in þis litol tretys. Fyrst to schewe schortly þe comoun condicionys of þe seune dedly synnys as be figure and ensample in general. And afterward to reherse be proces and be ordre what bronchis and bowys growyn owt of hem in specyal. As towching þe ferst mateer an holy man wrytith in hys book. *et est Sanctus Thomas secundum quosdam vel Albertus secundum alios in compendio theologie libro 3^o*. The seune dedly synnys he sayth be lyknyd to seune sundry bestis. as Pryde to þe lyon. Couetyse to þe vrchoun [hedgehog]. Wrathe to þe wolf. Enuye to þ^e hound. Slowthe to þe asse. Glotonye to a bere. and Lecherye to a swyn. Of whiche figuris and ensamplis y thenke to towche in ech of þe seune dedly synnys be hem self. [1/4-15]

⁴⁵ Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler consider the opening of the *Litol Tretys* to constitute three long monoriming lines; *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), entry 621.5, 69.

As with the material that follows, Richard Lavenham is concise in stating his purpose: to describe in general terms the nature of the ‘seven deadly sins’ using examples and metaphors, and specifically to list the vices that grow from them like branches and boughs that spring from a tree. Imagery from the natural world is further employed by likening the sins to animals. The use of bestial allegory has a mnemonic purpose, helping the reader/hearer to visualise the sins, and aligning the *Litil Tretys* with more popular literature and sermons of the day which likewise drew on animal lore.⁴⁶ In this opening passage, Richard Lavenham presents his *Tretys* as a highly structured work, composed by an *auctoritas* who will ‘schewe’ and teach ‘be figure and ensample’ and ‘reherse be process and be ordre’ how the ‘bronchis and bowys’ of sins grow from a tree or root of ‘þe seuene dedly synnys’. As John Fleming has remarked: ‘The words “figure” and “ensample” are part of a well-established technical rhetorical vocabulary. The “branches and boughs” clearly ramify from a traditional metaphorical “tree” of the vices that is, in this text, simply taken for granted.’⁴⁷ Such an ordering would have had the mnemonic advantage of making the doctrine more memorable for preaching and counselling, and is a common feature of mendicant catechetical texts.⁴⁸

For each of the Seven Deadly Sins, Richard Lavenham begins with a general overview, the first being for Pride:

*Pryde is not ellys but a badde desyr of hey worschyp. as seynt Austyn wrytyth. et est libro 14 de ciuitate dei. cº 13º. Therfor y likne a prowde man to a lyon. for ryzt as þe lyon lokyth þt alle oþer bestis scholde hym worschipe. hym drede. and to him bowe: Ryzt so a prowde man þenkyth þt alle oþer men scholde hym worschipe. hym drede. and to hym lowte [bow]. and þerfor it may wel be seyde of a prowde man as it is wrytyn in holy wryt *Ecce quasi leo ascendet de superbia. Jeremie. 49.* Loo now seyth þe prophete and tak hede how he schal as a lyon risyn vp of hys pride ... And zif þou wilt knowe wherinne he schewyd hys pride: I answere þe and say in þis þt he desyrede for his fayrhed [beauty] to haue be peer w^t god. for as y seyde be forhande *Pride is not ellis but a badde desyr of hy worschyp.* And þis maner of desyr may neuer mor a risyn in a mannys herte but be encheson [because] of þese þre. Or it is for þe ziftis of keende [nature]. or for þe ziftis of*

⁴⁶ As van Zutphen remarks [*A Litil Tretys*, xiv], animal imagery was widely used in such morality literature as bestiaries and fables.

⁴⁷ John Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 349-75 [358]. As Fleming elaborates [n. 17]: ‘A “figure” was an analogy drawn from nature; an “ensample” was a narrative exemplum.’

⁴⁸ For a consideration of mnemonic images and devices in the literature of the Dominicans and Franciscans, including schematic renderings of the number seven and images of the vices and virtues, see: Kimberly Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages, Sermo 4* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

fortune. or ellis for þe ʒiftis of *grace*. *The ʒiftis of keende* ben Nobilnesse of kynrede. Gentilnesse of blod. Plente of chyldryn. aVauncement be erytage. Strengthe. Bewte. and comelyhed [comeliness] of persone ... Seynt *Gregory* seyth *et est libro 34 moralium prope finem*. Pride he seyth is rote of alle vicys for þis skile [reason] ... Owt of Pride growyn eyʒte bronchys. whiche þat ben here entitlid be name. as Presumpcyon. Veynglorie. Vnbuxhumhed. Boldnesse. Ypocrysie. Indignacyon. Schamleshed. Sturdinesse. [1/16-2/10]

This extract demonstrates many of the features typical of Richard Lavenham's style in the rest of the *Litil Tretys*. It begins with a concise definition of the topic in question: Pride is an improper desire to be honoured. This simple statement, reminiscent of a catechism or dictionary definition, gets straight to the matter. To help the reader/hearer to remember the definition, Lavenham immediately follows it with a bestial allegory: pride is like a lion, for both the lion and a proud person seek the honour, fear, and deference of others. Lavenham then proceeds to give examples of the sin from the Bible, or in later examples from Church tradition, the writings of the saints, or Canon Law. Lavenham explains that pride arises from an improper self-regard resulting from the gifts of nature, fortune, or grace. These he enumerates, another rhetorical device for clearly setting-out the facts of the matter, and making the text more easily processed in the mind and retained in the memory. The text is also brought more to life by Lavenham's creation of an imagined dialogue between the authorial voice and his audience: 'ʒif þou wilt knowe ... I answere þe'. The didactic nature of the relationship established between teacher and pupil is reinforced by Lavenham's repetition of key phrases as if in a classroom: 'Pride is not ellys but ... as y seyde be forhande Pride is not ellis but ...' (lines 16, 30). In case anyone should question the teacher's credentials, Lavenham bases his pedagogy on the highest authorities available in the medieval Church, namely the Scriptures and Doctors of the Church: 'as seynt Austyn wrytyth ...'; 'as it is wrytyn in holy wryt ...'; 'Seynt Gregory seyth ...'. The overview of Pride closes with a list of its eight branches.

Having given the general overview of Pride, Richard Lavenham goes on to describe in concise fashion each of the sin's eight branches in turn. After explaining the meaning of 'Presumpcyon', the Carmelite moves on to describe the following branch:

Vaynglorie is whan a man bostith of hym silf gretly. or ellis reioyschith hym whan oþer men magnifyen his persone mor þan wer worthy. louyng flatererys and gloserys þ^t ofte wilyn rehearse hys commendable dedis. and hatyng al þo þ^t in a mendement of alle hys defawtis tellyn him þ^e sothe [truth]. This bronche of *pride* crist tawchte his folwerys to

fle. be ensample in þe gospel *M^t. 9 c^o*. wher it is rehersed þ^t whan *cris*t had helyd too blynde men. and 3ouyn hem bodily sy3te. he bad hem þ^t þey scholde kepyn þ^t thyng priuy andspeke to no man þerof. and 3et þese men wente and tolde it alle abowte in þe contre as þey 3ede [went]. Now as clerkys seyn þe skyle [reason] why p^t *cris*t for bad þo men þ^t þey scholde not telle it out what he had don to hem. was to 3euyn ensample to alle his folwerys to fleen vaynglorie and to schewyn þ^t a good *cristen*man ou3t not for lesyng of heuyn mede lokyn to be *preysid* heere of his good dede. [2/35-3/10]

This passage demonstrates the complexity of answering one of the major questions prompted by the *Litil Tretys*: who was Richard Lavenham's envisaged audience? Lavenham does not state explicitly for whom he intended the text. It is generally assumed by modern critics that the work was intended primarily for clergy as a pastoral aid, particularly helpful in administering the sacrament of confession, which required penitent and confessor to identify and properly understand the nature of sins, their roots and their outcomes. The usefulness of the *Litil Tretys* for the *cura animarum* (care of souls) is undoubted, and attested to by the many surviving manuscript copies of demonstrable clerical-ownership.⁴⁹ However, the *Litil Tretys* would also have had obvious appeal for lay persons preparing to make their confession, particularly those spiritually ambitious and committed lay persons (such as Margery Kempe) able and keen to access spiritual texts in the vernacular. In late medieval England, many books of clerical guidance gradually came to be read by devout laypersons as meditative tracts.⁵⁰ Its concise and highly-structured style would make the *Litil Tretys* apposite for those seeking a simple and accessible catechesis on the Seven Deadly Sins and their sub-branches. Lavenham's citation of authorial sources – usually (though not always) giving both the Latin text and an English translation in a manner reminiscent of Maidstone's biblical quoting and paraphrasing in *The Penitential Psalms* – would be useful for both literate and illiterate alike, both ordained and lay.⁵¹ As in Maidstone's vernacular poetry, this practice reinforces the academic authority of the *Litil Tretys*, assures *literati*

⁴⁹ To give one example, London, British Library, Ms. Royal 8.C.i collates the *Litil Tretys* alongside theological material, some in Latin but predominantly in English, such as *The Rule of The Life of Our Lady*, tracts of the Austin friar John Waldeby on the principal prayers of the faithful, and a treatise derived from the *Ancrene Riwe*. See: Amanda Moss, 'Seeking Salvation: Fifteenth-Century Uses of *The Rule of the Life of Our Lady*', in Ian Johnson, Allan F. Westphall (eds.), *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, Medieval Church Studies 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 265-82 [276-77].

⁵⁰ As noted by van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xii.

⁵¹ It seems likely that this was the practice in Richard Lavenham's autograph, as witnessed by the base text for van Zutphen's edition: London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211. In five of the manuscripts, however, which textually van Zutphen groups together [lv], translation has been lost. Vincent Gillespie ['Chichele's Church', 22] remarks that 'It is striking and perhaps surprising to record how many new Latin pastoral manuals are produced in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, many of which also contain vernacular or macaronic elements in a subordinate mnemonic role'.

that the translation is correct, and perhaps helps *illiterati* to come by a little Latin.⁵² The phrase ‘as clerkys seyn’ in the above passage – a stock phrase in many medieval texts (and repeated in various formulations in the *Litil Tretys*) – might seem in some ways more appropriately addressed to a non-clerical audience, as does Lavenham’s gloss of *Matthew* 9, but would also reassure a clerical reader of the text’s reference to authority. Thus, we may say that whatever the Carmelite’s preferred audience(s) for the *Litil Tretys*, it would have been appropriate for a wide array of readers and hearers on both sides of the confessional grille. As Carmelite friars were both dispensers and beseechers of sacramental absolution, the text would also have been as useful within the Order as beyond it.

Though Richard Lavenham addresses an imagined reader, on several occasions responding to a supposed question – ‘her may be askyd a demawnde’ [6/28, 11/2, 14/6, 19/28] – he never names that audience, his statement being suitable for either preparing a priest-reader to answer potential enquiries, or pre-empting a penitent-reader. Nor does Richard Lavenham (like Richard Maidstone in *The Penitential Psalms*) make any overt reference to contemporary religious debates; perhaps, again like his confrere, not wishing to draw attention to his theological opponents. Nevertheless, the *Litil Tretys* touches on subjects very pertinent to those aware of contested theological matters. John Wyclif and Lollardy are not referred to by name (as they were not in most official condemnations of heresy), but Lavenham’s better-informed peers would have detected unmistakable resonances in the *Litil Tretys*. For example, in describing the characteristics of ‘Vnbuxhamhed’ (disobedience), Lavenham writes:

Vnbuxhamhed is whan a man w^t stondith þe hestis of god and of holycherche. þe byddyng of fader or of modyr. þe lawis of hys kyng. þe ordynawnce of his souerayn *temperal* or *spiritual*. wilfully letting þ^t is comawndid and doyng þ^t is defended and wilfullych hauyng no reward to resoun. ne to þe payne þ^t is lymytid [set] in þe lawe. This bronche of *pride* is ful greuous as it semyth be ensamplis of holy writ. For god bad in þe olde lawe þ^t ho so were rebel and vnbuxham to be prest þ^t was goddis mynyster he scholde be ded þerfor. as þe bible rehersyth *deuteronomij. 17*. Also what man were rebel and vnbuxham to þe byddyng of fader or of moder. þe fader or þe moder scholde go playne [register a complaint] vp on hym to þe doom [council]. and a noon he schold be stonyd to þe deth. as it is rehersid in þe same bok. *Deuteronomij 21 c^o*. Also þ^t it is perlowis a man to w^t

⁵² Richard Newhauser observes: ‘Lavyngham made sure his treatise would remain accessible to all English readers by supplying translations of his Latin citations, whether they were taken from patristic sources or even from a text of such widespread familiarity as the Psalms’ – Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* Fasc. 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 145.

stondyn or to a risen a 3en his souerayn temperel or spirituel. it semyth be holy wryt. *Numerorum 16 c^o*. wher it is rehersed þ^t þer weryn þre certayn men. þ^t is to seyn. Chore. Dathan and Abyron. and for þey w^t on a sent a rysyn a 3en Moyses and aaron. þerfor god in punysshing of her pride made þe erthe to opene and swelwyn hem in alle qwik. And her of spekyth *Dauid* in þe sawter bok and seyth þus. *Et irritauerunt Moysen in castris aaron sanctum domini. Aperta est terra et deglutiuit dathan. et operuit super congregacionem abiron*. They angrede he seyth Moyses and aaron þ^t holy man in her leggyngis [camp]. and þerfor þe erthe was openyd and swelwid in þ^t ilke man dathan. and helyd [covered] also hem þ^t weren gadryd w^t Abyron. This knewe seynt poul whan he wrot to þe iewis. and seyde þus. *Obedite prepositis vestris. Ad hebreos 13^o*. Obey3e 3ow to 3owr soueraynys. [3/11-36]

If Richard Lavenham wrote the *Litil Tretys* after the summer of 1382 (to be considered later), then in the immediately subsequent years surely no reader pondering the obedience due to ‘souerayn temperal or spirituel’ could have failed to recall events in England in the early 1380s. As discussed in Chapter 2, in June 1381 the king’s authority had been undermined in the country’s most serious insurrection, the Peasants’ Revolt, during which the Archbishop of Canterbury – England’s highest ‘prest þ^t was goddis mynyster’ – had been killed. In May the following year his successor, William Courtenay, convened at Blackfriars in London a council to address insurrections in the Church. The council consisted of bishops and senior clergy including (as noted in Chapter 2) a large delegation of some dozen Carmelites, one of whom, John Kynyngham, preached the final sermon. Though not identifying John Wyclif by name, 24 propositions attributed to him were condemned as heretical or erroneous. During the council’s deliberations tremors in the earth were interpreted by Courtenay as the very ground of England being purged of error, leading to its nickname ‘The Earthquake Council’. Reading the ‘vnbuxhamhed’ passage in the *Litil Tretys* in the light of these events, Richard Lavenham’s audience might well not have failed to see the contemporary relevance of the story he relates of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, swallowed up by the ground for their disobedience against God and his appointed leaders. This biblical episode from *Numbers 16* does not feature in the discussion of ‘vnbuxhamhed’ in significant previous or contemporary works on the vices and virtues, suggesting that Richard Lavenham saw this incident as a particularly pertinent illustration.⁵³ It is not possible to be certain of

⁵³ In the Middle English dialogue *Vices and Virtues* (c.1200) the discussion ‘Of vnbuhsunnesse’ [7] focuses on Christ. In *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, a fourteenth-century English translation of the *Somme Le Roi*, ‘vnbuxunnesse’ [3] is discussed in relation to the fourth commandment to honour father and mother. Dathan is referred to as an example of the

dating, but Lavenham's statement that 'it is perlowes a man to w^t stondyn or to a risen a 3en his souerayn temperel or spirituel', a crime meriting 'þe payne þ^t is lymtyd [set] in þe lawe', has particular resonance in the light of both the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 and Wyclif's censure by the Earthquake Council the following year.⁵⁴

The sin of rebellion against proper authority is further elaborated upon by Richard Lavenham in his discussion of obstinacy:

Sturdynesse is whan a man doth opynlyche amys and excusith his defawte. and wil not bowen and be undyrnymen þerof of hys souerayn. and þis is on of þe werste bronchis of pride. as seynt Austyn seyth *et est libro 4^o de ciuitate dei c^o 13. Ubi sic inquit augustinus. Peior dampnabiliorque superbia est qua in peccatis manifestis suffugium excusacionis exquiritur. hec ille.* Ho þan þat wile beyzen [obtain] him blis: and also sowle bote lyztly borwe [secure]: These bronchis brekyn he mot y wis: for pride is þe ferst seed of sorwe. [5/22-29]

Having established Pride as 'þe ferst seed of sorwe' and obstinacy as one of its 'werste bronchis', Richard Lavenham turns his attention to the Second Deadly Sin of 'Couetyse' (covetousness). The Carmelite (perhaps unexpectedly to modern readers) uses his discussion of the sub-branch of usury (lending money for interest payments) to define and denounce heresy, which is against three types of Law: 'This bronche of couetyse is a 3ens Moyses law. a 3en cristis lawe. and a 3en þe lawe of his spowse þ^t is holycherche' [8/35-36]. Citing as his authorities the Old and New Testaments (Moses and Christ), backed-up by Canon Law (Holy Church), Lavenham declares:

For þus seyth þe lawe. *extra de vsuris Quia in omnibus.* þ^t opin vsureris schold not be howslyd [receive Holy Communion]. ne beryzed in cristyn beryelys. and what cristyn man affermeth þ^t vsure is no synne. owith to be punschid as an heretic as þe lawe of holy cherche rehersith. *extra de vsuris in clementinis.* An heretic is he þ^t bringeth vp or ellis folwith eny new opynyon a 3en þe feyth of holycherche. [9/1-6]

sin of 'grucchyng' (grudging) against friends [64]. Page numbers here refer to the editions of these texts mentioned later in this chapter.

⁵⁴ Lavenham may have been aware of contemporary verse such as the English poem *The Insurrection and Earthquake* ('Yit is God a Curteis Lord'), which reflected on the uprising of 1381 and the earthquake of the following year. On the poem see: www.sfsu.edu/~medieval/complaintlit/insurrection_earthquake.html [accessed January 2014].

Such a description of a heretic as one who propounds or follows any new teaching that contradicts the Church's faith echoes the command of King Richard in Maidstone's *Concordia* (as discussed in the previous chapter) that Londoners should 'reject for evermore new doctrines that the ancient fathers did not learn.' Lavenham's warning against 'he þt bringeth vp or ellis folwith eny newe opynyon azen þe feyth of holycherche' [9/5-6] has an urgency and immediacy when read through the eyes of his contemporaries. Though John Wyclif was not the first to produce 'new opinions' within the Church and it is theoretically possible (if unlikely) that Lavenham wrote the *Litil Tretys* before Wyclif produced *De Civili Dominio* in 1377, the warning has particular significance in the heresiarch's wake.⁵⁵ Though the whole of the *Litil Tretys* deals with sin, the passage on usury offers Lavenham's only direct reference to the term 'heretic'. The Carmelite states that one who commits the sin of heresy must be punished with excommunication in life and death, according to the Church's law; in 1415 the Council of Constance would follow Lavenham's sentiments and deny 'cristyn beryelys' to Jan Hus by burning him at the stake and by burning John Wyclif's exhumed bones. Richard Lavenham does not mention John Wyclif or his disciples explicitly in the *Litil Tretys*, but the connection the Carmelite makes between heresy and usury is again of possible contemporary significance. As the mercantile classes of medieval Europe grew in power, increasing numbers of burghers sought to challenge the Church's usury laws which restricted the lending of money and the pricing of goods for large profit. Critics claimed that ecclesiastical teaching on usury was based more on papal authority and ecclesiastical control than on any mandate from Scripture, Wyclif stating in his treatise *On Simony* (written between 1375 and 1382) that 'usury is licit in God', and Bishop Reginald Pecock writing in his *Repressor* (issued c.1449-55) that on usury 'Holi Writt 3eueth litil or noon li3t therto at al'.⁵⁶ Lavenham's reference to usury as something prohibited by the Old and New Testaments ('a 3ens Moyses law. a 3en cristis lawe'), as well as against the 'lawe of holicherche', is perhaps therefore a wider defence of the Church's magisterium against its critics.

⁵⁵ Perhaps Lavenham was aware that the charge of heresy was being turned against the established Church by Wyclif's followers, even in texts dealing with the Seven Deadly Sins. In one of the two surviving manuscripts of *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman* (c.1400), the text regarding the first subdivision of lying, 'þe ferste ys fals techynge a3ens þe bileue of Holi Churche, as heretikes done a3ens þe bileue of God and þuse synneþ dedliche', is changed to 'The fyrste ys fals lore ayenst the byleue of Holy Chirche, that ys þe lawe of God, as heretykes done that saye the gospelle shuld not be taght to the peple, and this is deedly synne'. On this and other alterations of the text towards a more Lollard position, see: F. N. M. Diekstra (ed.), *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman*, Mediaevalia Groningana (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 51.

⁵⁶ John Wyclif, *On Simony* (trans.) Terrence A. McVeigh (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), 49. Reginald Pecock, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, 2 vols (ed.) C. Babington, Rolls Series (London: Longman, 1860), 16. Quoted in David W. Lavinsky, *After Wyclif: Lollard Biblical Scholarship and the English Vernacular, c.1380-c.1450*, Doctoral Thesis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2009), 274. On the topic more generally, see: David Wayne Jones, *Reforming the Morality of Usury: A Study of Differences that Separated the Protestant Reformers* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2004); G. G. Coulton, 'Just Price and Usury', in *Medieval Panorama: The English Scene from Conquest to Reformation*, Cambridge Library Collection – Medieval History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 331-45.

Deference to proper authority, as Lavenham deems it, is reiterated in the Carmelite's discussion of 'Vnpacyence', a branch of the Deadly Sin of Wrath:

Vnpacyence is whan a man grucchith [grumbles] a 3en þe resonable chastysynge of his souerayn, and a 3en þe vndernemyng [reproof] of hys defawtis. Þenkyng þ^t alle is wrong þ^t is a 3en his wil. A 3en þis spekyth þe apostil and seyþ þus. *Seruum dei non oporteat litigare sed mansuetum esse ad omnes. docibilem patientem cum modestia. 2^a ad thimotheum 2^o*. Hit behouyth not him þ^t is goddis seruawnt to makyn debat but for to be buxham [amiable] to alle. and redy to take te(u)chyng pacyent and softe of maneris and of beryng. [13/8-15]

Richard Lavenham again asserts a highly-ordered and tiered worldview in which ordinary people are submissive to the teaching and correction of proper authority. This naturally leads into a discussion of the next branch of Wrath:

Blasfemye is whan a man spekyth and grucchith a 3ens god *in* tribulacion or *in* dissesse or *in* seknesse. and þenkyth þ^t god is vnmy3tful or vnri3tful for he grawntith not him his wil a noon. demyng þ^t he sent him moor wo. and lasse wele þan he holt him self worthy. he set no prys be pilgremagis. To corsayntis [relics of saints] ne to holy ymagis. he hath no trust *in* prayeris and *in* suffragijs [intercessory prayers] of holycherche for as moche as he is not lessid of his dissesse as hastely as he wolde. A 3ens þis vice spekyth seynt powl and seyþ þus. *Omnis amaritudo et ira et indignacio and blasfemia tollatur a vobis. ad eph 4^o*. Let al heuynesse and wrathþe indygnacyon and blasfemye be put a wey fro 3ow. [13/16-26]

For all that Lavenham attributes the sin of blasphemy to those who are sick or troubled, and later deems failure to make pilgrimages a consequence of the sin of cowardice ('arwnesse', 18/13-25), his contemporary audience would surely not have missed the correlation between the faults the Carmelite lists as blasphemous in the above passage and a number of key Lollard beliefs. Lavenham was well aware of Wycliffite tenets, having compiled a list of the errors professed by the Lollard priest John Purvey (as mentioned earlier). In the 1430s this list was included in the Carmelite compilation of Lollard heresies known as the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*. The same collection also included a text dubbed the *Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards* that was reputedly affixed to the doors of Westminster Hall

during the Parliamentary session of 1395 and nailed to the doors of St. Paul's Cathedral.⁵⁷ In the *Twelve Conclusions* men calling for 'þe reformaciun of holi church of Yngelond' make demands that directly correlate to the blasphemies listed by Lavenham in the *Litil Tretys*:

þe viii conclusiun needful to telle to þe puple begylid is [þat] þe pilgrimage, preyeris and offringis made to blynde rodys [roods/crosses] and to deue ymages of tre and of ston, ben ner of kin to ydolatrie and fer from almesse dede [almsgiving] ... if þe rode tre, naylis, and þe spere and þe coroune of God schulde ben so holiche worchipid, þanne were Iudas lippis, qwoso mythe hem gete, a wondir gret relyk. But we preye þe, pilgrim, us to telle qwan þu offrist to seyntis bonis enschrid in ony place, qweþir releuis þu þe seynt þat is in blisse, or þe pore almes hous þat is so wel enduwid? [27/93-110]

Also rejected in the *Twelve Conclusions* is the practice of confession (9th conclusion), since priests have only 'a feynid power of absolicium', and 'lordis and ladys ben arestid for fere of here confessouris þat þei dur nout seyn a treuth, and in time of confessiun is þe beste time of wowing and of priue continuaunce of dedli synne' [27/115-120]. In various places in the *Litil Tretys* Richard Lavenham stresses the importance of this sacrament, and accuses those who procrastinate in availing themselves of 'hosel and schrifte and repentaunce' of the vice of delaying [17/31-18/12]. In defending confession, pilgrimage, and the veneration of saints, Lavenham directly rebuffs some of the essential beliefs common to most Lollards.

The last of the Seven Deadly Sins that Lavenham enumerates in his *Litil Tretys* is that of 'Lecherye ... an vnleful lust þ^t comyth of þe frayelte of þe flesch and defoylith þe sowle which þ^t is þer to y knet' [22/8-9]. In discussing the branch of lechery that is 'Spowsbreche' (adultery), Lavenham shares 'a dredful word':

Than is it a *perlous* þing to brekyn þ^t ilke knotte [knot of wedlock] þe whiche god made hym silf and wolde neuer haue it vnknet. Of þis bronche of lecherye y fynde a dredful word. and it is put in þe lawe *canon. d. 56. Diuulgatum est* wher it rehersid þat *bonifas* þe pope martyr. wrot to þe kyng of yngelond and sayde þus. It is pubplyschyd to vs in

⁵⁷ As well as in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, the *Twelve Conclusions* were listed in the Dominican friar Roger Dymmok's *Liber contra duodecim errors et hereses Lollardorum*. Quotations from the *Twelve Conclusions* are given by page/line from the edition by Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, 25-29. A modern English translation is included in Henry Bettenson, Chris Maunder (eds.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Third Edition 1999), 193-98. For a discussion of the text see: Wendy Scase, 'The Audience and Framers of the *Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards*', in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 283-301.

frawnce be maner of prophecye þ^t 3if englysch men breke þe knotte of wedlok and folwe hordom and lecherye þat þer schal *springe* of hem a wickid seed in tyme þ^t is comyng. The seed schal not ellis be but children which þey schul *bringe* forth *in* lecherye. this seed schal multiplie so ferforth *in* þe lond þ^t þe peple schal not be streng *in* batayle ne stable *in* þe faith of holycherche. and so þey schul haue no worschip of name to þe worldward. and also god schal hatyn hem and not louyn. as it schal be schewid be wreche [vengeance] þ^t is comyng. [23/5-17]

This prophecy of doom, albeit cited from Canon Law, is quite unlike any other ‘authority’ that Richard Lavenham quotes. Previous remarks by Lavenham of possible contemporary relevance were not located geographically; however, speaking specifically of God’s forthcoming vengeance on England, this passage – from a prophecy (discussed earlier in this chapter) made to King Aethelbald of Mercia by St. Boniface the Martyr in a letter of A.D. 745 – is the closest that the Carmelite comes to directly commenting on current affairs in his native land. Though again Lavenham makes no explicit reference to the social or religious unrest of the times, the tone is reminiscent of another (probably later) text, the 1401 Act of Parliament *De Haeretico Comburendo*:

Whereas it is showed to our sovereign lord the king on behalf of the prelates and clergy of his realm of England in this present Parliament, that although the Catholic faith, founded upon Christ, and by His apostles and the Holy Church sufficiently determined, declared, and approved, has been hitherto by good and holy and most noble progenitors of our sovereign lord the king in the said realm, amongst all the realms of the world, most devoutly observed ... Yet nevertheless divers false and perverse people of a certain new sect, damnably thinking of the faith of the sacraments of the Church and the authority of the same, and, against the law of God and of the Church, usurping the office of preaching, do perversely and maliciously, in divers places within the said realm, under the colour of dissembled holiness, preach and teach in these days, openly and privily, divers new doctrines and wicked, heretical, and erroneous opinions, contrary to the same faith and blessed determinations of the Holy Church. And of such sect and wicked doctrine and opinions, they make unlawful conventicles and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write books, they do wickedly instruct and inform people, and, as much as they may, excite and stir them to sedition and insurrection ... by which sect and wicked and false preachings, doctrines, and opinions of the said false and perverse people, not only the greatest peril of souls, but also many more other hurts, slanders, and

perils, which God forbid, might come to this realm, unless it be the more plentifully and speedily helped by the king's majesty in this behalf.⁵⁸

Could Richard Lavenham have had in mind what the bill called a 'false and perverse people of a certain new sect', namely the Lollards, when writing in the *Litil Tretys* of the 'wickid seed in tyme þ^t is comynge'? Just as Richard Maidstone envisaged the perfect society as a collaboration between secular and ecclesiastical powers in maintaining the status quo, and Parliament's bill understood that by novel threats to the Church 'other hurts, slanders, and perils ... might come to this realm', so Richard Lavenham warned in his *Litil Tretys* that in England 'þe peple schal not be streng in batayle ne stable in þe faith of holycherche'. Just as Parliament was worried about heresy's tarnish on England's reputation as the kingdom where the Catholic faith was 'amongst all the realms of the world, most devoutly observed', so Lavenham feared that the English 'schul haue no worschip of name to þe worldward'. Ian Forrest points out that Lavenham is the first known writer, since Boniface's letter of 745, to cite the prophecy: 'its adoption seems to have been triggered by the inception of that instability in the faith known to us, and Lavyngham, as lollardy'.⁵⁹

When considering the *Litil Tretys* as a whole, much like *The Penitential Psalms* it can be read as a text of general religious instruction, pertinent to almost any devout audience of any Christian age seeking to understand the nature of the Seven Deadly Sins. It is a work of religious instruction that encourages its audience to grow in knowledge of the Catholic faith, basing its arguments on the long-accepted authorities of the Church, namely Scripture, saints' writings, and official ecclesiastical documents. In this regard, we may say that the Carmelite Richard Lavenham sought to encourage religious instruction and enquiry through a vernacular text that would have appealed to both clergy and laity. On the other hand, no reader or hearer in the late fourteenth-century and beyond could have failed to see the *Litil Tretys* as a defence of orthodox teaching, propping up the status quo and maintaining its author's vision of the divinely-instituted power of Church and Crown. The contemporary relevance of particular passages would have been obvious to anyone reading/hearing the text after 1382, and by these allusions the Carmelite was setting limits on what is to be considered legitimate religious speculation. For every question of faith that might and indeed should be asked, the Carmelite Richard Lavenham provides a ready answer.

⁵⁸ Translated in Henry Bettenson, Chris Maunder (eds.), *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Third Edition 1999), 198-202.

⁵⁹ Ian Forrest, 'Anti-Lollard Polemic and Practice in Late Medieval England', 68.

3. The Latin Writings of Richard Lavenham

At this point it is appropriate to set Richard Lavenham's vernacular work against the broader context of his prolific output in Latin, seeing what these texts reveal of his interests as a Carmelite pastor and scholar in the promotion or prohibition of theological enquiry and spiritual comprehension.

A glance at the list of 60-70 texts attributed to Richard Lavenham reveals the remarkable range of his academic interests, even by the standards of his peers: Scripture, logic, physics, astronomy, natural science, grammar, and the history of the Carmelite Order. His surviving corpus includes sermons, anti-Lollard treatises and lectures, observations on extracts from Cicero, biblical and Aristotelian commentaries, and lectures on the *Revelations* of Birgitta of Sweden. As noted above, in 1413 the Prior General of the Order, Jean Grossi, visited England, and in his list of Carmelite writers records:

Magister Rychardus lowinham doctor oxoniensis composuit multos laudabiles tractatus in logicalibus et physicalibus Item scripsit determinationes quas legit oxoniis contra lullardos Item scripsit determinaciones pro libro brigide sanctae quas legit oxoniis et londoniis Item incepit sollempnissimum opus de ordinis fundacione et multiplicacione quod opus sollempnissimum quasi ad finem compleuit.

Master Richard Lavenham, doctor of the University of Oxford, wrote many worthy treatises on logic and physics. Also, he wrote determinations against the Lollards that he read in Oxford. Also, he wrote determinations in favour of the book of Saint Birgitta that he read in Oxford and London. Also, he began a major work on the foundation and spread of the Order, which major work he had almost completed.⁶⁰

Lavenham's Latin writings dealt with both matters from antiquity (Cicero and Aristotle) and contemporary issues (Lollardy and St. Birgitta); it is the latter that give us most insight into his own views regarding the promotion or prohibition of religious speculation.

That Richard Lavenham should have given 'determinations' (scholastic sermons, lectures or pronouncements on a disputed question in a public forum) in Oxford against the Lollards comes as no surprise, given what we already know of his interests and those of his fellow Carmelites. Perhaps more unexpected is that Lavenham delivered a now lost series of lectures 'in favour of the book of St.

⁶⁰ Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Ms. Theol. 28, fo. 79v, Jean Grossi, *Tractatus de Scriptoribus Ordinis Carmelitarum* (c.1413-1417); edited in Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*, 48-49; quoted in van Zutphen, *Litil Tretys*, xxviii; translation my own.

Birgitta' in Oxford and London.⁶¹ Birgitta Birgersdotter (1303-73) was a mystical noblewoman who founded the Order of the Most Holy Saviour (Brigittines) at Vadstena in Sweden. Her visions, recorded as *Revelationes coelestes* (*Celestial Revelations*) were translated from Swedish into Latin by supportive clerics and received wide circulation across medieval Europe.⁶² Birgitta was considered a saint by many, but controversial by others, and her revelations prompted much clerical deliberation over the proper 'discernment of spirits' (whether a person was divinely or demonically inspired).⁶³ Birgitta's revelations, some of which she herself found disturbing or confusing, were the subject of academic lectures and popular debate even during her own lifetime; as noted in Chapter 1, she was an influential figure in the spirituality of Margery Kempe. Birgitta died in 1373 and was canonized in 1391, that is, within the lifetime of Richard Lavenham. In Chapter 1 we noted the Carmelite Alan of Lynn's curiosity in Birgitta in the early fifteenth century, but Richard Lavenham's lecturing on her *Revelations*, probably in the 1380s or 90s, is even earlier proof of Carmelite interest in the theological experiences of contemporary pious lay women, the discernment of spirits, and what we now call vernacular theology.

Prior General Jean Grossi's 1413 record of Richard Lavenham's achievements tells us that the English Carmelite also had an interest in the history of his own religious order, but sadly his 'major work' on Carmel's foundation and growth was never completed, and John Bale makes no mention of it in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, it shows that Lavenham had an interest in the establishment and mission of the Carmelites, and no doubt identified himself as part of the Order's ongoing apostolate of drawing souls closer to God, whether by castigation or encouragement.

⁶¹ *Determinaciones per questionibus in libro sancte Brigide, Lib. 1*: "Derelinquetur filia Syon ut umbraculum in vinea e sicut Tugurium in cucumerario etc. quia secundum Gregorium scriptura sacre in uno et eodem sermone dum narrat temptum prodit misterium." Bale saw a copy of Lavenham's lectures, probably in Oxford [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 205v]. However, in his printed work, Bale gave the title as *Lecturas Scripturarum* [Catalogus, vol 1, 508-09]. This is not to be confused with *Determinationes notabiles Oxonii et Londini publice lecte pro revelationibus S. Brigitte, Lib. 7*, "Stupor et mirabilia audita sunt in terra nostra. Jer. 50." This work, found in London, British Library, Ms. Royal 7 C ix, was wrongly thought by John Theyer to be Richard Lavenham's series of lectures. However, the incipit is the beginning of the *Prologue to the Revelations* written by St. Birgitta's confessor Matthias, canon of Linköping, and these 'notable lectures' are merely the seven books of *The Revelations* with the usual Prologue. Another copy of the *Revelations*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. 169 (S.C. 2030), is described in the catalogue as 'a Latin translation by Richard Lavenham of the first four books ... of the Revelations of St. Brigitta' [Summary catalogue, II, i, 176], however, this is equally erroneous; see comments by Carl-Gustaf Undhagen (ed.), *Sancta Birgitta: Revelaciones, Lib. 1 cum Prologo Magisti Mathie* (Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1977), 149-50. The information in this footnote is adapted from Richard Copey's notes.

⁶² See: V. O'Mara, B. Morris (eds.), *The Translation of the Works of St. Birgitta of Sweden into the Medieval European Vernaculars*, The Medieval Translator 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). For a Modern English translation of Birgitta's works see: *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, translated by Denis Searby, introductions and notes by Bridget Morris, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006-15).

⁶³ See: Roger Ellis, 'Text and Controversy: In Defence of St Birgitta of Sweden', in Helen Barr, Ann M. Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 303-21; Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).

The writings of Richard Lavenham that Jean Grossi first notes are his ‘many worthy treatises on logic and physics’, and it is these philosophical texts that have received the most comment from modern scholars.⁶⁴ Here I do not intend to add to the commentary on them, other than to observe how they compare with Lavenham’s *Litil Tretys* and throw light on his interest in vernacular theology.

Richard Lavenham’s Latin works show an interest in right thinking (logic), right expression (grammar), and the right ordering of God’s world (the weather and future events). This conforms with the perception of his worldview that we garner from the *Litil Tretys*, namely that Richard Lavenham sought to promote a vision of order and structure within creation, not dissimilar to the outlook of Richard Maidstone.

On some levels the *Litil Tretys* can be usefully compared to Richard Lavenham’s *De causis naturalibus*, a treatise on the physics of the natural world, which he likewise calls ‘a little book’.⁶⁵ In *De causis naturalibus*, following a prologue and table of contents, Lavenham enumerates his points and structures his text with sixteen questions and answers in a clearly pedagogic structure similar to the enumerative framework of the *Litil Tretys*. In a concise, simple, and wide-ranging manner, Lavenham’s text – which its editor calls ‘neither an in-depth treatise nor a focused commentary’⁶⁶ – deals with the causes of a broad range of meteorological and geographical phenomena including thunder, lightning, rainbows, dew, rain, hail, the salinity of the sea, tides, and the heating of springs. In a manner reminiscent of the *Litil Tretys*, Richard Lavenham begins *De causis naturalibus* with a justification for the work and a reference to poetry:

Et quia non solum est utile verum etiam delectabile rerum causas occultas cognoscere, dicente poeta: “Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.” Hinc est quod libellus iste *De causis naturalibus* merito intitulatur quia in eo de causis principaliter agitur et tractatur.

⁶⁴ The most substantial studies of Lavenham’s Latin writings are by Paul Vincent Spade: ‘The treatises on Modal Propositions and On Hypothetical Propositions by Richard Lavenham’, *Medieval Studies* 35 (Toronto, 1973), 49-59; ‘Five Logical Tracts by Richard Lavenham’, in J. Reginald O’Donnell (ed.), *Essays in honour of Anton Charles Pegis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 70-124; ‘Notes on some manuscripts of logical and physical works by Richard Lavenham’, *Manuscripta*, 19 (1975), 139-46; ‘Richard Lavenham’s *Obligationes*: Edition and Comments’, *Rivista Critica de Storia della Filosofia*, 33 (1978), 225-42; ‘Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic’, *Historiographia Linguistica*, 7 (1980), 241-47; ‘Notes on Richard Lavenham’s so-called *Summulae logicales*, with a partial edition of the text’, *Franciscan Studies*, 40 (1980), 370-407. See also: Gordon Anthony Wilson, Paul Vincent Spade, ‘Richard Lavenham’s treatise *Scire*: An edition, with remarks on the identification of Martin (?) Bilond’s *Obiectiones Consequenarivm*’, *Medieval Studies*, 46 (1984), 1-30; C. H. Lohr, ‘Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries. Authors: Narcissus-Wilgelmus’, *Traditio*, 28 (1972), 281-396 [394]; Dale Tuggy, ‘A Short Text of Lavenham’, in Mogens Wegener (ed.), *Time, Creation and World-Order*, Acta Jutlandica 74:1, Humanities Series 72 (Aarhus University Press, 1999), 260-64; Rondo Keele, ‘Richard Lavenham’s *De Causis Naturalibus*: A Critical Edition’, *Traditio*, 56 (2001), 113-47.

⁶⁵ Rondo Keele, ‘Richard Lavenham’s *De Causis Naturalibus*: A Critical Edition’, *Traditio*, 56 (2001), 113-47 [137].

⁶⁶ Keele, ‘Richard Lavenham’s *De Causis Naturalibus*’, 113.

And because it is not only useful but also delightful to know the hidden cause of things, the poet [Vergil] says: “Happy is he who has been able to know the causes of things.” Hence it is that this little book is rightly called *On Natural Causes*, because in it the subject of causes is taken up and discussed in a primary way.⁶⁷

In a manner evocative of the *Litil Tretys* in its ordering and structure, *De causis naturalibus* deals succinctly with the causes of various natural phenomena. Just as in the *Litil Tretys*, so in *De causis naturalibus* Richard Lavenham divides his topics into sections, responds to imagined questions, gives a brief answer, and then illustrates it with reference to a recognised authority. *De causis naturalibus* shows that brevity and simplicity of style need not be considered features of only vernacular writing. Though ‘little’, the Latin treatise offers a comprehensive and scholastic approach to its subject that respectfully engages with the reader’s imagined questions. Likewise, the *Litil Tretys* deals ‘schortly’ with its subject [1/5], but still claims the title of *tretys*.⁶⁸

De causis naturalibus, like the *Litil Tretys*, is very clearly set out with a line of argument that is easy for the reader to follow. However, we should not assume this for all Lavenham’s Latin texts. For example, Paul Spade criticises Lavenham’s *De syncategorematis*, a text on logic, for its tangled argument and difficult Latin constructions.⁶⁹ Modern critics should therefore not automatically suppose that medieval vernacular literature should be somehow less ordered or scholarly in its structure than Latin texts by the same writer.

The fact that all but one of Lavenham’s texts were written in Latin meant that his opinions on logic, physics, the Bible – all of them potentially ‘speculative’ topics in intellectual and religious terms – were reserved for a learned audience, most probably university-educated and clerical. Indeed, there is evidence that Richard Lavenham, like so many of his scholastic contemporaries (including fellow Carmelites such as Richard Maidstone), deemed such subjects inappropriate for a wider lay audience, as seen in the opening of his *Tractatus de eventu futurorum* (*Tract on Future Events*):

On the subject of the outcome of future events there are four opinions. The first is that all future events will happen necessarily. This was the opinion of the Stoics, and it is still

⁶⁷ Keele, ‘Richard Lavenham’s *De Causis Naturalibus*’, 123-24, 137.

⁶⁸ Carruthers interprets the description as Lavenham’s ‘awareness that his text was, in effect, rather short in comparison with the many catechetical manuals already in existence’: ‘Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob’s Well*’, *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18 (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), 17-32.

⁶⁹ See, for example, Paul Vincent Spade, ‘Why Don’t Medieval Logicians Ever tell Us What They’re Doing? Or, What Is This, A Conspiracy?’, unpublished article available online at www.pvspade.com [accessed September 2013].

the opinion of laymen. The second is that God is in no way foreknowing of future events. This was the opinion of Cicero and of certain Platonists. The third is that about future events there is not any determinate truth; this was the opinion of Aristotle in his book *On Interpretation*. The fourth is that God determinately knows all future events, but that the events which are future will not happen necessarily but contingently.

The first opinion is false and erroneous because it does away with our free will. This is proved as follows: because whatever sort of activity a man will do, he will necessarily do. Therefore, it is not in the man's power to avoid anything he will do later. And if it is not in his power to avoid something he will do later, it follows that he will not do it freely. Common people and laymen think similarly; when they see that some misfortune has happened to a man, they say that it was his fate, and so it necessarily happened to him ... The fourth opinion is the opinion of contemporary people, and of faithful Christians.⁷⁰

In this treatise Richard Lavenham distinguishes 'the opinion of contemporary people, and of faithful Christians' from the thoughts of 'common people and laymen' whose belief is 'false and erroneous'. Lavenham's estimation that the majority of laypersons are ignorant of the truth in matters proper to the schools echoes the objection Richard Maidstone raised against John Ashwardby (discussed in the previous chapter) that certain academic matters are not appropriate for lay audiences.

We have already considered Lavenham's intended audience(s) for the *Litil Tretys*, concluding that it would appeal to both clerical and lay readers alike. The fact that the authorial/authoritative voice in the *Litil Tretys* is much clearer than the sometimes near-impenetrable philosophical language of Lavenham's logical tracts suggests that by comparison the Carmelite hoped for the vernacular work to have mass appeal.

It is interesting that such a highly-educated university scholar should have written a text as accessible in its theology and language as the *Litil Tretys*. As recent critics have pointed out, such texts show that there was more common ground between ostensibly 'academic' and 'devotional' writings – between the classroom and the confessional – than previously acknowledged, faith and

⁷⁰ Edited by Peter Øhrstrøm, 'Richard Lavenham on future contingents', *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen âge*, 44 (Copenhagen, 1983), 180-86. Quotations are taken from the translation by Dale Tuggy, 'A Short Text of Lavenham', in Mogens Wegener (ed.), *Time, Creation and World-Order*, Acta Jutlandica 74:1, Humanities Series 72 (Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1999), 260-64, included by Richard Copsy in his *Early Carmelite Documents*. Lavenham's ideas are discussed in Peter Øhrstrøm, 'The Contingency of the Future. A discussion of a medieval analysis', in *Time, Creation and World-Order*, *Op. cit.*, 160-70.

learning being far from mutually exclusive in medieval England.⁷¹ A comparison of Lavenham's Latin works with his *Litil Tretys* shows that in some regards scholastic writing techniques were carried over into the vernacular. This suggests that the Carmelite sought to use quasi-academic techniques in the vernacular for promoting theological knowledge.

Richard Lavenham's only extant vernacular text is didactic rather than speculative, giving answers to every supposed question, though this technique is observed in Lavenham's Latin texts as well. As we have remarked – and as the manuscript evidence will show – the *Litil Tretys* could have been used initially by clergy in a pastoral environment, such as the pulpit or the confessional, where immediacy to the vernacular would have been useful for teaching and counselling the *illiterati* (those unable to read Latin).⁷² It is probable that it was used by clergy who were at ease reading Latin and scholastic texts (a number of the surviving manuscripts collate texts written in both English and Latin); if Lavenham did not intend his *Litil Tretys* to be read by the illiterate, we must ask why he wrote in English at all. To appreciate this, we must place Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* within the broader genre of penitential and confessional texts dealing with the 'vices and virtues'.

4. The Genre of Vices and Virtues

Earlier in this chapter we read John Purvey's complaint that 'Innocent III brought in a new-found confession, whereby the priests do oppress the simple laymen ... compelling them to confess themselves to blind and ignorant priests.' This is a reference to Canon 21 of the decree *Omnis Utriusque Sexus* issued by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which required all Christians to make an annual oral confession of their sins to their parish priest, and thereby reinforced previous demands by the Church for improved pastoral training for its clergy.⁷³ As Rita Copeland states, 'Any account of the confessional literature of the later Middle Ages must begin with the *Omnis Utriusque Sexus* decree of the Fourth Lateran Council [1215], indisputably the most important factor in the rise of the industry of Latin and vernacular instruction on the doctrines of penance and mechanics of confession'.⁷⁴

⁷¹ See, for example, Marjorie Curry Woods, Rita Copeland, 'Classroom and confession', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 376-406. For a recent challenge to some of the supposed distinctions between clergy and laity in the Middle Ages, especially in terms of their literature, see the introduction to John Shinnars (ed.), *Medieval Popular Religion 1000-1500, A Reader*, Readings in Medieval Civilisations and Cultures II (Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1997, reprinted 1999), xv-xix.

⁷² On the possible use of Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* in the pulpit or confessional, see: Carruthers, 'Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 19.

⁷³ On legislation prior to 1215 see: Woods and Copeland, 'Classroom and confession', 376.

⁷⁴ Woods and Copeland, 'Classroom and confession', 390, 392. Excerpts of the decree are translated in John Shinnars (ed.), *Medieval Popular Religion 1000-1500*, 6-12.

As the Carmelite Order developed into a mendicant fraternity from the mid-thirteenth century it took on increasing amounts of pastoral work, as encouraged by Lateran IV. However, the Whitefriars were not always well equipped for the task. As discussed in Chapter Two, the prior general Nicholas the Frenchman, in his (alleged) circular letter *Ignea Sagitta* (*The Fiery Arrow*), accused his fellow Carmelites of being ‘blind and ignorant’ in matters of *pastoralia*, unequal to the task of hearing confessions properly and counselling people in the different degrees of sin. He called his co-religionists ‘illiterates’, saying that their inadequate pastoral care arose from their ‘ignorance ... of theology and law’.⁷⁵ Leaving aside the vexed question of whether the *Ignea Sagitta* dates from 1270/71, or is a later ventriloquizing of Nicholas, its criticism – later echoed (albeit from different motives) by John Purvey – highlights the need within the Carmelite Order for appropriate instruction for pastors.⁷⁶

Not only the Carmelite Order but also the wider Catholic Church needed to address the pastoral ignorance of some of its clergy in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council. In England various pieces of ecclesiastical legislation and religious texts, such as Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury’s 1281 instructions to parish priests and Archbishop Thoresby of York’s 1357 ‘catechism’, encouraged the clergy to examine penitents and exhort them to self-examination.⁷⁷ This in turn led to the development from the thirteenth century of two genres of confession manual, ‘instructions to priests on conducting confession and prescribing penances, and instructions to lay people on preparing for and making confession’.⁷⁸ Many of these took the form of texts on the ‘vices and virtues’.

According to an ancient reckoning widespread in the medieval Church, there were seven vices and a corresponding number of virtues which were the wellsprings or heads (hence the term ‘capital’) from which other sins or virtues could arise, the Seven ‘Deadly’ Sins being: pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lust.⁷⁹ The main source of teaching on vices and virtues derived from the *Book*

⁷⁵ Quoted in John Welch, *The Carmelite Way*, 32.

⁷⁶ On Carmelite practice in the sacrament of penance, see the references to confession in Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3.

⁷⁷ See: ‘Manuals of Instruction for Parish Priests’, in W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 189-219; van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, ix; H. Leith Spencer, ‘The Preaching of *Pastoralia*’ in *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 196-227.

⁷⁸ Woods and Copeland, ‘Classroom and confession’, 391. See also: Abigail Firey (ed.), *A New History of Penance*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

⁷⁹ For a definition and history of the ‘capital sins’, see: Richard P. McBrien (ed.), *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 225; van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, vii-xi. Recent studies on the Vices and Virtues and the Seven Deadly Sins in medieval culture include: Richard Newhauser (ed.), *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Tradition 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Richard Newhauser, *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, viii-xi; Woods and Copeland, ‘Classroom and confession’, 394 ff.; Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1952, reprinted 1967); Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval

of *Pastoral Rule* by Saint Gregory the Great (c.590). The Seven Deadly Sins represented a usefully memorable and symbolic tool in promoting a lay understanding of Christian doctrine, featuring regularly in medieval preaching materials both literary and visual (such as wall paintings and stained glass).⁸⁰

In medieval England the concept of the Seven Deadly Sins inspired a great deal of prose and verse literature in Latin and vernacular languages (sometimes translated from Latin).⁸¹ Examples include *Vices and Virtues* (c.1200),⁸² the Dominican friar Guillaume Peyraut (Peraldus)'s *Summa de vitiis* (1230s), *Le Manuel des Péchés* (1250-70),⁸³ the Dominican Friar Laurent's *Somme le Roy* (1270)⁸⁴ and its sister text *Le Miroir du Monde*,⁸⁵ *Cursor Mundi* (c.1300),⁸⁶ Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (1303),⁸⁷ the *Ayenbyte of Inwyt* (1340),⁸⁸ the *Speculum Vitae* (c.1350-75),⁸⁹ *The Book*

English Literature', 357-58; Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental Fasc. 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993); Richard Newhauser (ed.), *In the Garden of Evil: the Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005); Richard G. Newhauser, Susan J. Ridyard (eds.), *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press for York Medieval Press, 2012); Siegfried Wenzel, *Of Sins and Sermons*, Synthema 10 (Leuven: Peeters, 2015); Thomas M. Izbicki, 'Sin and Pastoral Care', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity 1050-1500* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 147-58; and many works listed online at: www.trinity.edu/rnewhaus/outline.html; www.rushman.org/seven/; www.le.ac.uk/arhistory/seedcorn/faq-sds.html [accessed September 2013].

⁸⁰ For literary examples see: Stephen Morrison (ed.), *A Late Fifteenth-Century Dominical Sermon Cycle*, Early English Text Society Original Series 337-38 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 for 2011), vol 1, xlv, li. See also the section on 'Pastoral texts' in Roger Ellis, Samuel Fanous, '1349-1412: texts', in Samuel Fanous, Vincent Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 133-61 [134-36].

⁸¹ Some of the dates given for the list of texts that follows are suggested by Carruthers, 'Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 17, 23. On the *summae* and manuals for confessors, see: Peter Biller, A. J. Minnis (eds.), *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1998, reprinted 2013).

⁸² Ferdinand Holthausen (ed.), *Vices and Virtues*, Early English Text Society Original Series 89 (Text and Translation) and 159 (Notes and Glossary) (London: N. Trübner and Co, 1888 and London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1921 for 1920).

⁸³ This text on the essential articles of faith was written by an anonymous Anglo-Norman author in England, and later translated into Middle English. Klaus Bitterling (ed.), *Of Shrifte and Penance: The ME Prose Translation of Le Manuel des Péchés*, ed. *From St. John's College, Cambridge, Ms. G.30*, Middle English Texts 29 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1998).

⁸⁴ Emmanuelle Roux (ed.), *The Middle English 'Somme le roi': the versions in MSS Royal 18 A x and Add. 37677*, Textes vernaculaires du moyen âge, 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

⁸⁵ Robert R. Raymo, Elaine E. Whitaker (eds.), *The Mirroure of the World: A Middle English Translation of Le Miroir du Monde* (Toronto: Published for the Medieval Academy of America by the University of Toronto Press, 2003).

⁸⁶ Richard Morris (ed.), *Cursor Mundi*, Early English Text Society Original Series 99 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1892).

⁸⁷ For details see: Robert Hasenfratz, 'Terror and Pastoral Care in *Handlyng Synne*', in Cate Gunn, Catherine Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 132-48.

⁸⁸ Richard Morris (ed.), revised by Pamela Gradon, *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt or Remorse of Conscience*, Early English Text Society Original Series 23 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).

⁸⁹ Ralph Hanna (ed.), *Speculum Vitae: A Reading Edition*, 2 vols, Early English Text Society Original Series 331-32 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

of *Vices and Virtues* (c.1375),⁹⁰ *The Desert of Religion*,⁹¹ *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen* (c.1400),⁹² *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman* (c.1400),⁹³ part of Reginal Pecock's *Donet* (1443-55),⁹⁴ and a section of the compendium of religious instruction for a recluse *Disce Mori* (1453-64).⁹⁵ English Carmelite friars are known to have owned such texts; the incomplete 1381 library catalogue of Aylesford Priory includes a *Summa on the Vices and the Virtues*, possibly Peraldus' *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*.⁹⁶ Much of Richard Lavenham's theological vocabulary and his ordering of the vices are typical of these contemporary moral manuals, suggesting that the Carmelite knew them well and intended his own text to be read by those already familiar with such features who would 'take them for granted'.⁹⁷

The vices and virtues genre was one in which the mendicant friars were especially prominent, contributing many texts to a field that had become so large by 1400 that the English adapter of Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* despaired 'Ther beth so many bokes and treetes of vyces and vertues and of dyuerse doctrynes, that this short lyfe schalle rather haue anende of anye manne than he may owthere studye hem or rede hem'.⁹⁸ That Richard Lavenham exerted himself to add to such an over-supplied genre suggests that he knew its popularity but was not satisfied with the wide array of texts available to promote self-examination. The Carmelite's contribution to this crowded field was

⁹⁰ W. Nelson Francis (ed.), *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, Early English Text Society Original Series 217 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1942).

⁹¹ W. Hübner, 'The Desert of Religion', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 126 (1911), 58-74, 360-64.

⁹² Venetia Nelson (ed.), *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen: A Prose Version of the "Speculum vitae," ed. from B.L. Ms. Harley 45*, Middle English Texts 14 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1981).

⁹³ This late Middle English adaptation of Peraldus's *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* and Friar Laurent's *Somme le Roi* is edited by F. N. M. Diekstra, *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman*, Mediaevalia Groningana (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998).

⁹⁴ Reginald Pecock, *The Donet* (ed.) E. V. Hitchcock, Early English Text Society Original Series 156 (London, 1921, reprinted New York: Kraus, 1971). On Pecock's criticism of earlier compendia of systematised knowledge, such as the Seven Deadly Sins, see the notes on his work by Ian R. Johnson in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 97-98.

⁹⁵ Unedited to date except for E. A. Jones (ed.), *The 'Exhortation' from Disce Mori: Edited from Oxford, Jesus College, Ms. 39*, Middle English Texts 36 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2006).

⁹⁶ Keith J. Egan, 'The Aylesford Cartulary', *Carmelus*, 47 (2000), 221-34. The cartulary text is translated into English by Richard Copley in his *Early Carmelite Documents* (forthcoming).

⁹⁷ The link with such texts has been pointed out by Carruthers, 'Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 22.

⁹⁸ Quoted by Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 358. The text was edited by Carl Horstmann, '*Orologium Sapientiae* or *The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom*, Aus Ms. Douce 114', *Anglia*, 10 (1887), 323-89. On the vices and virtues as a characteristically 'fraternal' genre, and Lavenham's success in it, see: Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 357-58. See also: Krijn Pansters, *Franciscan Virtue: Spiritual Growth and the Virtues in Franciscan Literature and Instruction of the Thirteenth Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 161 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

worthwhile, however; John Fleming, in his survey of medieval mendicant literature, singles out Lavenham's 'clarity and verve' in the *Litil Tretys* as worthy of comment.⁹⁹

Though largely standardised, fraternal penitential books cannot be dismissed as simply regurgitative of previous materials. They were intended as general guides that could be applied to individual and very real pastoral cases. Morton Bloomfield has suggested that the various mendicant *summae* dealing with penance 'were really concerned with presenting a philosophy of penance and a psychology of sin'.¹⁰⁰ However, in its originality the *Litil Tretys* stands out from the broad corpus of vices and virtues literature. Though it follows the genre's theological conventions and traditional ordering of the sins, Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* is largely an original composition in its presentation of materials, rather than simply a translation of a pre-existing Latin text.¹⁰¹ Leo Carruthers has shown that whilst the order of the sins in the English poem *Speculum Vitae* closely follows its model the *Somme le Roi*, Lavenham's text 'stands out straight-away as being different from those works that were based directly or indirectly on the *Somme le Roi*, and one must therefore conclude that the Carmelite treatise is independent of the others'.¹⁰² This is important because it shows that Richard Lavenham sought to offer something distinct within an already well-served genre, perhaps responding more directly to actual pastoral needs that he encountered.

The fact that the *Litil Tretys* is somewhat unique within a corpus of rather standardised texts on the vices and virtues makes for an interesting comparison with Richard Lavenham's Latin writings, in which critics have found certain consistencies of style and recurring features which help us to better understand his English text. For example, the colophons of the manuscripts in which Lavenham's Latin writings are preserved indicate that he, or his copyists, regarded his role as that of *compilator*, rather than *auctour*. As Paul Spade observes, 'Lavenham was merely 'compiling' material already at hand ... [he is] known to be a very derivative author in his logical writings'.¹⁰³ In comparison

⁹⁹ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 358.

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 357. Fleming argues that such books are 'written for use in the world, and they often bring with them a wide sociological vision.'

¹⁰¹ D. J. Lloyd suggested in 1943 that Lavenham had closely copied a Latin text, though the idea is not accepted by van Zutphen [*A Litil Tretys*, xxiii-xxiv] or Carruthers [26].

¹⁰² Carruthers, 'Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 25.

¹⁰³ Spade, 'Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic', 243. See also: 'Notes on Richard Lavenham's so-called *Summulae Logicales*', 371; 'Richard Lavenham's *Obligaciones*', 225-26. This analysis of Lavenham is echoed by Dale Tully, and Rondo Keele [119]. However, in recent years scholarly opinions have changed regarding the importance given to the compiler, who often blended sources and additions in sophisticated ways, as revealed by academic projects such as Denis Renevey's *Late Medieval Religiosity in England: The Evidence of Late Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Devotional Compilations*: <http://wp.unil.ch/devotionalcompilations> [accessed July 2016]. On the role of the *compilator* in medieval literature see: the index of Latin terms in A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984); Denis Renevey, 'The Choices of the Compiler: Vernacular Hermeneutics in 'A Talkyng of the Loue of God'', in R. Ellis, R. Tixier, B. Weitemeier (eds.), *The Medieval Translator* 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 232-253.

therefore, Lavenham's only extant English text might be regarded as more innovative – in terms of its independence from sources – than his Latin writings, of which Spade observes: 'It cannot be said that, in any of his logico-linguistic writings, Lavenham showed any marked originality or insight. He seems to have devoted himself to producing compendia, brief treatments of standard topics presenting familiar views already in circulation.'¹⁰⁴ Lavenham's Latin works have been generally described by modern commentators as derivative, but originality was not a common concern among medieval religious writers; truth, not innovation, was their aim, demonstrated by reference to acknowledged authorities. As Gordon Wilson and Paul Spade remark, 'Lavenham's lack of originality is itself of scholarly importance, insofar as it reveals some of the influences of earlier authors on late fourteenth-century English logic.'¹⁰⁵

Richard Lavenham's originality of material in the *Litil Tretys* is not to say that the Carmelite relied solely on his own authority (no matter how confidently he provides definitive answers to imagined questions). As we have already noted, he cites a wide range of respected sources to support his arguments, including the Bible, Church Fathers, a variety of theologians, as well as scholastic and canonistic sources, as one would expect from any such text purporting to be authoritative.¹⁰⁶ In this regard the *Litil Tretys*, in its deference to 'auctours', is similar to the wide and typical range of ancient and contemporary authorities that Richard Lavenham quotes in his Latin texts: Bede, Aristotle, Homer, Grosseteste, William Ockham, Albert of Saxony, William Heytesbury, and occasionally lesser-known logicians of the time.¹⁰⁷

Whether or not Richard Lavenham can be regarded by today's standards as original in his compilation of sources, it cannot be said that his *Litil Tretys* stands out as especially distinct from the conventional orthodox theology typical of his day. As in his *De syncategorematis*, 'the doctrine ... is more or less standard'.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps then, in content the *Litil Tretys* can also be regarded as a *compiler's* text within the vices and virtues genre, rather than a novel contribution to the religious thought of his age, though notable for its clear and concise structure, and fresh in its presentation of material.

The act of compiling manuals and text books should not be dismissed, however, regardless of its apparent lack of originality. Paul Spade and other critics have found that Lavenham's derivative style

¹⁰⁴ Spade, 'Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic', 243.

¹⁰⁵ Gordon Anthony Wilson, Paul Vincent Spade, 'Richard Lavenham's Treatise *Scire*', 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ For examples, see: van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xv; Carruthers, 'Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 22; Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, 145.

¹⁰⁷ For examples, see: the studies written by Spade, *passim* and 'Notes on Richard Lavenham's so-called *Summulae Logicales*...', 375; Keele, 'Richard Lavenham's *De Causis Naturalibus*', 119-120.

¹⁰⁸ Spade, 'Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic', 243.

‘can be of great advantage to those interested in the [medieval] views of his sources’¹⁰⁹ and Lavenham’s contemporaries were surely grateful to him for his ‘effort to make complex doctrine comprehensible’.¹¹⁰ Dale Tuggy praises Lavenham’s *Tractatus de eventu futurorum* for its brevity and clarity, which – whilst not tackling some of the more intellectually-challenging philosophical questions of the day – introduces the reader to the breadth of the subject.¹¹¹ Rondo Keele similarly regards Lavenham’s *De causis naturalibus* as a ‘simple, brief’ compendium, if sometimes ‘fanciful’.¹¹² Brevity and conciseness are accolades frequently given to Richard Lavenham’s writings, whether in Latin or in English, and indicate that the Carmelite wished to give his audience(s) a solid grounding in basic theology and philosophy, without straying into more complex and contentious material.

Paul Spade concludes that as far as the Carmelite’s Latin writings are concerned ‘perhaps Lavenham himself intended these works as school texts; they certainly give that impression ... one of his works was still being used as a textbook roughly a century and a quarter after it was written’.¹¹³

This understanding of Richard Lavenham’s Latin writings reinforces the possibility that his English work probably functioned as a text book, designed primarily to instruct priests and those preparing for the priestly ministry – such as the students in the Carmelite priories of Oxford and London – on how they should, in turn, instruct a penitent. Richard Newhauser has pointed out the possible use of the *Litil Tretys* for a parent schooling its child, but ‘it seems clear from its careful documentation of source material that it was designed primarily to be employed by parish clergy or the friars, and more specifically for those clergymen or friars whose grasp of Latin and complex theological issues was limited.’¹¹⁴

It is known that vernacular and Latin texts in the penitential genre also functioned as school texts, and since the classroom – either in a university or mendicant *studium* – seems to have been the environment in which the majority of Richard Lavenham’s texts were written and received, it is

¹⁰⁹ Keele, ‘Richard Lavenham’s *De Causis Naturalibus*’, 119.

¹¹⁰ Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, 145.

¹¹¹ Tuggy, ‘A Short Text of Lavenham’.

¹¹² Keele, ‘Richard Lavenham’s *De Causis Naturalibus*’, 113.

¹¹³ Spade, ‘Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic’, 244. In private correspondence Fr. Copey has expressed the same interpretation to me. Further evidence of Lavenham’s Latin texts having been used as school texts is provided in a fourteenth-century collection of his treatises in London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899 (Lavenham’s works appear on fo. 2v-90v). The texts are written in the hand of a single scribe who states on f.12v that the texts are written “per manum Chestreforde” [see Spade, ‘The Treatises...’, 50, and ‘Notes on Richard Lavenham’s so-called *Summulae Logicales*...’, 374]. A William Chestreforde is known to have been presented for ordination in Much Hadham parish church on 12th June 1400, from the Carmelite house in London [*Register of Bishop Braybrooke*, London, fo. 55]. Since London was the *studium generale* of the Order in England, it seems likely that the manuscript was a text produced for or by a Carmelite student.

¹¹⁴ Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental Fasc. 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 145.

probably appropriate not to distinguish too clearly between the initial reception of Lavenham's English and Latin writings.¹¹⁵

Richard Lavenham's Latin textbooks are known to have basked in a long popularity. The long-running influence of Lavenham's *De syncategorematis* as a school text is interpreted by Paul Spade as both evidence of the 'sorry state' of logical and linguistic studies in fifteenth-century Cambridge, and as evidence of Lavenham's enduring legacy as an 'authority' in philosophical matters.¹¹⁶ Likewise, Keele sees the nine extant manuscripts of Lavenham's *De causis naturalibus* – 'a relatively large number for such a short, unoriginal work' – as evidence of Lavenham's popularity as the compiler of 'compressed, nonexperimentally based answers to basic questions'.¹¹⁷ The popularity of these Latin 'text books' would seem to find echoes in his *Litil Tretys*, copies of which were being produced for many years after his death (albeit that Lavenham's authorship is only once attributed within the surviving examples).

Whether attributed or not, Richard Lavenham's only English text is known to have influenced other vernacular compositions. Several passages of the *Litil Tretys* were adapted by the writer of *Jacob's Well*, a long allegorical sermon series in English, probably composed in East Anglia in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁸ The compilers of another English sermon cycle from the late fifteenth century were likewise heavily indebted to Lavenham's vernacular work.¹¹⁹ It is unclear whether or not the *Jacob's Well* sermons were actually preached,¹²⁰ but nevertheless these texts are suggestive of (albeit indirect) Carmelite influence in the production of sermon literature and vernacular theology.

At this point it is worth mentioning a hypothesis put forward by Charles Kingsford in the late nineteenth century, and overlooked by all subsequent commentators, that Richard Lavenham could

¹¹⁵ See: Woods and Copeland, 'Classroom and confession'.

¹¹⁶ Spade, 'Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic', 245. However, as noted above, Spade's assessment predates recent scholarship that has demonstrated the sophisticated role and value of the medieval compiler.

¹¹⁷ Keele, 'Richard Lavenham's *De Causis Naturalibus*', 120.

¹¹⁸ Arthur Brandeis (ed.), *Jacob's Well* (Part 1), Early English Text Society Original Series 115 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner, 1900). As Carruthers [25] and van Zutphen [*A Litil Tretys*, xxiii] point out, the resemblance between passages of *Jacob's Well* and the *Litil Tretys* was first noted by D. J. Lloyd in 1943. The possibility that *Jacob's Well* was a Carmelite text requires further exploration. The most substantial studies of *Jacob's Well* have been by Leo M. Carruthers: *Jacob's Well: études d'un sermonnaire pénitentiel anglais du XV^e siècle* (Thèse d'Etat, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1987); 'Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18 (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), 17-32. See also: Woods and Copeland, 'Classroom and confession', 399; H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), *passim*; Moira Fitzgibbons, 'Poverty, Dignity, and Lay Spirituality in *Pore Caitif* and *Jacob's Well*', *Medium Ævum*, 77:2 (2008), 222-40. The contents of *Jacob's Well* in Salisbury Cathedral Library Ms. 103 are comprehensively described in Veronica O'Mara, Suzanne Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), vol 4, 2277-2453.

¹¹⁹ Stephen Morrison (ed.), *A Late Fifteenth-Century Dominical Sermon Cycle*, Early English Text Society Original Series 337-38 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 for 2011), vol 1, lv.

¹²⁰ H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 31.

have been the author of another text in the vernacular.¹²¹ As Kingsford points out, a late hand in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 525, attributes Lavenham's name to *De gestis et translationibus sanctorum trium regum de Colonia*. As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, a legendary history of the Three Kings of Cologne, in Latin, was perhaps written by another Carmelite, the German John of Hildesheim (d. 1375). In one of his notebooks, John Bale ascribed to Richard Lavenham *Excerptiones ab 'Historia Trium Regum'*.¹²² The exact nature and language of these 'excerpts' is unclear. Bale is not always a precise source, and one who privileges Latin texts over vernacular ones (generally specifying when a text was written in English). However, since there were at least three medieval translations of Hildesheim's Latin text into English, Kingsford suggests 'Lavenham may have been the author of one of these'.¹²³ Recent editions of the Latin text have questioned the certainty of Hildesheim's original authorship, and do not even refer to the possible connection with Richard Lavenham. Nevertheless, the possibility of Lavenham's translation of a spiritual work by a contemporary Carmelite is one that we cannot entirely exclude, given his proven interest in producing vernacular literature, and the position he was in, as both a student in an East Anglian port town and as prior of the London *studium*, to have access to Carmelite texts from across the English Channel.¹²⁴

Whether or not Richard Lavenham's contribution to the vernacular English literature of the Middle Ages is witnessed to solely by the *Litil Tretys*, it is possible that the Carmelite himself was influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by vernacular literature in English. Whilst it is known that his allegorical depiction of the Seven Deadly Sins as bestial derived from Latin texts – the well-known manual *Compendium Theologiae* by the Dominican Hugo Ripelin, and the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*

¹²¹ Charles Letherbridge Kingsford's entry on Lavenham in *DNB*.

¹²² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2v. The text is listed in the appendix as number 51 of Lavenham's Latin writings.

¹²³ Editions are by: C. Horstmann (ed.), *The Three Kings of Cologne*, Early English Text Society Original Series 85 (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1886); Frank Schaer (ed.), *The Three Kings of Cologne: Edited from London, Lambeth Palace Ms. 491*, Middle English Texts 31 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 2000). For a consideration of Hildesheim's authorship, see 17. The *Three Kings of Cologne* is the first text listed in Oliver Pickering, 'Saints' Lives', in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 249-70. On the reception of the Middle English versions, see: Julia Boffey, 'Some London women readers and a text of *The Three Kings of Cologne*', *The Richardian: Journal of the Richard III Society*, 10:132 (1996), 387-96; Julia Boffey, "'Many grete myraclys ... in divers contrys of the eest': the reading and circulation of the Middle English prose *Three Kings of Cologne*", in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al (eds.), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain – Essays for Felicity Riddy*, *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts* 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 35-47.

¹²⁴ The prologue to the Middle English version in the Cambridge manuscript edited by Horstmann [2] highlights episodes from the Three Kings narrative that might well have interested Lavenham and served his purpose in promoting 'orthodox' vernacular theology, such as their calling to right belief from among 'myscreauntes', and the power of their 'reliquys and myraclys'.

of Bartholomaeus Anglicus (c.1230-50)¹²⁵ – this imagery finds parallels in both English and Latin texts that Lavenham may have been aware of. For example, the Seven Deadly Sins are personified in William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, a text written in various versions probably between the 1360s and 80s.¹²⁶ In his Latin *Vox Clamantis*, the English poet John Gower depicts the insurgents of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt as maddened beasts, and in his English poem, *Confessio Amantis*, teachings on the Seven Deadly Sins are expounded at length. Sometime in the decade and a half before his death in 1400, Geoffrey Chaucer wrote *The Canterbury Tales*, which incorporates, in the Parson's Tale, a treatise on the Deadly Sins.¹²⁷ Whilst no direct link can be established between Richard Lavenham and such analogues, all these works produced in England within a few decades of each other reveal something of the cultural and religious climate in which late-fourteenth and early fifteenth-century Carmelites were living, listening, and writing.

As we draw our consideration of the vices and virtues to a close, it is worth mentioning that Richard Lavenham may not have been the only English Carmelite to have contributed to this genre in the vernacular. John Upton (d. 1442), a Carmelite friar from Stamford, again a royal confessor and Doctor of Theology at Oxford, has been posited as the most likely scribe of a beautifully-produced copy of the French penitential text *La Somme le Roi* written in the 1390s for the first Duke of Gloucester, Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of King Edward III.¹²⁸ Upton's possible activity is further proof of not only the presence of Carmelites working as scribes in noble households in late medieval England, but also of the Carmelite desire to make vernacular theological texts available to the laity (in this instance the social elite).

¹²⁵ Carruthers, 'Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 21-22, 29; Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, 145.

¹²⁶ On the dating of the different texts of *Piers Plowman*, see: Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 'Piers Plowman', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 513-38 [515].

¹²⁷ On Chaucer's sources for the Parson's Tale, see: Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer* (ed.) Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Third Edition 1987), 21-22.

¹²⁸ A case for John Upton's having copied this text is made by Jenny Stratford, '« La Somme Le Roi » (Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 570), the manuscripts of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and the scribe, John Upton', in Marie-Clotilde Hubert, Emmanuel Poulle, Marc H. Smith (eds.), *Le statut du scripteur au Moyen Âge: actes du XII^e colloque scientifique du Comité international de paléographie latine (Cluny, 17-20 juillet 1998)*, Matériaux pour l'histoire publiés par l'École des chartes 2 (Paris: École des chartes, 2000), 267-82. I am grateful to Dr. Stratford for her correspondence with me on this subject. Both John Bale and John Leland record that Upton was a prolific writer, but record no titles. On Thomas Netter's preaching before Upton's inception as a doctor of theology, c.1412-13, see: Johan Bergström-Allen and Richard Copley (eds.), *Thomas Netter of Walden: Carmelite, Diplomat and Theologian (c.1372-1430)*, Carmel in Britain 4 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, 2009), 43, 70-71, 87, 377. On Netter's recommendation of Upton as confessor to Thomas, Duke of Clarence, in 1419, see: Kevin Alban, 'The Letters of Thomas Netter of Walden', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 343-80 [353].

5. The witness of Ms. Harley 211 to Carmelite interest in vernacular theology

The final part of this chapter examines one of the seventeen manuscripts in which Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* is preserved – London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211 (the *Litil Tretys* is at fo. 35-46v) – for what the parchment codex reveals of Carmelite interest in vernacular theology.¹²⁹ This was the base text of Dr. van Zutphen's 1956 critical edition of the *Litil Tretys* using the fourteen manuscripts he then knew to exist. Given the *Litil Tretys*' popularity, and the fact that three additional copies of it have been identified since 1956, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that further examples will be located in the future. The large number of extant manuscripts is testimony to the popularity of the text, and the variety of codices in which it is contained suggests that the *Litil Tretys* was copied and read in a variety of different ways, enjoying 'considerable currency and varied ownership in and beyond East Anglia'.¹³⁰ Prolonged palaeographic, codicological, or dialectal study of each manuscript as a cultural object in its own right would be worthwhile, but beyond the confines of this thesis. Rather, I wish to focus upon what can be learnt from Ms. Harley 211 about the medieval Carmelite textual community and its interest in vernacular literature as a means of expanding theological knowledge within set boundaries.

Harley 211 is a commonplace book, compiled of texts of differing dates, containing 202 leaves of parchment, and measuring 195 x 130mm.¹³¹ It is a composite theological miscellany containing a wide range of religious materials, some of them compiled by the Carmelite Thomas Scrope (subject of Chapter Seven), and includes in Latin various prayers and blessings, the *Office of Our Lady*, medical recipes, and in English instructions on comforting the sick and dying, a treatise on the Ten Commandments, and Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*.

The significance of this codex rests on two facts: firstly, it is the only one of the seventeen manuscripts containing the *Litil Tretys* demonstrably of Carmelite ownership, and therefore informative about the Carmelite book-owning community; secondly, it is the only manuscript to attribute the *Litil Tretys* to Richard Lavenham, the colophon reading:

¹²⁹ Described in van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxxiii-xxxvi. The manuscript is briefly mentioned in my Masters Thesis, 9; Carruthers, 'Richard Lavyngham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', 19-20. For a full listing of *Litil Tretys* manuscripts, see Appendix 1.

¹³⁰ A. I. Doyle, 'Publication by Members of the Religious Orders', in Jeremy Griffiths, Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 109-23 [114].

¹³¹ For full details see the British Library's catalogue online: www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts [accessed June 2016].

Explicit Tractatus De Septem Peccatis Mortalibus. Quem Composuit Reuerendus
Magister Frater Ricardus Lauynham. Ordinis Beatissime Dei Genitricis Marie De Monte
Carmeli [fo. 46v]

The occasional errors in the text of the *Litil Tretys* in Harley 211 imply that it is not Richard Lavenham's autograph,¹³² but according to van Zutphen there is no reason to doubt the attribution to him: 'Harley 211 was a volume composed and used by Carmelites. Moreover, the treatment and contents of the tract would well fit in with the authorship by a learned member of one of the mendicant orders.'¹³³ Whilst the scribes of the other extant manuscripts either did not know that Lavenham was the author of the *Litil Tretys*, or (less likely) did not deem it important enough to note, it is perhaps not surprising that 'a volume composed and used by Carmelites in East Anglia shortly after Lavenham's lifetime'¹³⁴ should have attributed his name to their copy of the document. For these and other reasons, van Zutphen used Harley 211 as the base text for his edition of the *Litil Tretys*.¹³⁵

This leaves us with the question of who wrote this particular copy of the text. Several hands contributed to Harley 211, and although the scribe of the *Litil Tretys* did not sign his name, he has perhaps left another clue to his identity. As van Zutphen remarked, at the end of the *Litil Tretys* in Harley 211 (fo. 46v), below the colophon attributing Lavenham's authorship, the figure '161' appears. The same figure '161' is also written by the same hand in the centre of the first capital of *Glotonye* (fo. 43v). Dismissing the theory that this figure could refer to a folio-number placing the tract in this or another volume (in a manner similar to the Carmelite *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*), van Zutphen (who includes the figure in his edition) considered whether '161' could be a cipher for the scribe's name or initials, but concluded that 'a simple decoding formula of counting the letters of the alphabet does not produce anything convincing (AFA)'.¹³⁶

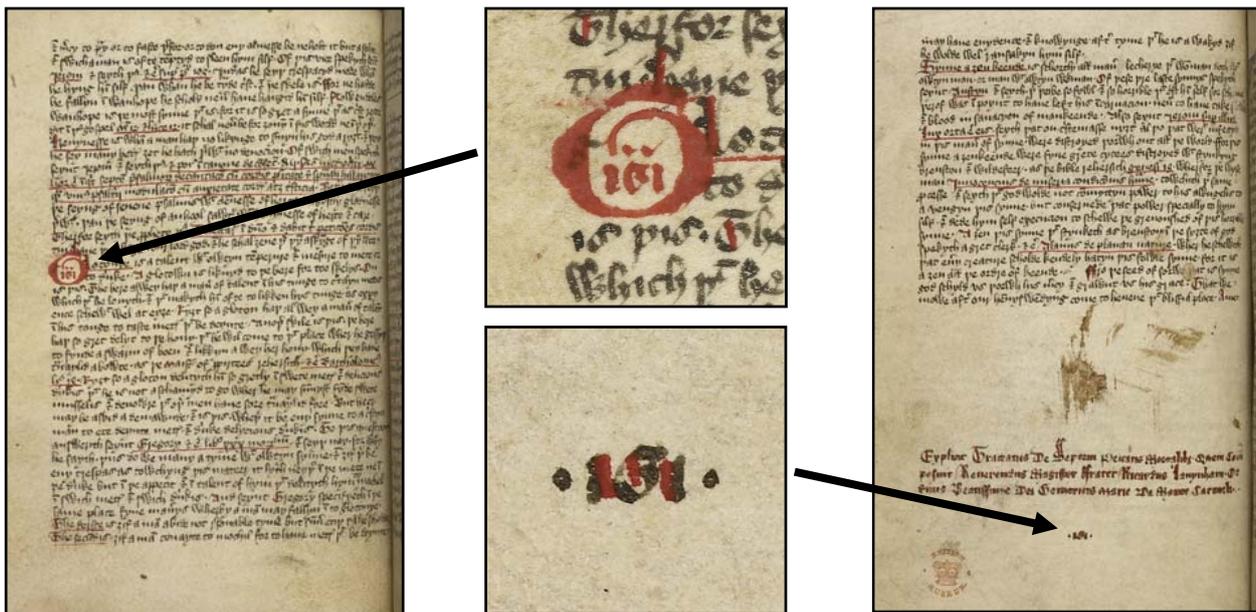
¹³² van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, I, c.

¹³³ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxviii.

¹³⁴ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxviii.

¹³⁵ van Zutphen explains his choice on I.

¹³⁶ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxxiv-v.



London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211, fo. 43v (left), 46v (right), with details of the scribal sign ‘161’.

However, van Zutphen did not enjoy the benefit of access to Richard Copley’s *Biographical Register of Carmelites in England and Wales 1240-1540*. A search in Copley’s *Register* for a friar with the initials ‘AFA’ who post-dates Richard Lavenham yields an exciting possibility. Aegidius Fleeber de Arluno was a Carmelite friar of the Lower German Province who studied in London from 1466-67.¹³⁷ If he was the owner or copyist of Harley 211 (the practice of student-friars copying texts whilst abroad was mentioned in Chapter 2), it would suggest that the codex (or at least the Lavenham portion of it) can be located at one time at the Carmelite *studium* in 1460s London (unless de Arluno moved elsewhere within the Province, which seems unlikely for a scholar visiting temporarily). We can reasonably posit a copy of the *Litil Tretys* being retained in the library of the London Whitefriars, a house where the author was at one time prior. If de Arluno was indeed the scribe ‘AFA’, it would not be too great a stretch of the imagination to suppose that a vernacular text such as the *Litil Tretys* could have been copied in order to help a foreign student learn pastoral English for general use or, if ordained, for preaching and hearing confessions. If this is true, it gives a very pragmatic reason for Carmelites copying texts in the vernacular, and might also account for some of the orthographic errors.¹³⁸ Another possibility, equally pragmatic, is that de Arluno was commissioned to copy the text

¹³⁷ He is recorded by Franz-Bernard Lickteig, *The German Carmelites at the Medieval Universities* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1981), 517. Lickteig’s list of 2495 German Carmelite friars studying in London, other *studia* of the Order, and European universities between 1281 and 1555 is derived from the acts of the provincial chapters of two of the three German provinces preserved in Frankfurt City Archives and the Saxon State Library in Dresden.

¹³⁸ In conversation Professor Ralph Hanna tells me that the scribal hand of the *Litil Tretys* is not especially Germanic in appearance, which might preclude de Arluno as a candidate, unless he copied the text so as to develop his insular script. If he was not the copyist, he could still have been the owner of the manuscript, or at least the Lavenham portion. Valerie

for another Carmelite (such as the Carmelite bishop Thomas Scrope who is known to have owned it at one time), or that he commissioned a copy for himself and marked it as his own with his initials.

To test the possibility that Aegidius Fleeber de Arluno was the copier or owner of Harley 211 (or at least the *Litil Tretys* portion), either for his own use or that of a confrere, we must date the hand of the scribe to within a few years of 1466-67 when he is known to have been studying in London. Dating the manuscript as a whole is problematic since Harley 211 is a compilation of different texts from various periods, and it is not clear exactly when portions were grouped, but according to van Zutphen the Lavenham portion is written ‘in a somewhat current hand of the middle of the fifteenth century.’¹³⁹ This estimation tallies neatly with de Arluno’s time in London in the 1460s.

The format and content of the manuscript, as van Zutphen points out, is very much suited to private study and prayer, and has an overall preoccupation with pastoral and catechetical topics. In addition to the *Litil Tretys* the same hand includes offices in Latin (fo. 1-34v), English treatises on the Ten Commandments (fo. 47-65) guidance to comfort the sick and dying (fo. 65-69), another vernacular treatise on the seven capital sins (fo. 69v-84v), and finally Latin prayers, litanies, and antiphons.¹⁴⁰ Intervening blank folios ‘are filled with additions by other hands of the mid or late fifteenth century’.¹⁴¹

The Carmelite-interest of the manuscript – such as a Latin poem to Elijah as founder of the Order (fo. 85) – is indisputable, at least as it is bound today.¹⁴² Various Carmelite names are inscribed in the manuscript, including ‘Magister Kynnyngham’ (fo. 190v). If we accept that no part of the manuscript antedates the Lavenham portion which was written by de Arluno or a peer in the mid-fifteenth century, then the codex must post-date the death in 1399 of the Prior Provincial, John Kynnyngham, and therefore Kynnyngham’s name cannot be an ascription of ownership. His name does not appear as van Zutphen suggests ‘for no clear reason’, but more probably as an authorial attribution to the litany below his name, beginning ‘Exsurge Dominus Deus et libera servum tuum ab omnibus malis preteritis

Edden has suggested that the similarity between the scribal hands of distinct English Whitefriars hints at ‘a Carmelite house-style’: Valerie Edden, ‘Marian Devotion in a Carmelite Sermon Collection of the late Middle Ages’, *Medieval Studies*, 57 (1995), 101-29 [101]. Given the Carmelites’ corporate efforts at manuscript copying and dissemination, a house-style would certainly have its uses, and aspiring to it might explain why de Arluno’s script is not notably Germanic. Edden’s suggestion merits further study. The possible link between de Arluno and Thomas Scrope is explored further in Chapter 7.

¹³⁹ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxxiv. Professor Hanna has kindly corroborated this dating.

¹⁴⁰ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxxiv.

¹⁴¹ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxxiv.

¹⁴² van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxxv. Elsewhere in the codex the ‘holy fathers Elijah and Elisha’ are invoked in John Kynnyngham’s litany (discussed shortly), as well as in Lavenham’s *Litil Tretys* [9/23-10/2].

presentibus et futuris' (fo. 190v-191).¹⁴³ The opening words of this litany reinforce our understanding of contemporary Carmelite concerns:

Rise up, Lord God, and free your servant from all evils, past, present and to come. May your power defend me lest I fall in the face of my enemies. May your wisdom instruct me so that I may not go astray in my studies. May your abundant grace save me lest I perish through my mistakes. Guard me, Lord, carefully in all my movements, going and coming, in every place and at every moment; for I confess that I am able to do nothing without you. Therefore I commend myself, above all, to you, who live and reign, God for ever and ever.

It is telling that in his personal litany John Kynyngham prayed for defence against his enemies, beseeching God to arise and grant him wisdom 'so that I may not go astray in my studies', which suggests consciousness of the ever-present danger of being misled into heresy.¹⁴⁴ Copsey observes, though van Zutphen does not, that on an adjoining folio (fo. 190) a hand has written 'Doce mea tua sapiencia ... in studiis meis'.¹⁴⁵ It is possible that this invocation for wisdom is made to John Kynyngham himself, who until the twentieth century was recognised as 'Venerable' in some Carmelite calendars.¹⁴⁶ This prayer for the gift of wisdom in studies offers further evidence to suggest that a one-time scribe and/or owner of Harley 211 was actively engaged in studies, and held the scholar John Kynyngham, famous for his opposition to heretics, in esteem as saintly model and intercessor.

If writing a name above a text in Harley 211 was indeed to attribute its authorship, then the same scribe attributed Carmelite authorship to a second vernacular text in the manuscript, 'on the seven capital sins'. In the rubric above this text, which van Zutphen calls a 'more popular treatise on the seven chief sins (fo. 69v-84v) and remedies for them (fo. 86-101)', appear the letters '*R. Alb.*'. Van

¹⁴³ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretyz*, xxxv. Copsey attributes this text to Kynyngham in his *Biographical Register*, and includes the translation of this 'Personal Litany by John Kynyngham', here printed, in his forthcoming *Early Carmelite Documents*. If Kynyngham can be ruled out as a one-time owner of this manuscript, then apart from the fact that he and Lavenham came from Ipswich I see no particular reason to link Harley 211 with the Carmelite house there as van Zutphen does [xxxv].

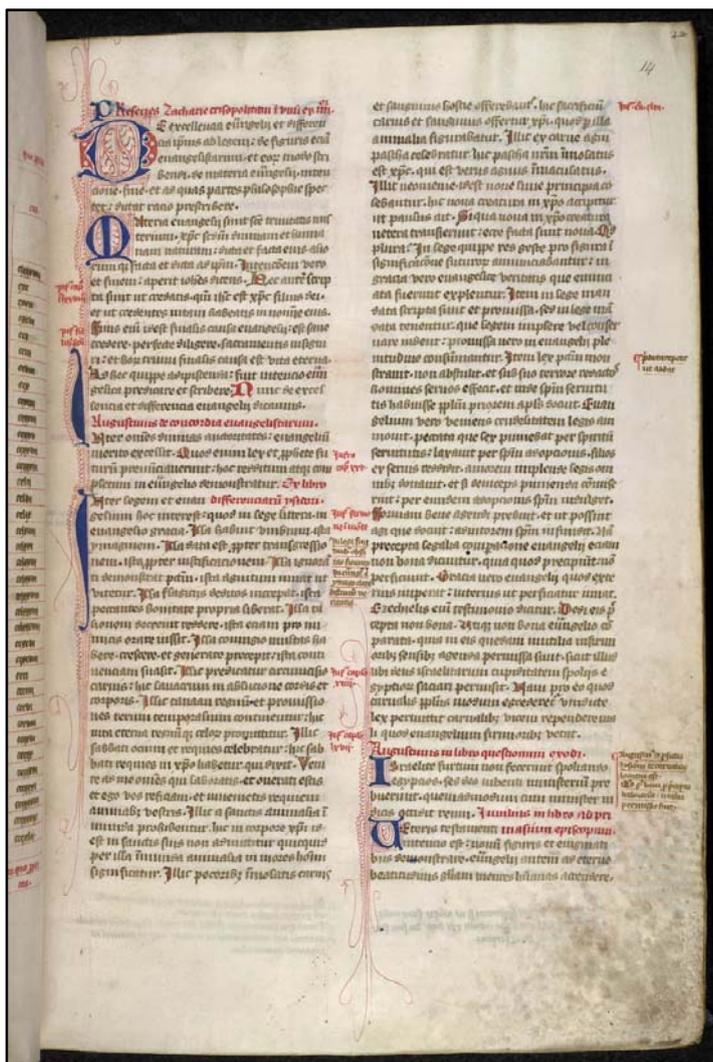
¹⁴⁴ The litany begins with a call upon the Lord to arise, a term repeatedly used in the Latin and vernacular writings of the conciliar period alluding to Church reform: see Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 37.

¹⁴⁵ Entry on Kynyngham in Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

¹⁴⁶ His feast day was 6th May: *Catalogo dei Santi, Beati e Venerabili del Sagro Ordine dei Carmelitani Calzati* (Viterbo: Presso Sperandio Pompei, 1870), 20. According to John Bale, 'This venerable father was greatly respected for his learning, exemplary conduct, gentleness, as well as for his friendly nature and humility' [*Anglorum Heliades*, London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 32v, translation by Brocard Sewell].

Zutphen suggests this could be an ascription of authorship to, or the scribal signature of, another known Carmelite writer, Roger Alban (d. 1453+).¹⁴⁷

According to John Bale, Roger Alban was of the Carmelite house in London, from where he took holy orders between 1401 and 1406.¹⁴⁸ Roger Alban’s name occurs in two British Library manuscripts other than Harley 211, namely Harley 3138 (dated 1424) and Stowe 8 (c.1420-30). Alban died sometime after 1453, as can be ascertained from his writing of the *Progenies regum Brytanniae*, a chronology of the kings of England down to Henry VI.¹⁴⁹



Roger Alban was the scribe of this copy (c.1420-30) of the Gospel harmony *In unum ex quator* by Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (Zachary of Besançon, d. c.1155). London, British Library, Ms. Stowe 8, fo. 14.

¹⁴⁷ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxxiv-xxxv. As a future project it is my hope to edit this text and consider its possible Carmelite authorship/interest.

¹⁴⁸ See: Richard Copsey, ‘Alban, Roger (d. after 1461)’, *ODNB*; Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*. For a recent appraisal of Roger Alban and his interests, see: Stephen Kelly, Ryan Perry, ‘“Citizens of Saints”: Creating Christian Community in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 23’, in Nicole R. Rice (ed.), *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 215-37 [227].

¹⁴⁹ This text, preserved in twelve manuscripts, is described in *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, by James P. R. Lyell, compiled by Albinia de la Mare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 82-85.

We must entertain the possibility that the letters ‘*R.Alb.*’ appearing at this point in Harley 211 was simply Roger Alban signing himself as the copyist or owner of the Seven Capital Sins text, rather than an attribution of authorship. It has been claimed that Alban was also the copier of Ms. Stowe 38 and the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*,¹⁵⁰ and as van Zutphen observes, the script of the *Fasciculi* ‘is very similar to the main hand of Harley ... so both volumes may have been made at about the same time and at the same place, possibly Ipswich rather than Norwich where Harley was later’.¹⁵¹ In his explanation of Harley 211 as his base text, van Zutphen states that it ‘shows many dialect features of Lavenham’s native country.’¹⁵² However, Alban is known to have been at the London house, rather than in East Anglia, and therefore we must consider further the place or places in which Harley 211 was written and read.

The *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* is generally thought to have been produced in East Anglia, and van Zutphen points out that there are strong indications that Harley 211 ‘belonged to the Carmelites in East Anglia at Ipswich and Norwich’.¹⁵³ His first reason for stating this is the appearance of Kynnyngham’s name, John Kynnyngham having entered Carmel at its Ipswich convent. However, as already pointed out, if the scribal hand of the Lavenham portion of Harley 211 can be dated to the mid-fifteenth century, it cannot have been owned by Kynnyngham who died in 1399. Even if it was, Kynnyngham spent much of the final years of his life at court in London in the service of John of Gaunt,¹⁵⁴ and therefore if he owned any portion of the present-day codex it is untenable to regard it as an ‘East-Anglian product’ simply on the grounds that his *conventus nativus* was in Suffolk. The link with Ipswich is therefore not impossible but not particularly tenable. Van Zutphen’s second reason for locating Harley 211 within East Anglia is the presence of three East Anglian saints in one

¹⁵⁰ As mentioned above, this is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo 86. The claim is made by A. I. Doyle in private correspondence noted by Valerie Edden, ‘Marian Devotion in a Carmelite Sermon Collection of the late Middle Ages’, *Medieval Studies*, 57 (1995), 101-29 [101 n. 3]. The same conclusion is held by Malcolm B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes – The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 28-29.

¹⁵¹ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxxv. I repeated this suggestion, unchallenged, in my Masters Thesis, 13 n. 54, but it now seems to me that London is the more likely location.

¹⁵² van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, l. The dialectal link with East Anglia that van Zutphen asserts might be accounted for if the London scribe was copying Lavenham’s autograph or an East Anglian copy (perhaps particularly if English was not his native language).

¹⁵³ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys*, xxxiv.

¹⁵⁴ Kynnyngham was confessor and secretary to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and his name occurs in the Duchy of Lancaster accounts in 1392-3. [Bodley 73, fo. 119; P.R.O. (Duchy of Lancaster Various Accounts) DL 28/3/2: in Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (London: Longman, 1992), 247]. At various times in 1392, and probably at other occasions in the early 1390s, Kynnyngham was resident in the ducal household. [East Sussex Record Office, Waleys cartulary A1, A2, A6, A9, B4, B9: in Goodman op. cit., 266 n.32]. He was still acting as confessor to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in 1397-98. [P.R.O. (Duchy of Lancaster Various Accounts) DL 28/3/5: in Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 247]. His name occurs as one of the witnesses to the will of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, on 3rd February 1398: ‘reverendis et discretis viris fratre Johanne Kynnyngham in theologia professore’ [Sydney Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt* (Westminster: Cape, 1904), 432].

of the document's litanies (fo. 114-116).¹⁵⁵ However, this evidence of East Anglian origins is no more conclusive than the link suggested between the manuscript and the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* on the grounds of Alban's involvement.

It is certainly clear that Harley 211 or part of it was eventually in East Anglia at some later point in its history, or at least in the possession of a friar from that region. The proclamation of an indulgence in the Diocese of Ely [fo. 101v] is evidence of this, as are the various names of Carmelites known to have been in the region inscribed in portions of the text. However, these appear to be later additions filling blank folios,¹⁵⁶ and testify to the fact that books were circulated between the brethren of the Order. There is no automatic reason to assume that, because the manuscript seemingly reached East Anglia eventually, it was produced in that region to begin with.

To illustrate this point, we can observe that on fo. 166v it is recorded that 'doctoor Waterpytte dedit Ricardo Cake(?) istum librum'.¹⁵⁷ According to John Bale, a Richard Cape was Carmelite Prior of Cambridge in 1508,¹⁵⁸ the year that Thomas Waterpytte died, having been prior of the Norwich convent in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁹ The name of Thomas (Scrope-)Bradley (d. 1492), a noted Latin and vernacular author in his own right (as we shall see in Chapter 7) and also a friar of the Norwich convent, occurs twice in the manuscript [fo. 174, 191v]. He is referred to as being an anchorite at the Norwich convent, which he was sometime between 1425 and 1449. The manuscript also contains episcopal resources which would suggest Scrope's continued ownership after his ordination as bishop in 1450. The first of these references is an 'Orate pro anima' invocation, suggesting that Scrope envisaged the book (to which he probably had added texts) circulating to others after his death.¹⁶⁰ If Aegidius Fleeber de Arluno did add to the manuscript, then it must have passed to him c.1466, perhaps when Thomas Scrope went abroad as papal legate.

In my estimation, the most likely owner or compiler of the earlier portions of Harley 211 was the German student, working on a manuscript first compiled by Roger Alban and Thomas Scrope. Like Richard Lavenham, Alban and de Arluno are known to have resided in London, the *studium generale* of the Order in England, and Harley 211 was clearly at one time a student's book, with later evidence of transmission across parts of East Anglia. In summary, the Carmelite ownership of Harley 211 seems to have been:

¹⁵⁵ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretys*, xxxv.

¹⁵⁶ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretys*, xxxv.

¹⁵⁷ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretys*, xxxv. The question-mark is van Zutphen's indication of his uncertainty in transcribing the name.

¹⁵⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 79.

¹⁵⁹ Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, xlvi, 1998; Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, 621.

¹⁶⁰ van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretys*, xxxv-vi. Scrope's additions to the manuscript are considered in Chapter 7.

- Roger Alban, resident in London (d. 1453+)
- Thomas Scrope, resident in Norwich and later a frequent traveller (d. 1492)
- Aegidius Fleeber de Arluno, resident in London 1466-67
- Thomas Waterpytte, prior of Norwich (d. 1508)
- Richard Cape, prior of Cambridge (d. 1508+)
- John Bale, student in Norwich and Cambridge, and last prior of Ipswich in 1533

This later history of the manuscript shows that Whitefriars circulated Carmelite-produced literature among themselves, and therefore that Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* and the other texts that accompanied it in Harley 211 were known and presumably valued in Carmelite circles for more than a century after his death. This one manuscript with its variety of materials and owners bears testimony to the Carmelite Order's interest in, and use of, both Latin and vernacular theological texts over successive generations in late medieval England.¹⁶¹

Conclusion

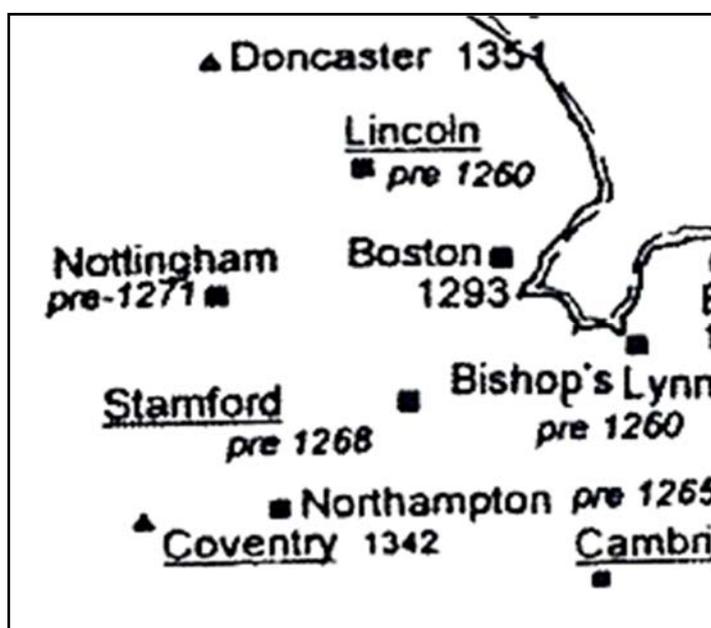
In many respects Richard Lavenham's promotion and policing of vernacular theology can be understood as a collaboration with his direct contemporary and namesake Richard Maidstone, and their wider Carmelite Order, in making available religious texts that encouraged self-examination and offered basic catechesis, but which also stipulated the limits of intellectual enquiry. Like Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*, the *Litil Tretys* was composed by a friar best remembered today for his prolific scholastic (perforce Latin) writings. Whereas Maidstone used rhyme to make his *Penitential Psalms* eloquent and more easily committed to memory, Lavenham used clearly structured and subdivided prose. As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, it is probable that Maidstone dedicated (at least one version of) his poem *Concordia* to Lavenham, and in his calling in *The Penitential Psalms* for a cleansing of the 'synnes seuen' [stanza 59, line 467] the *Litil Tretys* can be seen as a partner in the Carmelite effort to promote orthodox belief and praxis. Richard Lavenham, like Richard Maidstone, was studying and teaching at Oxford in the 1380s and 90s, commenting on contemporary figures he both supported (Birgitta of Sweden) and opposed (John Wyclif), and witnessing tremendous social and religious upheaval. It seems likely that he wrote the *Litil Tretys*

¹⁶¹ Another Lavenham manuscript worthy of further study is discussed by Stephen Kelly, Ryan Perry, "'Citizens of Saints': Creating Christian Community in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 23", in Nicole R. Rice (ed.), *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 215-37. According to Kelly and Perry, this codex, with its interesting collection of materials both 'orthodox' and 'heterodox', 'rebutts the ease with which fifteenth-century devotional writing and its readers may be seen as attached to one or another 'camp' of theological thought' [216], and in its leaves 'a London Carmelite and a radical preacher 'meet', though we are no longer privy to their conversations or the discussions their encounter provoked' [233].

during these decades, when he was in Oxford, Bristol, and London, though a later date is possible (possibly up to 1413). He would have been well aware of the consequences of writing and reading theological texts in the vernacular after the Arundel *Constitutions* of 1407/09, and was actively involved in combating Wycliffite beliefs through his preaching and by recording the heresies of John Purvey. Richard Lavenham contributed an original work to the already well-served genre of vices and virtues – a field that fellow Carmelites John Upton and Roger Alban may also once have contributed to as scribes – but he expressed some doubt in his Latin writings about the intellectual abilities of the laity, and in his Latin writings he rarely strayed into contentious matters, instead providing students and pastors with definitive answers to simple questions. Of the seventeen surviving manuscripts of the *Litil Tretys*, Harley 211 most clearly suggests that Carmelites in late medieval England were committed to their pastoral duties and drew on a range of Latin and vernacular texts to help them, making sure that the laity were well versed in the essentials of the Christian faith, but no more.

Chapter Five: EAST MIDLANDS CARMELITES – THE CASES OF THOMAS ASHBURNE, RICHARD SPALDING, AND OTHERS(?)

Whilst the vernacular writings of Richards Maidstone and Lavenham were to some extent extensions of their academic concerns, Carmelite interest in promoting and controlling spiritual reflection by the writing of vernacular theology was not restricted to the Order's doctors of theology. There is evidence that two Whitefriars in the area of the English East Midlands – Thomas Ashburne and Richard Spalding – produced poetry that, although it did not circulate as widely as their confreres, nevertheless demonstrates skill and commitment. This chapter considers their work, and that of a manuscript scribe who may well have been an East Midlands Carmelite.



Medieval Carmelite communities in the East Midlands of England.

Thomas Ashburne

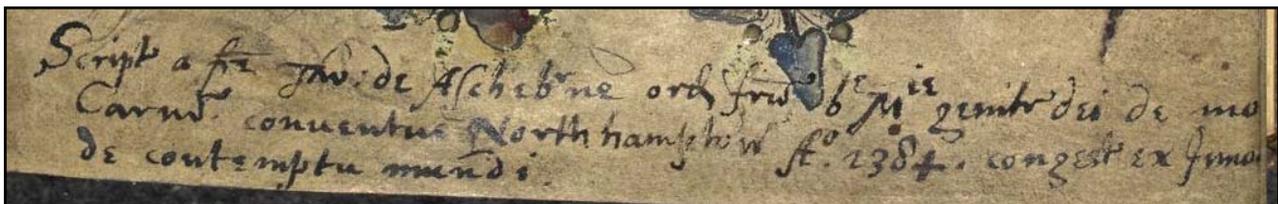
Thomas Ashburne first enters the historical records in the episcopal register of Lincoln when he was licensed in February 1350 to hear confessions in that diocese for a year.¹ Richard Copsey suggests that Ashburne was probably at the time a member of the Carmelite Order's community in the south Lincolnshire town of Stamford. The friar's surname would suggest an ancestry in the Derbyshire Dales market town of Ashbourne, some 60 miles away, and that perhaps Ashburne had entered the Order at nearby Nottingham.

¹ Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, *Reg. Gynewell, Lincoln*, ix, fo. 46. Biographical details are from Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*, and Richard Copsey, 'Ashburne, Thomas (fl. 1384)', *ODNB*.

Thomas Ashburne's biographer in the 1885 *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mary Bateson, suggested that he was the scholar at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge whose expenses were paid for one year by Lord De La Warr during the Mastership of Dr. John Kyme, that is 1379-89.² In Ashburne's entry in the 2004 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Richard Copsey dismisses Bateson's idea without explanation, but presumably on the grounds that a Carmelite friar in Cambridge would surely have lodged not at a college but at the Order's own community, and at the Order's expense. This is very probably the case, but given systems of patronage whereby some friars worked as chaplains (to private houses and so on) we cannot entirely exclude the possibility. Since Ashburne was ordained by 1350, by 1379 he would have been at least in his fifties, suggesting that any studies he might have conducted in Cambridge would have been of a private, almost sabbatical nature, rather than participating in the schools as a student.

The only other date we can ascribe to Thomas Ashburne is 1384, thanks to a line inscribed, in a hand later than the scribe of the main text, at the bottom of folio 3 – a page with a border that Kathleen Scott dates to the first quarter of the fifteenth century³ – and on the flyleaf, in British Library Ms. Cotton Appendix VII:

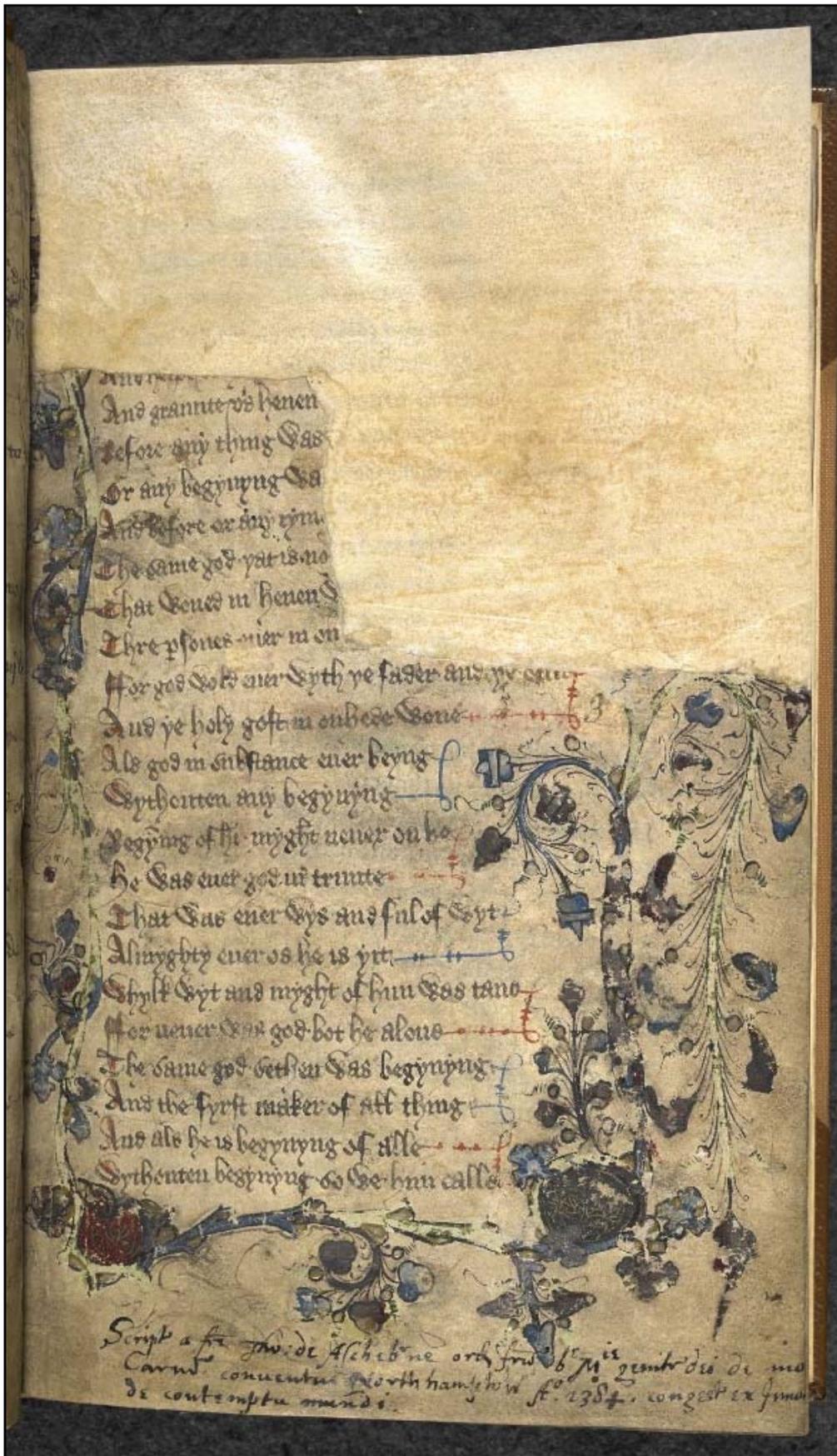
Scriptus a fratre Thome de Ascheburne ordinis fratris beate Marie genitricis dei de monte Carmel conuentus Northampton Anno 1384. congestus ex Innocentio. de contemptu mundi.



London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Appendix VII, fo. 3 (detail of the Ashburne inscription).

² Mary Bateson, 'Thomas of Ashborne', *DNB*, vol 19, 655. For a discussion of Bateson's 1903 edition of the records of the Guild of St. Mary and the Guild of Corpus Christi in Cambridge, see: Catherine P. Hall, 'The Guild of Corpus Christi and the Foundation of Corpus Christi College: An Investigation of the Documents', in Patrick Zutshi (ed.), *Medieval Cambridge: Essays on the Pre-Reformation University*, The History of The University of Cambridge Texts and Studies 2 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993), 65-91.

³ My thanks to Professor Scott who happened to be in the British Library the day I consulted the manuscript. She described the border as an unusual mixture of older and later artistry, an ornate border applied on top of a simpler base design, and in a style not typical of London.



London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Appendix VII, fo. 3.

This inscription appears on a copy of *The Prick of Conscience*. Assuming that this inscription is not a misnaming of *The Prick of Conscience* (which given its well-known status is unlikely), the text seems to suggest that in 1384, whilst at the Carmelite convent in Northampton, a friar of the Brothers of the Blessed Mary Mother of God of Mount Carmel, Thomas Ashburne, wrote (whether in Latin or English is not specified) a compilation ('congestus') of material from Pope Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi* (*On despising the world*).

Sadly, this text ascribed to Thomas Ashburne is now lost, but some information about it can be gathered from another source. A manuscript which contained a copy of *De contemptu mundi* (Cotton Ms. Vitellius F XIII 1) was part of the library of Huntingdonshire antiquary Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631). That part of Cotton's collection which did not accrue to Oxford's Bodleian Library in 1602-03 was given to the nation by his grandson, Sir John Cotton, upon the latter's death in 1702. Tragically a fire at Ashburnham House, Westminster, in 1731 destroyed about a quarter of the Cottonian collection that was being temporarily stored there. Only the central portions of some folios of Ms. Vitellius F XIII 1 survived, the fragments being later pieced together.⁴

Thomas Ashburne's *De contemptu mundi* was written in a portion of the Vitellius codex destroyed by the 1731 fire. All that can be recovered is its description as a 'Poema vetus Anglicanum de Specialibus, de 12 Abusivis, etc.' in the Cottonian Library catalogue compiled in 1696 by Thomas Smith, later corrected and expanded:

Poema miscellanei argumenti, veteri lingua Anglicana compositum, et in tres partes divisum. Capitibus praefiguntur tituli contentorum, Latine; ut, inter alia, de duodecim defectibus in mundo existentibus, et de dispositionibus mundi, de hominum conditionibus, de certis signis in sole, luna, et stellis, de insolentiis Dominorum ac subditorum in religiosos propter eorum indevotiones; cum quamplurimis aliis.⁵

A poem of miscellaneous arguments, composed in the old English language, and divided into three parts. Titles of the contents are placed before the chapters in Latin. Contents

⁴ According to the British Library's flyleaf the manuscript was given to Sir John Cotton by Sir John Marsham, with Appendices VI, VIII, XV [see the list in Kent Record Office, Marsham Mss. (U.1121/2.19/f.129)]. For a description of the difficulties facing compilers and consulters of the manuscripts in the so-called 'Appendix' of the Cotton collection following the fire, see: Colin G. C. Tite, 'The Cotton Appendix and the Cotton fragments', *The Library*, 15:1 (March 1993), 52-55. On the early curation of the collection, see: Colin G. C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London: British Library, 2003).

⁵ *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, 1696, Thomas Smith, reprinted from Sir Robert Harley's copy, annotated by Humphrey Wanley, together with documents relating to the fire of 1731 (ed.) C. G. C. Tite (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984), 103-4, 158. The short title is in Smith's original catalogue, 100. English translation my own, corrected by Roger Ellis.

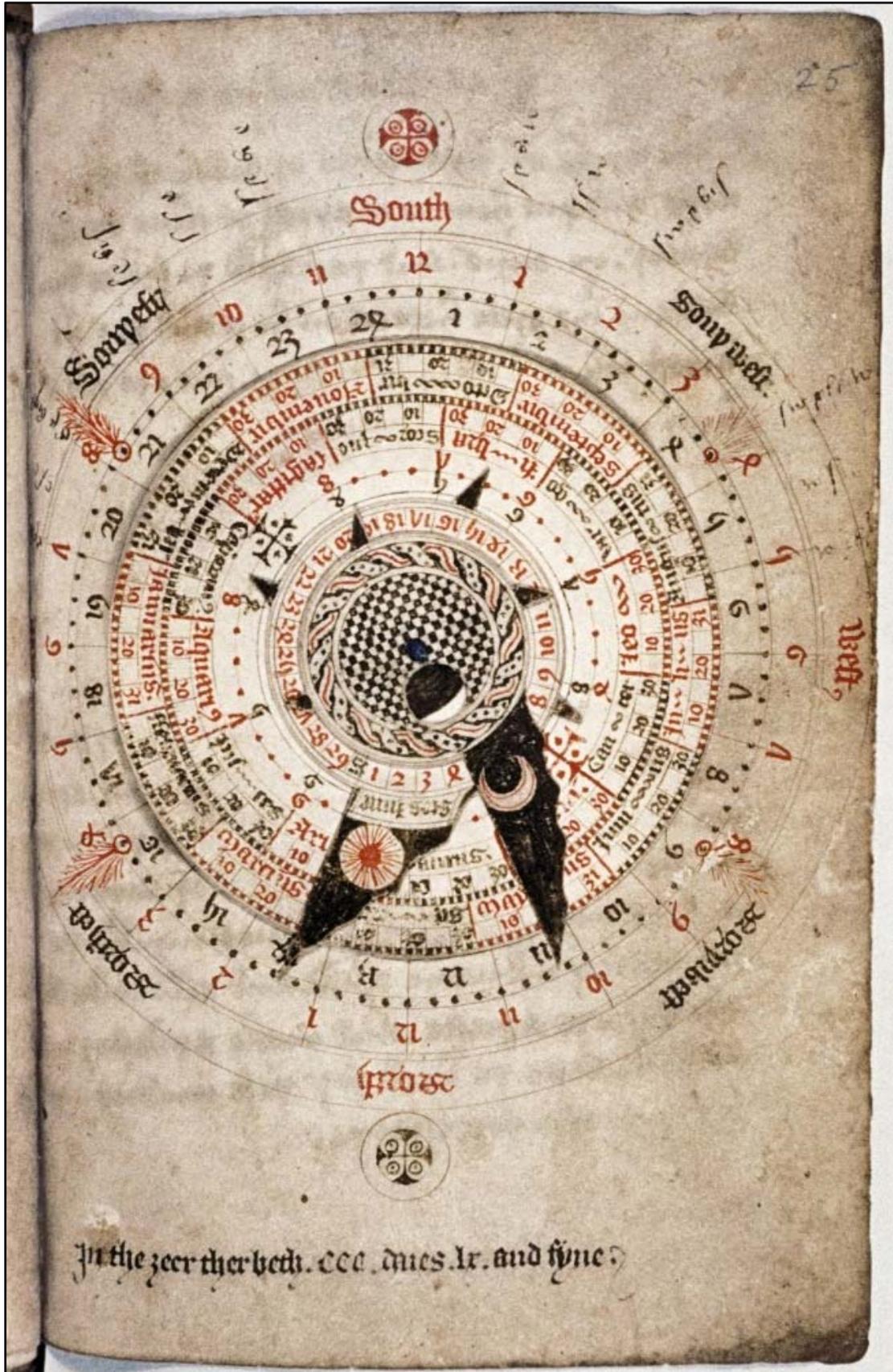
include, among other things: the twelve defects existing in the world; the dispositions of the world; the conditions of humankind; certain signs in the sun, moon, and stars; and the insolence of lords and retainers against religious because of their lack of devotion; with numerous other matters.

This summary, short as it is, tells us that Thomas Ashburne's *De contemptu mundi* was an English poem that shared certain features with contemporary vernacular theological literature written by fellow Carmelites. Apparently *De contemptu mundi* blended English verse with Latin chapter headings, perhaps demonstrating that Ashburne shared the concern of his confreres Maidstone and Lavenham to root and structure his vernacular composition within the framework of the language of authority and learning. The content of the poem, divided into three parts, dealt with the current state of the world and humankind, particularly its defects and lack of religious devotion, reflected in the stars.⁶ In this it was clearly a moral, penitential, didactic, and even apocalyptic poem, sharing Maidstone and Lavenham's concern to teach, encourage, and correct.⁷ In upbraiding lords and their subjects for lacking proper respect for religious persons, perhaps Ashburne went further than Lavenham, who saw the nobility not as the cause of moral decay but rather as a defence against it.⁸ The moralising tone one imagines from the catalogue description of *De contemptu mundi* perhaps suits Ashburne's fraternal ministry as a confessor in Lincoln Diocese, and demonstrates yet again the Carmelite interest in vernacular texts that could be used to stir the conscience. Given the date of composition in 1384, at the end of which year John Wyclif would die, *De contemptu mundi* may have been regarded as a text of contemporary relevance.

⁶ Within the Carmelite Order a comparative literary interest in astrology is found in the *Kalendarium* by Friar Nicholas of Lynn (fl. 1386, hence a direct contemporary of Ashburne). See Copsey's list of surviving writings for details of manuscripts. The *Kalendarium* was edited by S. Eisner, *The Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn* (London: Scolar Press, 1980). On the topic more broadly, see: Brendan Dooley (ed.), *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 49 (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

⁷ Apocalyptic texts, and the interests and concerns they prompted among Carmelites, will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

⁸ The poem's Latin description does not clarify whether 'the insolence of lords and retainers against religious because of their lack of devotion' means a deficit of piety among the lords and their servants, or among religious.



A lunar volvelle (chart for telling time by the light of the moon) in a copy (c.1424?) of the Carmelite Nicholas of Lynn's astronomical *Kalendarium*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ashmole 370, fo. 25.

Some evidence for this can be detected in those portions of Cotton Ms. Vitellius F XIII 1 which survived the conflagration of 1731. On the fragment that is now folio 1 is what appears to be the explicit of ‘[ve]rsus propheticici per priorem de Bridlington Lat cum aliis Anglice’, that is, the so-called *Prophecy* ascribed to St. John Thwing of Bridlington (c.1320–79), a series of twenty-nine political poems sometimes accompanied by an interpretative prose commentary.⁹ Later in the surviving fragments of the Vitellius codex (fo. 52-53) are snatches of English verse that juxtapose members of religious orders against the disciples of the Antichrist in an apocalyptic tenor.¹⁰ In what is now fo. 76v-81, is an English prophecy, *The son shall the father slay*, probably (it is hard to tell because of the fire damage) about 300 lines in 9-line stanzas (ababbcbbc).¹¹ These prophecies were deemed to pass comment on contemporary affairs of Church and State, and were often considered controversial. The fact that Thomas Ashburne’s poem was collated alongside such prophecies suggests that *De contemptu mundi* was regarded as having a contemporary religious and political relevance.

Though the details of Thomas Ashburne’s lost poem are vague, it seems likely that *De contemptu mundi* was an attempt by the Whitefriar to render in verse and translate from Latin into English the text *De Contemptu Mundi* by Lotario dei Conti di Segni (also known as Lotharius de Segnis, 1160/61-1216), later Pope Innocent III. *De Contemptu Mundi* (sometimes called *De Miseria Humanae Conditionis*), Conti’s first literary work, written in 1195 three years before his election as Pope, was an ascetical and pious treatise on ‘the misery of the human condition’ and moral frailty, divided – like Ashburne’s poem – into three parts.¹² As the Pope under whose pontificate the Carmelite Order emerged, who called the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the Fourth Crusade, as well as ordering military action against heretics, Innocent III would have been a writer of obvious interest to medieval Carmelites.¹³ Conti’s text was widely distributed across Europe being popular among sermon writers, and survives in 700 manuscripts including some of Carmelite provenance.¹⁴ Conti was building upon

⁹ The *Prophecy* was printed by Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series (London, 1859), 1:123-215, and critically edited by Michael J. Curley, *Versus Propheciales, Prophecica Johannis Bridlingtoniensis: An Edition* (Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago, 1973). See also: A. G. Rigg, ‘John of Bridlington’s *Prophecy*: A New Look’, *Speculum*, 63:3 (July 1988), 596-613.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Roger Ellis for sharing with me his transcription of these passages.

¹¹ *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* 5478, *Index of Middle English Verse* 3473.5, *New Index of Middle English Verse* 3473.5.

¹² *Patrologia latina*, 217, 701-46; Lotharius, *De miseria humane conditionis* (ed.) Michele Maccarrone (Lucca: Thesaurus Mundi, 1955).

¹³ For a biography see: Helene Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III* (trans.) Walter Sax, *Europe in the Middle Ages 12* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1980); Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe 1198-1216*, *The Medieval World* (London: Longman, 1994).

¹⁴ On 5th July 2011, Sotheby’s in London sold a copy of *De Contemptu Mundi* (Western Manuscripts and Miniatures auction, Lot 75). According to the sale catalogue the manuscript was perhaps from a Carmelite friary, once bound with Bergendal Ms. 94, and with a partially erased inscription: “Iste liber est fratris ... ordinis Beate Marie de Monte Carne”.

a well-established monastic literary tradition of bewailing the vanities of the world and looking towards the Heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁵

From these contemporary sources, it seems that Thomas Ashburne's *De contemptu mundi* poem sought to comment on and clarify religious affairs, establishing what the Carmelite considered the proper boundaries of Christian thought and practice. Whilst the poem seemingly castigated secular lords and their subjects for their insolence against religious, we should not assume that such literature was of no interest or relevance for the author's own fraternity, particularly given an unusual incident at the Northampton Carmelite friary within a decade of Ashburne writing *De contemptu mundi*. In 1393 Richard Storm(e)sworth, a Northampton wool-merchant, made a series of complaints against the town's mayor, John Fox, including the accusation that 'ye sd. Maior hath drawn to him one Nicholas Weston a Fryer Carmelite apostate and Lollard without ye licence of his order and made him parish chaplain of St. Gregory's at Northampton.'¹⁶ Stormesworth alleged that from this post Friar Weston 'may preach Lollardy in comfort and encourage those townspeople who hold false beliefs'.¹⁷ The prior and community wrote to Thomas Arundel, at that time Chancellor and Archbishop of York, appealing for Brother Nicholas to be detained and returned to the Order for correction, since 'He had created scandal both in the convent and around the town before leaving without permission and wandering abroad in secular clothes. He had preached and written against the authorities and had behaved incontinently with many married women in Northampton.'¹⁸ We cannot know whether or not Thomas Ashburne witnessed this interlude which was undoubtedly of deep embarrassment to an order renowned for its orthodoxy.

The Friar Weston affair was not the last embarrassment that the Carmelites were to suffer in Northampton. In the next decade, in 1407, Whitefriar Thomas Rouland 'deserted the Order and got

¹⁵ For example: Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi – Bernard le Clunisien: une vision du monde vers 1144* (ed. and trans.) André Cresson. *Témoins de Notre Histoire* 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). Richard Rolle also focussed on the notion *De contemptu mundi* in the second chapter of his *De Emendatio Vitae*.

¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Top. Northants., c. 9, fo. 154, quoted in R. Serjeantson, *A History of the Six Houses of Friars in Northampton* (Northampton: Jos. Tebbutt, 1911), 6. Also in National Archives, SC8/142/7099: transcribed in Edgar Powell, George Macaulay Trevelyan, *The Peasants' Rising and the Lollards: A Collection of Unpublished Documents Forming an Appendix to 'England in the Age of Wycliffe'* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1899), 46 [available online at <https://archive.org/details/peasantsrisingth00poweuoft>]; translation also available on *Florilegium Urbanum* website: <http://users.trytel.com/~tristan/towns/florilegium/flor00.html> [both sites accessed October 2016]. On the allegations see: Maureen Jurkowski, 'Lollardy in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire: The Two Thomas Compworths', in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, Derrick G. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 73-95 [77, 81-82].

¹⁷ National Archives, SC 8/142/7099, transcribed in Powell, Trevelyan, *The Peasants' Rising and the Lollards*, 46, translated at *Florilegium Urbanum* website, *op cit*.

¹⁸ National Archives, C 81/1793/29; Logan, *Runaway Religious*, 247. The incident is recorded by Richard Copey in his *Biographical Register and Chronology of the Northampton Carmelites*, noting that the appeal to Arundel is undated but was written probably after Stormesworth's complaint in 1393 and before 15th September 1396.

into bad company', prompting the issue of an arrest warrant to bring him and his accomplices before the King and Council.¹⁹ The exact nature of Rouland's apostasy is not known, but the reference to 'bad company' is suggestive of further collaboration with Lollards. The Northampton community was also where friar Ralph Spalding, originally of the Stamford house, was ordained subdeacon in 1352. He went on to become a Doctor of Theology at Cambridge where he fell under suspicion for being a Wycliffite-sympathiser.²⁰

Cases such as these, unusual though they are, expose the fact that some Carmelites actually embraced, rather than opposed, the Lollard movement, at least for a time. They demonstrate that there was a need for 'corrective' literature to restrict theological heterodoxy within the ranks of the Order as well as beyond it.

It is possible that *De contemptu mundi* was not Thomas Ashburne's only literary achievement. The reference to Ashburne as the author of *De contemptu mundi* in London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Appendix VII, fo. 3, arguably bears witness to the Carmelite's compilation of that text independently from the catalogue description of the Vitellius codex's lost portion. However, that Ashburne's name and the title of one of his works elsewhere should be recorded at this point in the Appendix codex is somewhat surprising, occurring as it does on the opening folio of a version of the well-known northern English poem *The Prick of Conscience*. An explanation for the reference to Thomas Ashburne in Ms. Cotton Appendix VII was made by Mary Bateson in 1885, who proposed that the ascription refers not to *The Prick of Conscience* but rather back to the preceding text bound into the codex, a poem beginning *Lystyns all gret and smale* (fo. 1-2v).

¹⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1405-1408*, 351, quoted in R. M. Serjeantson, 'The White Friars of Northampton', *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers*, 30 (1909), 147-62 [153].

²⁰ This, despite (or perhaps because of?) his attending the trial of the Cistercian Henry Crumpe at Stamford Whitefriars in 1392. In the years 1390-96, the Dominican John Bromiard was tasked with weeding out the followers of John Wyclif at the University of Cambridge, 'though Ralph Spalding, a Carmelite, was the sole eminent Cantabrigian at the time suspected to favour their opinions': Thomas Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge, and of Waltham Abbey* (London: Thomas Tegg, New Edition 1840), 88. On Spalding see: Copey, *Biographical Register*. At Cambridge the Carmelite William Coxford (fl. 1380s) is mentioned by John Bale as one of the Whitefriars who wrote against Wyclif: Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 79. On Coxford see: Richard Copey, *Biographical Register*.

Although the scribal hands and layout of *Lystyns all* and *The Prick* are different, the parchment is similar and could have been collated at an early date. Nothing in *Lystyns all* indicates Ashburne's authorship, but it is an incomplete copy, and the appearance of his name on the next item in the codex could be an antiquarian's reference to missing preceding folios. Bateson's attribution of *Lystyns all* to Ashburne cannot be conclusive, but a consideration of the text and its context should allow us to determine the likelihood or not of Carmelite authorship, and thus further illuminate our understanding of the Order's use of vernacular literature to both promote and restrict theological thought.

Lystyns all is a short allegorical English poem of 32 tail-rhyme stanzas in simple six-line rhyme (aabccb), ending imperfectly at 192 lines-long. Dubbed *Foure Doughters* (a title I henceforth use) by its latest editor Kari Sajavaara, it is a paraphrase of one section of Robert Grosseteste's French poem *Chateau d'Amour*.²¹

The first few stanzas give the flavour of the poetic style, and introduce most of the main protagonists:

[L]ystyns all gret and smale:
 I shall 3ow tell a lytell tale
 Þat cordyng is in speche.
 Daudid þe kyng witness will ber,
 In a vers in þe sawter,
 And seys als I 3ow teche.

Misericordia et Veritas obuiauuerunt sibi, Iusticia et Pax osc[u]late sunt.

Mersy and Verite togyder me[t]
 And eyther other wiþ loue gret,
 In erth among men.
 And also Iustis and Pees,
 [Þei] kissed togyder wiþouten les,
 Wiþ ioy and mykyll wyn.

²¹ The first edition was by Karl Brunner, 'Der Streit der vier Himmelstöchter', *Englische Studien*, 68 (1933-34), 188-94. The latest edition is by Kari Sajavaara, *The Middle English Translations of Robert Grosseteste's Chateau d'Amour*, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, XXXII (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1967). Line and stanza references are from Sajavaara's edition, 366-71. Sajavaara introduces the *Foure Doughters* text on 198-207, with notes on 406-07. The poem is catalogued in *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* 3089, *Index of Middle English Verse* 1879, *New Index of Middle English Verse* 1879.

[...] lef frendes, it was a kyng,
 Þat heuen and erth and all thyng
 Had in hys power;
 Angel and man and ilk best
 Durst none be ageyn hys hest,
 Nouther far no ner.

Þat ilk kyng had a son
 Þat had and has wiþ hym hys won;
 Both þei ar also one.
 Þe son was called hys wysdame,
 For all fro hys counsell it came
 Al þat he schuld done.

Þat hy kyng of gret honoure
 Had also doughturs foure;
 Full wyd þan ar þei kyd.
 Þe eldest doughter heyght Mercy,
 Þe tother Verite, þat standes hyr by,
 And Iustis heyght þe third.

Þe ferth doughter heyght Pees.
 Be þis foure wiþoutyn les
 Governd was hys land,
 For no land mey be at hys right
 Keped wiþoutyn þis foure I plyght,
 Als I vnderstand. (lines 1-36)

The poem deal with a powerful king (an allegorical figure for God) who had a son (Jesus Christ) and four daughters – Mercy, Truth, Justice and Peace – whose names are inspired by the 11th verse of Psalm 84 (85:10 in most modern Bibles): “Mercy and truth have met together; justice and peace have embraced”. The poem goes on to explain how the king had an unfaithful servant (human kind) who by his pride and breaking of commandments forfeited all the dignity of a knight that had been promised him. Languishing in prison where he is tortured, the servant is seen by Mercy who pleads

his cause to her father. Truth, however, reminds the king of the servant's treachery, backed up by her sister Justice. Peace likewise intervenes, stating that her sisters should not speak without her counsel. At this moment of impasse, the king's son enters. This is the point at which, in Ms. Cotton Appendix VII, the text ends, the rest being lost from the codex. The poem's source, *Chateau d'Amour*, goes on to state that the son offers himself in place of the unfaithful servant, thus bringing reconciliation with the king. The poem is clearly an allegory of the Christian theology of redemption, and this particular episode from *Chateau d'Amour* was the most popular section of Grosseteste's work.

If Thomas Ashburne was indeed the author of *Foure Doughters*, it is unsurprising that the Carmelite should have had an interest in the *Chateau d'Amour* and its author. Robert Grosseteste (c.1170-1253) is one of the truly monumental figures of the medieval English Church.²² Sometime around 1228-30 this cleric was appointed Master of the Schools (effectively Chancellor) at the University of Oxford, where his considerable scientific research had been supplemented by theological studies. In 1229 Grosseteste heard a sermon preached in Oxford by the Dominican Brother Jordan of Saxony, in which the mendicant called for the masters to renounce academic pride and rededicate themselves to serving pastoral needs. This sermon made a deep impression on Grosseteste who renounced the income of his various benefices and spent the years 1231-35 as lector to the Franciscans in Oxford. His admiration for the simple lifestyle and evangelical zeal of the new mendicant movement was deep, and he only left Oxford when elected Bishop of Lincoln in 1235. This made Robert Grosseteste the spiritual shepherd of England's largest diocese, incorporating nearly two thousand parishes and numerous religious communities between the Thames and the Humber. As bishop, Robert Grosseteste put paid to the claim that a scholar cannot also be a man of practical pastoral concern. To his wide range of writings on scholastic philosophy, science, and translations from Greek, Grosseteste added texts on pastoral care, including the Anglo-Norman poem *Chateau d'Amour*. He was assiduous in making pastoral visitations across his vast see, assisted in the cure of souls by a retinue of Franciscan and Dominican friars. On a number of occasions he refused to appoint to ecclesiastical posts candidates he deemed lacking in learning or commitment. Grosseteste's zeal for pastoral care led him to become involved in political matters. In England Bishop Grosseteste intervened in a debate about succession laws, insisting that human affairs should reflect the divine will, and thus secular law should not contradict Canon Law. His earnestness in speaking

²² The following biographical information is derived from R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The growth of an English mind in medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, Second Edition, 1992); R. W. Southern, 'Grosseteste, Robert (c.1170-1253)', *ODNB*. See also: Sajavaara, 25-35; Jack P. Cunningham (ed.), *Robert Grosseteste: His Thought and Its Impact*, Papers in Mediaeval Studies 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012); *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, translated with introduction and annotation by F. A. C. Mantello, Joseph Goering (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); *The Electronic Grosseteste*: www.grosseteste.com [accessed January 2014].

truth to power brought Robert Grosseteste twice to Rome. Having a high view of the role of the papacy, he denounced corruption at the Roman curia which he believed privileged administrative expedience and the preferment of clergy over the spiritual needs of ordinary Christians. A passionate (some contemporaries said unbalanced) prelate, Robert Grosseteste's last words on his deathbed were to accuse of heresy those who defrauded souls of pastoral care:

Heresy is an opinion chosen by human sense, contrary to Scripture, openly declared, and pertinaciously defended; and to defy the gospel by giving the care of souls to those who are inadequate either in learning or in commitment is heresy in action. Many defy the gospel in this way, the pope most of all; and it is the duty of all faithful persons, and more particularly the Franciscans and Dominicans, to oppose such a person.²³

In stipulating that the mendicants – we can place alongside the Franciscans and Dominicans the Carmelites who were to grow in prominence only after Grosseteste's death in 1253 – had a particular mission to provide pastoral care and preach the gospel, and in so doing oppose heresy within the Church, we can see why the life and writings of Robert Grosseteste might have had a particular appeal to a friar such as Thomas Ashburne, if he had.

Robert Grosseteste's love of the mendicants and a purified papacy seems not to have troubled John Wyclif, who a century after the bishop's death hailed him as a founding figure of anti-papal doctrine. Though it is clear that Grosseteste had been a critic of the Roman curia and not the notion of papacy itself, Wyclif and his followers identified the Bishop of Lincoln as a prophet of reforming zeal within the Church. Trawling the papers that Grosseteste had bequeathed to the library of the Franciscans amongst whom he had lived in Oxford, John Wyclif cited him approvingly in his various critiques of the ecclesiastical status quo.²⁴ 'Grosseteste was a hero to both wings of the reform movement'²⁵ in the late medieval English Church, so if the reference to Thomas Ashburne in Ms. Cotton Appendix VII is indeed to attribute *Foure Daughters* to him, perhaps it is proof of a

²³ Matthew Paris, *Chronicle*, 5.401-2. Translated by Southern, *ODNB*.

²⁴ For references see: John Wyclif, *The Latin Writings of John Wyclif* (ed.) Williel R. Thomson, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 14 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1983). It is because of Wyclif's references to Grosseteste that the latter commonly features in the *Doctrinale* of Thomas Netter, according to Anne Hudson, 'Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)', *ODNB*.

²⁵ Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 20.

mendicant's desire to reclaim from the 'taint' of Lollard appropriation the reputation of Robert Grosseteste, whose writings contain 'an appealingly human variety of religious orthodoxy'.²⁶

There is no question that Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amour* is a theologically orthodox text. Surviving (not always entirely) in almost twenty manuscripts, this allegorical poem on the salvation of souls was written in French with an introduction explaining the author's use of the vernacular, possibly for noble youths brought up in Bishop Grosseteste's household.²⁷

Foure Doughters (sometimes dubbed by Sajavaara the *D*-version) is one of five medieval English translations, complete or partial, of *Chateau d'Amour*, the others being: *Castle of Love* (the most complete); a portion of the *Myroure of Lewed Men; King and Four Daughters*; and the *Cursor Mundi* (referred to in the previous chapter) which includes parts of the *Chateau d'Amour*.²⁸

Foure Doughters is preserved only in Ms. Cotton Appendix VII, folios 1-2v, an incomplete copy in a manuscript of unknown provenance. Sajavaara identifies the coarse and uneven hand (different from the ensuing *Prick of Conscience*) as fifteenth century, with linguistic evidence pointing to the first half of that century, and because of slight variance in rhymes he concludes it cannot be the author's original copy. Sajavaara states that the notes on the codex flyleaf and folio 3 about Ashburne are connected with the *Pricke of Conscience*; however, his failure to make any reference to Ashburne suggests he was not aware of Bateson's tentative attribution.

Because of the shortness of the text and thus the scarcity of criteria, Sajavaara localises the dialect of the scribe of *Foure Doughters* no more precisely than the Northeast Midlands, believing the dialect of the original text to be a northern variety of the Northeast Midland dialect. If *Foure Doughters* was indeed a Carmelite composition or copy, the houses in Stamford and Lincoln (rather than Northampton) thus seem likely locations. From a consideration of the vocabulary used, Sajavaara states that 'the criteria only show that the text was written after 1300', but that 'considering the general characteristics of the text and its state in the manuscript it does not seem unlikely that the text was written in the second half of the fourteenth century'.²⁹ This concurs perfectly with the two known dates associated with Thomas Ashburne, 1350 and 1384.

Building on the work of Sister Mary Creek, Sajavaara concludes that *Foure Doughters* is the Middle English translation that most closely resembles the original *Chateau d'Amour*, a paraphrase

²⁶ George Shuffelton (ed.), *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), 503 (explanatory notes on *The King and His Four Daughters*).

²⁷ Considerable analysis of the provenance, dating, authorship, themes and textual transmission of the *Chateau d'Amour* is given by Sajavaara.

²⁸ For extensive analysis, editions and comparisons, see Sajavaara.

²⁹ Sajavaara, 205.

in effect, but notes that it also borrowed from *Rex et Famulus*, a Latin prose text which Grosseteste himself seems to have drawn on as a source for the allegory.³⁰ *Foure Doughters* is therefore the work of a scholar with access to and comprehension of texts in both French and Latin. We have already noted in the work of Richard Maidstone and Richard Lavenham that close translation of biblical and patristic quotes is a feature of medieval Carmelite texts in the vernacular. Comparing *Foure Doughters* with the four other English versions, Sajavaara notes that it is the only translation not to insert additions from the Bible, perhaps demonstrating nervousness in translating the Scriptures.³¹

The author of *Foure Doughters*, though faithful to his original text, removed as many unnecessary and superfluous lines of the *Chateau d'Amour* as possible.³² The effect is a poem that is concise and engaging. Although medieval preachers are known to have made use of verse within sermons, it would not be suitable for delivery as a sermon in itself, but would be edifying entertainment at a spiritual gathering such as the meeting of a confraternity or guild, and could even be recited as part of a dramatic performance.

There is certainly a performative element to *Foure Doughters* in the imagined relationship between the narrator/author and his audience. The poem opens with a short prologue of two stanzas not present in the *Chateau d'Amour*. The use of the first-person voice to issue an instruction immediately gathers an audience together to hear an oral performance: 'Lystyns all gret and smale: I shall 3ow tell a lytell tale'. The implied audience is socially-mixed, just as the preaching audience of the mendicants was made up of both 'gret and smale'. The author/narrator entices his listeners with the offer of a 'lytell tale', promising both brevity and entertainment. Like Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys*, what the author/narrator offers is not only concise but also authoritative, since it 'cordyng is in speche', meaning that the poem will be in agreement with the 'witnes' borne by 'Dauid þe kyng ... In a vers in þe sawter'. This reference to Scripture, and the following stanza's citation of Psalm 84 verse 10, suggests the poet's desire to anchor his teaching authority by reference to the Bible, which 'seys als I 3ow teche'. This reference to the Psalter passage which inspired the allegory is not found in either the *Chateau d'Amour* nor any other of its Middle English translations, suggesting that the author of *Foure Doughters* was keen – like Richard Maidstone in his preface to *The Penitential Psalms* – to refer to Holy Scripture at the outset. The scholarly tone of the text is further underlined by the insertion, before the second stanza, of the Latin text of Psalm 84:10, in a manner similar to *The Penitential Psalms*.

³⁰ Sajavaara, 69, 209.

³¹ Sajavaara, 241.

³² Sajavaara, 253.

It is interesting that most of the five Middle English renderings of the King's Four Daughters portion of *Chateau d'Amour* make no reference to Robert Grosseteste as the original author, perhaps suggesting ignorance (which seems unlikely given his renown), or a desire to emulate his French text which likewise makes no reference to his authorship. The one version which does identify him, *Castle of Love*, opens with the statement that the poem is a treatise intended to teach the uneducated:

Her byginnet a tretys
 Þat is yclept Castel off Loue,
 Þat Bisschop Grosteyzt made ywis
 For lewede mennes byhoue.³³

There is no doubt, however, that Ashburne (or whoever is the author of *Foure Doughters*) regards himself as a teacher.

However uncertain our attribution of *Foure Doughters* to Thomas Ashburne must necessarily remain, we can note with interest a number of features within the text that are reminiscent of characteristics found in Carmelite vernacular writings we have noted thus far. For example, as we have seen with both Richard Maidstone and Richard Lavenham, Carmelites writing in the vernacular in the last quarter of the fourteenth century were occupied with the link between social and religious order. An echo of this 'right-ordering' of the world is found in stanza 6 of *Foure Doughters*:

Þe ferth doughter heyght Pees.
 Be þis foure wiþoutyn les
 Governd was hys land,
 For no land mey be at hys right
 Keped wiþoutyn þis foure I plyght,
 Als I vnderstand. (lines 31-36)

The notion that a kingdom must be governed by collaboration of the godly attributes of Mercy, Truth, Justice and Peace is found in other translations of the *Chateau d'Amour*, so it is not unique, but seems of probable interest to a Carmelite known to be writing in 1384 about the problems of the world and the failures of the human condition.

³³ Sajavaara, 260, lines 1-4.

If *Foure Doughters* is in truth by Thomas Ashburne, what does the poem tell us about the Carmelite Order's desire to both promote and prohibit theological enquiry through vernacular literature in late medieval England? On the face of it, *Foure Doughters* is a text that seeks to impart traditional religious instruction, in a popular way, on one of the core concepts of Christian belief. It renders into English the teaching of a bishop deeply committed to the pastoral care and instruction of his flock. It would seem, in no way, to promote theological speculation that might in any way be considered heterodox. However, this is to underestimate the suggestive prompting that allegory affords. George Shuffelton's insightful analysis of Grosseteste's poem, and one of its translations, *The King and His Four Daughters*, applies equally to *Foure Doughters*:

Even as it answers some of the doctrinal questions surrounding the Redemption, Grosseteste's allegory inevitably raises other, equally difficult questions, or at least questions that are not answered within the frame of the story. Is the king (God) somehow constrained by the feudal law he applies? In what sense, if any, can the king's servant be restored to his legal rights? What authority *via-à-vis* the king do the four daughters really have? Because it is only a fragment or an excerpt, *The King and His Four Daughters* leaves even more unanswered than Grosseteste's original does, but his literary choices remain the source of this text's advantages and difficulties. The appeal of Grosseteste's work, as James Rhodes has recently argued, is its willingness to humanize the divine – which also means infusing humanity with divine attributes. The characters in this theological allegory act according to human laws; the characters themselves include both human figures (the king, the son, the servant) and qualities embodied by both God and human beings (justice, mercy, etc.). The poem manages to suggest that we might understand God and that God might understand us.³⁴

Mendicant orders such as the Carmelites were deeply interested in reflecting upon the humanity of Christ, and the close relationship between the human person and God. This means that, whether by Thomas Ashburne or not, *Foure Doughters*, with its apparent theological simplicity that invites more probing analysis, would surely have been of interest to the Carmelites. If *Foure Doughters* is indeed Ashburne's handiwork, it is not surprising that it, and a reference to his *De contemptu mundi*, should have been collated alongside *The Prick of Conscience*, a poem on the basics of Christian dogma. As

³⁴ George Shuffelton, *Codex Ashmole 61*, 502. He refers to James Francis Rhodes, *Poetry Does Theology: Chaucer, Grosseteste, and the Pearl Poet* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 46-47.

Richard Maidstone showed in his *Penitential Psalms*, Carmelites had an interest in the most basic fact of Christianity, the notion of redemption. Though now truncated, the full text of *Foure Doughters* would have moved on to consideration of the king's son, Jesus Christ, who – as Maidstone would say – ‘dere vs bouȝte’.

In concluding this consideration of Thomas Ashburne, we cannot be absolutely certain to what extent this Carmelite promoted or prohibited theological reflection through vernacular writing. His *De contemptu mundi* poem is lost, and *Foure Doughters* is only attributed to him uncertainly. However, what little we can piece together from fragmentary evidence and contextual information indicates the probability that Thomas Ashburne was typical of his Order in using vernacular writing to promote orthodox religious belief in a way that was popular, engaging, and perhaps a springboard to wider theological speculation, apt for both the laity and his own fraternity.



A Carmelite friar (unidentified) in a doctor's cap, hands joined in a gesture of prayer.

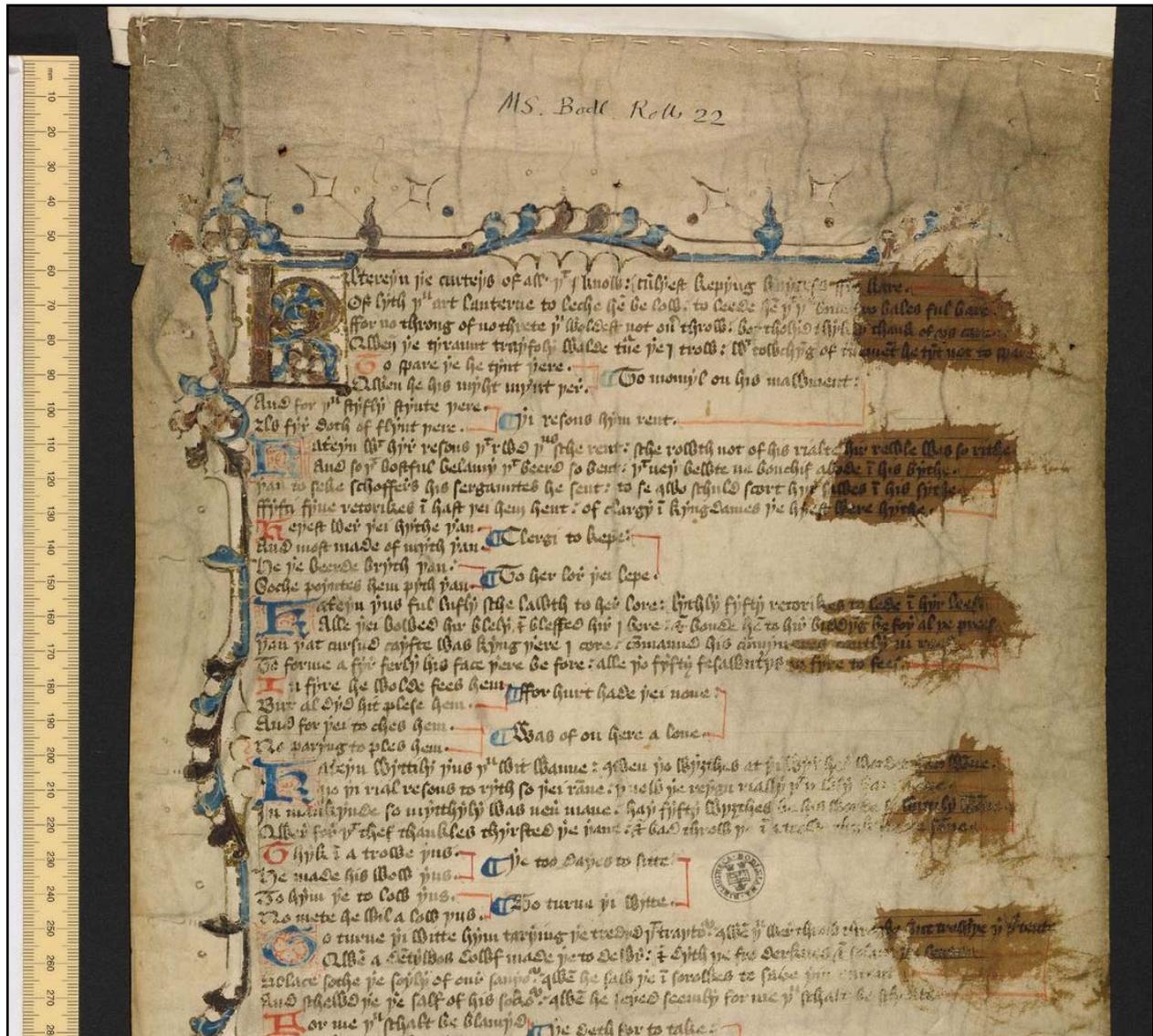
Glass roundel probably from a workshop in the English Midlands, second quarter of the fifteenth century.

20.6cm diameter. Glasgow, The Burrell Collection, Inventory number 45.105.³⁵

³⁵ See: Hilary Wayment, 'Ten Carmelite roundels at Queen's College Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 82 (1994 for 1993), 139-56 [155-56].

Richard Spalding

The Carmelite friar Richard Spalding, a geographical and temporal contemporary of Thomas Ashburne, also used poetry in the English vernacular that simultaneously encouraged and eclipsed theological reflection. Richard Spalding has been identified as the author of a poem dubbed *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* by its editor Ruth Kennedy. Its 280 lines are preserved in an unusual five-foot-long parchment roll: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley Rolls 22.³⁶



Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley Rolls 22 (header).

³⁶ Ruth Kennedy (ed.), *Three Alliterative Saints' Hymns: Late Middle English Stanzaic Poems*, Early English Text Society Original Series 321 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Kennedy followed up her edition with an article considering further the question of authorship: Ruth Kennedy, 'Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*: A Guild Connection from the South East Midlands?', *Viator*, 35 (2004), 455-82. In these publications Kennedy cites correspondence with me on the subject of Richard Spalding, and here I would like to reciprocate the expression of thanks.

If Richard Spalding took his name from that market town in Lincolnshire, it is likely that he joined the Carmelite Order at the nearest convent, namely Stamford, some twenty miles away.³⁷ Spalding is recorded as being of the Stamford Whitefriars when ordained acolyte in May 1399, suggesting that he entered the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel in the early 1390s.³⁸ Shortly after receiving minor orders he must have transferred to the Order's London priory because he is described as belonging to that community when ordained priest in the chapel of the Bishop of Worcester's house in the capital in December 1401.³⁹ It is quite possible that Richard Lavenham, who was Prior of the London Whitefriars in 1399, was still presiding when Richard Spalding joined the community. As observed in earlier chapters, the Carmelite friary in London was the Order's *studium generale* in England for graduates, and a community linked in various ways to bourgeois patrons and court circles. Richard Spalding's transfer to London suggests that he was an advanced student of some kind, though no records exist of him being university-educated.

Before he could proceed to studies in London, Richard Spalding would first have received a good education in the Carmelite friary at Stamford.⁴⁰ Stamford in the late fourteenth century was a growing town of ecclesiastical, military, and mercantile consequence. Manuscripts commissioned at that time for local gentry – such as the Luttrell Psalter – suggest a thriving bibliographic culture in Lincolnshire,⁴¹ and the Carmelite friary in Stamford itself is known to have been a centre of

³⁷ Details of Spalding's life given here are largely from Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

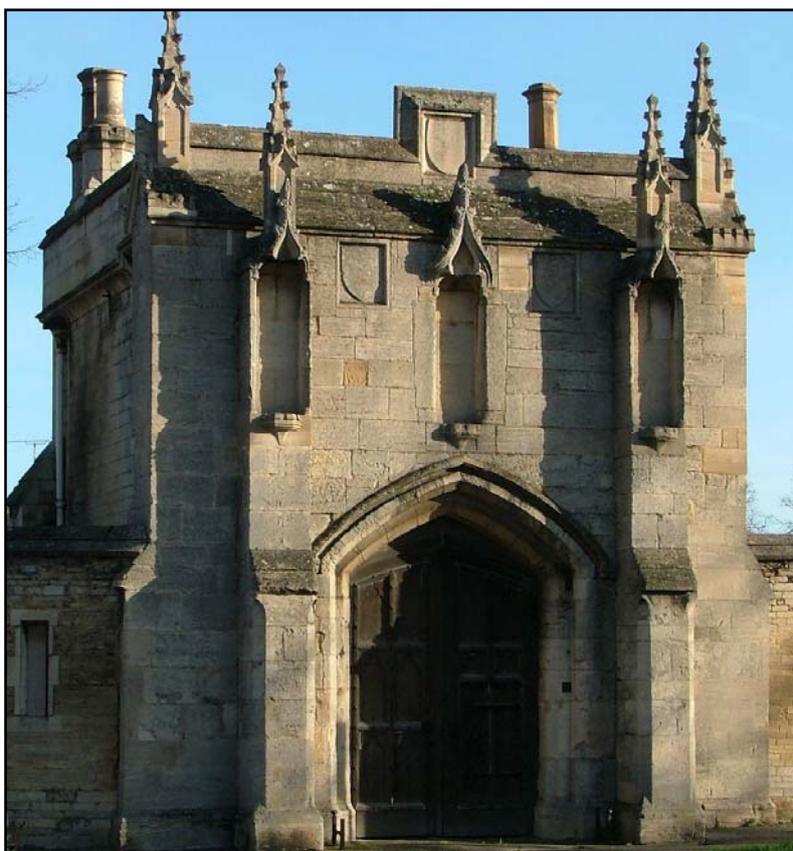
³⁸ *Reg. Beaufort*, Lincoln, xiii, fo. 86.

³⁹ *Reg. Braybrooke*, London, fo. 59; *Reg. Clifford*, Worcester, printed as W. E. L. Smith (ed.), *The Register of Richard Clifford, Bishop of Worcester, 1401-7: a Calendar*, Subsidia Mediaevalia VI (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1976), 70. If Spalding wrote *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* before his ordination, it might have been part of his education process, even allowing him a form of public teaching without the official status of an ordained preacher. This, however, seems improbable.

⁴⁰ On the Carmelite friary at Stamford see: Richard Copsey, *The Medieval Carmelite Priory at Stamford: A Chronology* (unpublished); Keith Egan, 'Medieval Carmelite Houses; England and Wales', *Carmelus*, 16 (1969), 142-226; *idem*, 'An Essay towards a Historiography of the Origin of the Carmelite Province in England', *Carmelus*, 19 (1972), 67-100; John S. Hartley, Alan Rogers, *The Religious Foundations of Medieval Stamford*, Stamford Survey Group Report 2 (Nottingham: Nottingham University, 1974), 65-67; A. G. Little, 'The White Friars of Stamford' in *A History of Lincolnshire* (London: Victoria County History, 1906), ii, 229-30; Francis Peck, *Academia Tertia Anglicana, or The Antiquarian Annals of Stamford* (London, 1727, republished with a new introduction by A. Rogers, J. S. Hartley (East Ardsley, Wakefield: E. P. Publishing, 1979); Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, *The Town of Stamford* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1977), 32-33; A. Rogers, 'Late Medieval Stamford: A Study of the Town Council 1465-1495', in Alan Everitt (ed.), *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 16-38; Michael John Wall, 'Carmel in Lincolnshire II', *Bulletin of the Anglo-Welsh Carmelite Province*, 2:4 (December 1971), 4-5; R. Serjeantson, *A History of Six Houses of Friars in Northampton* (Northampton: Jos. Tebbutt, 1911), 16; Kennedy, (ed.), *Three Alliterative Saints Hymns*, lxxv; *idem*, 'Spalding's Alliterative Katherine Hymn', 462-63; Deirdre O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs 23 (Leicester: School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2013), 319-22.

⁴¹ The Luttrell Psalter (London, British Library, Ms. Additional 42130) was produced in Lincolnshire, possibly in Lincoln, c.1320-40 at the behest of its patron, Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, lord of the manor at Irnham, between Grantham and Spalding. In its celebrated depictions of medieval rural life set alongside the text of the Psalms, it is arguable that the Luttrell Psalter

theological book production.⁴² Stamford Whitefriars was founded at the east end of the town before 1268. Considered a royal foundation, the various alms given to the community by the Crown suggest that it was sizeable, numbering between approximately 20 and 35 friars for most of the fourteenth century.⁴³ These brothers hosted at least twelve provincial chapters of the Carmelite Order over the course of the priory's existence. Whitefriars was prominent among Stamford's more than thirty religious foundations including parishes, chapels, monastic and mendicant communities, hospitals, and academic halls.⁴⁴



The gatehouse is all that remains extant of the Stamford Whitefriars (photographed 2006).

represents a visual as well as literary form of vernacular theology. Among the many studies, see: Michelle P. Brown, *The World of the Luttrell Psalter* (London: British Library, 2006).

⁴² See: N. R. Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1941, Second Edition 1964), 307; Kennedy, 'Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*', 463 n. 37. A theological book of Hugo Argentinensis (the Dominican theologian Hugh Ripelin of Strasburg) from the Carmelite convent at Stamford survives as Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ms. Marston 118. If the scribe of a copy of the medieval French text *La Somme le Roi* now in Reims can indeed be identified as the Carmelite John Upton (as discussed in the previous chapter, n. 128), who was associated with the priories of Stamford and Northampton, this is further evidence of the East Midlands being a centre of sophisticated literary production by Carmelites.

⁴³ See the various records noted by Copsey in his *Chronology* of the house, awaiting publication.

⁴⁴ On these institutions see: John S. Hartley, Alan Rogers, *The Religious Foundations of Medieval Stamford*, Stamford Survey Group Report 2 (Nottingham: Nottingham University, 1974).

One of these academic halls, Brasenose College, is of particular note for its associations with the Carmelite Order. Built in the early 1330s by secessionists of the University of Oxford with pretensions to founding a rival seat of learning in Lincolnshire, Brasenose College adjoined, and possibly even encompassed, the Carmelite friary.⁴⁵ Though closed (like similar upstarts at Salisbury and Northampton) by King Edward III following petitions by the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, Stamford's reputation as a centre of learning endured, the dissolved friary being known as 'White Friars College' into the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ The size of the Carmelite community relative to the size of the town, extant records of scholarly Whitefriars known to have been resident in Stamford, and the location of their friary next to Brasenose all suggest that 'White Friars College' was some form of unofficial *studium* for the Order in the Midlands, located between its official ones in York, Norwich, London and Oxford.⁴⁷ No doubt such an environment would have encouraged a young friar such as Richard Spalding to develop his academic interests and progress to London.

Also influential on a young man entering religious life in the early 1390s would have been the council convened in 1392 at Stamford's Carmelite friary by the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtenay, to try the Cistercian Henry Crumpe on charges of heresy. This Irish monk had been a strong opponent of the 'Lollards' (his use of that term is the first recorded instance in the context of religious dissent), attending the London 'Earthquake Council' of 1382, and subsequently publicising its condemnation of John Wyclif to colleagues at the University of Oxford. Later that year, however, the Chancellor of Oxford sought to have condemned some of the theological views that Crumpe had expressed in academic debate with a Carmelite and a Franciscan. Crumpe's disapproval of the mendicants became a focus of his work upon returning to Ireland, where the Bishop of Meath (himself a Dominican) condemned the Cistercian of heresy in 1385, largely because of his attacks on the pastoral privileges of the friars and their role as confessors, but also because Crumpe seemed to have adopted some of Wyclif's views on the Eucharist as simply a 'mirror' of Christ's presence. Crumpe

⁴⁵ On the Stamford secessionists see: Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (London, 1895), II, 397-98; G. R. Evans, *John Wyclif: Myth and Reality* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2005), 77; Kennedy, 'Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*', 463; B. L. Deed, *The History of Stamford School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954, Second Edition 1982); Francis Peck, *Academia Tertia Anglicana, or The Antiquarian Annals of Stamford* (London, 1727, republished with a new introduction by A. Rogers, J. S. Hartley (East Ardsley, Wakefield: E. P. Publishing, 1979). On the site see: Nicholas J. Sheehan, 'The Brazenose Site in Stamford', available on the website of the Stamford Survey Group: www.stamfordhistory.org.uk/publications/brazenose-site-stamford [accessed January 2014].

⁴⁶ 'The west gate of the Carmes, or White Friars College' is depicted in an engraving in Francis Peck's 1727 *Annals of Stamford*, reproduced in Martin Smith, *Stamford Myths and Legends* (Stamford: Paul Watkins Publishing, 1998), 69. As late as 1827 students at Oxford were obliged to swear the following oath: 'You shall also swear that you will not read lectures, or hear them read, at Stamford, as in a university study, or college general'. Noted in Michael Beloff, *The Plateglass Universities* (Madison, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1968), 15.

⁴⁷ In the first chapter (n. 39) we noted that the Carmelite priory in Lynn also served as some form of unofficial study centre, so the practice is not unprecedented.

returned to Oxford where his questionable views prompted complaints to the king's council. On 28th May 1392 a council to deliberate on the charges of heresy convened at the Stamford Whitefriars, perhaps a geographically convenient central location for the participants but also a centre of academic excellence. The convention was attended by the Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Dublin, a number of bishops (including the Carmelite John Swafham, Bishop of Bangor), and representatives of the four orders of mendicant friars (including the Carmelite Provincial John Kynyngham, and a good number of Whitefriars such as Thomas Peverel, later Bishop of Worcester and dining companion of Margery Kempe). The Whitefriar John Langton preserved an account of the proceedings that was later included in the Carmelite compendium of Wycliffite errors *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*.⁴⁸ Ten of Henry Crumpe's propositions concerning the mendicants' rights to hear confessions were condemned as heretical, and the Cistercian was compelled to abjure them (though upon returning to Ireland he continued to work against the friars).⁴⁹

Less than three months after the council met in Stamford, the citizens of London turned against King Richard. The following year Carmelite friar Nicholas Weston was accused of promoting Lollardy among the citizens of Northampton. No friar studying at the Whitefriars' community in Stamford in the last years of the fourteenth century could be unaware of the friction between the forces of religious and social 'Orthodoxy' (including the king, bishops and Carmelites) on the one hand, and the followers of 'Heresy' on the other. It was seemingly in this highly-charged environment that Richard Spalding wrote *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn*.

The Alliterative Katherine Hymn is a concise rendering in verse of the life and death of Saint Katherine of Alexandria, one of the best-loved holy women of medieval Christianity, whose hagiography circulated in many Latin and vernacular texts,⁵⁰ and who was the focus of considerable

⁴⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. E Mus. 86 (S.C. 3629), fo. 77v ff., edited in *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, 343-49. On Langton see: Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

⁴⁹ *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (ed.) W. W. Shirley (Rolls Series, 1858), 343-59. On the Stamford council see: Kennedy, 'Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*', 462; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 61-62; H. G. Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power under Richard II', *The English Historical Review*, 51:201 (January 1936), 1-28; Katherine Walsh, 'Crumpe, Henry (fl. c.1376-1401)', in *ODNB*.

⁵⁰ For examples, see: S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne, E. J. Dobson (eds.), *Seinte Katerine*, Early English Text Society Supplementary Series 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); the *St. Katherine* prose text often circulated with *Ancrene Wisse*, translated by Anne Savage, Nicholas Watson, *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press 1991), 259-84; 'the liff of the blessed virgine Seint Katerine' in Richard Hamer (ed.), *Gilte Legende*, vol 2, Early English Text Society Original Series 328 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 876-906; Clemence of Barking, 'Life of Saint Catherine', in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Glyn S. Burgess (eds. and trans.), *Virgin Lives and Holy Deaths: Two Exemplary Biographies for Anglo-Norman Women*, Everyman's Library (London: J. M. Dent, 1996), 3-43; Saara Nevanlinna, Irma Taavitsainen, *St. Katherine of Alexandria: The Late Middle English Prose Legend in Southwell Minster Ms. 7* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, for Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 1993); J. Jenkins, K. J. Lewis (eds.), *St. Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); 'Saint Katherine of Alexandria' in Claire M. Waters (ed. and trans.), *Virgins and Scholars: A Fifteenth-Century Compilation of the Lives of John the Baptist, John the*

popular piety.⁵¹ Revered as one of the ‘Fourteen Holy Helpers’, a group of saints venerated because their intercession was believed to have special efficacy, especially against disease, Katherine was invoked by a wide range of people within medieval society. The many facets of her life and death – as a scholar, virgin, martyr, royal woman – rendered her a popular patron saint for wheelwrights, scholars, scribes, theologians, and dying persons, to name but a few. As a virgin Katherine was seen as a special protector of nuns’ enclosures, whilst simultaneously as a woman engaged in the affairs of the world she was revered as a patron of unmarried girls. Medieval pilgrims such as John Mandeville and the Dominican Felix Fabri wrote of journeys to revere St. Katherine’s relics at the monastery on Mount Sinai in Egypt, and shrines and altars were dedicated to her across Europe, including well-known ones at Canterbury and Westminster, and lesser-known local sites across England.

Though Katherine was a hugely popular figure throughout medieval Christianity in both East and West, there is a demonstrably strong link between her and the spirituality of the Carmelites in the East Midlands of England. Kevin Alban has highlighted the existence of an altar dedicated to Katherine of Alexandria in the Carmelite church at Northampton. Given that this church may have been a place of pilgrimage thanks to its statue of Mary, it is possible that the Carmelites also actively promoted the cult of St. Katherine. The Carmelite friary in Sandwich, Kent, also had a statue of Katherine that attracted pilgrims who received an indulgence for their devotion.⁵² Furthermore, the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* owned by the London Whitefriars c. 1375 includes a beautiful illumination depicting Katherine’s arguments with the pagan scholars (above) and the destruction of the torture wheel (below).⁵³

Evangelist, Jerome, and Katherine of Alexandria, *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts* 10 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2008), 276-423; Oliver Pickering, ‘Saints’ Lives’, in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 249-70; the Stanzaic Life of Katherine, John Mirk’s sermon on St. Katherine, and the Katherine text from *Speculum Sacerdotale* in Sherry L. Reames, *Middle English Legends of Women Saints*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), 169-248 (and other sources and analogues listed on 172).

⁵¹ On St. Katherine’s medieval cult see: Kennedy’s edition, lxxv; Katherine J. Lewis, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000); Katherine J. Lewis, ‘Pilgrimage and the Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England’, in J. Stopford (ed.), *Pilgrimage Explored*, *York Studies in Medieval Theology* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1999), 145-60.

⁵² On the Carmelites’ pious devotion to Katherine see: Kevin Alban, ‘The Fabric of Worship: Liturgy and its Artefacts in the Medieval English Province of Carmelites’, *Carmelus*, 53 (2006), 111-29 [125]; ‘Thomas Netter: Pushing Back the Boundaries of Affiliation in the Carmelite Order’, *Carmelus*, 61 (2014), 9-29. On the statue of Mary in Northampton see: Kevin Alban, ‘The Character and Influence of Carmelite Devotion to Mary in Medieval England’, *Maria – A Journal of Marian Studies*, 2 (2001), 73-104. On the ‘fair image of the blessed virgin and martyr Katherine ... held in great veneration’ in Sandwich see ‘Friaries: The Carmelite friars of Sandwich’, in William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Kent: Volume II*, *Victoria County History* (London: The St. Catherine Press, 1926), 204-05.

⁵³ London, British Library, Ms. Additional 29704-5, fo. 161v. Intriguingly, standing behind the emperor’s throne among the scholars about to be converted to Christ by Katherine is a figure who appears to be dressed in the white and brown of a Carmelite habit.

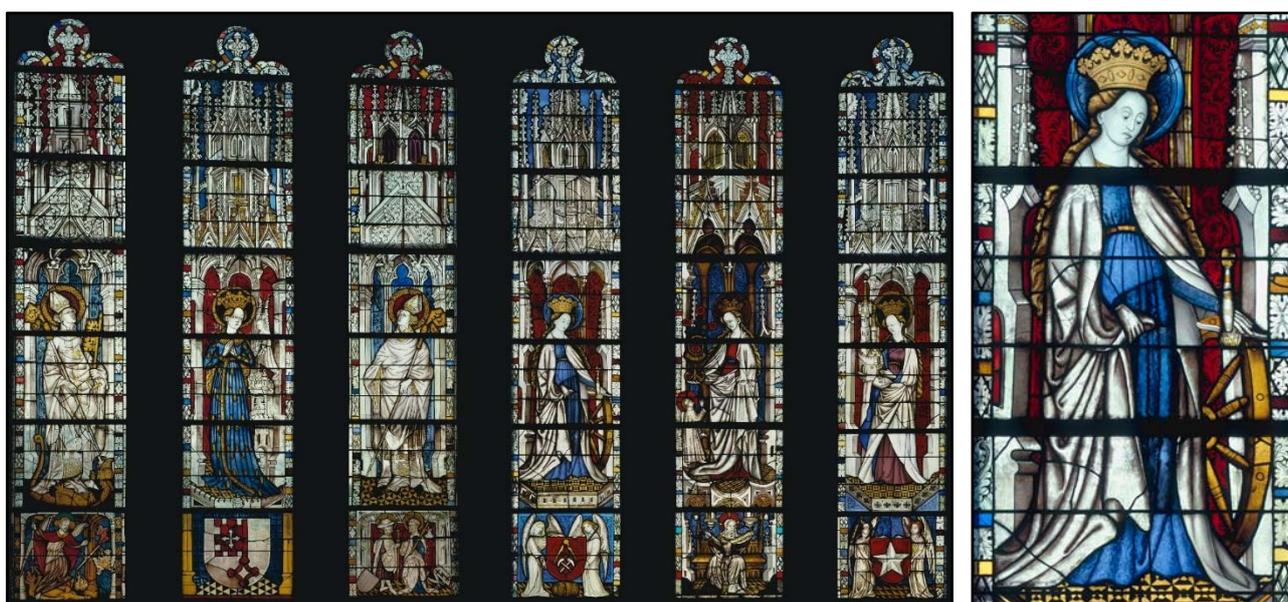


Saint Katherine depicted in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*.
London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 161v. (detail).

Worth comparing alongside the depiction of Katherine in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* and in Spalding's *Hymn* is her inclusion in a series of windows at the Carmelite Church in Boppard-am-Rhein near Koblenz.⁵⁴ These were installed between 1440 and 1446, and a number of the lancets

⁵⁴ On the Boppard windows, now in New York and Glasgow, see: James J. Rorimer, 'New Acquisitions for the Cloisters', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series 33:5, Part 2 (May 1938), 12-15; William Wells, 'Some notes on the stained glass in the Burrell collection in the Glasgow Art Gallery', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters*, 12 (1959), 277-79; William Wells, *Stained and Painted Glass, Burrell Collection: Figures and Ornamental Subjects* (Glasgow, 1965), 66-67; William Wells, 'Stained glass from Boppard-on-Rhein in the Burrell Collection', *Scottish Art Review*, 10 (1966), 22-25; Jane Hayward, 'Stained-Glass Windows from the Carmelite Church at Boppard-am-Rhein: A Reconstruction of the Glazing Program of the North Nave', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 2 (1969), 75-114; James J. Rorimer, *Medieval Monuments at The Cloisters: As They Were and As They Are* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, revised edition 1972) 73-75, figures 93-95; Catalogue entry by Jane Hayward in Madeline H. Caviness (ed.), *Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections: New England and New York*, Corpus Vitrearum Checklist I / Studies in the History of Art 15 (Washington, 1985), 118-20; Timothy B. Husband, Charles T. Little, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Series 3 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of

depict figures connected with the defeat of heresy. Saint Servatius (left window), Bishop of Tongres, holds a key presented to him by the pope in recognition of his fight against heresy, symbolized by the dragon he tramples underfoot. Saint Michael appears below Servatius, likewise trampling evil and weighing souls, echoing the antiheretical imagery. The image of the Virgin can be interpreted as a statement of orthodox belief in the Eucharist, since her robe is adorned with images of corn or wheat, an iconographic type stemming from litanies of Mary likening her to a field of grain that nourishes humanity with the bread of life. Another lancet depicts Saint Dorothy who, like Saint Katherine, was a reputed fourth-century virgin martyr who refuted those who taunted her Christian faith.



Windows from the Carmelite Church at Boppard-am-Rhein (1440-46).

Saint Katherine is depicted in the third lancet from the right, and shown in detail.

Pot-metal glass, white glass, vitreous glass, silver stain. Each window 337.2 x 71.8cm.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1937 (37.62.1-6)

The incorporation of Katherine in both the Boppard window and the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* suggest that Carmelites in late medieval Europe regarded her as totemic of the fight against heresy. This may account for her appeal to an English Carmelite writer of vernacular theology such as Richard Spalding.

Both a petitionary hymn and a romanced *passio*, *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* includes most of the features and episodes commonly found in hagiographic narratives about Katherine. She is

Art, 1987), 140-42, no. 130; Peter Barnet, Nancy Y. Wu, *The Cloisters: Medieval Art and Architecture*, (New York and New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 128-29, 197, no. 91; Peter Barnet, Nancy Y. Wu. *The Cloisters: Medieval Art and Architecture – 75th Anniversary Edition* (New York and New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 132-35.

described as a beautiful and intelligent young woman of noble birth who refuses the demand made by the Roman Emperor Maxentius (not specifically named in Spalding's poem) that she worship pagan idols. The emperor summons fifty of the finest scholars to dispute with Katherine (as depicted in the 'Reconstructed' Missal), but she overcomes them with her reason and eloquence, prompting their conversion to Christianity. The emperor orders the scholars to be burned, but Katherine's prayerful intercession saves them from pain. Katherine is then imprisoned, tortured, and starved, but receives divine consolation that her death will result in a heavenly crown. The queen persuades Porphirius (introduced in the poem by name but without explanation, showing that by popular tradition he would be known as captain of the emperor's guard), to arrange access to Katherine's dungeon. Katherine duly converts queen and knight to Christian belief. The enraged emperor has his wife killed by cutting off her breasts, and Porphirius gives her decent burial, leading the emperor to execute his old ally for treachery. Katherine is fetched from her cell and ordered by the emperor to offer sacrifice to his god, threatening her with being killed on a spiked breaking wheel if she refuses. When Katherine touches the wheel it is miraculously destroyed (as depicted in the 'Reconstructed' Missal), dispersing four thousand spectators, including married women of high and low rank as well as young girls, all of whom weep for her. The emperor accuses Katherine of corrupting those gathered, and orders her to be beheaded. She promises to pray for those who ponder her death. God hears her prayer, tells Katherine to be attentive to Truth, and assures her that she will be consoled by heavenly music when she is killed. Beheaded by a scimitar, Katherine's body is carried by angels to Mount Sinai where healing oil issues from her body. The poet/performer of *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* entreats his audience to ponder Katherine's death that she might reduce their pain, before turning to petition Katherine herself on behalf of humanity. The poet/performer asks Katherine for rescue from deceivers and enemies, and that she submit petitions to Christ every day. She is invoked as a lantern and sunbeam, bestowing on devotees the virtues of Christ, of whom she is the bride. The poet/performer asks that persecutors who torture those seeking Christ's friendship turn away, and that Katherine bring those under her patronage to her dwelling place with the king who was born brother of humankind, and who hung on the cross for our sake.

Having summarised the narrative, let us consider specific portions in more detail for what they reveal about the Carmelite Order's dedication to, and disquiet in, composing and circulating religious texts in the vernacular. The opening stanza of the hymn gives a general summary of Saint Katherine's self-sacrifice, and invokes her as a protector:

Katereyn, þe curteys of alle þat I know,
 cumlyest kepyng keytefs fro kare,
 Of lyth þou art lanterne to leche hem below,
 to leede hem þat þe loue fro bales ful bare.
 For no throng of no threte þou woldest not ouerthrow,
 bot tholyd thykly, thank of vs, care;
 Qwen þe tyraunt trayfolly walde turne þe, I trow,
 with towchyng of turnement he tynt [þe] to spare.
 To spare þe he tynt þere,
 Qwen he his myht mynt þere,
 To momyl on his mawment;
 And, for þou styfly stynte þere,
 As fyre doth of flynt þere
 Þi resons hym rent.

(lines 1-14)⁵⁵

*Katherine the most gracious of all that I know,
 most beautiful one keeping wretches from woe,
 You are a lantern of light to heal them below,
 to lead those who love you from extreme torments.
 For no pressure of threat would overcome you,
 but you suffered intensely, for our sakes, care for us;
 When the tyrant grievously would convert you, I believe,
 with affliction of torture (racking) he failed to spare you.
 To spare you he failed there,
 When he his power aimed there,
 To make you babble prayers to his idol;
 And you stoutly stood firm there,
 As fire does from flint there,
 Your arguments lacerated him.*

⁵⁵ All quotations are from Kennedy's edition. Translations are my own, my primary intention being to translate the more difficult Middle English words as literally as possible, rather than preserve rhyme and metre.

If this poem is indeed by the Carmelite Richard Spalding, it is intriguing for us to contrast his choice of subject matter with the trial of Henry Crumpe. Crumpe was found guilty of heresy by a gathering of the leading ecclesiastical scholars of the day. Katherine converted the leading scholars of her day, and was condemned for failing to submit to the emperor's religious demands that she 'momyll on his mawment' (babble prayers to his idol). Katherine's failure to babble prayers to idols is described in language that is reminiscent of terms used by, and against, Lollards. Intended or not, Spalding's choice of subject for vernacular verse offers a striking comparison with events in Ricardian England.

With this in mind, it is interesting to speculate whether Spalding's audience would also have detected contemporary resonances in the second stanza:

Katereyn with hyre resons þat rwd þus sche rent;
 sche rowth not of his rialte, hir rewle was so rithe;
 And so þat bostful belamy þat beerd so bent
 þat neþer bewte ne bonchif abode in his bythe.
 Þan to seke schofferes his sergauntes he sent,
 to se qwo schuld scort hyre sawes in his sythe.
 Fyfti fyne retorikes in hast þei hem hent;
 of clargy in kyngdames þe hiest were hythe.
 Heyest were þei hythe þan,
 And most made of myth þan,
 Clergi to kepe.
 He, þe beerde bryth, þan,
 Soche poyntes hem pyth þan
 To her lore þei lepe. (lines 15-28)

*Katherine lacerated that violent person with her arguments;
 she cared nothing for his royal status, her religious belief was so right;
 And that maiden so [far] overcame that bragging 'fair[weather] friend'
 neither courtesy nor cheerful behaviour abode in him.
 Then he sent his officers to seek detractors,
 to see who should curtail her discourses in his presence.
 Fifty excellent scholars girded themselves in a hurry
 known as the highest men of learning in the kingdoms.*

*Highest were they known as then,
 And most made of power then,
 Learning to defend.
 The radiant maiden then
 Pitched such arguments to them,
 That to her religious persuasion they leapt.*

In recounting Katherine's conversion of the scholars, Spalding was following the conventional narrative of her hagiography. However, in the contentious social context of late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century England, it is perhaps surprising that a lay person, especially a woman, who converted the leading clerics of her time, should be upheld as a model. As has been noted throughout this thesis, a major effect of the rise of Lollardy was a clamp-down on unauthorised lay, particularly female, preaching and teaching. Should we thus interpret Richard Spalding as arguing against the policies of the English hierarchy? Probably not; the Katherine narrative was well-known enough that it was unlikely to be regarded as controversial. Another interpretation is that Spalding, rather than upholding the authority of lay persons as superior to clergy and scholars, is presenting Katherine as a sort of 'anti-Crumpe' or prototype Carmelite who wins over her opponents by use of reason and eloquent argument.

Some medieval accounts of Katherine's life and martyrdom stress her significance as a role model for women, rather than as an intercessor, downplaying her intellectual capability. This is not the case in Richard Spalding's poem, in which Katherine is presented as a quick-witted authority whose arguments persuade the highest men of learning to leap to her religious persuasion. In this we might argue that *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* proposes an expansion of those permitted to engage in religious musings. It is worth remarking that in 1473 a new college was founded in Cambridge; St. Catherine's College was intended to be a small community of scholars who studied only theology and philosophy, under the patronage of Katherine of Alexandria. Given the likelihood that 'White Friars College' in Stamford was also a major place of study, it is arguable that this Carmelite presentation of her hagiography indicates that she was revered as a patron of learning.

The third stanza describes the scholars as completely won over by Katherine. They are 'lede in hyr lees' ('taken in tow by her leash', l. 30), they 'bowed hir blely' ('deferred to her willingly') and 'bonde hem to hire bidding' ('pledge themselves to her bidding', l. 31-32). The result is that they are burned at the emperor's command, but endure no injure because of Katherine's intercession. After the passing of *De Heretico Comburendo* in 1401, audiences of *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* would surely not have heard this poem without such punishment coming to mind.

In the following stanzas, the conflict between Katherine and the emperor is presented as the battle between truth and deception, between clear reason and cunning. The emperor tries to convert Katherine using ‘wrenchis and wyls ... with a wondrousful cast’ (‘tricks and wiles ... with prodigious contrivance’, l. 141), finally, and ironically, accusing Katherine of corrupting others. Again, one cannot read the poem – possibly with the benefit of hindsight – without thinking of the accusations levelled by Carmelites against Wyclif and his followers, who are described as deceptive and cunning in their corruption of others, leading them away from truth.

In stanza 14 of the poem, Katherine is beheaded and her body is carried by angels to Mount Sinai:

Pan prestly þat prisonere hir nek forth sche pytte
 and preuyd hirsself purly qwen peyne did hir prik.
 Fersly with a faunchon þat comly was kitte
 þat milk for þat mayden throng þere ful thik.
 Þus was þe cors knytt of a kaytyf vnknyt
 qwen sche was woundid vnworthi, as woful and wik.
 And as fresch fesaunt to hire fere þan sche flyit,
 qwen fayntly sche foundyed as a flayn flik,
 Pan þat flik flayn newe
 Angeles ful fayn newe
 Hir body þei fett.
 With myȝth and with mayn newe
 Hir þat was slayn newe
 In Syna þei sett. (lines 183-96)

*Then readily that prisoner put forth her neck
 and proved herself wholly when pain assailed her.
 Violently with a scimitar that fair one was cut
 milk sprung abundantly from that maiden.
 Thus was the joined-up body of a wretch destroyed
 when she was wounded undeservingly, as miserable and wicked.
 And like a young pheasant she flitted to her companion,
 when feebly she sank as a flayed flich (slaughtered creature),
 Then over that newly flayed flich
 Angels rejoiced greatly,*

*Her body they fetched.
 With power and with strength immediately,
 She that was newly slain
 They set on Mount Sinai.*

For reasons we shall consider shortly, the primary audience for this poem was beyond the Carmelite Order, but Whitefriars coming across Spalding's rendition of the traditional Katherine narrative might have identified some resonances with their own spiritual heritage. Mount Sinai, also known as Horeb, was by ancient tradition the mountain where not only Katherine was laid to rest, but also Moses received the Ten Commandments (*Exodus* 34:28; *Deuteronomy* 10:4), and the prophet Elijah encountered God's presence in the silence of a gentle breeze (*1 Kings* 19:12). Any reference to Sinai/Horeb would have had particular significance to Carmelites, who regarded themselves as spiritual descendants of Elijah. One of Elijah's principal missions was to purge Israel of the worship of false idols, which also makes Katherine's refusal to engage in idolatry particularly significant for a Carmelite audience. Another parallel between Elijah and Katherine is the solace each receives from God via birds; whereas Elijah was brought food by ravens (*1 Kings* 17:4), Katherine is able to endure prison thanks to the solace of 'a dentywos dowf' ('beautiful dove', l. 59). Even the manner of Katherine's death – beheading with a 'faunchon' (a 'falchion' or 'scimitar', l. 185) – has possible resonances for a Carmelite reader/listener. Legendary histories of the Carmelite Order, particularly popular in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, recounted that the hermits who had not migrated from the Holy Land but remained on Mount Carmel were slain by Saracens, stereotypically depicted in art and literature brandishing the falchion or scimitar. As Kennedy observes, Spalding's use of the word 'faunchon', as well as being a useful alliterative synonym for a sword, is 'an apt execution weapon for an eastern potentate'.⁵⁶ Just as Elijah's mortal life concluded with his being borne to paradise in a fiery chariot (*2 Kings* 2:11), so Katherine's body is borne aloft by angels. Though these Carmelite 'echoes' may have been lost on an audience unfamiliar with the Order's sense of self-identity, they indicate that *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* might have had an appreciative readership within Spalding's own community, and those lay persons closely connected to it.

⁵⁶ Kennedy, edition, 56. On the importance of the Holy Land in the Carmelite Order's sense of history and identity, in many ways at a peak in the late fourteenth century with the emergence of various legends and prophecies, including Felip Ribot's *Decem Libri*, see: Andrew Jotischky, 'Carmelites and Crusading in the Later Middle Ages', in Peter D. Clarke, Charlotte Methuen (eds.), *The Church on its Past*, Studies in Church History 49 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press for The Ecclesiastical History Society, 2013), 110-20.

Both Carmelites and others of an orthodox religious persuasion could identify with the sentiments Spalding expresses in stanza 17. This includes, in the parchment roll, a rubricated acrostic reference to ‘Katerina’, and an appeal for her saintly intercession:

- k** Kepe hem here, Katereyn, al þat þe calle,
and kache hem fro kares qwen þei krepn in klay;
- a** And hem þat are of Adam [heres] here, alle,
fro þe aungeles of angwysch þou a[uert] hem ay.
- t** Turne away al traytures, turtyl so talle,
þat towchyn vs with turmentys of tene and of tray.
- e** Euer entrik þou our enmyes to falle;
entyr þou oure herandys to Crist euerei day.
- r** Reche vs blysse blyth þer,
- i** Jentyl in loue liþ þer,
Oure foos for to fende.
- n** Now swynk þou for vs swith þere,
- a** Ay kyndnes to [k]iþ þere,
Oure myrthys for to mende. (lines 225-38)

*Defend here, Katherine, all who call on you,
and preserve them from woes when they lie buried in clay;
And those that are Adam's [heirs] here,
avert them always from the angels of anguish.
Turn away all deceivers, turtle dove so noble/mighty,
that touch us with torments of grief and of affliction.
Always entrap our enemies so they fall;
submit our business to Christ everyday.
Obtain for us joyful bliss there,
Gracious in kindly love there,
Fend off our foes.
Now labour for us very much,
Always kindness to make known
Our joys to restore.*

References in this stanza to ‘traytures’ and ‘enmyes’ could be simply generic spiritual threats, but in the light of contemporary theological disputes such words have a particularly pertinent edge. As patron saint of preachers and theologians a poem invoking Katherine’s aid may have been intended to counteract false religious thinking. As Spalding prays in his closing stanza: ‘Fe[n]d vs, feer fa[i]þful, þat vs no foly fal, / for [f]eyntheð and freelte we feel vs besyde’ [269-270]. Certainly the Carmelite poet’s worldview is that the dangers which beset St. Katherine centuries before still beset Christians in his own day, in a dangerous world of suffering and betrayal.

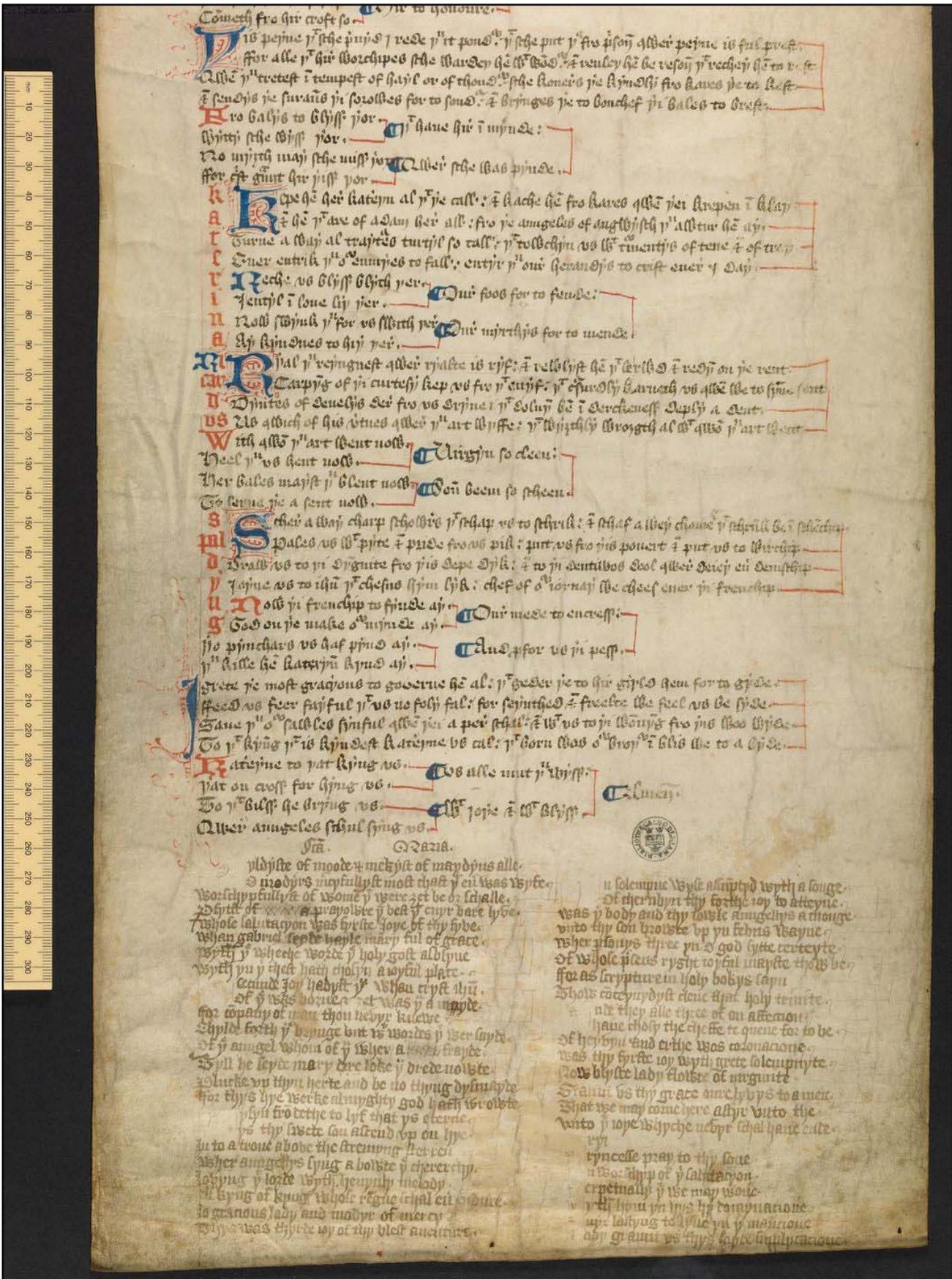
Having considered the content of the poem, let us turn to the question of its authorship and dating. Carmelite authorship of *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* is suggested by the name ‘Ricardus spaldyng’ appearing in an acrostic, highlighted by rubrication, at the foot of Ms. Bodley Rolls 22, running down the length of stanzas 18 and 19:

- Ri** Ryal þou reyngnest qwere ryalte is ryf,
and rewlyst hem þat be rwd and redyn on þe rent.
- car** Carpyng of þi curtesy kep vs fro þat cnyf
þat cursedly karueth vs qwen we to synne sent.
- d** Dyntes of deuelys dere fro vs dryue
þat doluyn ben in derckenesse deply adent.
- us** Us qwi[t]h of his virtues qwere þou art wyffe,
þat wy3thly wro3gth al, with qwom þou art went.
With qwom þou art went now,
Heel þou vs hent now,
Uirgyn so cleen.
Her bales ma[k]yst þou blent now,
To lerne þe asent now,
Sonbeem so scheen.
- s** Schere away charp schowres þat schap vs to schrik,
and schaf away chames þat schrunk be in schenchip;
- pal** Pales vs with pyte, and pride for vs pik;
put vs fro þis pouert and put vs to wirchip;
- d** Draw vs to þi dyngnite fro þis depe dyk,
and to þi dentiws dool qwere deieþ euer demschip.
- y** Joyne vs to Jesu, þat chesus hym lyk;
chef of our jornay, we chees euer þi frenchip.
- n** Now þi frenchip to fynde ay,
- g** God on þe make our mynde ay,
Our mede to encresse.
Þo pynchars vs haf pynd ay,
Pou kille hem, Kateryn, kind ay,
And profor vs þi pesse. (lines 239-66)

*Royal / magnificent you reign where regal power / status is abounding,
and rule those that are lowly / ignorant and read on your peace.
Talking of your graciousness keep us from that knife
that damnably cuts / rends / bites us when we assent to sin.*

*Blows / strokes of devils with love from us drive
 that are buried and fastened down / gripped in deep darkness.
 Reward us with his virtues of whom you are the wife / bride,
 that cleverly made all, with whom you have departed.
 With whom you have departed now,
 Obtain salvation for us now,
 Virgin so pure.
 Their torments render null and void now,
 As the teaching of, agree now,
 Sunbeam so bright.*

*Cut away sharp assaults / pains that make us shriek,
 and strip away disgraces / harms that are sunk deep in shame;
 Enclose / shelter us with pity, and pluck pride from us;
 remove us from this (spiritual) penury and lead us to worship;
 Draw us to your position of honour from this deep dungeon / slough,
 and to your beautiful lot / apportionment where judgment dies.
 Join us to Jesus, that chose / select as he likes;
 goal of our journey, we choose ever your friendship.
 Now your friendship always to find.
 God make our minds always set on you,
 To increase our reward.
 Though persecutors have tortured us always,
 Kill them, Katherine, always kind,
 And grant us your peace.*



Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley Rolls 22 (footer).

The rubricated acrostics *Katerina* and *Ricardus spaldyng* are clearly visible.

This literal insertion of the author into his text is uncharacteristically self-promoting for a Carmelite, compared with the anonymity generally found in the writings of Richard Maidstone, Richard Lavenham, and Thomas Ashburne, but can perhaps be accounted for if we accept Ruth Kennedy's suggestion that *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* might have been produced as part of a competition or other special occasion held by the Parish Guild of Saint Katherine in Stamford, which would merit a certain public display of the writer's identity.⁵⁷ The suggestion that *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* was linked to a guild is prompted by the second line in the twentieth and final stanza:

I grete þe, most gracyous to governe hem al
 þat geder þe to hir giyld, hem for to gyde.
 Fe[n]d⁵⁸ vs, feer fa[i]þful, þat vs no foly fal,
 for [f]eynthed and freelte we feel vs besyde.
 Saue þou our sawles synful qwen þei apere schal,
 and wi[n] vs to þi wonnyng fro þis woo wyde.
 To þat kyng þat is kyndest, Katereyne, vs cal,
 þat born was our broþur, in blis we to abyde.
 Katereyne to þat kyng vs,
 þat on crosse for hyng vs,
 Vs alle mut þou wysse.
 To þat b[l]isse he bryng vs
 Qwere aungeles schul syng vs
 With joye and with blysse.
 Amen.

(lines 267-81)

*I greet you, most empowered by grace to govern them all
 who adopt you (as patron saint) to their guild, to guide them.
 Defend us, faithful friend, that no folly befall us,
 for weakness and frailty we feel beside us.
 Save our sinful souls when they shall appear (in God's presence),
 and bring us to your dwelling from the woe of this world.
 To that king who is kindest, Katherine, call us,*

⁵⁷ On the provenance see: Kennedy's edition, lxiv ff.

⁵⁸ Roger Ellis has pointed out to me that where Kennedy edits the word 'Fe[n]d', the manuscript reads 'Feed'.

who was born our brother, to live in bliss.

Katherine to that king

Who hung for us on the cross

You must guide us all.

To that bliss may be bring us

Where angels shall sing us

With joy and with bliss.

Amen.

Medieval Stamford had a Guild of Saint Katherine that met only metres away from the Carmelite friary, in a room over the porch of the parish church of St. Paul, a church which for over a century housed an anchoress on the north side and which is now the chapel of Stamford School, the descendent of Brasenose College.⁵⁹ The guild, well-documented and one of five known guilds in the town, attracted leading gentry, nobility, and clergy, who formed a fraternity for social and spiritual purposes.⁶⁰ Medieval guilds were particularly important networks of encounter between clergy, religious, and pious laity.⁶¹ Ruth Kennedy suggests that Brother Richard Spalding may have been linked to the guild either as a chaplain or as a commissioned writer.

Carmelite historian Richard Copey has dismissed the likelihood of Spalding acting as chaplain to the guild;⁶² however, as we shall remark in the next chapter, Carmelites in medieval England were prominent members of guilds, including the Stamford Guild of St. Katherine.⁶³ Whitefriars were members of the Corpus Christi Guilds in both York (where the house was a meeting place for the Cordwainers' Guild) and Boston (only thirty miles from Stamford).⁶⁴ There are recorded associations

⁵⁹ Kennedy edition, lxv.

⁶⁰ On the nature and purpose of guilds in general see: 'Confraternities and Chantry' in the chapter on 'Lay Activity' in G. W. Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability Before the Break with Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), 118-25; Ken Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia c. 1470-1550* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press/The Boydell Press, 2001); Gervase Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England, 1250-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); 'Fraternities, Guilds, and Charities' in Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 312-15.

⁶¹ For example, Vincent Gillespie highlights the All Angels Guild in London as probably being 'an important interface between the Latin, highly orthodox, and austere world of Syon [Abbey] and the lay, mercantile audience for vernacular theology among the elites': Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 28.

⁶² Kennedy cites Copey's query from personal correspondence: 'Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*', 467, n. 51.

⁶³ William Henson was Prior of the Carmelites in Stamford in 1489 when he paid 6s. 8d. to be admitted to the St. Katherine Guild. See: A. Rogers, *The Act Book of St. Katherine's Guild, Stamford, 1480-1534* (Bury St Edmunds: Abramis Academic Publishing and Stamford Survey Group, 2011).

⁶⁴ The Carmelite Provincial John Vynde (d. 1505) was a member of the Corpus Christi Guild in Boston in 1484. See: Copey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 262.

between the Carmelites of Coventry and the Salters' Guild (1504), the Carpenters' Company (1450), and a guild with specific devotion to St. Katherine.⁶⁵ In Northampton the Carmelite convent was the meeting place of both the Cloth Shearers' and Shoemakers' Guilds.⁶⁶ In London the Carmelites maintained the membership roll of the Minstrels' Guild and prayed for its deceased members.⁶⁷ In 1539 the Carmelite John Butler became a chantry chaplain in Hitchin until the national suppression of the chantries, and is recorded as celebrating Masses for a guild.⁶⁸ Relations between Carmelites and guilds are known to have been just as strong in Continental Europe.⁶⁹ It was also not unknown for Carmelites occasionally to act as chaplains outside of their communities, for example in court circles, in private homes, or in parishes.⁷⁰ Moreover, Kennedy has shown that a 'frater' (i.e. friar) Hugo Brom was paid a stipend for celebrating Mass in the Chapel of Saint Katherine c. 1487,⁷¹ and in 1515 the living of St. Paul's in Stamford was served by a stipendiary warden, 'frater William Smithe'.⁷²

Further evidence points to Richard Spalding, Carmelite of Stamford, being the composer of *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn*. Firstly, the dialect of the poem has been located to the Spalding area.⁷³ In terms of dating, no internal textual or palaeographic evidence is available to us. Whilst accepting that the wider period of c. 1350-1450 cannot be excluded, Kennedy believes that the vocabulary and usage of *Katherine* can reliably be assigned to the 1390s-c. 1415,⁷⁴ making Richard Spalding a likely contender. We know that he was a member of the Stamford Whitefriars when ordained acolyte in 1399, and in London when ordained priest two years later. It is possible that Richard Spalding wrote

⁶⁵ Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 267; Kennedy edition, lxvi; Kennedy's *Viator* article n. 61. In the early sixteenth century, the Carmelite Provincial, John Bird, was listed in the register of Coventry's Guild of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. John the Baptist and St. Katherine, as was the Prior of Coventry in 1535, Richard Woodcock: Mary Dormer Harris (ed.), *Reg. Guild of Holy Trinity, etc.* (London: Dugdale Society, 1935), xiii, 101, 108.

⁶⁶ *Liber Custumarum*, fo. 101v, quoted in R. M. Serjeantson, 'The White Friars of Northampton', *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers*, 30 (1909), 147-62 [156].

⁶⁷ See the 1398 Ordinances of London Guilds, 470: Minstrels, founded 1350, translated in H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London: SPCK, 1919), 267.

⁶⁸ For details see: Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

⁶⁹ Machtelt Israëls, 'Altars on the street: the wool guild, the Carmelites and the feast of Corpus Domini in Siena (1356-1456)', *Renaissance Studies*, 20 (2), 180-200. On Carmelite confraternities and guilds, see: 'Confraternite Carmelitane', in Emanuele Boaga, Luigi Borriello (eds.), *Dizionario Carmelitano* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2008), 167-70.

⁷⁰ See the index entry for 'Chaplaincies' in Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3. On Carmelites as papal chaplains and their subsequent exemption from community life see: Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 47.

⁷¹ Kennedy, 'Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*', 467. Richard Copsey's *Biographical Register* lists some friars with the surname 'Brom' (including a Prior Provincial) or similar variations, and the Christian name 'Hugh' seems to have been popular in the Stamford area (no doubt thanks to St. Hugh of Lincoln). However, none fits the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The closest is a Richard Brompton, ordained subdeacon in York in 1484.

⁷² Kennedy proposes a William Smithson, Carmelite of Lincoln, ordained deacon in 1506, as a possible candidate, though an even more likely Whitefriar is William Smyth, ordained priest in York in 1511. Kennedy suggests that by the sixteenth century perhaps a Carmelite served St. Paul's Church from the almost-adjoining friary.

⁷³ Kennedy edition, xliii-liiii, lxv. For details of its linguistic fit in McIntosh *et al* (eds.), *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, see: Kennedy, 'Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*', 456, n. 6.

⁷⁴ Kennedy edition, lxv.

The Alliterative Katherine Hymn before his entry into the Carmelite Order, or whilst a junior brother, which might account for his lack of reference to himself as a Whitefriar. 1399 was a significant year nationally because of the deposition of Richard II and the crowning of King Henry IV on 13th October. Read in this light, the *Hymn*'s references to a tyrannical king have another significance entirely.

I think it more likely, however, that Richard Spalding wrote *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* after his priestly ordination, probably returning to his *conventus nativus* after studies in London, a house where he might have been encouraged in the writing of vernacular literature by the prior, Richard Lavenham, and exposed to new poetic forms.

The Alliterative Katherine Hymn is evidence of Carmelite interest in literary developments in Ricardian England. Richard Spalding wrote the *Hymn* in alliterative stanzaic verse with a lively rhythm, rhyme, and four-/two-beat delivery. Each stanza consists of fourteen lines, beginning with eight alliterative long lines known as a *frons* (rhyming *abababab*), and ending with six short lines known as a *cauda* or wheel (rhyming *ccdccd*). The first line of the *cauda* usually contains a word or alliterative sound found in the last line of the *frons*, which has the effect of the final sestet being a summary, amplification or counterpoint to the preceding octet. It is a sophisticated verse form, as Ad Putter explains: 'The art of the *frons*-and-*cauda* strophe lies in the play of similarity and difference between these two components, each with its own distinct metrical form, yet both integrated into the larger metrical system that is the stanza', and Putter acknowledges Spalding's mastery of it.⁷⁵ Spalding's verse form has parallels with the bob-and-wheel structural device commonly employed by the *Gawain/Pearl* Poet, and Richard Spalding is the only known Whitefriar to have seriously engaged with what modern critics call the *Alliterative Revival*.⁷⁶ This literary phenomenon took place during the last third of the fourteenth century when there was a resurgence (at least in written form) of poetry composed in teutonic strong-stress metre.⁷⁷ Writers such as Langland and the *Gawain/Pearl* Poet gave new life to the traditional native poetic form inherited from Old English verse, which came as a contrast to the courtly Anglo-Norman poetry performed in French-speaking aristocratic circles. Spalding's poem seems to appeal across these social worlds, since his 'diction is highly inventive ...

⁷⁵ Ad Putter, 'Weak *E* and the metre of Richard Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*', *Notes and Queries*, 52:3 (September 2005), 288-92. On this stanza form see also: Ruth Kennedy, 'Stress-Stress Metre in Fourteen-Line Stanza Forms', in R. Kennedy (ed.), *Medieval English Measures: Studies in Metre and Versification*, special issue of *Parergon*, XVIII (2000). *The Oxford English Dictionary* records the first use of the term 'wheel' as a verse form in 1838, sadly precluding the possibility that Spalding thought the form particularly apt for a saint synonymous with wheels!

⁷⁶ In acknowledging that until recently there has been 'no very obvious mendicant connections with the alliterative tradition', Kennedy does point out that Maidstone makes use of sporadically alliterated English verse in his *Penitential Psalms*; 'Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*', 477.

⁷⁷ The classic study is Thorlac Turville-Petre, *The Alliterative Revival* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1977). See also: Kennedy's edition, xxviii.

a mixture of a rough-hewn vernacular and the sporadically genteel'.⁷⁸ Is it too much to suggest that Spalding's use of a newly-resurgent verse form with ancient roots might reflect a Carmelite desire to present a moral narrative as ancient and venerable as Katherine's *passio* in a modern and engaging form of vernacular theology?

Spalding's failure to insert his Carmelite credentials into the poem can most likely be accounted for as a question of alliterative style; unless forming an additional acrostic, it would appear clumsy to insert a reference to the Order, for example in a colophon. It may nevertheless be the case that the insertion of Spalding's name into a poem intended for a Guild meeting in a place where he was known acted as some sort of Carmelite licence, or authorial stamping of his work. If he was writing in the early fifteenth century, Spalding might have been aware how erstwhile 'orthodox' prose and verse had been appropriated by Lollard interpolators (as discussed in previous chapters). Inserting his name into the very text of the poem in the form of an acrostic arguably made it harder for the verse to be altered by later redactors.⁷⁹

If we accept the likely period of *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn*'s composition to be after Richard Spalding's presbyteral ordination in 1401, the social and religious context of the first decade of the fifteenth century sheds further light on the poem and the Carmelite Order's attitude to the question of appropriate theological enquiry. As already noted, the year of Spalding's ordination to the priesthood was also the year in which a law was passed allowing the burning of relapsed heretics. By the end of the decade, the *Constitutions* of Archbishop Arundel had prohibited the possession and reading of the Bible in the vernacular, the composition of new works of religious instruction in the vernacular, and the translation of religious texts from before the time of John Wyclif. No doubt Richard Spalding, residing at a house where Thomas Arundel himself had taken part in Henry Crumpe's heresy trial, knew of these restrictions and the penalties incurred for breaking them. However, he could arguably keep within the law by composing a poem about Saint Katherine whose hagiography was already widely known and well established, and which preceded Richard Rolle by centuries. It is notable that Richard Spalding does not deviate from the main features of Katherine's hagiography, nor does he introduce into his text any passages from the Bible, thus keeping strictly within the restrictions of 1407/09.

⁷⁸ Kennedy, *Viator* article, 460. Interestingly, Kennedy's glossary suggests that the words 'Matrones more and [myn]' (l. 152) be translated as something like 'Respectable married women high and low in rank', suggesting Spalding's awareness of a range of social classes.

⁷⁹ The ability to create an acrostic that appears natural within a text, rather than forced or artificial, is also a sign of technical sophistication. A few years before Spalding, the German Carmelite John of Hildesheim created a number of acrostics. See: 'Acrostica' in Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 392-94.

The moral thrust of Katherine's hagiography makes her life and death a very suitable subject for a friar's literary repertoire, and the intimate tone in which humanity's relationship with God is discussed in the final two stanzas (Jesus being a 'brother' with whom people can become 'friends') is typical of the mendicant emphasis on the humanity and approachability of Christ. Mendicant authorship of *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* seems even more probable in the light of the fact that the other two known late Middle English verse legends of St. Katherine were both by mendicant writers, the Augustinian friars John Capgrave (1393-1464) and Osbern Bokenham (1392/3-1464?).⁸⁰ A detailed comparison of mendicant treatments of Katherine in *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* and these (almost certainly later) analogues from fifteenth-century East Anglia must wait to be the subject of a dedicated study in its own right, but it is worth remarking that Bokenham's Katherine is of simple faith and intellectual modesty compared with the educated and articulate woman presented by Spalding.⁸¹ This perhaps suggests that the Carmelite had a higher regard for lay, specifically female, engagement with theological issues.

The *Sancta Maria* poet

Before concluding our consideration of Richard Spalding, we need briefly to consider a second poem appended to the footer of Ms. Bodley Rolls 22. Immediately following *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* is a forty-seven line English verse with the heading *Sancta Maria*.⁸² The first letters

⁸⁰ John Capgrave, *The Life of Saint Katherine* (ed.) Karen A. Winstead, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999); John Capgrave, *The Life of Saint Katherine of Alexandria* (trans.) Karen A. Winstead, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011). Osbern Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* (ed.) Mary S. Serjeantson, Early English Text Society Original Series 206 (London: Oxford University Press, 1938 for 1936), 172-201; Sheila Delany (trans.), *A Legend of Holy Women: A Translation of Osbern Bokenham's Legends of Holy Women*, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992). On Capgrave see: Peter J. Lucas, 'Capgrave, John (1393-1464)', in *ODNB*; Karen A. Winstead, *John Capgrave's Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). On Bokenham see: Douglas Gray, 'Bokenham, Osbern (b. 1392/3, d. in or after 1464)', *ODNB*; the extract from his *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 64-72, and Ian R. Johnson, 'Tales of a True Translator: Medieval Literary Theory, Anecdote and Autobiography in Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*', in Roger Ellis, Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Medieval Translator*, 4 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), 104-24. See also: Jacqueline Jenkins, "'This Lyf en Englyssh Tunge': Translation Anxiety in Late Medieval Lives of St. Katherine', in Rosalynn Voaden, René Tixier, Teresa Sanchez Roura, Jenny Rebecca Rytting (eds.), *The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, *The Medieval Translator* 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 137-48.

⁸¹ For a recent consideration see the chapter 'Bokenham's Autographies' in A. C. Spearing, *Medieval Autographies: The "I" of the Text* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012).

⁸² On the *Sancta Maria* text see Kennedy's edition, xi, and for an edition see her article 'Pipwel's Saint Mary' in *Notes and Queries*, 51:2 (June 2004), 106-09. The text was previously printed by Carleton Brown (ed.), *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 55-56. For comparison with other Middle English Marian lyrics on the 'Joys of Mary' see: Karen Saupe (ed.), *Middle English Marian Lyrics*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999).

of its five main stanzas are clearly meant to have been rubricated to spell out the acrostic *maria*, and each line of the final sixth stanza spell out the acrostic *pipwel*.

Written in a different hand from *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn*, it seems designed to fill empty space at the bottom of the parchment roll. Since the roll was presumably in the possession of the Guild, it is possible than someone other than a Whitefriar could have written the poem, but given its context its editor, Ruth Kennedy, has understandably proposed Carmelite authorship (albeit a friar less stylistically accomplished than Spalding). Archival searches have not been able to trace a Carmelite by the name of Pipwel, though Pipwell Manor is located near to Spalding.

In the form of a petitionary hymn not unlike Spalding's *Katherine* text, *Sancta Maria* recounts the five joys of Mary's life and lauds her virtues, as seen in the first stanza:

Myldyste of moode and mekyst of maydyns alle.
 O modys mercyfullyst, most chast þat euer was wyfe,
 Worschypfullyst of women þat were, 3et be, or schalle,
 Perfyts of a prayower, þe best þat euyr bare lyve;
 Whose salutacyon was fyrste Ioye of thy fyve,
 Whan Gabriel seyde, "Hayle Mary ful of grace,"
 Wyth þe wheche worde þe Holy Gost as blyue
 Wythyn þi chest hath chosyn a ioyful place. (lines 1-8)

Though Marian poetry had a near-universal audience in medieval Christendom, certainly the subject matter, the so-called *Five Joys of the Virgin Mary* (the Annunciation, the birth of Christ, his Resurrection, Mary's Assumption and Coronation), would have had particular appeal to an order dedicated to Mary.⁸³ The fourth stanza makes reference to Marian theology that was slightly contentious in the late medieval Church:

In solempne wyse assumptyd with a songe
 Of cherubyn thy forthe ioy to atteyne,
 Was þi body and thy sowle aungellys amonge
 Vnto thy son browte vp yn Febus wayne,

⁸³ For a discussion of Marian depictions in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* see: Nigel Morgan, 'The coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity and other texts and images of the glorification of Mary in fifteenth-century England', in Nicholas Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1994), 223-41.

Wher personys three yn O God sytte certey[n]e,
 Of whose presens ryght ioyful mayste thow be;
 For as scrypture in holy bokys sayn
 Thow conceyuydyst clene that holy trinite. (lines 25-32)

The ‘Assumption of Mary’ was a widespread belief in the Church, but contested by some, and not defined as a Catholic dogma until 1950. A dogma strongly supported by the Carmelites, the Order’s medieval English Province was dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The stanza also states of Mary, ‘Thow conceyuydyst clene’, referring to the Virgin’s Immaculate Conception. This was an even more contentious matter in the medieval Church, a notion rejected by no less an authority than St. Thomas Aquinas, but eventually defined as Catholic dogma in 1854. Again, the medieval Carmelite Order was a particular champion of this Mariological teaching.⁸⁴ Part of the dogma’s contentiousness, however, was that there seemed little biblical foundation for it. Therefore, the poet’s claim that Mary’s ‘clean conception’ is recorded in ‘scrypture in holy bokys’ is somewhat stretching the point. It is telling that the authority cited here is not simply ‘scrypture’, but scripture as it is found ‘in holy bokys’, suggesting access to the Bible only through the mediation of other texts.

Without knowing more about the identity of ‘Pipwel’, there is little we can say about what *Sancta Maria* reveals about Carmelite interest in enticing or suppressing theological reflection. Largely devotional and didactic in tone, it makes a rather natural appendage to *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* on Ms. Bodley Rolls 22.

This unusual manuscript format itself deserves our final consideration. Scribal errors in *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn* reveal that this copy is not the author’s holograph. It is, however, a rather fine artefact, the only known alliterative text in medieval England to have been professionally inscribed and illuminated on a parchment roll, possibly for display or presentation.⁸⁵ Given that the Carmelite friary in Stamford was a known centre of textual production, we might reasonably speculate that it was produced and perhaps housed there. However, other places of production are possible, and

⁸⁴ See: Emanuele Boaga, *The Lady of the Place: Mary in the History and in the Life of Carmel* (trans.) Joseph Chalmers, Míceál O’Neill, Carmelitana Series 2 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2001), 62-67; Emanuele Boaga, ‘Carmel and the Immaculate Conception’ (trans.) Simon Nolan, *Carmel in the World*, XLIII:2 (2004), 85-90; volume 2 of *Carmelus* is dedicated to the topic. Until the development of the Solemnity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (in July), the patronal feast of the Carmelite Order was The Immaculate Conception (in December). Hence, when preaching before the Order in Avignon on that feast in 1342, Archbishop Richard FitzRalph chose the sinlessness of Mary as his topic. See: Benedict Zimmerman, ‘Ricardi archiepiscopi Armacani Bini Sermones de Immaculata Conceptione’, *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, 3 (1931), 158-89; Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 208-10; Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, 314; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 172.

⁸⁵ Kennedy’s edition, lxvii, lxxxiii.

given Richard Spalding's location for a while in London it would be intriguing for a palaeographer to pursue the 'rather impressive similarities' that Ruth Kennedy observes between the roll's illumination and the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*.⁸⁶ Whether or not Carmelites were involved in the copying of this text, it seems very clear that a Carmelite was responsible for writing *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn*, a text which on the surface is a traditional hagiography of a much-loved saint, but which uses an innovative verse form to reflect on issues of truth and deception, holiness and idolatry, authority and the abuse of power, in a period when Crown and Church were rocked by change.



Carmelite friars and Church leaders venerating the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. Saint Anne retable (altarpiece) from the Carmelite church in Frankfurt, created by the Master of Frankfurt c.1495, Painting on wood. Frankfurt am Main, Historisches Museum.⁸⁷

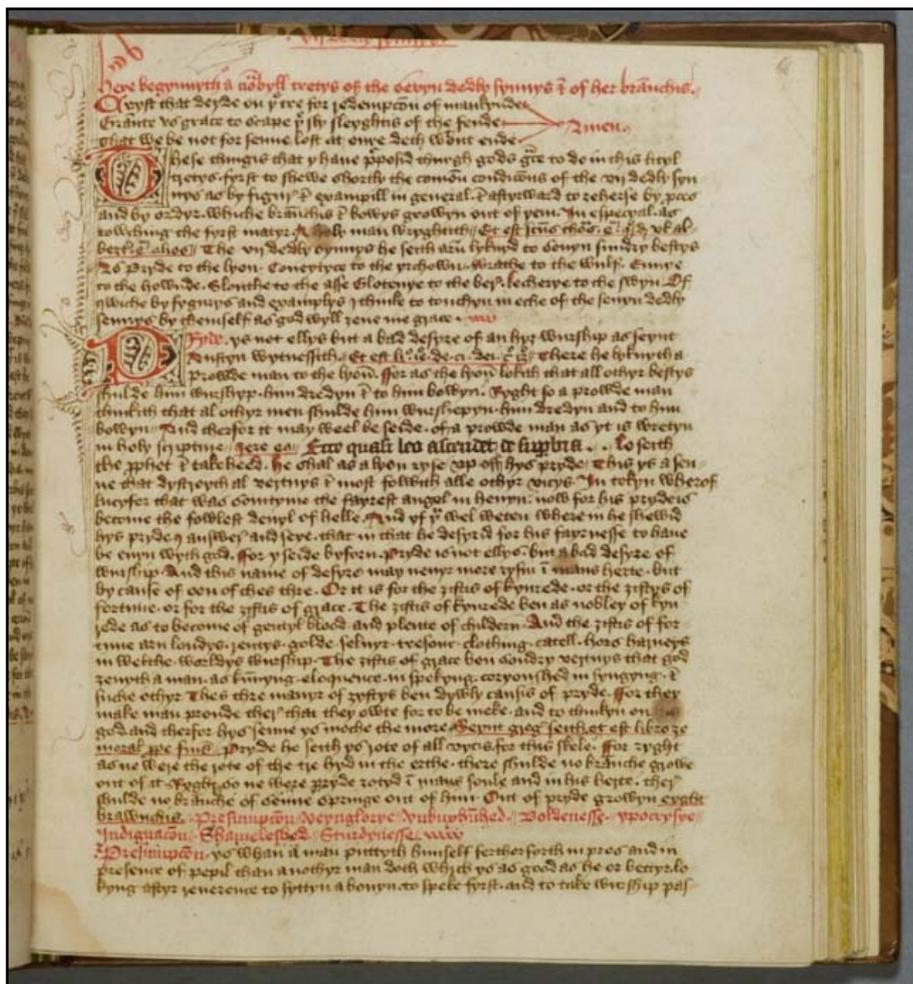
⁸⁶ Kennedy's edition, xiii. Kennedy admits that her observations 'could be prejudiced by the case for Carmelite influence'.

⁸⁷ See: Evelyn Hils-Brockhoff (ed.), *Das Karmeliterkloster in Frankfurt am Main: Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999); Wolfgang P. Cilleßen (ed.), *Der Annenaltar des Meisters von Frankfurt*, Kunststücke des historischen museums Frankfurt, Band 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Henrich Editionen, 2012); Roman Fischer, 'Das Frankfurter Karmeliterkloster', in Edeltraud Klüeting, Stephan Panzer, Andreas H. Scholten (eds.), *Monasticon Carmelitanum: Die Klöster des Karmelitenordens (O.Carm.) in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Institutum Carmelitanum (Roma) *Monastica Carmelitana* Tomus II (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2012), 242-288.

Ms. Brotherton 501

I wish to conclude this chapter with a short consideration of a manuscript that has possible links to the Carmelites of Stamford, now University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Ms. Brotherton 501.

Brotherton 501 is one of the eighteen known manuscripts containing a (now incomplete) copy of Richard Lavenham’s *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* (fo. 68-74), compiled alongside religious verse and prose in English.⁸⁸



Leeds, Ms. Brotherton 501, fo. 68.

⁸⁸ The most recent and thorough description of the manuscript is O. S. Pickering, ‘Brotherton Collection Ms. 501: a Middle English Anthology Reconsidered’, *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series 21 (1990), 141-65. Pickering’s description not only assesses the original ordering of material, but attempts to bring out ‘the manuscript’s special character’ [141]. Previous important studies include K. W. Humphreys, J. Lightbown, ‘Two Manuscripts of the *Pricke of Conscience* in the Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds’, *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, 7-8 (1952), 29-38; J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956), xlvi-xlviii; Ralph Hanna, ‘Leeds University Library, Ms. Brotherton 501: a redescription’, *Manuscripta*, 26 (1982), 38-42; Neil Ripley Ker, with A. J. Piper, Andrew Watson, Ian Cunningham, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1969-2002), vol 3: Lampeter-Oxford (1983), 67-70; O. S. Pickering, Susan Powell, *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist VI – a Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Yorkshire Libraries and Archives* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), 7-12.

The Brotherton Librarian Oliver Pickering has estimated that ‘in view of the use of “frater” and “fratres” as terms of address’ it is likely that the scribe was writing for or within a religious community.⁸⁹ From the southwest Lincolnshire dialect, confirmed by the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*,⁹⁰ Pickering suggests one of the religious communities in Stamford for the manuscript’s provenance. We cannot rule out other religious houses in Stamford as the producers of Brotherton 501, but as we have seen the Carmelites were particularly active in that town, and Richard Spalding’s guild poem is evidence of the Order producing vernacular literature for performance there. Some of the anthology’s contents point in the direction of Carmelite origins.

If Dr. van Zutphen is correct in saying that ‘it seems reasonable to suppose that Lavynham’s own order was chiefly instrumental in disseminating the [Litol] treatise, especially in the Eastern counties’,⁹¹ then we might reasonably contend that Brotherton 501 is one example. If this manuscript was indeed a Carmelite production we might expect it to attribute the *Litol Tretys* text to Richard Lavenham at some point, though this particular copy has lost its conclusion (where from the example of Ms. Harley 211 we might expect the attribution to be), so nothing definitive can be said on that score. It should also be borne in mind that copies of texts by Carmelites may well have been kept in Carmelite houses, but in a series of copies which over time lost their authorial attribution.

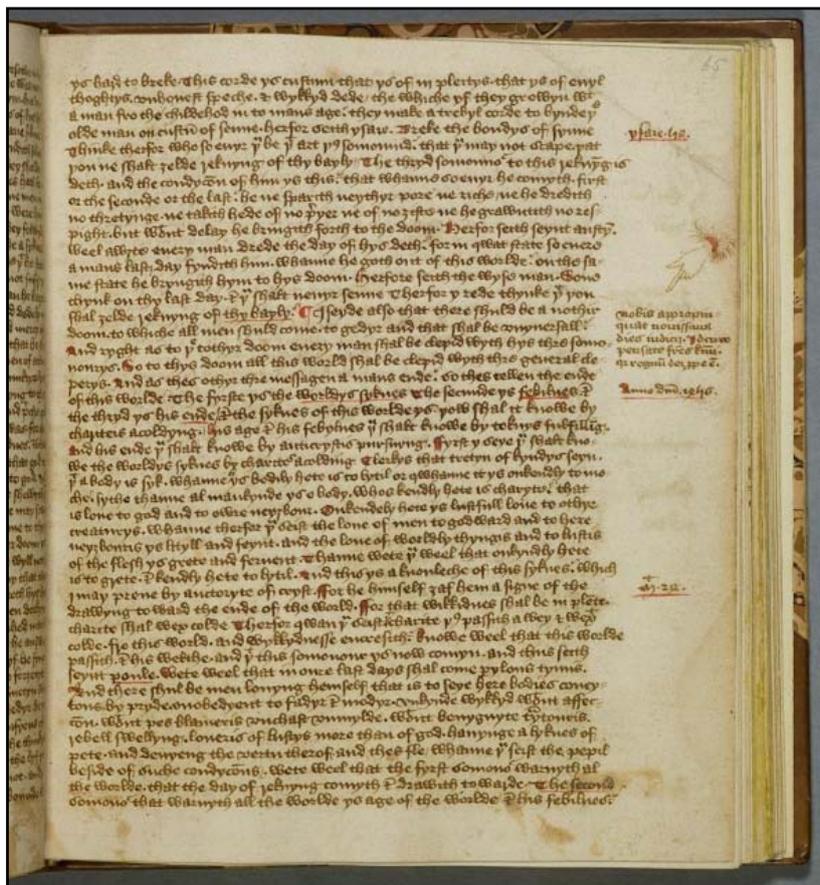
According to Oliver Pickering, the writing of Ms. Brotherton 501 ‘can be attributed to a single scribe writing in the mid-fifteenth century, at least partly in 1456 which is the date appended to a marginal note on fol. 65r’.⁹² No observers before Pickering have remarked this date.

⁸⁹ Pickering (1990), 160.

⁹⁰ Ms. Brotherton 501 is Linguistic Profile (LP) 69: Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), II, 385 (map) and III, 258-59 (analysis). An electronic version of *LALME* is available online at www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html.

⁹¹ J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956), xlix.

⁹² Pickering (1990), 141.



Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Ms. Brotherton 501, fo. 65.

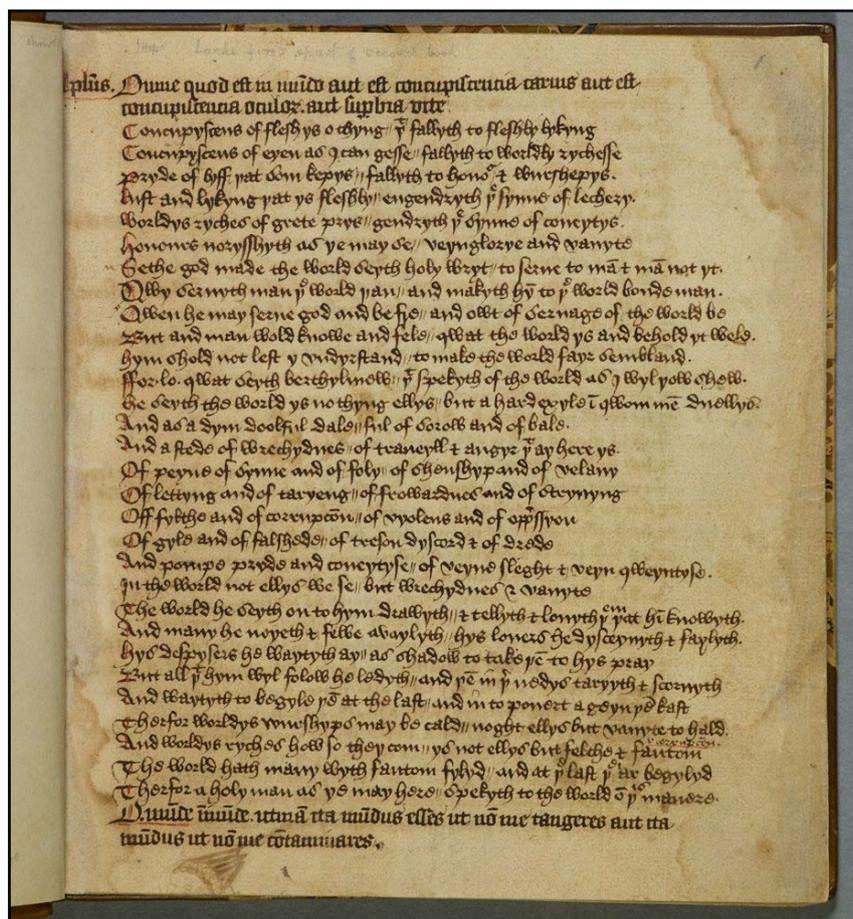
Pickering has shown that the anthology was compiled by a single scribe writing at different times. The frequent use of red ink, differentiations of script, and decorated initials suggest a practised hand of some distinction. The only other indicator of the copyist’s identity (unless it is copied over from an exemplar) is the signature ‘M.R.’ inscribed at the end of Wimbleton’s Sermon (fo. 67v).⁹³ A search of known Carmelites in the 1450s with the initials ‘M.R.’ yields one possibility, but it is far from conclusive.⁹⁴

Mendicant theological interests clearly overlapped in medieval England, but the contents of Ms. Brotherton 501, in addition to Lavenham’s *Litil Tretys*, include some items of particular appeal to

⁹³ Pickering (1990), 160.

⁹⁴ A search in Richard Copsey’s *Biographical Register* yields a few possible candidates. On 11th July 1462 a licence and faculty was granted by Pope Pius II to Martin Ricardi, a Carmelite friar ‘who is in or about his fifty-fourth year, and whose house and diocese are not mentioned, to migrate from his said order, in which he has been for nearly forty years, to that of St. Augustine’, [*Calendar of Papal Letters*, xi, 63ln]. Certainly, Ricardi would fit the supposition that the writer of Brotherton 501 was an older friar, but his location is unknown. If the initials are inverted (surname, first name) one other possibility is raised in fifteenth-century Stamford: Richard Morgan, who was at the Stamford house when ordained subdeacon on 28th February 1450 in All Saints’ Church, Northampton, and priest on 20th March 1451 in St. Margaret’s Parish Church, Lincoln [*Reg. Lumley, Lincoln*, xix, fo. 9, 30v, 56v]. Richard Misyn would also be a contender. The Carmelite Richard Morey seems excluded from possibility, since although from Stamford he was not ordained acolyte until 1490.

Carmelites. Among some seventeen texts in the codex, undoubtedly its (now imperfect) copy of *The Prick of Conscience* (fo. 1-58v) has received most scholarly attention, and it is interesting to note – as we did with Thomas Ashburne – the compilation of this text yet again alongside material written by a Carmelite.⁹⁵



Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Ms. Brotherton 501, fo. 1.

In between *The Prick of Conscience* and Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* is the sermon *Redde rationem villicationis tue* (fo. 59-67v) preached by Thomas of Wimbeldon at St. Paul's Cross in 1387/88.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Brown, Robbins (eds.), *Index of Middle English Verse*, 3428. R. E. Lewis, Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience*, Medium Ævum Monographs New Series 12 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediæval Languages and Literature, 1982), 56-57. On the visualisation of this poem see: Sue Powell, 'All Saints' Church, North Street, York: Text and Image in the *Pricke of Conscience Window*', in Nigel Morgan (ed.), *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 12 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2004), 292-316.

⁹⁶ See: Ione Kemp Knight (ed.), *Wimbeldon's Sermon Redde Rationem Villicationis Tue: A Middle English Sermon of the Fourteenth Century*, Duquesne Studies, Philological Series 9 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1967) [Knight is unaware of Ms. Brotherton 501]; Nancy H. Owen (ed.), 'Thomas Wimbeldon's Sermon', *Medieval Studies*, 28 (1966), 176-197; Lewis, Blake, Edwards (eds.), *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, 560; The University of Hull's online *Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*: www.hull.ac.uk/middle_english_sermons/cam-corpus-357.php [accessed January 2014].

After the Carmelite text is a prose ‘tretys of the ten comaundmentis’ (fo. 74v-81),⁹⁷ ‘A declaracion of the vij dedis of mercy’ (fo. 81r-v), a form of confession (fo. 82-86), the ‘second’ Middle English version of William Flete’s *De remediis contra temptaciones* (fo. 86-88v),⁹⁸ a seemingly unique prose miracle of the Virgin (fo. 89-90),⁹⁹ a prose treatise on a good life and *Points best pleasing to God* (fo. 90v), Chapter 15 of the *Prickyng of Love* (fo. 91r-v),¹⁰⁰ sections of the *South English Legendary* dealing with ‘The Invention of the Cross’ and ‘The Exaltation of the Cross’ (bound in reverse order from fo. 101v to fo. 107), a prose narrative of the Passion of Christ known as *The Complaint of Our Lady* (fo. 100r-v, 114r-v, 113r-v, 112r-v, 110r-v, 111r-v, 109r-v), an incomplete copy of the prose narrative *The Gospel of Nicodemus* (fo. 109v, 108r-v, 115),¹⁰¹ Chapter 10 of the *Prickyng of Love* (fo. 115v-116v),¹⁰² the *South English Legendary* item known as *Theophilus* dealing with ‘Miraculis of our ladi seint Marie’ (fo. 117-122v), and the *Gast of Gy* poem on purgatory preceded by a prose preamble (fo. 92-99v).¹⁰³

All of these texts would be of interest to a cleric engaged in pastoral care, or a devout layperson.¹⁰⁴ According to Oliver Pickering, although the codex is now seriously misbound, the scribe who compiled Ms. Brotherton 501 carefully collated the materials in the manuscript, grouping together, for example, the texts on the basic doctrines of the Church.¹⁰⁵ Whilst some texts are discursive and ‘impersonal’ in their address, Pickering points out others that contain more ‘personal’ rubrics, directing the text to a young man: ‘þou my brothyr þat art yong of age’ (fo. 82), perhaps a real or imagined novice in the scribe’s community.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁷ An expanded version of Lewis, Blake, Edwards (eds.), *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, 48.

⁹⁸ Lewis, Blake, Edwards (eds.), *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, 230.

⁹⁹ O. S. Pickering, ‘A Middle English Prose Miracle of the Virgin, with Hidden Verses’, *Medium Ævum*, 57 (1988), 219-39.

¹⁰⁰ Lewis, Blake, Edwards (eds.), *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, 410.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Lewis, Blake, Edwards (eds.), *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, 397.

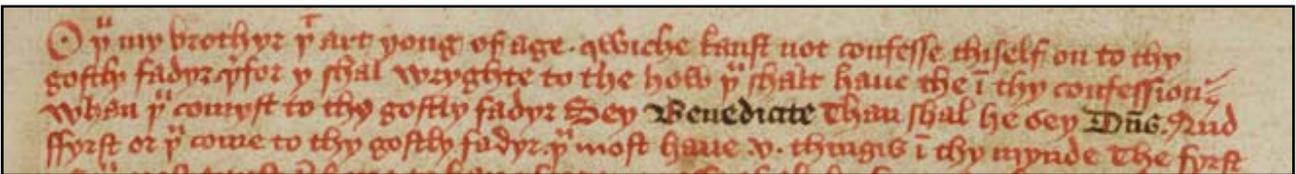
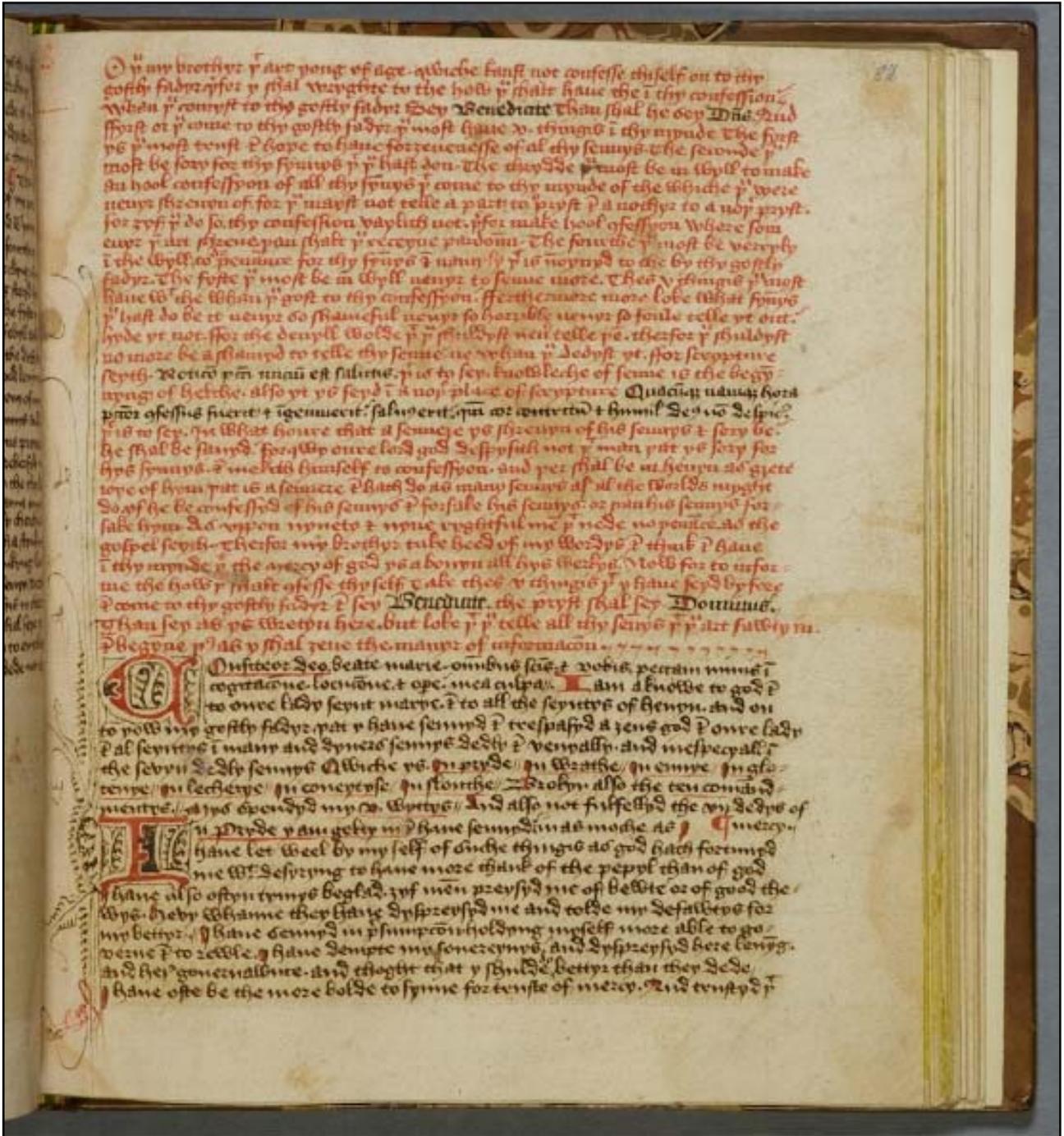
¹⁰² Lewis, Blake, Edwards (eds.), *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, 46.

¹⁰³ Brown, Robbins (eds.), *Index of Middle English Verse*, 2785; J. Lightbrown, ‘A Shorter Metrical Version of *The Gast of Gy*’, *Modern Language Review*, 47 (1952), 323-29; J. B. Shackleton, *An Edition of the ‘Gast of Gy’ as it is contained in the Brotherton CoMs. 501*, Masters Thesis (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1953). The *Gast of Gy* was an immensely popular text, probably of Dominican origin, dealing with Purgatory. It was available in Middle English in a number of prose and verse versions, one of which has been edited by Edward E. Foster, *Three Purgatory Poems*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004).

¹⁰⁴ Various names inscribed in different parts of the manuscript, none of which I have been able to identify, and the recording of a debt (fo. 122) suggest that eventually the book was passed between a succession of owners, possibly of the mercantile class.

¹⁰⁵ Pickering (1990), 149.

¹⁰⁶ Pickering (1990), 150 ff.



Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Ms. Brotherton 501, fo. 82 and detail.

The scribe/compiler seems to have been in a didactic relationship to this novice-figure, stating ‘O þou my frend y wyll teche þe a lityll lesson how þou shal loue god’ (fo.115v).

The fact that the manuscript’s contents are entirely in the vernacular would sit well with the suggestion that the codex was destined to be read by a young novice, not yet well-versed in Latin. Whilst the same could apply to a lay audience, Pickering suggests that the statement in the introductory rubric to Wimbledon’s sermon that the preaching was ‘compilat to excite lay pepill to forsak here senne’ (fo. 59) could indicate ‘that the author of the rubric was not himself writing for the laity’.¹⁰⁷

Although it is not possible at present to identify the scribe-compiler of this manuscript, some further remarks can be made about the overall tone of Brotherton 501, and what it reveals, perhaps, about Carmelite attitudes to theological matters.

For example, Pickering interprets a comment made by the scribe regarding the vernacular in the prologue to *Gast of Gy* as personal, that is, the words of the scribe himself rather than the repetition of a copied text:

Qwerfor my frend þis boke ys profytabil for the for to haue yt translatyd fro latyn into ynglysh and so thorw þe grace of god y shal declare it in englysch for þe more intellection for the þat canst no latyn fyrst y wyl shewe the how it begynnyth in latyn þat þ[o]u shal not doute þat y make yt of my simpl yngenye but as y fynde þus wretyn (fo. 92)¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Pickering (1990), 165 n. 42. The full rubric is given on 151.

¹⁰⁸ Pickering (1990), 152-53, with slight corrections suggested to me by Roger Ellis.

The tone of this introductory rubric to the *Gast of Gy* shows that the scribe is keen to assert his closeness to the Latin original, and to avoid any possible charge of tampering with the text. As we shall see in the next chapter, this preface is strikingly like the prologue that the Carmelite Richard Misyn appended to his 1435 translation of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*, in which the Whitefriar states that despite being 'emonge lettyrd men sympellest' [1/4] he kept his *Fyer* translation as faithful to the original text as possible 'for edificacyon of many saules' [1/6]. Although Misyn's text was addressed to an anchorite in York, he also intended it for 'all redars' [1/11], and is thus like the scribe of Ms. Brotherton 501 who 'evidently considered both singular and plural address acceptable for those for whom he was writing'.¹⁰⁹

As was argued with regard to the poem *Sancta Maria*, Marian devotion was universal in the medieval Church, but of notable relevance to a religious order that regarded her as patron. Also of specifically Carmelite interest are the verse legends of the origin and triumph of the Holy Cross; the feast of the 'Exaltation' or 'Triumph' of the Cross originated, like the Carmelite Order, in the Holy Land, and was important in the Carmelite calendar, mentioned in the *Rule of Saint Albert* as the beginning of the Carmelites' penitential season.

More work needs to be done to identify the compiler and users of Ms. Brotherton 501. Even if it cannot be proved that it is of Carmelite provenance, it is testimony to the type of theological literature in the vernacular that was of interest to a religious house in Stamford in the mid-fifteenth century.

Conclusion

Carmelite writers in the East Midlands in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries – Thomas Ashburne, Richard Spalding, and perhaps the author of *Sancta Maria* and the compiler of Ms. Brotherton 501 – seem to have used the English vernacular to produce texts that dealt with familiar theological matters in innovative ways. In the lost *De contemptu mundi* and perhaps *Foure Doughters*, Thomas Ashburne translated the works of recognised authorities to present basic Christian doctrine in a way that made engaging use of allegory. In *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn*, Richard Spalding used an innovative verse form to retell a well-known tale with obvious contemporary resonances in both Church and State. If the author of *Sancta Maria* and the compiler of Brotherton 501 were Stamford Carmelites, they too used the vernacular to engage their audiences with Mariology and other matters of Christian life. These men lived within the same East Midlands region (Stamford and Northampton being no more than forty miles apart), an area of thriving academic enquiry. In the cases of Ashburne and Spalding, they were also connected to a wider network of dynamic Carmelites, being

¹⁰⁹ Pickering (1990), 160.

contemporaries of Richard Maidstone and Richard Lavenham. They would have been well aware of efforts to control social breakdown and heresy developing within the Church, but witnessed the spread of Lollardy even among their coreligionists. Though the theological texts they produced are in many respects conventional and conservative, largely devoid of biblical references and self-conscious in their use of Latin, nevertheless these Carmelites found ways – despite restrictions on the production of theological texts in the vernacular – to share written material that would have encouraged, and also corrected, theological speculation both within and beyond their Order.

Chapter Six: THE HOPES AND FEARS OF CARMELITE TRANSLATORS – THE CASES OF RICHARD MISYN AND THOMAS FISHLAKE

We have seen that in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and the early years of the fifteenth century, a number of Carmelite friars in England were producing religious texts in the vernacular as a way of both encouraging and supervising spiritual speculation and theological development inside and beyond their Order. Within only a few years of each other, and possibly living at various times in the same communities, the Whitefriars Richard Maidstone, Richard Lavenham, Thomas Ashburne, Richard Spalding, and perhaps other confreres unknown, made original and, in the case of the first two, widely-disseminated contributions to the English religious writing of their day.

The next known Carmelite writer in English, Richard Misyn (d. 1462), does not emerge on the literary scene until the 1430s. His translations of two works by the fourteenth-century hermit Richard Rolle make clear that Misyn engaged in vernacular religious writing with a mixture of enthusiasm and apprehension. This mental conflict no doubt arose from a number of events that took place in the English and European Church in the preceding years. These events, discussed in Chapter Two, created a climate of fear and censorship with regard to religious writing in the vernacular, but also generated the conditions for new literature that asserted religious orthodoxy.¹ In 1407 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, convened a Synod in Oxford to formulate a series of *Constitutions*, promulgated two years later, that banned religious writing and translation in English in an attempt to assert magisterial authority within the English Church. A number of high profile heresy trials ensued in various parts of the country, execrating John Wyclif and his Lollard sympathisers. In 1414-18 the Council of Constance gave international condemnation to John Wyclif and Jan Hus, and helped the English bishops to develop a sense of their nation's distinct identity and role. These events coloured the religious landscape in which Richard Misyn was formed as a young friar, tinting his perspective as the producer of vernacular theological texts.

Although we have seen in previous chapters that some Carmelite authors may have been writing in the early fifteenth century, the lack of definitively known Carmelite vernacular writings in the period roughly between 1410 and 1434 may be accounted for by the climate of fear with regard to articulating religious ideas in the English language generated by Arundel, Constance, and heresy trials.

¹ Richard Misyn was the main focus of my Masters Thesis; this chapter is a deepening and refinement of that research. Some information from this chapter has previously been published: Johan Bergström-Allen, 'The Whitefriars Return to Carmel', in Liz Herbert McAvoy, Mari Hughes-Edwards (eds.), *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), 77-91.

Richard Misyn shared these fears, yet at the same time expressed the hope that rendering sound (as he saw it) religious doctrine in the vernacular would be of benefit to his contemporaries. This he attempted by translating into English the *De Emendatio Vitae* and *Incendium Amoris* by Richard Rolle of Hampole (c.1290-1349).² The first Carmelite writer known to be writing in English after the Synod of Oxford and Council of Constance, Richard Misyn articulates more clearly than any other pre-Reformation member of his Order the tension that Whitefriars felt in promoting and policing religious thought in the vernacular.

This chapter will explore Misyn's awareness of social and literary concerns within Church and Society at large. Close analysis of Misyn's work, including the evidence afforded by surviving manuscripts and his translation technique, will shed light on the Carmelite Order's carefully measured expansion of participation in meditative practice through literature written in the mother tongue. The chapter will conclude with a comparison between some of Misyn's hopes and fears against those seen in the work of his confrere Thomas Fishlake, who translated an English text of vernacular theology, Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, into Latin, again illuminating for us the Carmelite Order's cautiously enthusiastic engagement with contemporary spiritual and literary issues.

Richard Misyn: biographical details

Nothing definite is known about Richard Misyn's provenance; his family may have hailed from Misson, near Bawtry in Nottinghamshire, a county which in the Middle Ages contained many people called Messing (variant spellings of his name include Mesin, Musin, and Mysyn).³ Misson is less than fifteen miles from Hampole in South Yorkshire, the centre of Richard Rolle's cult, which may have had a formative influence on the young Misyn.

Richard Misyn joined the Carmelites at Lincoln where he received his basic instruction, before furthering his studies at the Order's *studium* in York, then the second city of England in terms of population as well as both political and ecclesiastical significance.⁴ Episcopal registers inform us that

² Richard Misyn, O.Carm., *The Fire of Love and The Mending of Life or The Rule of Living* (ed.) Ralph Harvey, Early English Text Society Original Series 106 (London: Kegan Paul, 1896).

³ This suggestion is made by H. C. Cradock, *A History of the Ancient Parish of Birstall, Yorkshire* (London: S.P.C.K., 1933), 218. According to the *Victoria County History* a 'Richard Misyn' is mentioned as prior of the Gilbertine Priory of St. Catherine outside Lincoln in 1435 [William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of Lincoln: Volume 2* (London: Archibald Constable and Company Limited, 1906), 188-91], citing as its source Warton's *History of English Poetry*, I, 265. This is surely a confusion with the Carmelite of that name, or at best an indicator that the name was common in the area. For biographical details on Misyn see: Richard Copsey, 'Misyn, Richard (d. 1462)', *ODNB* (superseding the information in *DNB*, vol 13, 504); Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, 1286.

⁴ Poll tax returns record that the population of York in 1377 was 7,248; see Brian Williams, *Medieval England*, The Pitkin History of Britain (Stroud: Pitkin Publishing, 2004), 90. On the York friary see: studies listed by Richard Copsey, 'The Medieval Anglo-Welsh Carmelite Province: An Annotated Bibliography', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 205-50 [250]; P. R. McCaffrey, *The White*

Richard Misyn was ordained acolyte in York on 11th March 1419, subdeacon on 23rd December 1419, and deacon on 17th May 1421.⁵ Assuming that he received minor orders in his early or mid-twenties (as was common practice), Misyn was probably born around 1395, and perhaps entered the Carmelite Order around 1410-15. Socially and spiritually speaking, this would have been a particularly significant time in which to discern a vocation to the religious life, being the period when Arundel's *Constitutions* and the decrees of the Council of Constance were resonating across the English Church in defiance of the ongoing rumblings of the Lollard heresy.

From an academic title he later used, we know that Richard Misyn proceeded to university, possibly Oxford, which was within Lincoln Diocese. As discussed hitherto, the Carmelite Order's anti-Lollard activities meant that the Whitefriars enjoyed a very orthodox reputation in Oxford, and this environment would surely have been formative upon the student Misyn. Within the University of Oxford itself, efforts to combat heresy were ongoing. Tainted by its connection with John Wyclif in the 1370s, in the 1420s the University of Oxford 'manoeuvred to position itself as the home of orthodox reform under Henry V and the Oxonian Henry Chichele'.⁶ For example, in 1427 the Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Fleming, founded Lincoln College there specifically for the education of orthodox theologians who could engage in efforts to combat heresy.⁷ It is likely that in Oxford Richard Misyn had contact with reform-minded Carmelites such as the Order's Regent Master, John Haynton, who preached at the University twice in 1432, castigating the intellectual and moral decadence of his

Friars – an Outline Carmelite History, with Special Reference to the English-Speaking Provinces (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1926), 257-60; Joan Greatrex, 'The Dispute between the Carmelite Friars and the Rector of St Crux, York, 1350', in David M. Smith (ed.), *The Church in Medieval York: records edited in honour of Professor Barrie Dobson*, University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 24 (York: University of York, 1999), 69-73; Angelo Raine, *Mediaeval York: a topographical survey based on original sources* (London: John Murray, 1955), 62-5; Deirdre O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs 23 (Leicester: School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2013), 356-59; Johan Bergström-Allen, 'Carmelites and lay piety in York prior to the Papal Bull *Cum Nulla*', in Johan Bergström-Allen (ed.), *Relocating Carmel in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Carmel in Britain 5 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming). On the fifteenth-century Church in York see: R. B. Dobson, 'The City of York', in Boris Ford (ed.), *Cambridge Cultural History: Volume II, Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 201-13; R. B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996); Gareth Dean, *Medieval York* (Stroud: The History Press, 2008); D. M. Palliser, *Medieval York 600-1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); and literature listed by Vincent Gillespie, 'Cura Pastoralis in Deserto', *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (ed.) Michael Sargent (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), 161-81 [181 n. 99].

⁵ York, Borthwick Institute, *Register of Archbishop Bowet* (Reg. 18), fo. 402, 404v, 409v.

⁶ Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 21.

⁷ Discussed by: Kantik Ghosh, 'University-Learning, Theological Method, and Heresy in Fifteenth-Century England', in Michael Van Dussen, Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378-1536: Textual Transmission and Networks of Readership*, *Medieval Church Studies*, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 289-313; Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 16.

younger colleagues who he deemed were ‘these days ruled more by Venus than by the pursuit of wisdom ... who guzzle Bacchus’ cup rather than taste the sweet verses of scripture’.⁸

A general attitude that prevailed in Oxford at the time that Richard Misyn was possibly studying there may well have influenced his later approach to the translation of theological texts. In 1414 Carmelites were among those who took part in an inquisition into the spread of heretical ideas at Oxford.⁹ That same year (as discussed in Chapter Two), the University prepared a document for the Council of Constance, the *Articuli concernantes reformationem universalis ecclesiae editi per universitatem Oxoniensem (Articles on the Reform of the Universal Church)*.¹⁰ Vincent Gillespie highlights:

a section on ‘de anglicatione librorum’ (concerning the Englishing of books) which complained that inept and incompetent translation into the vernacular was hindering and misleading the ‘simplices idiotas’, and asked the king to legislate to order the confiscation of books in English until proper scholarly translations were available. This probably reflected the aspiration in chapter 6 of Arundel’s decrees for a university-based system of examination and distribution of such texts through exemplars held by university stationers. The Oxford *articuli* argue only for a deferral of translation, not a prohibition of it, and in calling for proper scholarly translations to be made under orthodox clerical supervision, in effect concede the cautious case for the transmission of theological materials in the vernacular.¹¹

Given what we know of Richard Misyn’s translation efforts, this general scholarly attitude towards the vernacular – concerned but conceding – seems to concur closely with the Carmelite’s approach.

We do not know when Richard Misyn completed his university studies. The next recorded date we have for him is 1434 when, having returned to his filial house of Lincoln, he translated Richard

⁸ The sermons, mentioned in Chapter Two, are preserved in London, British Library, Ms. Harley 5398, fo. 40-45 (a *sermo examinatorius*), 54-59v (a *sermo formalis et ordinarius*). Edited in H. E. Salter, W. A. Pantin, H. G. Richardson (eds.), *Formularies which Bear on the History of Oxford, c.1204-1420*, 2 vols, Oxford Historical Society, New Series 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942), vol 2, 436-37. This passage [fo. 43r-v] is translated by James G. Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St Albans: Thomas Walsingham and his Circle c.1350-1440*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 212. Like Misyn, Haynton was from the Carmelite house in Lincoln, and – according to Bale – returned there as prior sometime after 1432 [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 93v-94], handing over the role to Misyn by 1435. Again, Bale tells us that in 1446 Haynton represented the York distinction at a meeting to discuss the reform of the English Province of Carmelites [Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 200v]. On Haynton see: Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

⁹ Adam Hemlyngton, William Thorpe, and Thomas Watlyngton, as discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁰ The articles are edited in David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ab Anno MCCCL ad Annum MDXLV. Volumen Tertium* (London, 1737), 360-65.

¹¹ Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 21-22.

Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* into English.¹² A year later he also translated Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* into the vernacular at the request of a recluse, Margaret Heslyngton, by which time – manuscript colophons inform us – he was prior at Lincoln and holder of the Bachelor of Theology degree.

It is curious that Richard Misyn called himself Bachelor of Theology for the first time (as far as surviving records show) in 1435, and not in the colophon of the *Emendatio* translation written the previous year. Since Misyn studied at the York *studium* c.1419-21, and probably gained a licentiate (an award in theology issued internally within the Order), he would normally be exempt as a friar from a university's Bachelor of Arts course, proceeding straight to the Bachelor of Theology. Ordinarily, Misyn would have gained his Bachelor of Theology degree within three or four years, that is, by c.1425.¹³ Therefore either Misyn felt it unnecessary to state his academic credentials in the earlier *Emendatio* text, or else delayed claiming his degree until the mid-1430s. What Misyn did between 1425 and 1434 is unknown, though as a lector he probably returned from Oxford to lecture and preach at the Carmelites' *studium* in York.¹⁴

As a site of both initial and advanced learning, and centre of the Order's northern distinction, York is known to have been a place that encouraged Carmelite interest in book production and collection. For example, the Carmelite Robert Populton (who was ordained priest in York in 1345 and resident there when licensed as a confessor in 1352)¹⁵ contributed as scribe and editor to the production of a very important collection of texts (most famously on Scottish and other British regional history, but also on *Carmelitana*), now known as the *Poppleton Manuscript* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 4126).¹⁶ Its inscription – *Ora pro Popiltoun qui me compilauit Eboraci* (fo. 211v) – suggests that it was compiled in York, and its contents – compiled 'to provide his house with an up-to-date work of English and mendicant history' – show that Carmelites had an interest in texts of regional

¹² Sometimes entitled *Regula vivendi* (*Rule of Life*), *Emendatio peccatoris*, *Vehiculum Vitae*, or *Duodecim capitula*. See: J. Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), Volume 9 – Part 23 (1993): Valerie M. Lagorio, Michael G. Sargent (with Ritamary Bradley), 'English Mystical Writings', 3064; Michael Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27:3 (July 1976), 225-40 [232 n. 3].

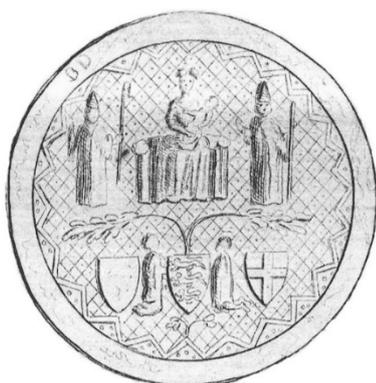
¹³ For information on the length of time required for each stage of study, see: Richard Copley, 'The Formation of the Medieval English Friar: from Dominican Model to Carmelite Practice', in Anne J. Duggan, Joan Greatrex and Brenda Bolton (eds.), *Omnia disce – Medieval Studies in Memory of Leonard Boyle, O.P.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 245-62.

¹⁴ On the office of *lector*, see: C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Longman, Third Edition, 2001), 262, 299.

¹⁵ York, Borthwick Institute, *Register of Archbishop le Zouche*, fo. 11, 13, 13v, 280. His name is variably spelt Populton, Poppleton, or Popultoun.

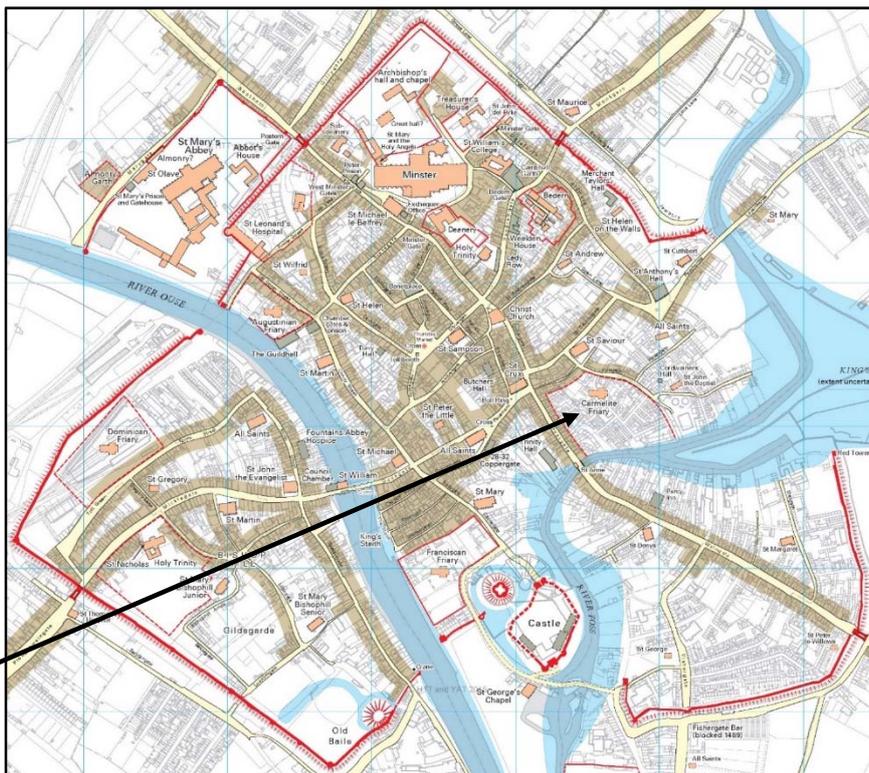
¹⁶ Charles Samaran, Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, Tome II (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1962), 488.

identity.¹⁷ When Prior of Hulne in Northumberland, Robert Populton (d. c. 1368) is known to have built up the Carmelite library there by donating eight books, including a Bible given to him by Lord Percy, the sermons of Hugh of Saint-Cher, a work on the Virtues, a *Life of Saint Sylvester*, and Bede’s *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, this last again showing a Carmelite interest in regional (in this instance northern English) identity. In addition to Populton, ordination records and Whitefriars named in wills tell us that the Carmelite priory in late medieval York was home to a good number of qualified scholars.¹⁸



Seal of the medieval Carmelite friary in York.¹⁹

A map of York c.1500 showing the Carmelite friary and its precincts in relation to other major ecclesiastical buildings within the city walls.²⁰



¹⁷ John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 41. Populton and his Carmelite scribal confreres are discussed at length in the second chapter of Friedman’s book. Friedman suggests [41] that since Populton states he compiled the codex in York, he must have used the Augustinian friars’ library there; that library is rightly celebrated by modern scholars because an inventory has survived, but it seems likely that the Carmelite library would have been equally well resourced.

¹⁸ See: Richard Copsy’s forthcoming *Biographical Register and Chronology of the Medieval Carmelite Priory at York*. Pamela King highlights among the friars of medieval York the prior of the Carmelites, John Bate (d. 1429), a prolific writer and Greek scholar [Pamela M. King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City*, Westfield Medieval Studies 1 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 188]. On Bate see: John M. Fletcher, ‘Bate, John (d. 1430)’, *ODNB*; Richard Copsy, *Biographical Register*; James P. Etzwiler, ‘A brief treatise on the intellect by John Bates, O.Carm. (d.1429)’, *Carmelus*, 24 (1977), 104-26, reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 320-42. The prior of York during the time of Misyn’s writing in the 1430s is not known. Interestingly (for reasons considered below) the next known prior, Thomas Carlisle, became a member of the York Corpus Christi Guild in 1445.

¹⁹ See: Francis Drake, *Eboracum, or, The History and Antiquities of the City of York*, 2 Books (London: William Bowyer, 1736), Book 2, ci.

²⁰ Peter Addyman (ed.), *British Historic Towns Atlas – Volume V: York* (York: Historic Towns Trust and York Archaeological Trust, 2015).

Alongside the Carmelites in medieval York was another group of scholarly-minded clerics whose activities made a significant impression on the intellectual and spiritual life of the city. The so-called ‘Arundel Circle’ was a coterie of clerks, largely northerners who had studied and worked in Cambridge whilst serving Thomas Arundel as Bishop of Ely. When the prelate was translated to the episcopate of York in 1388, these clerks moved north with him to a city that provided employment at the metropolitical cathedral of York Minster, its Consistory and Chancery Courts, as well as in the Diocesan Curia.²¹ These scholars and administrators patronised book-production and influenced spiritual trends in northern England for a considerable period. This close-knit circle of friends and colleagues, and their successors, provided a significant power base and intellectual milieu for ‘orthodoxy’ within the post-conciliar Church, and Carmelites at the *studium* in York almost certainly interacted with them. By studying and later lecturing in York, Richard Misyn was joining an illustrious pedigree of Carmelite bibliophiles in a city which, with its Arundel Circle, Minster officials, diocesan clergy, religious communities, and bourgeois guilds, was a major centre for the exchange of ideas, for book traffic, and the production and acquisition of pastoral texts.²²

When not in York, it is possible that at times during the period 1425-34 that Richard Misyn lived as some kind of hermit. As will be discussed later, ‘hermit’ is a title Misyn ascribes himself in a colophon within his *Incendium Amoris* translation, written in 1435. To spend some time as a recluse, either alongside or outside a Carmelite priory, was not unknown for members of the medieval Order. It was seemingly a common enough practice for English Whitefriars for one to be depicted in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* wearing a form of Carmelite habit reminiscent of a typical hermit’s garb, within a small anchoritic cell from which a devil departs.

²¹ On Arundel’s circle and its great influence on the religious sentiment and literature of York, see: Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1988), 174 ff.; Barrie Dobson, ‘The Residentiary Canons of York in the Fifteenth Century’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 145-74 (reprinted in Dobson’s *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*); James A. Brundage, ‘The Cambridge Faculty of Canon Law and the Ecclesiastical Courts of Ely’, in Patrick Zutshi (ed.), *Medieval Cambridge: Essays on the Pre-Reformation University*, The History of the University of Cambridge: Texts and Studies 2 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993), 21-45. On the bibliophilic activities of York clergy after Misyn see: Claire Cross, ‘York Clergy and Their Books in the Early Sixteenth Century’, in Caroline Barron, Jenny Stratford (eds.), *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society – Studies in Honour of Professor R. B. Dobson*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 11 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), 344-54. On the role of clerics in government and ecclesiastical administration see: Benjamin Thompson, Jacques Verger, ‘Church and state, clerks and graduates’ in Christopher Fletcher, Jean-Philippe Genet, John Watts (eds.), *Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 183-216.

²² We have already noted in previous chapters the significance of Yorkshire texts such as *Speculum Vitae* and *The Prick of Conscience*. On York book production and bibliophiles in Yorkshire, see: Angelo Raine, *Mediaeval York: a topographical survey based on original sources* (London: John Murray, 1955), 34-5; John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995); Vincent Gillespie, ‘Cura Pastoralis in Deserto’, *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (ed.) Michael Sargent (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), 161-81 [178, 180]; Sarah Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City 1068-1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).



A Carmelite depicted as a hermit in a cell, in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*.

London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 130 (detail).²³

In the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Richard Copsey concludes from the aforementioned colophon that Misyn did indeed live for some time as a hermit. This is certainly a possibility, though as will be argued below, the title of ‘hermit’ may have been a metaphorical persona by which Richard Misyn may have wished to evoke various spiritual resonances of the eremitic life pertinent to his Order and literary subject matter.

As well as describing Misyn as a hermit, the surviving manuscript copies of his works tell us that he undertook the translation of Richard Rolle whilst Carmelite Prior of Lincoln. Some brief remarks

²³ Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, 52; plate XIII. The scrolls have the hermit asking ‘Where are you going?’, and the devil replying ‘To the death of Herod’.

regarding the Carmelite community in Lincoln enhance our understanding of Richard Misyn.²⁴ The house was founded before 1269, and royal bequests in the centuries after show that it was an important foundation, sometimes housing more than forty friars.²⁵ According to John Bale, writing in the sixteenth century, it had substantial book collections. Around 1400 the Carmelite *magister* Bertram Fitzalan, probably the prior of the house, was responsible for building a new library at his own expense.²⁶ Assuming that Bale's facts are correct, this detail is testimony to both the intellectual vivacity of the house at the start of the fifteenth century, and perhaps the income of its prior, a post later to be held by Richard Misyn. Bertram Fitzalan, who died in 1424 and was thus a contemporary of Misyn, shared with his confrere a number of interesting similarities. He too had studied in the York Carmelite friary before matriculating at Oxford. He attended the trial of Henry Crumpe at Stamford Whitefriars in 1392 (discussed in the previous chapter), and probably shortly after incepted as a Doctor of Theology. No doubt Fitzalan was a leading figure and formative influence when Misyn entered the Order in Lincoln. The majority of the book collection which Fitzalan had amassed for the library was sadly destroyed by fire towards the end of the fifteenth century, but it must have been a substantial intellectual resource worth rebuilding since in August 1490 the Archbishop of York granted an indulgence of forty days to those who contributed to the repair and re-equipment of the Carmelite library and other community buildings.²⁷ The antiquarian John Leland visited the Carmelite

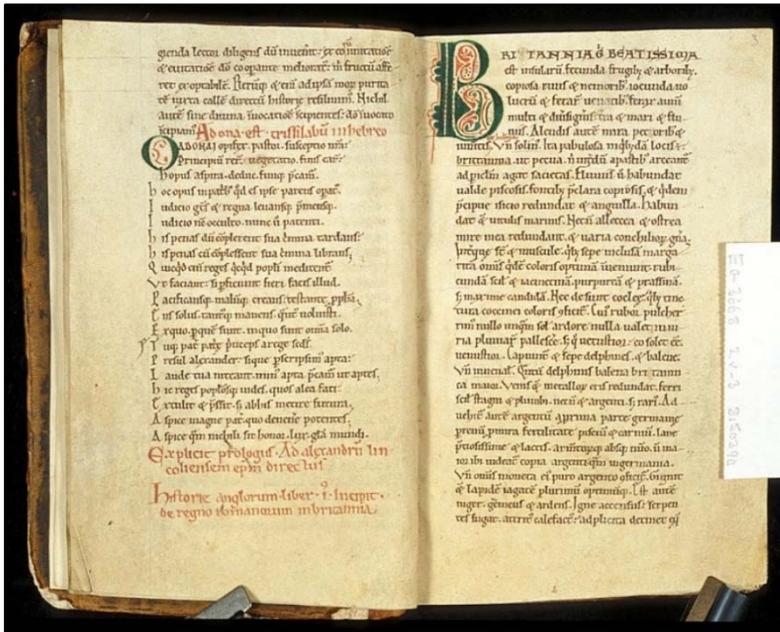
²⁴ On the Lincoln Carmelites see: Richard Copsey, *The Medieval Carmelite Priory at Lincoln: A Chronology* (private printing); Abell Collection, 'The Friars' (unpublished notes, Lincoln Library), 79-84; Keith J. Egan, 'Medieval Carmelite Houses; England and Wales', and 'An Essay towards a Historiography of the Origin of the Carmelite Province in England', reprinted in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 1-85, 86-117; Herbert Green, *Forgotten Lincoln* (Lincoln: 1898, reprinted from Lincoln Gazette and Times, reprinted again by E. P. Publishing, Wakefield, 1974), 37-8; J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 150-1, 165-6, 207; A. G. Little, 'The White Friars of Lincoln', *History of Lincolnshire* (London: Victoria County History, 1906), ii, 224-225; Dorothy M. Owen, 'The Mendicants' in *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, *History of Lincolnshire V* (General ed.) Joan Thirsk (Welwyn Garden City: Broadwater Press, 1971), 84-91; James Alpass Penny, *Notes on the monasteries and other religious institutions near the River Witham, from Lincoln to the sea* (Horncastle: W.K. Morton, 1918); John Michael Wall, 'Carmel in Lincolnshire I', *Bulletin of the Anglo-Welsh Carmelite Province*, 2:3 (September 1971), 7-8, and 'Carmel in Lincolnshire II', *Bulletin of the Anglo-Welsh Carmelite Province*, 2:4 (December 1971), 4-5; Andrew White, *Lincoln's Medieval Friaries*, Lincolnshire Museums Information Sheet, Archaeological Series 7 (Lincoln: Lincolnshire Museums, 1979); Deirdre O'Sullivan, *In the Company of the Preachers: The Archaeology of Medieval Friaries in England and Wales*, Leicester Archaeology Monographs 23 (Leicester: School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2013), 206-08.

²⁵ In 1301 there were 42 friars: London, British Library, Ms. Add. 7966A, fo. 27, cited in Keith J. Egan, *The Establishment and Early Development of the Carmelite Order in England*, Doctoral Thesis (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1965), 116.

²⁶ Bale, *Summarium*, 186v. Other details of Fitzalan's life are recorded in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (Rolls Series) 358 and Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 93. See also: Copsey, *Biographical Register*. Copsey's *Register* also shows that the Carmelite Provincial and later bishop, Stephen Patrington (discussed in Chapter Two), was in Lincoln for various periods, preaching in the cathedral, receiving bequests from leading citizens, and conducting correspondence.

²⁷ E. E. Barker (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York 1480-1500: Volume I*, Canterbury and York Society 68 (Torquay: Devonshire Press, 1976), 232; J. Raine (ed.), *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Society 35 (London: Mitchell and Son, 1859) 241.

house in Lincoln and listed some of the books in 1533-34, shortly before the dissolving of the community when several of the books were taken by the King’s Commissioners.²⁸ Of particular note for those concerned with Richard Misyn’s literary interests are works by authors of local and national renown, or on national topics, such as Aelred of Rievaulx’s *Vita Sancti Edwardi Anglorum* and Henry of Huntingdon’s *Historia Anglorum* (now London, British Library, Ms. Egerton 3668).



Two codices known to have been part of the Lincoln Carmelite library.

Left: A copy dating from the 3rd quarter of the 12th century of Henry of Huntingdon’s *Historia Anglorum*.

London, British Library, Ms. Egerton 3668, fo. 2v-3.

Right: A copy dating from the 1st half of the 14th century of historical texts and biblical commentaries

by Paul the Deacon, Andrew of Saint-Victor, and Pseudo-Jerome.

London, British Library, Ms. Royal 13 C IV, fo. 1.

We cannot know whether these texts were familiar to Misyn and survived the fire, were replacements of lost copies, or subsequent additions to the library, but they are further proof (albeit in Latin rather than the vernacular) of the late medieval Carmelite interest in insular history and identity, saintly kingship, and the distinctive piety of England.

²⁸ They are listed in Copey’s *Chronology* of the Lincoln house and in K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars’ Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 1 (London: The British Library, 1990), 177-78. See also: John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543* (ed.) Lucy Toulmin Smith (London: Centaur, 1964), vol 1, 30-31.



St. Mary's Conduit in Lincoln (photographed 2010),
built from stone fragments of the city's dissolved
Carmelite friary.



Fourteenth-Century Seal of
the Carmelite Prior of Lincoln.²⁹

The high standard of the library, and the legacy of leaders like Bertram Fitzalan, suggest that Richard Misyn became Prior of the Lincoln Whitefriars at a time of intellectual and financial flourishing. Whether Misyn continued to hold the post of prior alongside his later duties is unclear, but the next known superior of the house, Robert Hardby, is not recorded as being in office until sometime in the 1450s. Like Bertram Fitzalan, Robert Hardby had studied at Oxford and incepted as a Doctor of Theology before 1446.³⁰ Being sandwiched in office between these two scholarly Whitefriars, and bearing in mind that senior posts within the Order's major houses tended to be reserved for the most educated brethren, it would be tempting to imagine, despite the paucity of documentary evidence, that Richard Misyn, too, became a Doctor of Theology at some point in his career.

The later events of Richard Misyn's life have some bearing on his literary-spiritual activities, and inform us about the ministries he adopted and the circles he moved in. In a papal letter of 15th November 1441, Richard Misyn was granted 'Dispensation to him a priest and a chaplain of Henry, earl of Northumberland, to receive and hold for life any benefice with cure, wont to be governed by secular clerks.'³¹ Exactly what Richard Misyn did as chaplain in a private household of the English

²⁹ Portable Antiquities Scheme <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/251731> [accessed July 2016].

³⁰ Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 216. Copsey (following Bale in Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 200v) suggests that Hardby was *magister* and probably Prior of Nottingham in 1446 when selected to be one of the representatives for the York distinction at the meeting called to discuss the reform of the province. Hardby was certainly Prior of Nottingham on 12th May 1453 when he wrote to the king appealing for the detention and return of three errant friars from the community wandering abroad without permission in secular clothes [P.R.O. C81/1793/30]. According to Bale (Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 216 and *Catalogus*, vol 2, 95) he was onetime Prior of Lincoln where he died 1461+, having lectured in theology and been a great promoter of devotion to Our Lady, arguing in favour of her Immaculate Conception and Assumption.

³¹ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, IX, 210-211.

nobility is not clear, but it seems that he was one of a number of late medieval English Carmelite friars engaged in the private ‘cure of souls’. As personalised lay piety rose among landed gentry and merchants in the fifteenth century, so the role of household chaplain became more extensive across England.³² The century before the Reformation saw an increase in requests for chapels, chantries, oratories, portable altars and other focuses for worship and devotion in private homes. Not only in the palaces of the nobility, but also in more modest bourgeois homes, private chapels could be large and lavish, and more than one priest might be employed as domestic chaplains to undertake a wide and varied portfolio. The evidence of ordinances, wills, papal dispensations and other ecclesiastical documents reveals that the role of household chaplain was primarily a spiritual one: leading daily worship, advising on spiritual reading, directing private devotions, sometimes hearing confessions, and so on. However, it could also involve practical business, including the education of children in the house, and (despite the prohibitions of Canon Law) the administration of family estates as bailiffs and stewards. Domestic chaplains might accompany employers on pilgrimages or military campaigns, or be sent on missions as emissaries.³³ Some chaplains were entrusted with translation work, writing, and manuscript copying, and this would certainly be an intriguing prospect for friars such as Richard Misyn.³⁴ Whilst serving as chaplain could be a good career choice for secular clergy seeking preferment, mendicant friars could also hold such posts with the necessary dispensation from community life.³⁵ More often, however, mendicants served as private confessors, chaplains not necessarily carrying out this pastoral role. Most personal confessors stayed living in their own friaries, visiting noble and merchant homes as necessary. It is not clear whether or not Richard Misyn left a Carmelite community to take up the post of chaplain, or to hold the parish benefice he was given dispensation for in 1441. Misyn probably appointed a vicar to administer the parish for him, allowing the Carmelite or his Order to gain financially from the appointment. This practice, though often

³² Some of the following information on household chaplains is based on a presentation of an ongoing research project by Professor Virginia Davis of Queen Mary University of London.

³³ An interesting example is of three Carmelite friars from Ghent who in 1474 were commissioned by a noble lady of that city to make a pilgrimage on her behalf to Bury St Edmunds: see Richard Copsey, ‘Three Carmelites from Ghent in England’, *Bulletin of the British Province of Carmelites*, 49:3 (Winter 2015), 25-29.

³⁴ A celebrated but perhaps untypical example is John Trevisa (c.1342-1402) who made a number of translations whilst acting as chaplain to the fifth Lord Berkeley. See: Ronald Waldron, ‘Trevisa, John (b. c.1342, d. in or before 1402)’, *ODNB*.

³⁵ This dispensation came from being made a papal chaplain, which does not mean the cleric was in the service of the pope but was freed from the oversight of his Order. On papal chaplains within the Carmelite Order see: Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 47. It is clear from one of Thomas Netter’s letters that some Carmelite friars did leave their community to reside as chaplains in noble households: see Kevin Alban, ‘The Letters of Thomas Netter of Walden’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 343-80 [353]. John Capgrave bemoaned that some of his best Augustinian friars were being ‘poached’ by leading families to serve as private chaplains.

considered an abuse in the late medieval Church, was quite usual and common amongst Carmelites from this period.³⁶

What we can conclude from Misyn's right – despite his status as a religious – to hold a diocesan cleric's benefice as private chaplain to Henry Percy (1394-1455), second Earl of Northumberland, is the Carmelite's patronage by one of the leading noble families of England, nicknamed 'The Kings in the North'. The Percy family had supported the Carmelites since they formed their first English hermitage c.1242 at Hulne on the outskirts of Alnwick where the Percys were feudal lords. There is even evidence of the Percy family borrowing books from this community.³⁷ The family were considered founders of the Carmelite convent in York where their residence, Percy Inn, was adjacent to the Whitefriars.³⁸ It is not clear exactly what was entailed in Misyn's role as chaplain to Henry Percy, but whether the post was a major commitment or largely ceremonial, and whether Misyn fulfilled it in York, Hulne or elsewhere, the Carmelite's position within the magnate's entourage is significant, given the strong bonds of allegiance that often existed between lords and their chaplains, and the politics in which Misyn must necessarily have become embroiled.³⁹ Henry Percy overcame the social consequences of his father Henry Hotspur's rebellion against Henry IV to become a leading power in England, especially in the north where he held major estates and was responsible for defending the nation against Scottish invasion. As well as being a councillor at court during Henry VI's minority, and briefly Constable of England in 1450, Percy played a significant role in the religious politics of the fifteenth century. He seems to have been part of the circle of Henry Beaufort (c.1377-1447), Bishop of Lincoln, and later Lord Chancellor of England and Bishop of Winchester.⁴⁰

³⁶ Lancelot C. Sheppard, *The English Carmelites* (London: Burns Oates, 1943), 47-48.

³⁷ Andrews [*The Other Friars*, 62] points out that Lord Percy was lent a Bible for life by the Carmelites of Hulne despite legislation to the contrary: Beriah Botfield (ed.), *Catalogi veteres librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm: Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral at various periods, from the Conquest to the Dissolution, including Catalogues of the Library of the Abbey of Hulne, and of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of Bishop Cosin, at Durham*, Surtees Society 7 (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1838), 128, 131. As has been mentioned above, Bertram Fitzalan donated to the Hulne community a Bible given to him by Lord Percy. The exchange of Bibles between Carmelites and the laity, in this case noble laity, is further proof of the Order's commitment to sharing access to Holy Scripture.

³⁸ On the Percy family and its links to the Carmelites see: *DNB*, vol 15, 850-53; Peter Townend (ed.), *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage* (London: Burke's Peerage Limited, 1970, 105th Edition), 1998; Keith J. Egan, 'Medieval Carmelite Houses: England and Wales', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain I: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 1-86 [39, 85]; Keith J. Egan 'An Essay towards a Historiography of the Origin of the Carmelite Province in England', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain I: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 86-119 [89-91]; Raine, *Mediaeval York*, 108-09; Alexander Rose, *Kings in the North: The House of Percy in British History* (London: Phoenix/Orion Books, 2002). According to Virginia Davis, by the early sixteenth century Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland, had six household chaplains.

³⁹ See: R. A. Griffiths, 'Percy, Henry, second earl of Northumberland (1394-1455)', *ODNB*. Cradock [*A History of the Ancient Parish of Birstall*, 218] suggests that Misyn must have lived in the Hulne community whilst Chaplain to the Earl of Northumberland, but it is quite possible that he fulfilled this role in York, or possibly at court in London.

⁴⁰ See: G. L. Harriss, 'Beaufort, Henry (1375?-1447)', *ODNB*.

Created a cardinal in 1426 by Pope Martin V, Beaufort appointed a Carmelite friar, Dr. Thomas Ashwell, as his secretary and confessor.⁴¹ The following year Henry Beaufort was appointed as Papal Legate with responsibility for the ‘fourth crusade’ against Hussite heretics in Bohemia. Beaufort also presided in the trial of another presumed heretic, Joan of Arc, in 1431. It was perhaps Beaufort’s influence that secured Henry Percy the position of envoy to the Church Council of Pavia-Siena in 1423/4. Just as at Constance a few years earlier, this gathering of Church leaders published decrees against the followers of Jan Hus and John Wyclif, and called for greater vigilance against heresy.⁴² In 1441 (the year Misyn received his papal dispensation to receive a benefice) Percy was involved in another inquiry into practices against the Christian faith, namely the allegation of sorcery laid against the Duchess of Gloucester. We do not know whether Richard Misyn had any role to play in these national and international events, or whether he ever ventured in to Church Councils or to royal courts, but his place as chaplain in Henry Percy’s retinue surely exposed the Carmelite to the threat (real or perceived) of heresy, and the consequences of it. No doubt the post of chaplain also introduced Misyn to leading clerical figures, possibly including Henry Percy’s ninth son William, who in 1452 was both Chancellor of the University of Cambridge and Bishop of Carlisle at the age of just 24.⁴³

Episcopal records tell us about Richard Misyn’s final decades. On 18th November 1443 the Carmelite was admitted as Rector of Edlaston in Derbyshire,⁴⁴ but it was probably a benefice he resigned in 1446 when he took the post of perpetual Rector of Colwich in Staffordshire.⁴⁵ Given the papal permission he had been granted in 1441 ‘to receive and hold for life any benefice with cure, wont to be governed by secular clerks’, it seems unlikely that Misyn would have resided in Edlaston or Colwich himself, but most probably used some of the income from these benefices to employ diocesan priests to undertake the pastoral care of those places.

Richard Misyn’s appointment by the Carmelite Order as ‘inquisitor and prosecutor for apostate (i.e. fugitive) friars’, recorded by John Bale as sometime between 1446-56, shows his senior role in the government and regulation of the Whitefriars at a provincial level, and suggests that, by this point

⁴¹ So says John Bale: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 97v-98. Ashwell was among the Carmelites who had attended the heresy trial of William Taylor in London in 1423. On Ashwell see: Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

⁴² Thomas Netter was invited to attend the Council by the Carmelite Prior General, Jean Grossi, but the Provincial declined ‘on grounds of the damage done to his own health and to his order by his previous absence’: Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*. Vincent Gillespie notes that ‘The Latin sermons delivered by Englishmen at Konstanz and at Pavia-Siena (1423-24) establish a vocabulary of orthodox reform that spills over into vernacular poetry and Latin theology’: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 28.

⁴³ Henry Summerson, ‘Percy, William (1428–1462)’, *ODNB*.

⁴⁴ Lichfield Joint Record Office, *Reg. Heyworth* (B/A/1/9), fo. 92v, 94v.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 71; *Reg. Hales* (B/A/1/12), fo. 40; London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 200v. According to Richard Copley’s *Biographical Register*, more than 30 pre-Reformation Carmelites were ordained in Colwich prebendary church, suggesting that it was an important ecclesiastical centre.

at least, he was living within the Carmelite fraternity, rather than in a hermitage or noble's retinue.⁴⁶ The nature of this appointment tells us that Richard Misyn was entrusted with a role of discernment and discipline, carrying out enquiries and exacting penances from those Carmelite brothers who had abandoned the perpetual vows of the religious life.⁴⁷ This concurs with what his literary activities reveal of him as policing religious attitudes. His appointment at this time was presumably part of the Carmelite Order in England's efforts at self-reform; John Bale tells us that in 1446 a provincial meeting was held to discuss reform.⁴⁸ This took place in the broader context of English Church reform overseen by Archbishop Henry Chichele until his death in 1443.⁴⁹

Because of Richard Misyn's status in the Percy entourage, his post at Colwich, and his role within the Carmelite Order, it is probable that the Whitefriar came to the attention of William Booth (or Bothe), Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield between 1447 and 1452.⁵⁰ William Booth was translated to the Archbishopric of York in 1452, a post he held until his death in 1464. In 1458 Richard Misyn was appointed as Booth's suffragan (assistant) bishop in the city.⁵¹ Misyn had been raised to the episcopate by papal appointment when he was given the See of Dromore in County Down, Ireland, on 29th July 1457, and he was consecrated bishop in Rome shortly after.⁵² As was typical with dioceses in Ireland under English rule, it seems likely that Misyn was an absentee bishop. Dromore was such a poor diocese that Richard Misyn was twice granted papal dispensation for plurality, retaining the parish of

⁴⁶ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 200v.

⁴⁷ On the recurring problem of apostasy among mendicants, see: Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites – A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Volume I, ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, revised edition 1988), 71; Francis Donald Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c.1240-1540*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 46-47.

⁴⁸ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 200v. The spirit of reform across the Carmelite Order in Europe at this time will be discussed below.

⁴⁹ As discussed in Chapter Two. We can place Richard Misyn alongside 'Chichele's marked and damaged, perhaps even mildly traumatized generation of church leaders [who] had a real if pragmatic and politically aware agenda for reform': Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 14.

⁵⁰ On Booth see: A. C. Reeves, 'Booth, William (d. 1464)', *ODNB*; Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, 73; B. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541: VI Northern Province (York, Carlisle and Durham)*, Institute of Historical Research (London: Athlone Press, 1963), 4-5; Fryde *et al* (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 254, 282; John Condliffe Bates (ed.), *The Register of William Bothe Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1447-1452*, The Canterbury and York Society 98 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008).

⁵¹ As Richard Copsey has recorded in his *Chronology* of the York Carmelites, a number of Carmelites seem to have held this responsibility. John Bale records in various places that a Carmelite called 'Richard Coventre', bishop of Serviensis, whom he describes as 'lector, nacione Anglicus, episcopus Cerviensis, Carmelita', and 'vir venerabilis et devotus', acted as suffragan in York 1370-99: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73 (S.C. 27635), fo. 137v, and Ms. Selden supra 41, fo. 169; London, Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 192, fo. 43v; *Handbook of British Chronology* (Royal Historical Society, 1986), 285. In 1460 and 1462 John Green (or Grene), Carmelite friar and Bishop of Kilfenora, also acted as assistant to William Booth: J. Fowler (ed.), *Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1882), ii, 11.

⁵² On Misyn's visit to Rome see: Cradock, *A History of the Ancient Parish of Birstall*, 219 n. 32. Since it was not necessary for Misyn to be ordained bishop outside of England, it is not unreasonable to speculate that he was in Rome on some other business, perhaps on behalf of the Order.

Colwich along with his bishopric.⁵³ Perhaps to further supplement his income, Richard Misyn is recorded as rector of East Leake in Nottinghamshire in January 1459, and in July of that year he was collated as warden of St. John the Baptist's Hospital in Ripon.⁵⁴ Misyn was also admitted as rector of Birstall in Yorkshire.⁵⁵

Bishop Richard Misyn, as Booth's suffragan, would have been expected to advise the archbishop in spiritual and administrative matters, and in his absence celebrate the sacraments of ordination and confirmation reserved to bishops.⁵⁶ As a bishop, Misyn remained in frequent contact with all four orders of friars, performing ordinations in each York house.⁵⁷ As A. C. Reeves observes, William Booth was a conscientious archbishop: 'his York register shows that he was resident for two-thirds of the time, and otherwise attended on the affairs of the realm only as his status demanded.'⁵⁸ When Booth's status as Primate of England called him away from York, it is the Carmelite Richard Misyn who would have acted in his stead. Reeves notes that Booth 'chose able staff', and no doubt Richard Misyn was amongst the most able clerics in northern England.

However, even bishops could be accused of incompetence and suspicious ideology in fifteenth-century England. In the same year that Richard Misyn was ordained bishop, 1457, the English and Latin writings of the Bishop of Chichester, Reginald Pecock, came under scrutiny, denounced as heretical by scholars in Oxford at the end of the year, and by the Carmelite Provincial John Milverton before Parliament the following year. It is not known whether or not the examination of Pecock had any direct bearing on the selection of other bishops, but it seems likely that around this time even more particular care than usual was given to the selection of bishops seems as soundly orthodox.

⁵³ Konrad Eubel (ed.), *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, Volume II (1431-1503) (Regensburg: Monasterii Sumptibus et typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1901), 162; James Ware, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, Revised and Improved* (Dublin, 1739), trans. and revised Walter Harris, 2 vols (Dublin, 1764), vol 1, 260; Fryde *et al* (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 350; William Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum - an Attempt to Exhibit the Course of Episcopal Succession in England from the Chronicles and Records of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, Second Edition 1897), 206; *Calendar of Papal Letters*, XI, 172, 322.

⁵⁴ York, Borthwick Institute, *Register of Archbishop Booth* (Ms. Reg. 20), fo. 85, 99v; fo. 49. For the context of such institutions see: Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995); and by the same author *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital, St. Giles's, Norwich, c.1249-1550* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999).

⁵⁵ *Register of Archbishop Booth*, fo. 17v, 22. See: H. C. Cradock, *A History of the Ancient Parish of Birstall, Yorkshire* (London: S.P.C.K., 1933), 218-20. John Grene, another Carmelite suffragan bishop acting in York Diocese in the 1450s as mentioned above, was also a warden of St. John's Hospital in Ripon and vicar of Birstall following Misyn, suggesting that these posts were linked to the role of suffragan: L. A. S. Butler, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of York', in C. E. Challis, G. C. F. Forster, S. J. D. Green (eds.), *Essays on Northern History in Honour of Maurice W. Beresford*, Northern History: A Review of the History of the North of England and the Borders 37 (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2000), 49-60 [Appendix entries 41, 42].

⁵⁶ On the role typically expected of Misyn in this post see: Butler, 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of York', *op. cit.*; A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Appointment of Suffragan Bishops', in *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), 200-206 [on Misyn see 203-204].

⁵⁷ York, Borthwick Institute, *Register of Archbishop Booth* (Ms. Reg. 20), fo. 434v-451v.

⁵⁸ A. C. Reeves, 'Booth, William (d. 1464)', *ODNB*.

Richard Misyn's ordination to the episcopate suggests that the Carmelite was recognised not only for his orthodoxy, his practical abilities, his learning, and his social connections, but also, one would hope, for his pastoral skills and personal qualities. It is possible that Misyn advanced to the role of bishop not only because of his experience as a prior, as chaplain to the nobility, and as a senior member of his Order, but also because his life of prayer and recollection recommended him. If Richard Misyn did indeed spend time as a hermit in his younger days, in the medieval Church this was considered a classic grounding for later leadership. As Eddie Jones explains: 'A life of solitary contemplation does not necessarily suggest itself as the best grounding for a role in pastoral care. But this would be to forget that such a sequence is precisely in accordance with the Gregorian model of the three lives, the highest of which is the Mixed Life of the bishop who takes the wisdom that he has acquired through contemplation back into the world where it can be applied for the benefit of others; and it would be to ignore the calibre of some of the men whose career it describes.'⁵⁹

Richard Misyn no doubt brought his wisdom and contemplative experience to his ministry as suffragan bishop in York. His activities there included membership of one of the city's most exclusive guilds. 'Frater Ricardus Mysyn, suffragenus, ordinis Fratrum Carmelitarum' is recorded 'in primis' as the first person admitted to York's Guild of Corpus Christi in 1461-62.⁶⁰ Misyn's membership is significant because it shows the involvement of prestigious Carmelites in the guild that organised the city's decorous Corpus Christi celebrations.⁶¹ The guild combated heresy by promoting the doctrine of Christ's true presence in the Eucharist, a belief which John Wyclif had disputed.⁶² Carmelites, who

⁵⁹ E. A. Jones, '“Vae Soli”: Solitaries and Pastoral Care', in Cate Gunn, Catherine Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 11-28 [20]. Jones goes on to list as examples the Austin canon Walter Hilton who spent time as a hermit, and the Carmelites Richard Misyn and Thomas Scrope.

⁶⁰ R. H. Skaife (ed.), *Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, Surtees Society 57 (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1872 for 1871), 62. On the important links between Carmelites and the guilds of medieval England, see the comments on Richard Spalding in the previous chapter (especially n. 60 onwards).

⁶¹ The guild was founded by 'chaplains and other worthy parsons, both secular and regular' [Skaife, *Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, v] in 1408, showing collaboration between secular clergy and private religious in Arundel's 'Circle' (though Arundel had been translated to Canterbury in 1396, his entourage of clerics mostly remained in York). The guild was supervised by Arundel's clerks and other Minster clergy: Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 192. On the guild's development see: David J. F. Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389-1547* (York: York Medieval Press, 2000); Clifford Davidson (ed.), *The York Corpus Christi Plays*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011).

⁶² See the discourse on Eucharistic doctrine that prefaces the list of members [Skaife, *Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 1-6]. On this important medieval doctrine see: Barbara R. Walters, Vincent Corrigan, Peter T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State Press, 2006); Greg Walker, 'Medieval drama: the Corpus Christi in York and Croxton', in David F. Johnson, Elaine Treharne (eds.), *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 370-85. Carmelites were notable defenders of orthodox Eucharistic teaching. As previously discussed (Chapter Two, n. 223), in 1382 Peter Stokes, O.Carm., was due to proclaim the Blackfriars Council's condemnation of Wyclif's teachings and assert orthodox doctrines of the Eucharist and transubstantiation by the significant date of Corpus Christi: Catto, in Catto, Evans, 214-16; Bruce P. Flood, Jr., 'The Carmelite Friars in Medieval English Universities and Society, 1299-1430', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, LV (1988), 154-83 [175-77].

propagated the cult of Corpus Christi in the face of Lollard detraction, featured prominently as guild members.⁶³ This is not surprising, as defence of orthodox teaching on the Eucharist became a hallmark of Carmelite opposition to Wyclif and Lollardy in late medieval England; as we see in Chapter Two, this was depicted visually in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*.



The celebration of the Eucharist depicted in a missal created c.1390-1400 for the Carmelites of Toulouse.

Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Ms. IL. 122, fo. 143 (detail).

⁶³ Ten Carmelites were admitted to the Corpus Christi Guild between 1430 and 1469 [Page (ed.), *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, vol 3, 293, n. 32], including two in the same year as Misyn [Skaife, *Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 62].

The artistic and literary depiction of Carmelite friars as defenders of orthodox belief in the Eucharist finds a parallel in the drama supported by the Corpus Christi Guild in York. In joining the Guild, Carmelites directly or indirectly encouraged the performance of vernacular theology by the laity. Just as the Carmelite Richard Maidstone had shown in his *Concordia* poem the potential of pageantry to reinforce political and religious ideology in London (as discussed in Chapter Three), so in York the Carmelite members of the Corpus Christi Guild witnessed the promotion of orthodox popular piety through the mystery plays and other public celebrations uniting civic and religious authorities.



Carmelite friars venerating the Eucharistic Host are shown in this painted miniature at the beginning of the Introit of Mass for the feast of Corpus Christi in the ‘Carmelite Missal of Nantes’ (1442-1450). Princeton, University Library, Ms. Garrett 40, fo. 131v (detail).

The York Guild of Corpus Christi had another particular significance for Richard Misyn; the addressee of his translation work, Margaret Heslyngton, was perhaps a member of the Guild in 1429/30, when Misyn was probably lecturing at the city’s Carmelite *studium*.⁶⁴ It was not unusual for anchorites to be members of guilds, and some guilds patronised them.⁶⁵

Since Richard Misyn did not join the York Corpus Christ Guild until after Margaret Heslyngton’s death, it seems unlikely that the Carmelite knew the recluse through the guild’s activities. However,

⁶⁴ Hughes claims that Heslyngton was a member of the guild from 1428 [*Pastors and Visionaries*, 110]. Actually, ‘Dom. Isab. Heslyngton, reclusa’ is listed in 1429/30 [Skaife, *Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 29]. The reference to Heslyngton as Isabel, rather than Margaret, is discussed below.

⁶⁵ Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 184, 192, 207.

their mutual membership, albeit at different times, reveals something of the milieu in which these two pious persons lived and worshipped. The guild only admitted ‘clergy and laity of good character’,⁶⁶ and these men and women of social and intellectual distinction included leading book-owners of the Archdiocese of York: merchants, abbots, bishops, and royalty.⁶⁷

An artefact preserved in York Minster provides further evidence of Richard Misyn’s interaction with pious laypersons through guilds. His name is inscribed on the mazer bowl (communal drinking vessel) commonly known as Archbishop Scrope’s Indulgence Cup:

+ *Recharde arche beschope Scrope grantes on to all tho that drinkis of this cope
xlti dayis of pardun. Robert Gubsun. Beschope Musin grantes in same forme
afore saide Xlti dayis to pardun. Robert Stensall.*⁶⁸



The Scrope-Misyn mazer bowl in York Minster Treasury (photographed 2003).

⁶⁶ Fifth ordinance [Skaife, *Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, vi, 7].

⁶⁷ Skaife, *Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, xii.

⁶⁸ George Ayliffe Poole, John West Hugall, *Historical and Descriptive Guide to York Cathedral* (York: R. Sunter, 1850), 197; T. M. Fellow, Robert Charles Hope, ‘The York Church Plate’, *The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, VIII (1883-84), 311 ff.

The bowl belonged to the Corpus Christi Guild before passing to the Company of Cordwainers (leather-workers and shoe-makers). Richard Misyn must frequently have come into contact with the Cordwainers since some member of the confraternity, an unusually large craft, met as the Guild of St. Mary the Blessed Virgin in York's Carmelite friary.⁶⁹ Since the Cordwainers were one of the guilds responsible for the York cycle of mystery plays performed at Corpus Christi, it is possible (though as yet unprovable) that Carmelites were somehow actively involved with the city's drama which expressed popular religious sentiment in the vernacular.⁷⁰ Richard Misyn's involvement with the Corpus Christi and St. Mary Guilds shows that York Carmelites were deeply involved in city life, and the spiritual edification of its citizens within the limits of orthodox piety.

No doubt Richard Misyn's death on 29th September 1462 prompted grief among many citizens of York, and among his fellow Carmelites in whose convent, according to John Bale, the bishop was buried.⁷¹

⁶⁹ On the Cordwainers (*allutari* in Latin) see: Raine, *Mediaeval York*, 65, 102; Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 136-37; 'The later middle ages: Craft organisation and the Guilds', in P. M. Tillott (ed.), *A History of the County of York: The City of York* (London: Victoria County History, 1961), 91-97. Testators of the guild (variably known as an 'occupation', 'craft', or 'mysterie') made thirty bequests to the Carmelites between 1402 and 1527 [Crouch, 129], making the Whitefriars 'the most popular in testamentary terms' of all the city's mendicant convents [Crouch, 133]. Several guild members were buried in the friary. The Cordwainers' ordinances in French (undated but probably c.1395) and two sets in Latin (1417 and undated but probably 1424-34) are printed in Maud Sellers (ed.), *York Memorandum Book, Part I (1376-1419)*, Surtees Society 120 (Durham: Andrews and Co., 1912), 72-74, 187-197. The ordinances of 1417 stipulate that 12 honest men are to take part in the pageantry of Corpus Christi, and that those who fail to do so are to be fined [189]. The ordinances that probably date between 1424-34 speak of the fact that the Cordwainers, more than many other trades, bear the costs of the Corpus Christi celebrations [191]. These references suggest that the guild actively promoted orthodox theology. The latter ordinances also speak of fining those who gather for insurrection in 'confederations', 'conventicles', and 'congregations', refusing to follow the teachings of the recognised masters, breaching the king's peace in the city [193]; it is fascinating how this description of tradesmen mirrors the language used to accuse Lollards. The plotting by the Cordwainers' servants against their masters (each group had its own guild) is discussed by: D. M. Palliser, 'The trade guilds of Tudor York', in Peter Clark, Paul Slack (eds.), *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700*, The City Series (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, reprinted Abingdon: Routledge 2007), 86-116 [104]; H. Swanson, 'Crafts, Fraternities and Guild in late medieval York', in R. B. Dobson, D. M. Smith, *The Merchant Taylors of York: a history of the craft and company from the fourteenth to twentieth centuries* (York: Borthwick Publications 2006), 7-22 [13].

⁷⁰ The Cordwainers' play, *The Agony in the Garden and the Betrayal*, in Richard Beadle (ed.), *The York Plays*, York Medieval Texts, second series (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), 234-42. Although 'it was never the duty of the Corpus Christi Guild to present the [Mystery] Play', the performance 'had become attached to the Corpus Christi procession' and was thus influenced by the guild [Eileen White, *The York Mystery Play* (York: The Ebor Press, 1984, reprinted 1991), 2]. On the role of friars in supporting the Corpus Christi Guild see: Pamela M. King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City*, Westfield Medieval Studies 1 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), especially Chapter 8. On the connection between the Guild and the York Mystery Plays see: Clifford Davidson, *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). On the link between the York Cycle and the Augustinian friars, see: Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The York Cycle and the Libraries of York', in Caroline Barron, Jenny Stratford (ed.), *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society – Studies in Honour of Professor R. B. Dobson*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 11 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), 355-70. It has been suggested that as a Carmelite, John Bale's postings and journeys exposed him (and by extension his confreres) to late medieval drama; see 'John Bale's Mystery Cycle' in Peter Happé, *Cyclic Form and the English Mystery Plays: A Comparative Study of the English Biblical Cycles and Their Continental and Iconographic Counterparts*, Ludus – Medieval and Early Renaissance Theatre and Drama 7 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2004).

⁷¹ Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 40; Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1. Fryde *et al* (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology* puts Misyn's death as 1463. The biographical dates given above are mostly based upon Copey's references in the *ODNB*, though Butler ['Suffragan Bishops', 58-59] gives some variations.

Margaret Heslyngton: biographical details

Having considered the life, career and interests of Richard Misyn, we now turn to the addressee of his translation project, ‘Margarete Heslyngton, recluse’ [104/9-10].⁷²

Since patronymics became increasingly important in later medieval surnames, ‘Heslyngton’ probably denotes a family name rather than a place of origin. Nevertheless, the two-mile proximity of Heslington (the only English village so named) to York suggests a toponym’s provenance from there. York was a fruitful home for solitaries of various sorts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and would therefore be a natural place to locate ‘Margarete Heslyngton, recluse’.⁷³

York testamentary records show that a recluse named Heslyngton lived as an anchorite in the churchyard of St. Margaret’s Church on York’s Walmgate, within a few hundred metres of the Carmelite convent on Fossgate. The anchorite at St. Margaret’s received the generous support of several York citizens in their wills, and died in 1439.⁷⁴ The surname, date, location, and title of recluse strongly suggest that she is the anchorite Richard Misyn wrote for.⁷⁵

⁷² All references to Misyn’s text [page/line] come from Harvey’s edition.

⁷³ On York’s anchorites see: Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 39, 242-53; Frank Bottomley, *Yorkshire’s Spiritual Athletes: Hermits and Other Solitaries*, monograph published online at <http://www.zurgy.org/medieval/hermits.pdf> [accessed February 2015]. On solitaries in the nearby Yorkshire region of the Humber, see: Andrew W. Taubman, *Clergy and Commoners: Interactions between medieval clergy and laity in a regional context*, Doctoral Thesis (York: University of York, 2009), available online at http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/791/1/Thesis_Final.pdf [accessed February 2015].

⁷⁴ York, Borthwick Institute, Probate Registry, Will 3, fo. 590; Raine, *Mediaeval York*, 108; Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 244-45. Now the National Centre for Early Music, St. Margaret’s is sadly not well documented, but see: Philippa Hoskin, ‘Some late fourteenth-century gild and fabric wardens’ accounts from the Church of St. Margaret’s, Walmgate, York’, in David M. Smith (ed.), *The Church in Medieval York: Records edited in honour of Professor Barrie Dobson*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 24 (York: University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1999), 75-86. It is my belief that the small building still standing on the south (admittedly not the more usual north) side of the church was Heslyngton’s anchorhold, and would once have provided a squint overlooking the altar. In *The Medieval Parish Churches of York: The Pictorial Evidence* (York Archaeological Trust, 1998), Barbara Wilson and Frances Mee include a nineteenth-century drawing which depicts what they call ‘the vestry, added to the south wall in the 15th century’ [100, fig. 74], perhaps following the designation in the description of St. Margaret’s in Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 5: Central* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1981), 22-25, accessible online via www.british-history.ac.uk. They do not state on what authority they label this a vestry rather than an anchorhold, or whether it could have become a vestry after having served an earlier purpose.

⁷⁵ In previous research I suggested that the Isabel Heslyngton referred to in the register of the Corpus Christi Guild was probably the recluse’s baptismal name, and Margaret derived from the church she was attached to, citing Julian of Norwich as an example of an anchorite deriving her name from the church she was anchored to (in that case St. Julian in Conisford). However, Eddie Jones has questioned this, since he has found no other examples of this practice in the medieval Diocese of Norwich. Jones cites Margaret Heslyngton as the only possible example of this practice, and offers as alternative explanations either scribal error in the Corpus Christi Guild register or the existence of two different contemporary anchorites surnamed Heslyngton. Another possible explanation is that the names ‘Margaret’ and ‘Isabel’ were interchangeable names or aliases, similar to the legal and religious names used synonymously by professed religious, though this was not the usual practice in the medieval Church. See: E. A. Jones, ‘A mystic by any other name: Julian(?) of Norwich’, *Mystics Quarterly*, XXXIII:3 (2007), 1-17.



The anchorhold(?) of St. Margaret's Church, Walmgate, York (photographed in 2003).

Heslyngton's membership of the Corpus Christi Guild, referred to above, suggests she came from an affluent family, and indeed female anchorites are often known to have come from the governing classes. Proof of Heslyngton's relatively prosperous upbringing might be provided by a document dated 1435 (and therefore exactly contemporary with Misyn's second translation). The York Bridgemasters' Accounts record the rental in the heart of the city of 'a tenement of Walter Gower in the tenure of John Heslyngton, tapiter [weaver of worsted cloth], for the terms aforesaid this year 20s.'⁷⁶ If John Heslyngton was related to Margaret Heslyngton, it would suggest she came from a mercantile background.

If Richard Misyn was in York in the late 1420s as previously suggested, his prestige as a lecturer and preacher may have introduced him into Margaret Heslyngton's social or spiritual circle. Whether she had entered the anchorhold by that decade or not, she could have had a wide network of contacts;

⁷⁶ York City Archives C82:5, translated by Philip M. Stell in *York Bridgemasters' Accounts* (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2002), 157. The late fourteenth-century Ordinances of the Tapiters' Guild record a John and Robert Heslyngton, and a John Heslyngton was also a member of the Potters' Guild: see Maud Sellers (ed.), *York Memorandum Book, Part I (1376-1419)*, Surtees Society 120 (Durham: Andrews and Co., 1912), 84, 150. We also know of a John Heslyngton who became a Carmelite friar; he was listed as being of the York friary when he was ordained acolyte there on 24th September 1457 [*Reg. Bothe, York*, fo. 431].

recent research on medieval anchorites has highlighted the important social position of these erstwhile ‘solitaries’ who were often sought out as intercessors and spiritual guides, as witnessed by the encounter between Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich. Since book production in the Middle Ages was expensive, it is even possible that Heslyngton paid Misyn for his translation and writing work, thus reviving the practice among the early friars of earning income from ‘manual’ labour (the *Rule of Saint Albert* requiring ‘some work’ to be done by Carmelites).⁷⁷ It is also quite possible that, even as a recluse, Heslyngton was part of a literary circle in the York area, by which Misyn’s literary works might have been passed around a coterie of readers. Such patterns of book sharing between affluent lay persons are known to have existed in Yorkshire, and to have Carmelite connections. For example, a miscellaneous assembly of mostly devotional, and mostly English texts, written c.1430-40 in Yorkshire by its owner and copyist John Morton, is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 131. After its last gathering, two letters of confraternity were bound into the book, one dated 1438 naming Morton and his wife Juliana as confraters of the Austin friars in York, and the other dated 1396 naming Agnes Wyndhyll and her sons John and Robert confraters of the Carmelite friars in Scarborough. Ryan Perry states that the book ‘reveals a socio-literary culture involving traffic between professional-religious spiritual guides and members of York’s spiritually ambitious mercantile elite’, and likens to Margery Kempe’s situation the milieu in which religious texts were commissioned, written, read and shared.⁷⁸

It seems that, like Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn, Margaret Heslyngton and Richard Misyn enjoyed a relationship of mutual support, with the Carmelite responding to the literary hunger of a ‘spiritually ambitious mercantile elite’. Writing in the mid-1430s, the same time as Kempe’s priest amanuensis, Richard Misyn articulates both hopes and fears in providing religious literature in English. Before we consider this further, it is helpful to know something of the manuscripts in which Misyn’s work is preserved.

⁷⁷ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 250, 255. Across medieval Europe scribal activity was generally considered as ‘manual’ labour, rather than intellectual. On the support of friars by the burgher class, see: Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 50. Interestingly, by the mid-fifteenth century the Scriveners’ Guild in York sought to prohibit priests from writing texts for profit, though it was not illegal for clergy to produce books gratis: see Joyce W. Percy (ed.), *York Memorandum Book*, vol 3, Surtees Society 186 (Gateshead: Northumberland Press, 1973), 195-97, 208-11; Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling, 1340-1548: Learning, Literacy, and Laicization in Pre-Reformation York Diocese* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 52.

⁷⁸ Ryan Perry, ‘“Some sprytually matter of gostly edyfycacion”: Readers and Readings of Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*’, in Ian Johnson, Allan F. Westphall (eds.), *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, *Medieval Church Studies* 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 79-126 [105].

The manuscripts containing Richard Misyn's translations

Richard Misyn's relationship with Margaret Heslyngton is only known directly from his writing activity. In 1434 the Carmelite wrote the *Mendynge of lyfe* [105/6], a translation of Richard Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae*. Misyn translated Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* a year later, calling it *þe fyer of lufe* [1/9], and calling himself hermit, Carmelite, and Bachelor of Theology [68/29-30].⁷⁹

There are three extant manuscripts of Misyn's translation.⁸⁰ Palaeographers and codicologists date all three to the 1440s-50s,⁸¹ that is 5-15 years after Misyn's work as translator. The two translations are found side-by-side in each of the three manuscripts, with identical prologues and colophons identifying Richard Misyn as translator and Margaret Heslyngton as recipient. Knowing something about these manuscripts helps us better understand how Richard Misyn's work was received and perceived.

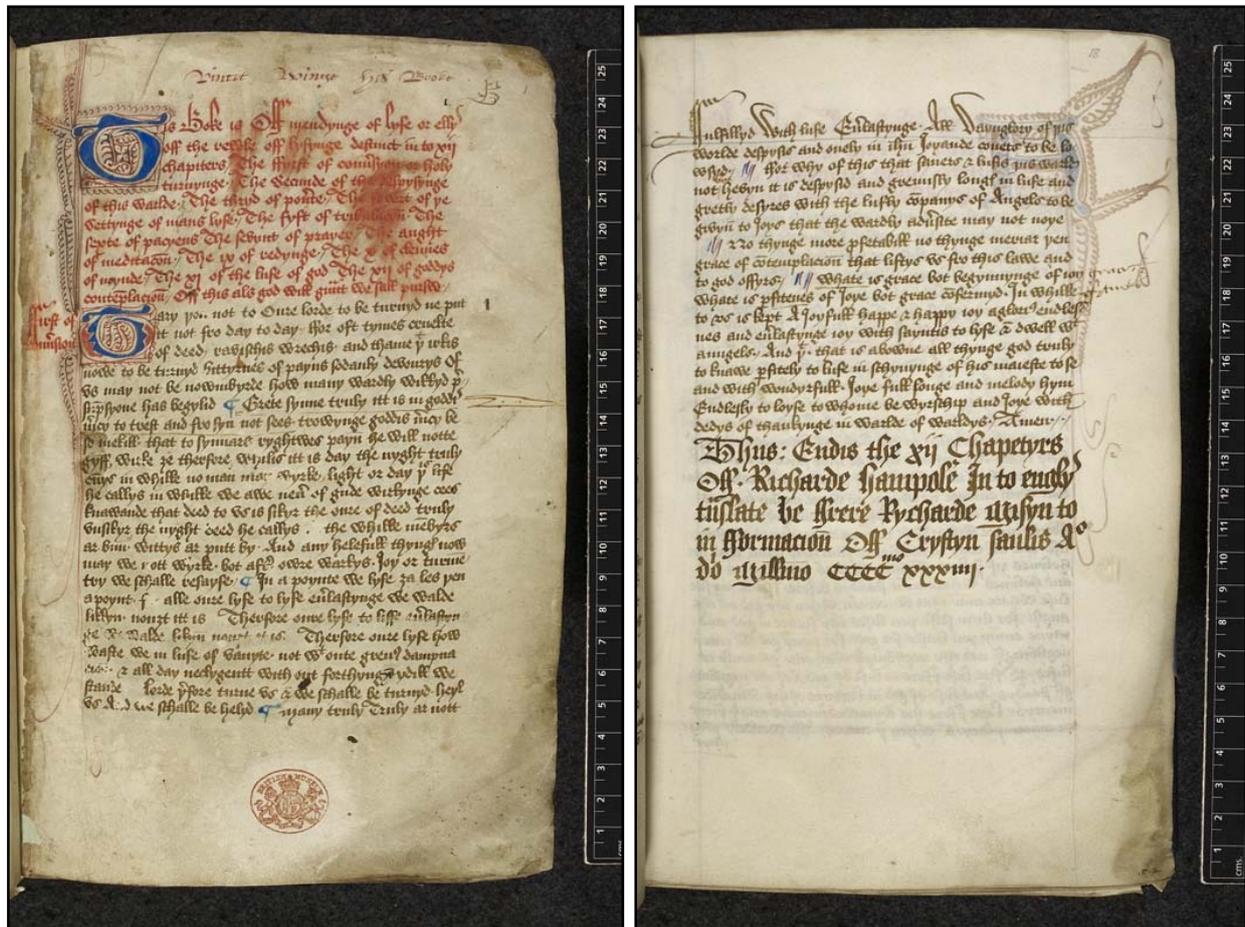
⁷⁹ See: Copsey, 'The Carmelites ... Surviving Writings', 204-05, and Additions and Corrections 1, 197; Lewis, Blake, Edwards (eds.), *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, 92; Lagorio *et al*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3055. The Latin text of the *Incendium* is edited by Margaret Deanesly, *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915). The Latin text of the *Emendatio* is edited by Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle: Emendatio Vitae et Orationes ad Honorem Nominis Ihesu*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995), and more recently by Rüdiger Spahl, *De emendatione vitae: Eine kritische Ausgabe des lateinischen Textes von Richard Rolle*, Super alta perennis: Studien zur Wirkung der klassischen Antike 6 (Göttingen: V&R unipress / Bonn University Press, 2009). Numerous twentieth-century Modern English editions of both these Rolle texts are listed in: Valerie Marie Lagorio, Ritamary Bradley, *The 14th-Century English Mystics: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1981), 57-59; Lagorio *et al*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3411-12. According to Colledge and Walsh writing in 1978, Margaret Amassian was re-editing both the *Fyer* and the *Mendynge*, and re-examining their attribution to Misyn [Julian of Norwich, *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich* (eds.) Edmund Colledge, James Walsh, 2 vols, Studies and Texts 35 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1978), 4 n. 13]. Although she stated that a critical edition of the *Emendatio* translation was near completion [Margaret G. Amassian, 'The Rolle Material in Bradfer-Lawrence Ms. 10 and Its Relationship to Other Rolle Manuscripts', *Manuscripta*, 23:2 (July 1979), 67-78, at 68 n. 5], I have not heard any further details, and whilst Harvey's work is certainly in need of revision I see no reason to doubt the attribution of the translation to Misyn (though probably of the manuscripts themselves). In anticipation of a revised edition, Margaret Laing has listed errors in Appendix 1 of her article 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism: The Translation by Richard Misyn of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* and *Emendatio Vitae*', in Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, Margaret Lang (eds.), *Middle English Dialectology: essays on some principles and problems* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), 188-223 [219 n. 4].

⁸⁰ Not two as Watson states: Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 312 n. 1.

⁸¹ Lagorio *et al*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3423; Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 189.

London, British Library, Ms. Additional 37790 (Amherst Manuscript)

Richard Misyn’s translations (fo. 1-95) hold pride of place as the first texts within this important *florilegium* (compilation of extracts) of religious treatises.⁸²

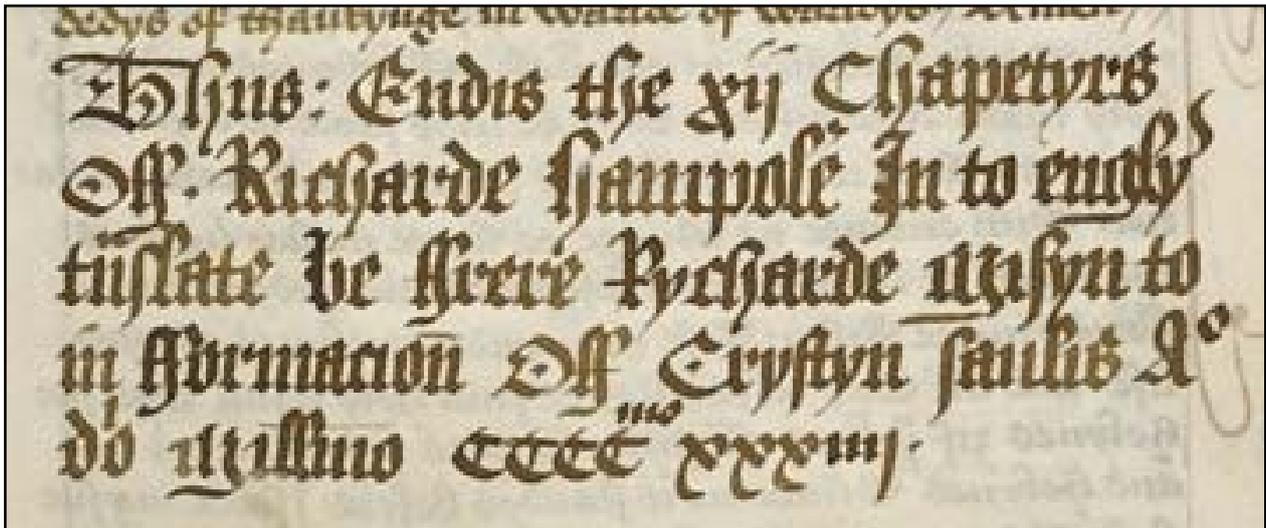


London, British Library, Ms. Additional 37790, fo. 1, 18: the beginning and end of the *Mendynge* text.

⁸² Marlene Cré’s doctoral thesis (Université de Fribourg, September 2001) is the most thorough study of the Amherst manuscript and is published as Marleen Cré, *Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse: A Study of London, British Library, Ms. Additional 37790*, *The Medieval Translator* 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006). See also: *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCVI-MDCCCX* (London: British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, 1912), 153-56; Vincent Gillespie, ‘Dial M for Mystic: Mystical Texts in the Library of Syon Abbey and the Spirituality of the Syon Brethren’, in Glasscoe, Marion (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition, England, Ireland and Wales: Exeter Symposium VI* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 241-68 [246]; Laing, ‘Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism’, 220 n. 8. For other notes on the Amherst manuscript, see the editions and secondary reading listed below for each text in the compilation.

The translation of *Emendatio Vitae* (fo. 1-18) ends with the colophon:

Thus: Endis the xij Chapetyrs Of Richarde Hampole In to englys translate be ffrere Rycharde Misyn to informacioun Of Crystyn Saules Anno Domini millesimo cccc xxxiiij.⁸³

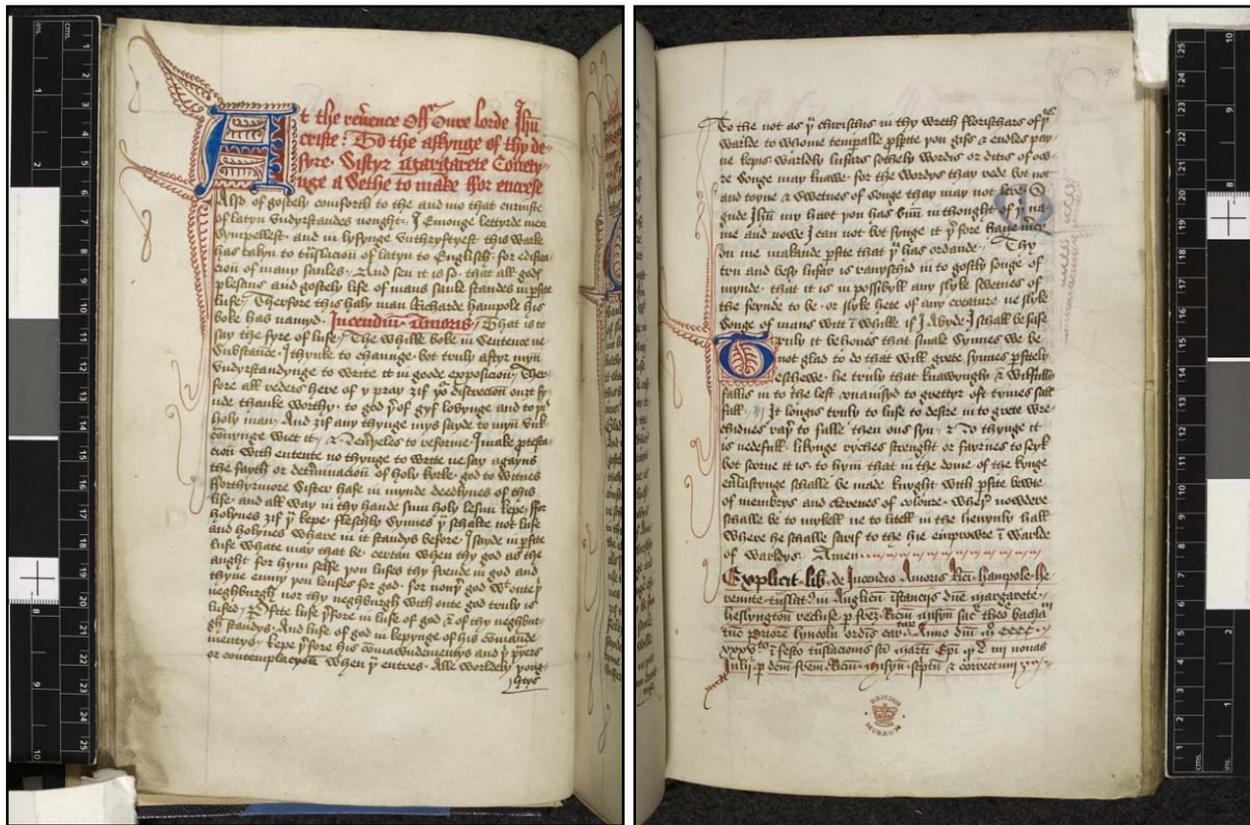


London, British Library, Ms. Additional 37790, fo. 18 (detail): the colophon of the *Mendynge* text.

Misyn's translation of the *Incendium* follows immediately (fo. 18v-95). In the other two manuscripts, the *Fyer* precedes the *Mendynge*, but Amherst's scribe placed Misyn's works in correct chronological order of when they were translated.⁸⁴

⁸³ My transcription of the Amherst text; cf. Harvey's edition 131/3-5.

⁸⁴ Cré gives a thematic account for the Amherst ordering: Marleen Cré, 'Women in the Charterhouse? Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love* and Marguerite Porète's *Mirror of Simple Souls* in British Library, Ms. Additional 37790', in Denis Renevey, Christiania Whitehead (eds.), *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 43-62 [59]. Theologically speaking, the *Emendatio* lays the ground rules for the Christian life and introduces the themes which occupy Rolle in the *Incendium*.



London, British Library, Ms. Additional 37790, fo. 18v, 95: the beginning and end of the *Fyer* text.

The vernacular religious translations that accompany Richard Misyn’s in the Amherst manuscript shed light on the kind of material that the compiler deemed complementary. Misyn/Rolle occurs alongside an English translation of the *Epistola aurea* (fo. 95v-6v) falsely attributed to St. Bernard, and *The Chastising of God’s Children*.⁸⁵ Selections from some of Rolle’s English works (*Ego Dormio* and *The Form of Living*) also feature (fo. 132-5v). The manuscript contains, uniquely, the short text of Julian of Norwich’s *Revelation of Love* (fo. 97-115),⁸⁶ as well as the sole English version of *The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* (fo. 115-30), a translation of the Latin version of the Dutch

⁸⁵ Joyce Bazire, Eric Colledge (eds.), *The Chastising of God’s Children* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957); on Amherst see 9-11.

⁸⁶ Cré, ‘Women in the Charterhouse?’, 57 n. 1; Julian of Norwich, *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich* (eds.) Edmund Colledge, James Walsh, 2 vols, Studies and Texts 35 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1978) [on Amherst see 1-5]; Julian of Norwich, *The Shewings of Julian of Norwich* (ed.) Georgia Ronan Crampton, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994) [on Amherst see 19]; Marion Glasscoe, ‘Visions and Revisions: A Further Look at the Manuscripts of Julian of Norwich’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 42 (1989), 103-20. On the significance of this manuscript for understanding the developing thought of Julian of Norwich, see: the introduction to Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 7; and in the same volume Marleen Cré, ‘“This blessed beholdyng”: Reading the Fragments from Julian of Norwich’s *A Revelation of Love* in London, Westminster Cathedral Treasury, MS 4’, 116-26 [116].

text by the Carthusian Jan van Ruusbroec.⁸⁷ Amherst also contains a fragment of a Middle English translation of Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* (fo. 135v-36v),⁸⁸ the 'M. N.' version of the *Mirror of Simple Souls* (fo. 137-225) by Marguerite Porète,⁸⁹ some patristic writings on the contemplative life (fo. 226-34), and a translation of *Liber celestis* (II, 16) of St. Birgitta (Bridget) of Sweden (fo. 236v-37, cropped).⁹⁰ Amherst is thus a compilation of religious texts, mostly in the vernacular, dealing with notions of prayer and contemplation. This gives us the context to better understand how Misyn's translations were perceived by contemporaries.

The manuscript's physical properties help ascertain further details about its use. The manuscript was written by one hand in Anglicana script, possibly within a monastic *scriptorium*.⁹¹ The Amherst manuscript measures 26.6 x 18 cm,⁹² probably too small for public oration but perfect for comfortable private reading.⁹³ With the exception of some patristic writings on the contemplative life (fo. 226-

⁸⁷ Jan van Ruusbroec, *The Complete Ruusbroec: English Translation with the Original Middle Dutch Text* (eds.) Guido de Baere, Thom Mertens, Corpus Christianorum Scholars Version of Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 101-110 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Lagorio *et al.*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3124, 3466.

⁸⁸ Lagorio *et al.*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3125-27, 3466-67. For a modern translation see: Bl. Henry Suso, *Wisdom's Watch Upon The Hours* (trans.) Edmund Colledge, The Fathers of the Church Mediaeval Continuation (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994).

⁸⁹ Lagorio *et al.*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3117-19, 3462; Margaret Porette, *The Mirror of Simple Souls* (trans.) Edmund Colledge, J. C. Marler, Judith Grant, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture 6 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999); Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians', 238-39; Marleen Cré, 'Contexts and comments: *The Chastising of God's Children* and *The Mirror of Simple Souls* in Ms. Bodley 505', in Graham D. Caie, Denis Renevey (eds.), *Medieval Texts in Context* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 122-35.

⁹⁰ Domenico Pezzini, 'The Twelf Poyntes: Versioni di un trattato Briggidino (Rev. II, 16) nel Quattrocento Inglese', *Aevum – Rassenga di scienza storiche linguistiche e filologiche*, 2 Anno Lxii maggio-agosto 1988 (Milano, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore), 286-301 [British Library Pamphlet 3291]; Roger Ellis, 'Flores ad fabricandam ... Coronam': An Investigation into the uses of the Revelations of St. Bridget of Sweden in Fifteenth-Century England', *Medium Aevum*, 51:1 (1982), 163-86.

⁹¹ Pezzini ['*The Twelf Poyntes*', 292] and Colledge, Walsh [ME edition of Julian, 1-2] argue that Amherst was probably the product of a monastic scriptorium. According to Laing ['Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 189, 220 n. 10], the scribe was also responsible for London, British Library, Ms. Egerton 2006, and Cambridge, St. John's College, Ms. 189. The materials in Amherst would point to either a female reader, a Carthusian production, or both. If it was a Carthusian compilation, then it could not have been made in a scriptorium, since the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* required each monk to have copying implements in his cell rather than in a common room: David Bell, 'Monastic libraries: 1400-1557', in Lotte Hellinga, J. B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III, 1400-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 230-31 [235-36]; Christopher Cannon, 'Monastic Productions', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 316-48 [319].

⁹² Pezzini, 'The Twelf Poyntes', 292.

⁹³ Frances Comper [xxxii] believed that Misyn's translation may have been read aloud, rather than privately, because she perceived the text repetitive: Frances M. M. Comper (ed. and trans.), *The Fire of Love or Melody of Love and the Mending of Life or Rule of Living – Translated by Richard Misyn from the 'Incendium Amoris' and the 'De Emendatione Vitae' of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (London: Methuen and Co, 1914). Available online at: <http://www.ccel.org/r/rolle/fire/fire.html> [accessed January 2015]. No manuscript apparatus in Amherst suggests that Misyn's translation was primarily aurally received. Rolle himself was aware of his text reaching 'herars or redars' [96/23]. Misyn's translations might thus be deemed part of the *Devotio Moderna's* shifting emphasis towards private reading, and the growing audience for such texts amongst both laity and religious.

234), the manuscript is largely written in English. Though the scribe rubricated Latin text, the overall impression created by the translations is of a readership more comfortable with the vernacular.⁹⁴

The Amherst manuscript's contents and presentation lead many scholars to believe that it is a Carthusian production, its texts appealing to that Order's proven interest in vernacular theological works. Amherst meets the Carthusian desire for first-hand accounts of raw and immediate religious experience. This is perhaps why the compilation contains Julian's Short Text, which is more about personal experience than the 'more ramified and theologically more sophisticated Long Text'.⁹⁵ The materials show thematic unity, and a progression of theological complexity, suggesting that it may have been a handbook for the contemplative and reclusive life. The *Rolle/Misyn Fyer* deals with the life of the contemplative solitary. Julian's is an anchoritic text. The mystical theology of Jan van Ruusbroec is directed towards an anchorite.⁹⁶ The *Chastising* was written for a female religious, probably by a Carthusian advisor, just as the Dominican Henry Suso wrote for a female religious. The *Mirror of Simple Souls* also deals with stages of contemplation, articulated by a woman. Though the Amherst texts were for the most part originally addressed to female recipients, they were disseminated to an interested wider public, which probably included Carthusians.⁹⁷ Misyn's *Fyer* is the most heavily annotated text in Amherst,⁹⁸ and annotations by James Grenehalgh of Sheen Charterhouse prove that it was once in Carthusian ownership.⁹⁹

The inclusion of attributed Carmelite and Dominican materials in a Carthusian compilation shows the monk who probably compiled it was interested in the literary activities of the friars.¹⁰⁰ The manuscript also demonstrates the rapid Carthusian accumulation of Carmelite literature. Misyn's

⁹⁴ The inclusion of a few Latin texts need not necessarily point to a male readership. Nearly all the texts were originally written for women. The Vernon manuscript is another compilation mostly in English with a few Latin and French texts that some women would have been able to read. The Vernon manuscript, which contains Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*, Hilton works, and anchoritic texts addressed to women, was probably read by devout laywomen or a community of nuns. See: Felicity Riddy, 'Women talking about the things of God': a late medieval sub-culture', 104-127; Edden, *Penitential Psalms* edition, 17; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 213; John P. H. Clark, 'Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology and the English Contemplative Tradition', in Marion Glasscoe, *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, Volume V, 1992* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), 1-16 [7-8]; Derek Pearsall (ed.), *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990).

⁹⁵ Gillespie, 'Dial M for Mystic', 245-46.

⁹⁶ On this mystic see: John Arblaster, Rob Faesen (eds.), *A Companion to John of Ruusbroec*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 51 (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

⁹⁷ Cré, 'Women in the Charterhouse?', 45 ff.

⁹⁸ Cré, *Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse*, 26.

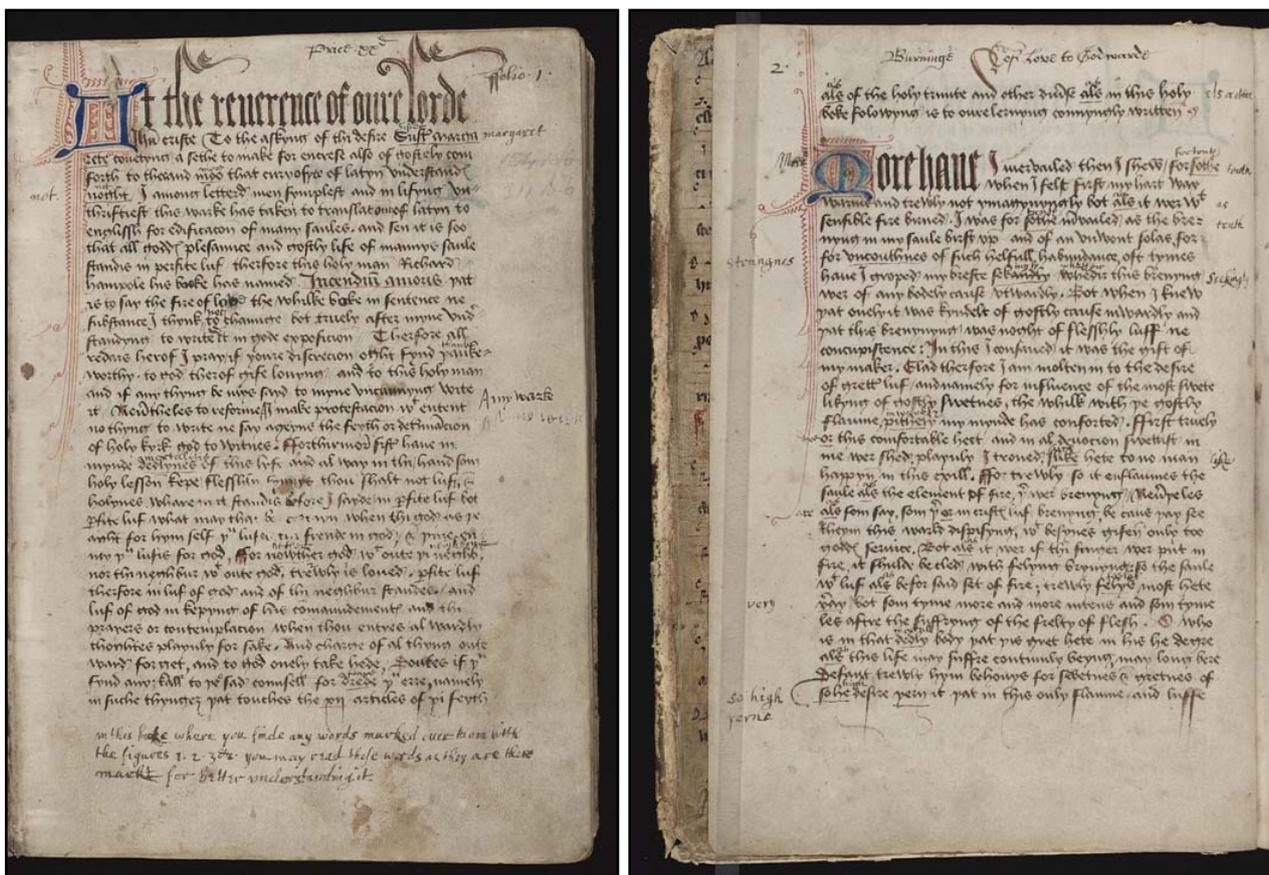
⁹⁹ Michael G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, 2 vols, Analecta Cartusiana 85 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984); Colledge, Walsh, Middle English edition of Julian, 3; Cré, *Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse*, 23-24.

¹⁰⁰ On the interaction between the normally highly-secluded Carthusians and broader society see: Glyn Coppack, 'Make straight in the desert a highway for our God': The Carthusians and Community in Late Medieval England', in Janet Burton, Karen Stöber (eds.), *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion XXXV (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 168-79.

translations are the most recent works in the compilation. Since the scribal hands of all three manuscripts suggest that they were made ‘within five, or at most ten, years of the original composition’ according to Margaret Laing,¹⁰¹ we can conclude that Richard Misyn’s works were being copied outside the Carmelite Order before or soon after Margaret Heslyngton’s death in 1439, and before Misyn was suffragan bishop in York. Within Richard Misyn’s own lifetime his vernacular writings had a life of their own.

Yale University Ms. Beinecke 331

The Yale manuscript¹⁰² places Richard Misyn’s translations of Richard Rolle (fo. 1-134, 137-67) alongside a Middle English verse life of St. John of Bridlington (fo. 168-74),¹⁰³ and a brief English poem added in the sixteenth century (fo. 134).

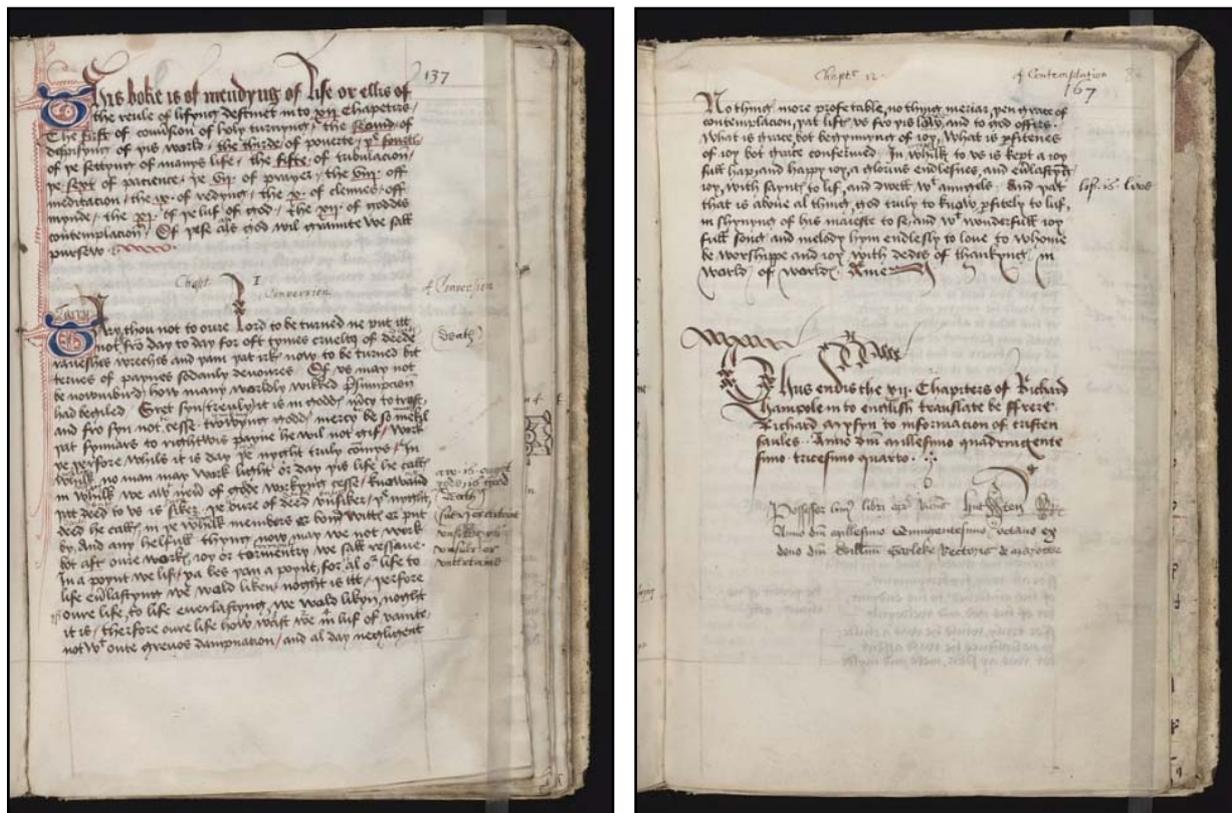


Yale, Beinecke Library Ms. 331, fo. 1-1v (Misyn’s prologue to his *Fyer* translation).

¹⁰¹ Laing, ‘Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism’, 189.

¹⁰² A catalogue description is available on the website of Yale University’s Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library: <http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/>

¹⁰³ Robbins, Cutler (eds.), *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse*, Entry 4105.5. The text is edited by Margaret Amassian, ‘A Verse Life of John of Bridlington’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 71 (1970), 136-45. Comments are made by Charles R. Sleeth, ‘Textual Observations on *A Verse Life of John of Bridlington*’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 74 (1973), 128-30.



Yale, Beinecke Library Ms. 331, fo. 137, 167 (opening, close and colophon of Misyn’s *Mendynge* translation).

As with the Amherst manuscript, these accompanying texts provide the broader context in which Misyn’s translations were read. The collation of Richard Rolle material alongside a verse life of St. John Thwing of Bridlington (c. 1320-79) suggests an interest in northern saintly figures and vernacular spirituality.¹⁰⁴ Canonized in 1401, John of Bridlington’s cult no doubt reached the young Richard Misyn when he was in Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The verse life almost certainly predates both Misyn’s 1434-35 translations, and Bridlington’s canonisation in 1401, probably being written by a northern cleric to promote Thwing’s cause after his death in 1379.¹⁰⁵

The Misyn/Rolle and Bridlington materials are written by a single scribe in bastard Secretary script with marginal and interlinear glosses by several hands of the sixteenth and seventeenth

¹⁰⁴ On John of Bridlington see: Michael J. Curley, ‘John of Bridlington (c. 1320–1379)’, *ODNB*; John Wardle, *St John of Bridlington: His Life and Legacy* (York: John E. Eckersley, 2013); Catherine Sanok, ‘John of Bridlington, mitred prior and model of the mixed life’, in P. H. Cullum, Katherine J. Lewis (eds.), *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*, Gender in the Middle Ages 9 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 143-59; David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 231; Socii Bollandiani (eds.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, Subsidia Hagiographica 6 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898-99), 644; Henryk Fros (ed.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis: Novum Supplementum*, Subsidia Hagiographica 70 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986), 484; P. Grosjean, ‘De. S. Iohanne Bridlingtoniensi collectanea’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53 (1935), 101-29; J. S. Purvis, *St John of Bridlington*, *Journal of the Bridlington Augustinian Society*, 2 (Bridlington, 1924); Laing, ‘Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism’, 205.

¹⁰⁵ Amassian, ‘A Verse Life’, 137, 139.

centuries. Margaret Laing locates the Yale scribe in ‘the point where Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire meet’.¹⁰⁶ No further information about the scribe’s identity can be deduced, but if one speculated for a moment that the Yale manuscript was a Carmelite compilation, one would be prompted to consider why the Misyn/Rolle works were collated alongside a verse life of John Thweng.

Like Richard Rolle, John of Bridlington was a Yorkshireman widely revered for his piety. The attraction of ‘The gude prior of Bridlyngtonne’ [fo. 168, line 9] to a Carmelite audience is plain; his verse life focuses upon a religious who, like the Whitefriars, combined communal religious life [fo. 170, line 12] with a desire for contemplative solitude [fo. 172, line 6; fo. 174, line 17]. Carmelites are also known to have had an interest in political dimensions associated with John of Bridlington. After Bridlington’s death a number of political prophecies were attributed to him by, among others, the Carmelite antiquarian John Bale.¹⁰⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapter, ‘[ve]rsus propheticum per priorem de Bridlington’ were copied alongside the Carmelite Thomas Ashburne’s now lost prophetic poem.¹⁰⁸ Interest in the prophecies attributed to Bridlington was politically dangerous however. In 1402, three years after King Richard II had been deposed by the Lancastrian Henry Bolingbroke, a number of friars including eight Franciscans were hanged for quoting a Bridlington prophecy ‘in an apparently pro-Yorkist manner’, claiming on the evidence of the Bridlington text that Richard II was still alive.¹⁰⁹ Archbishop Richard Scrope of York, responsible for Bridlington’s canonization, was executed three years later for his support of the Yorkist cause.¹¹⁰ The execution of the friars shows

¹⁰⁶ Amassian, ‘A Verse Life’, 204.

¹⁰⁷ Amassian, ‘A Verse Life’, 138.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, 1696*, reprinted (ed.) C. G. C. Tite (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984), 104.

¹⁰⁹ A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 268. See also: A. G. Rigg, ‘John of Bridlington’s Prophecy: A New Look’, *Speculum*, 63:3 (July 1988), 596-613. For a full discussion of the Bridlington prophecy see: Lesley A. Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England*, York Medieval Press (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), *passim*, and on the execution of the friars 164-65. On the genre of prophecy in the later Middle Ages see: Mishtooni Bose, ‘Prophecy, Complaint and Pastoral Care in the Fifteenth Century: Thomas Gascoigne’s *Liber Veritatum*’, in Cate Gunn, Catherine Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 149-62.

¹¹⁰ Rolle, Bridlington, and Scrope were ‘leaders of the contemplative movement’ in Yorkshire [Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 3], a movement in which Misyn played a role. Misyn’s name was aligned with Scrope’s on the York mazer bowl previously mentioned. On Scrope see: James Raine (ed.), ‘Miscellanea Relating to the Martyrdom of Archbishop Scrope’, in *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series 71, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1886), vol 2, 304-11; W. Mark Ormrod, ‘The Rebellion of Archbishop Scrope and the Tradition of Opposition to Royal Taxation’, in Gwilym Dodd, Douglas Biggs (eds.), *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival 1403-1413* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2008), 162-79; Sarah Rees Jones, Felicity Riddy, ‘The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere’, in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (eds.), *Household, Women, and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts*, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 215-60 [244 ff.]. A Latin text by Clement Maidstone, *The Martyrdom of Archbishop Richard Scrope*, survives in three fifteenth-century manuscripts. See: Simon Walker, ‘The Yorkshire Risings of 1405: Texts and Contexts’, in Gwilym Dodd, Douglas Biggs (eds.), *Henry IV: The Establishment of the Regime, 1399-1406* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2003), 161-84; Simon Walker, ‘Political Saints in later medieval England’, in Michael J. Braddick (ed.), *Political culture in later medieval England: essays by Simon Walker* (Manchester University Press, 2006), 198-222. On Richard Scrope see: P. J. P. Goldberg

disapproval of some mendicant interpretations of the prophecies attributed to Bridlington. Whilst there is nothing overtly political in the Middle English verse life in the Yale manuscript, placing it alongside Misyn's translations of Rolle does show distinct interest in northern eremitic spirituality.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College Ms. 236

The third extant manuscript copy of Richard Misyn's translations is Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 236. This dates from between 1435 and 1450 and is written in the same fifteenth-century hand throughout.¹¹¹ Since it contains only Misyn's translations, no contextual information can be gleaned in the manner of the other two manuscripts. However, the manuscript is of a high quality, the first folio beautifully ornamented with gold gilt.¹¹² This lavish decoration (albeit on only one page) implies that it was intended as much for display as to be a 'working' copy, perhaps by a religious (maybe Carmelite) community.

(ed.), *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007); Danna Piroynasky, *Martyrs in the Making: Political Martyrdom in Late Medieval England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008); P. J. P. Goldberg, 'St Richard Scrope, the Devout Widow, and the Feast of Corpus Christi: Exploring Emotions, Gender, and Governance in Early Fifteenth-Century York', in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, *Genders and Sexualities in History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 66-83.

¹¹¹ S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist VIII – Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 29; H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford: Academic Press, 1852), II (iv), 97-98; Rolle, *The Fire of Love* (ed.) Harvey, ix. Because Misyn wrote in 1434-35, it cannot date from before 1435, as suggested in Lagorio *et al.*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3423.

¹¹² J. J. G. Alexander, Elżbieta Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, The University Archives, and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), Entry 531, 52; Rolle, *The Fire of Love* (ed.) Harvey, ix.



Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 236, fo. 1.

The relationships between the manuscripts

Margaret Laing has studied all three manuscripts containing Misyn's two translations, and shown that, linguistically and textually, they are closely related.¹¹³ Combining her research with the biographical data we have for Richard Misyn and Margaret Heslyngton, and an appreciation of the cultural context in which they lived, we can better understand the ways in which the Carmelite Order in medieval England trod a fine line in both promoting and restricting theological activity through the provision of vernacular literature.

Laing's dialectal study, and palaeographic analysis, reveal that each of the three manuscripts is the work of individual scribes working alone. From compiling linguistic profiles, Laing concludes that 'whatever the dialect of Misyn's original texts ... the three copies of his tracts were all made by Lincolnshire scribes'.¹¹⁴ The Corpus scribe's dialect can be located in Lincoln itself,¹¹⁵ and 'it is no surprise that Misyn's work should have been copied in that city at a time not long after they were written there.' However, as already indicated, none of these manuscripts, including the Corpus copy, can be Richard Misyn's autograph. A comparison between early sections of the *Fyer* against later sections, and the *Mendynge*, reveals that the early part is 'a linguistic mixture made up of components from the ... scribe's own dialect and that of his exemplar.' In other words, although a Lincoln scribe wrote Corpus, the *mischsprache* (dialectal mixture) reveals that he copied a manuscript written by a scribe from a different linguistic region. The gradual change in dialect shows that the Corpus scribe, who took 'a little time to work into his task', was an exact copyist who combined his own usage with that of his exemplar.¹¹⁶ The Corpus scribe's exemplar has been lost, but the extraction of 'foreign' dialectal features from the early part of his manuscript shows that the exemplar was written in northwest Lincolnshire, to the north of Gainsborough.¹¹⁷ Laing is 'uncertain whether Misyn was originally from Lincoln',¹¹⁸ but I have suggested that he may have come from Misson, only eight miles northwest of Gainsborough. It is therefore possible that the Corpus scribe's lost exemplar was Misyn's autograph, but Laing thinks it more likely that Corpus's exemplar 'went through at least one stage of copying in a dialect from somewhere other than Lincoln'.¹¹⁹ Corpus's Lincoln dialect

¹¹³ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 210.

¹¹⁴ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 189.

¹¹⁵ Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), I:153; Linguistic Profile (LP) 16 [*JMEP*, VIII, 29].

¹¹⁶ Preceding quotes from Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 190.

¹¹⁷ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 199-202.

¹¹⁸ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 189. It is possible, of course, that Misyn wrote in another dialect, but his presence in Lincoln indicates it was his filial house.

¹¹⁹ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 208.

suggests the scribe was possibly a Carmelite writing in Misyn's own community,¹²⁰ and since this manuscript contains only Misyn's translations and Misyn's own preface is ornately decorated it can be said to be of especially Carmelite interest. It seems unlikely that a Lincoln Carmelite would need to copy Misyn's work from a manuscript outside the house where it was written. Perhaps instead of being copied from a north Lincolnshire exemplar, the Corpus manuscript was copied from Misyn's own autograph, written in his native Misson dialect.

Richard Misyn's dedication of his translation work to Margaret Heslyngton would suggest that she owned a first-hand copy, though it is more than likely that the Carmelite would have had such a substantial work copied before parting with the original, particularly, as we shall see, given his concerns over the accuracy of the text.¹²¹ All the extant manuscripts contain the prologue dedicating the work to Heslyngton, so their exemplar(s) ultimately derived from either her own manuscript in York, or from a (possibly Carmelite) manuscript that copied the dedication verbatim. Alternatively, the colophons could have been added later to account for how a copyist came to possess the text.

By studying the dialects and textual practices of the Yale and Amherst scribes, Margaret Laing comes to the 'inescapable conclusion' that these two manuscripts were directly copied from the Corpus text.¹²² Yale and Amherst are therefore copies at least three 'generations' removed from Richard Misyn's original text. Laing locates the Yale scribe in 'the point where Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire meet',¹²³ and places the Amherst scribe (whose dialect can be checked against his other known productions) close-by in the Grantham area of southwest Lincolnshire.¹²⁴ From Laing's analysis, it is possible to create a stemma for the manuscripts containing Misyn's texts which shows the dissemination of this Carmelite vernacular translation.

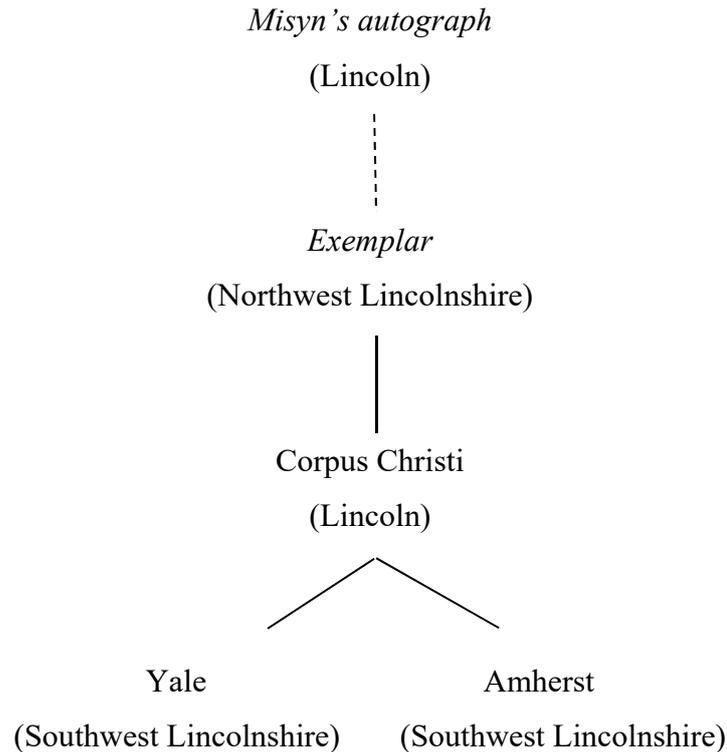
¹²⁰ Though there was no Charterhouse in Lincoln, scribes could move far from their place of origin [Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 209, 223 n. 44].

¹²¹ Thomas Netter certainly did this [Alban in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 346]. Netter's *Doctrinale* manuscripts may have been produced at the London convent, and the Carmelite *studium generale* helped attract the London bookmen to Fleet Street [Christianson, in Hellinga, Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III*, 129]. We have already noted York as a centre for Carmelite book production, and it seems probable that Whitefriars there or in Lincoln could have made copies of Misyn's work. Carmelite convents were often in the vicinity of book-producing areas. The Boston friary was near Book Lane [C. W. Foster, *Lincoln Wills: Volume III, A.D. 1530 to 1532*, Lincoln Record Society, 24 (London: 1930), 43], and we noted in the previous chapter (n. 42) that the Stamford Carmelite friary was responsible for producing a handful of known manuscripts.

¹²² Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 195, 199, 216-9, 221 n. 26.

¹²³ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 204.

¹²⁴ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 208.



Corpus is the most accurate (though not perfect) copy,¹²⁵ and the other two manuscripts share the Corpus scribe's uncorrected errors.¹²⁶ Linguistically, the Amherst scribe parallels his Corpus exemplar better than the Yale scribe, whose text is more erroneous¹²⁷ but more readable, because as a 'translator' rather than a 'transcriber', his is a freer copy.¹²⁸ The Amherst scribe is extremely accurate, his copy being 'almost identical' to his exemplar.¹²⁹

Though it is highly likely that Carmelite copies of Richard Misyn's works were made, quite possibly including the Corpus and Yale manuscripts, the linguistic evidence and the careful manner of copying and annotations in Amherst point towards its production by another religious order, the Carthusians. Carthusian copying from an archetypal manuscript is not unheard of,¹³⁰ and the 'Carthusian zeal for accuracy'¹³¹ in copying suggests that Amherst may well have originated in a Charterhouse. Indeed, all three manuscripts show a degree of uniformity and standardized

¹²⁵ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 194.

¹²⁶ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 195.

¹²⁷ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', lists some errors, 222, n. 31.

¹²⁸ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 191.

¹²⁹ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 206, 220 n. 10, 221 n. 20; Comper, *The Fire of Love*, xxxiii.

¹³⁰ Mary Erler, 'Devotional Literature', in Lotte Hellinga, J. B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III, 1400-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 495-525 [516-17].

¹³¹ Cré, 'Women in the Charterhouse?', 47; Sargent, *James Grenehalgh*, 18 ff.

presentation typical of Carthusian productions,¹³² but intriguingly the Amherst scribe seems to have copied the Rolle texts with more accuracy than the others,¹³³ suggesting perhaps a heightened respect (or apprehension) for the purity of Rolle's text, or indeed Misyn's repute. Respect for the original text would account for the retention of Misyn's prologue and the faithful *mis-en-page* of the colophons in their precise forms.¹³⁴ We shall return later to the question of why all the manuscripts maintain the attribution to Richard Misyn.

In conclusion, we can say that the three extant manuscripts containing Richard Misyn's translations of Richard Rolle suggest, to varying degrees, an interest in local (northern English) spirituality, an attraction towards direct personal religious experience, networks for disseminating accurately copied texts, and respect for the writers originally responsible for the works.

Two Richards: Rolle and Misyn

Having studied the manuscripts in which Misyn's translations are preserved, and the biographical details of him and his textual addressee, we can analyse the contents of the *Fyer of lufe* and *Mendynge of lyf* to see what can be deduced from the texts themselves with regard to the Carmelite Order's promotion and restriction of vernacular religious writing and thought in late medieval England.

To understand why a Carmelite friar should have thought it meritorious to translate two of Richard Rolle's Latin texts into English at a recluse's request, we must appreciate the popularity, but also the apprehension, generated by this 'Hermit of Hampole'.

Richard Rolle was arguably the most popular and influential of all 'mystics' in medieval England.¹³⁵ Most of what is known about Rolle comes from autobiographical snippets in his writings, and from the materials compiled after his death by the nuns with whom he spent his final years.

¹³² It was not unusual for Carthusian manuscripts to have a 'considerable degree of similarity in layout and apparatus': Vincent Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion', in Jeremy Griffiths, Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, Cambridge Studies in Publishing and Printing History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 317-44 [331].

¹³³ As observed by Amassian, quoted by Colledge and Walsh [ME edition of Julian, 1-2].

¹³⁴ On Carthusian manuscript production see: Jessica Brantley, 'The Visual Environment of Carthusian Texts: Decoration and Illustration in Notre Dame 67', in Jill Mann, Maura Nolan (eds.), *The Text in the Community: Essays on medieval works, manuscripts, authors, and readers* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 173-216.

¹³⁵ Classic studies of Rolle's life, spirituality and cult include: Carl Horstmann (ed.), *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle, an English Father of the Church, and His Followers*, 2 vols (London: Swann Sonnenschein, 1895-96); Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography*, Modern Language Association Monographs Series 3 (New York: D. C. Heath and London: Oxford University Press, 1927); Hope Emily Allen (ed.), *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931, reprinted Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1988); Margaret Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915). More recent studies include: Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Joan M. Nuth, *God's Lovers in an Age of Anxiety – The Medieval English Mystics*, Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2001); Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*; Ralph Hanna, 'Rolle and Related Works', in A. S.



Richard Rolle in hermit's habit, cowl and liripipe hood, sitting in a cask with an open book and beads. Cambridge, St. John's College, Ms. B.1 (a fifteenth-century English collection of Rolle's writings).¹³⁶

G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 19-31; Denis Renevey, 'Richard Rolle', in Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden, Roger Ellis (eds.), *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 63-74; Denis Renevey, '1215-1349: texts', in Samuel Fanous, Vincent Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 91-112 [105-10]; Bernard McGinn, 'Richard Rolle and Sensate Affective Mysticism' in *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism (1350-1550)*, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* 5 (New York: Crossroad, 2012), 339-70. The best texts on the manuscripts, subject matter, and sources of the *Incendium* are Deanesly's introduction, and Watson's literary analysis in *Richard Rolle*. To situate Rolle in his historical context see: Richard Rolle, *Richard Rolle's Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum: An Introduction and Contribution towards a Critical Edition* (ed.) Malcolm Robert Moyes, 2 vols, Salzburg Studies in English Literature – Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies Series, 92: 12 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1988).

¹³⁶ On such imagery see the chapter "Hermits Painted at the Front": Images of Popular Piety in the North', in John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 148-202.

Born in Thornton-le-Dale in the North Riding of Yorkshire sometime between 1305-10, Richard Rolle studied in Oxford, but before graduating experienced a spiritual conversion at the age of 19 that brought him home to live as a hermit in a cell given to him by family friends. At the age of 22, whilst listening to the singing of psalms, Rolle had a sensory experience of God’s love that he described as physical warmth (*fervor*), a sweet taste or smell (*dulcor*), and heavenly singing (*canor*).¹³⁷

In many respects Richard Rolle defied contemporary expectations of the hermit’s life. He rarely attended church liturgies, believing them to be inferior to his experience of *canor*. He seems not to have followed the standard guide for fourteenth-century recluses, the *Regula heremitarum*, and his lifestyle eschewed the normal eremitic forms of asceticism through labour, vigils, and fasting.¹³⁸ Rolle was never ordained and recognised no duty of obedience to ecclesiastical authority, yet preached publicly, claiming supernatural inspiration from Scripture.¹³⁹ Rolle was ‘individualistic and abrasive’, believing that his mystical experiences ‘placed him above the earthly church’.¹⁴⁰



Depictions of Richard Rolle in London, British Library, Ms. Add. 37049, fo. 37, 52v, a Carthusian miscellany of poems (including *The Desert of Religion*), chronicles, and treatises in Northern English, c.1460-1500.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Biographical notes are adapted from Jonathan Hughes, ‘Rolle, Richard (1305x10–1349)’, *ODNB*.
¹³⁸ On Rolle’s ‘reinvention of the eremitic life’ see: Louise Nelstrop, ‘The Merging of Eremitic and “Affectivist” Spirituality in Richard Rolle’s Reshaping of Contemplation’, *Viator*, 35 (2004), 289-309.
¹³⁹ On Rolle’s use of Scripture see: Annie Sutherland, ‘Biblical Text and Spiritual Experience in the English Epistles of Richard Rolle’, *Review of English Studies*, 56 (2005), 695-711.
¹⁴⁰ Hughes, ‘Rolle, Richard’, *ODNB*.
¹⁴¹ On these depictions see: Lisa Manter, ‘Rolle Playing: “And the Word Became Flesh”’, in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Nancy Warren, Duncan Robertson (eds.), *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 15-37 [30-31].

Though his irregular approach to the solitary vocation attracted contemporary criticism, to the extent that he complained at being forbidden to expound the Bible publicly, Richard Rolle was never accused of heresy. On the contrary, he was regarded as a saint by the Cistercian nuns of Hampole near Doncaster, South Yorkshire, to whom he acted as adviser in the final years of his life. After Richard Rolle's demise on 30th September 1349 (possibly from the Black Death), the Hampole nuns compiled a liturgical Office in his honour, though he was never formally canonised.¹⁴²

In this Office the nuns included various extracts from Richard Rolle's numerous prose and verse writings, which reveal the considerable extent of his learning (presumably both in Oxford and afterwards), and his growing rhetorical confidence and theological knowledge. Scholars continue to deliberate over the dates of these texts, and indeed their attribution, since many erstwhile anonymous writings have been ascribed to 'the Hermit of Hampole'. The large number of surviving manuscripts containing actual or attributed Rolle texts bears testimony to the popularity of his writing. For example, his commentary on readings from the *Book of Job* which form part of the Office for the Dead, *Super lectiones mortuorum*, survives in forty-two manuscripts and was used extensively by York clergy in the fifteenth century.¹⁴³ Other scriptural commentaries by Rolle include a Latin gloss on the Psalter based on Peter Lombard, and his *Super canticum canticorum*, a gloss on the first two and a half verses of the *Song of Songs*.¹⁴⁴

Texts such as these, and Rolle's first work, *Judica me Deus*, written around 1330, were composed in Latin and most usually read by a clerical audience. But Richard Rolle also wrote in English, promoting devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, and providing pastoral guidance to a number of women in texts such as *Ego Dormio*, and *The Commandment*.¹⁴⁵ Pre-empting the Wycliffite Bible by

¹⁴² The Latin text is printed as Reginald Maxwell Woolley (ed.), *The Officium and Miracula of Richard Rolle of Hampole* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919). A Modern English translation of the Rolle Office is included in Comper, *The Fire of Love*.

¹⁴³ Richard Rolle, *Richard Rolle's Expositio Super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum: An Introduction and Contribution towards a Critical Edition* (ed.) Malcolm Robert Moyes, 2 vols, Salzburg Studies in English Literature – Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies Series, 92: 12 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1988).

¹⁴⁴ On this text see: Denis Renevey, *Language, Self and Love: Hermeneutics in the Writings of Richard Rolle and the Commentaries on the Song of Songs* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001).

¹⁴⁵ Editions of Rolle's Middle English texts are found in: George G. Perry (ed.), *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole, edited from Robert Thornton's MS. in the library of Lincoln Cathedral*, Early English Text Society Original Series 20 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1866, 1921); Hope Emily Allen (ed.), *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931, reprinted Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1988); Richard Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse edited from Ms. Longleat 29 and related manuscripts* (ed.) S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, Early English Text Society Original Series 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Ralph Hanna (ed.), *Richard Rolle: Uncollected Prose and Verse with related Northern texts*, Early English Text Society Original Series 329 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Modern English translations are compiled in: Richard Rolle, *The English Writings* (ed. and trans.) Rosamund S. Allen, The Classics of Western Spirituality Series (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1988); Henrietta Hick, *The Fellowship of Angels: The English Writings of Richard Rolle* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2008). For a study of Rolle's literary form, content and appeal, see: Claire Elizabeth McIlroy, *The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle*, Studies in Medieval Mysticism 4 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004).

several decades (and attracting Lollard interpolations in some manuscripts), Rolle wrote the first English prose translation of the entire Latin Psalter, with a commentary.¹⁴⁶ This *English Psalter* was addressed to an anchorite, Margaret Kirkby, who was also the recipient of Rolle's *Form of Living*, the first vernacular guide for recluses since the *Ancren riwle*.

Sometime before 1343 (an authorial marginal note informs us), Richard Rolle composed *Incendium Amoris*, which survives in forty-two manuscripts (about half of which contain the long version as used by Richard Misyn).¹⁴⁷ This 'most important and representative'¹⁴⁸ of Rolle's Latin treatises is an autobiographical account of his spiritual development, in which he defends the particular vocation of solitary contemplatives. The pre-eminence of the solitary is likewise upheld by Rolle in *Melos amoris*, written in the mid-1340s.

Richard Rolle's last Latin work was *Emendatio vitae*,¹⁴⁹ 'one of the most successful guides to the spiritual life to be written in English'.¹⁵⁰ The fact that the original Latin text of the *Emendatio* is found in 110 extant manuscripts and translated in 7 independent Middle English versions (including Richard Misyn's) is proof of Richard Rolle's enormous popularity in the late Middle Ages.¹⁵¹ The *Emendatio* was probably the most widely disseminated Rolle text, and became the most widespread paramonastic rule in England.¹⁵²

Richard Rolle's compositions were read across England, and especially in his native Yorkshire where some of the leading noble families (such as the Scropes) owned autographed manuscripts. As Jonathan Hughes states, 'Rolle's works played an important part in the formation of the religious

¹⁴⁶ Richard Rolle, *English Psalter: The Psalter of the Psalms of David and Certain Canticles, with a Translation and Exposition in English by Richard Rolle of Hampole* (ed.) H. R. Bramley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884). Earlier vernacular translations existed but were metrical, such as the Northern Verse (Surtees) Psalter written in rhyming Middle English between 1250 and 1300.

¹⁴⁷ Margaret Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915). The most recent Modern English translation is Richard Rolle, *The Fire of Love* (ed. and trans.) Clifton Wolters (London: Penguin, 1972). Earlier translations include Comper (*op. cit.*), and Richard Rolle, *The Fire of Love* (trans.) G. C. Heseltine (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd., 1935). On the dating see Watson, *Richard Rolle*, 277-78.

¹⁴⁸ Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, v.

¹⁴⁹ Nicholas Watson (ed.), *Richard Rolle: Emendatio Vitae et Orationes ad Honorem Nominis Ihesu*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995). A Modern English version is Richard Rolle, *The Amending of Life – A Modern English Version of the "Emendatio Vitae" of Richard Rolle, of Hampole (Hermit)* (trans.) Rev. H. L. Hubbard (London: John M. Watkins, 1922).

¹⁵⁰ Hughes, 'Rolle, Richard', *ODNB*.

¹⁵¹ It appears from Misyn's act of translation that he did not know of, or did not rate, the other translations of the ubiquitous Latin text, at least some of which probably pre-date his work: Lagorio *et al.*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3424; 3065; Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 188. Non-Misyn translations are listed by Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, 213-20, 231-43.

¹⁵² Lagorio *et al.*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3064. On the dissemination of Rolle, see: Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*; Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion', 321. On the Latin manuscripts see: Watson, *Richard Rolle*, 312, n. 1; Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 1-37. On the popularity of Rolle in manuscript compilations see: Margaret Connolly, 'Compiling the book', in Alexandra Gillespie, Daniel Wakelin (eds.), *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 129-49 [138].

culture of fifteenth-century England, being more widely read than those of any other vernacular writer: works of his survive in some 470 manuscripts written between 1390 and 1500.¹⁵³ Rolle's writings enjoyed a long popularity, in complete and anthologised forms.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Richard Rolle's self-authorisation, his implied criticisms of the institutional church, his encouragement of idiosyncratic versions of religious and solitary life, and the liturgical innovations associated with his cult at Hampole prompted various clerical attempts to moderate his influence, especially after the rise of John Wyclif and the Lollards, some of whose ideas seemed to concur with the more exotic elements of Rolle's teachings. Walter Hilton, the circle of Yorkshire clerics serving Thomas Arundel, and the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* sought in various ways to curb what they perceived as Rolle's excessive praise of the solitary life, and devotional peculiarities, that could lead to a 'potential debasement of spiritual religion into superstitious phenomena and emotional impressionability'.¹⁵⁵

Richard Misyn: promoter of thought but defender of orthodoxy

Given both the popularity and opprobrium that Richard Rolle generated, it is not surprising that the Carmelite Richard Misyn approached the task of translating the Hermit of Hampole's works with both enthusiasm and apprehension. Misyn prefaced his translation of Rolle's *Incendium* prologue with his own, in a dedicatory epistle to Margaret Heslyngton which is preserved in all three extant manuscripts. It is of such significance for our enquiry into ambivalent Carmelite attitudes towards vernacular theology that it is worth here reproducing the text (from Harvey's edition) in its entirety:

At þe reuerence of oure lorde Ihesu criste, to þe askynge of þi desyre, Syster Margarete, couetyng a-sethe to make, for encrece also of gostely comfort to þe and mo, þat curiuste of latyn vnderstandes noht, I, emonge lettyrd men sympellest, and in lyfyng vnthriftiest, þis wark has takyn to translacion of lattyn to englysch, for edificacyon of many saules. And sen it is so þat all godis plesans and gostely life of mans saule standes in parfyte lufe, þefore þis haly man Richard Hampole, hys boke has named *Incendium Amoris*, þat is to say 'þe fyer of lufe'. The whilk boke, in sentence ne substance I þink to chaunge, bot treuly aftyr myn vnderstandyng to wryte it in gude exposicione.

¹⁵³ Hughes, 'Rolle, Richard', *ODNB*.

¹⁵⁴ See, for example: Eddie Jones, 'A Chapter from Richard Rolle in Two Fifteenth-Century Compilations', *Leeds Studies in English*, 27 (1996), 139-62; Tamás Karáth, 'The Re-Invention of Authority in the Fifteenth-Century Translations of Richard Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae*', in Pieter De Leemans, Michèle Goyens (eds.), *Translation and Authority – Authorities in Translation*, The Medieval Translator 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 255-74.

¹⁵⁵ Hughes, 'Rolle, Richard', *ODNB*.

Perfore all redars here-of I pray, if ȝour discrecyon oȝt fynde þankeworthy, to god þerof gyf loueynge, and to þis holy man; and if any þinge mys-sayd, to myne vnconnyng wyet itt. Neuer-þe-les, to reforme I make protestacyon, with entent no þing to wryte ne say agayns þe faith or determinacion of holy kyrk, god to wytnes.

fforþirmore, sister, haue in mynd deedlynes of þis lyfe, and all-way in þi hande sum holy lesun kepe. ffor holynes if þou kepe, fleschly synnes þou salt noȝt lufe; and holynes whare-in it standes, before I sayde: in parfyte lufe. Bot parfyte lufe, what may þat be? certan, when þi god (as þe aght) for hym-self þou lufes, þi frende in god, and þin enmy þou lufes for god; for nouþer god with-oute þi neghburgh, nor þi neghburgh with-oute god, treuly is lufed. Parfyte lufe þerfore, in lufe of god and of þi neghburgh standis; and lufe of god, in kepeyng of his commaundementis.

Kepe þerfore his commaundementis, and þi prayers or contemplacion when þou entres, all worldly þoghtes planely forsake, and chargh of all þinge outewarde forget, and to god onely take hede. Doutes if þou fynde any, kall to þe sad counsell, for drede þou erre, namely in slyke þinges þat touches þe .xij. artikils of þi fayth, als of þe holy Trinite, and oþer dyuers, als in þis holy boke filouyng is to oure lernyng connyngly writtyn.

(1/1-2/4)

Misyn's insertion of a prologue before Rolle's own was not a casual addition.¹⁵⁶ Whilst Rolle's prologue acts as what Nicholas Watson calls an 'audacious' foregrounding of his own authority, rooted in his personal experience rather than traditional authoritative sources, Misyn's prologue by contrast makes it plain that he, the translator, eschews all authority, being 'emonge lettyrd men sympellest, and in lyfyng vnthriftyst'.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, though Richard Misyn wrote his prologue in the first person, he does so in an anonymous manner we have come to expect of English-writing Carmelites. Misyn does not identify himself in his prologue at all, and we do not learn the translator's name until the colophon of Book I of the *Fyer* where we read in Latin:

¹⁵⁶ For an introduction to prologues as a literary genre in their own right, see: Andrew Galloway, 'Middle English prologues', in David F. Johnson, Elaine Treharne (eds.), *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 288-305.

¹⁵⁷ Watson, 'Richard Rolle', 115-7; Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 38. On the multifaceted relations between medieval translation practices and authority, see: Pieter De Leemans, Michèle Goyens (eds.), *Translation and Authority – Authorities in Translation*, *The Medieval Translator* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

Explicit liber primus Incendij Amoris Ricardi Hampole heremite, translatus a latino in Anglicum per fratrem Ricardum Misyn heremitam et ordinis carmelitarum Ac sacre theologie bachalareum, Anno domini Millesimo ccccxxxv. [68/27-30]

Here ends Book I of The Fire of Love by Richard Hampole, hermit, translated from Latin into English by friar Richard Misyn, hermit and Carmelite, and Bachelor of Sacred Theology, AD 1435. [Translation my own]

Though this colophon identifies the author and translator, the reader – who has to be able to read Latin to understand it – has to wait until the colophon of Book II of the *Fyer* to learn anything about the circumstances in which the translation came about:

Explicit liber de Incendio Amoris, Ricardi Hampole heremite, translatus in Anglicum instancijs domine Margarete Heslyngton, recluse, per fratrem Ricardum Misyn, sacre theologie bachalaureum, tunc Priorem Lyncolniensem, ordinis carmelitarum, Anno domini M.CCCCxxxv. in festo translacionis sancti Martini Episcopi, quod est iiij nonas Iulij, per dictum fratrem Ricardum Misyn scriptum et correctum. [104/8-14]

Here ends The Book of The Fire of Love, of Richard Hampole, hermit, translated into English at the request of Dame Margaret Heslyngton, recluse, by friar Richard Misyn, Bachelor of Theology, at that time Prior of Lincoln, of the Order of Carmelites, in 1435, on the feast of the translation of St. Martin, Bishop, that is, the 4th nones of July, written and corrected by the said friar Richard Misyn. [Translation my own]

Without these two colophons, no reader after Margaret Heslyngton, as instigator of the work, would have been able on internal evidence to identify Richard Misyn as the translator of the *Fyer*. Misyn seems to have been keen not to identify himself until the very end of the *Fyer*, and only then in Latin. Authorial attribution might therefore seem a supplementary after-thought to the work of translation, not integral to Misyn's project as a writer. However, even if the colophons were written not by Misyn but by a later copyist, their retention in all three manuscripts represents a consistent attribution of responsibility, and the only attempt by Richard Misyn or later scribes to construct a 'bibliographic

ego' for the Carmelite.¹⁵⁸ We have no particular reason to doubt that the translations were in fact by the Whitefriar Richard Misyn. Even if Misyn did not write the colophons himself, a later scribe must then have known of his relationship with Heslyngton, and the scribes of all three extant manuscripts felt this information about the origins of the composition important enough to retain. Moreover, retaining in each copy the colophon claim that the text was 'written and corrected' (*scriptum et correctum*) by Richard Misyn himself suggests a desire to accord the text particular authenticity and accuracy, as does naming the translator twice, and his order, alongside Rolle as the original *auctor*. There was a 'late medieval interest in, or expectation of, authorial authenticity'¹⁵⁹ which may account for Misyn's desire to highlight Rolle, and the statement that Misyn himself corrected the text. Frances Comper believed that none of the scribes had 'sufficient discretion to omit Misyn's personal note' in the colophon.¹⁶⁰ A more generous interpretation would be that the scribes deliberately retained Misyn's name as an indication of the text's value, and as a mark of respect for his work and the academic reputation of his order. It is certainly unlikely that Richard Misyn ever saw or corrected the three manuscripts now extant, just as it is incredible that Margaret Heslyngton should have owned all three. Given the expense of manuscript production, one might expect the dedication to be omitted, or reworded to insert the owner's own name, as commonly happened with copies of devotional books, including Rolle texts.¹⁶¹ The retention of the names of Misyn and Heslyngton¹⁵⁹ seems to have been deliberate rather than incidental. This arguably suggests that the Carmelite interest in producing and policing vernacular spiritual texts had become known beyond the confines of the Order by the 1430s.

The extant manuscripts show that Misyn's authorship of the *Mendynge* and the *Fyer* translations could be attributed from the colophons, but the Carmelite's effective self-effacement from his prologue places responsibility for the theological content of the *Incendium* squarely on the shoulders of Richard Rolle. Even though Richard Rolle did not identify himself in his own *Incendium* prologue, Richard Misyn names the hermit in his, expressing keenness that any credit for the content of the text should be given not to the Carmelite but to 'þis haly man Richard Hampole' [1/8]. Misyn's deference to Rolle, twice dubbed a 'holy man', suggests that one fifteenth-century Carmelite recognized the Hermit of Hampole's spiritual and literary *auctorite*.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ This term is interpreted by Kerby-Fulton as 'authorial intrusion which serves to establish, protect, and/or market – not simply glorify – the author': Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 'Langland and the Bibliographic Ego', in Steven Justice, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton (eds.), *Written Work: Langland, Labor, and Authorship* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 67-143 [69].

¹⁵⁹ Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 'Langland and the Bibliographic Ego', 71.

¹⁶⁰ Comper, *The Fire of Love*, xxxiv.

¹⁶¹ Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion', 327-28.

¹⁶² It may be that Richard Rolle was upheld as a model of English sanctity by the national Church at a time when it was being criticised by the broader Church Militant. Vincent Gillespie, drawing on Margaret Deanesly, points out that the

In a phrase typical of the medieval humility topos Misyn claimed to be ‘emonge lettyrd men sympellest’ [1/4], and that any errors should be attributed to his ‘vnconnyng’ [1/14]. Given the probability of the Carmelite prior’s extensive education this is little more than rhetoric, but his apologetic tone shows that Misyn anticipated his text circulating ‘to þe and mo’, that is, to both Margaret Heslyngton and ‘all redars’ beyond her anchorhold, ‘for edificacyon of many saules’. Richard Misyn clearly anticipated a critical audience for his work, and apologises in advance for ‘any þing mys-sayd’ [1/13]. A comparison can be made between Misyn’s acceptance of culpability and that of a contemporary Carthusian monk, probably at Sheen, writing a ‘prefacyon’ to the *Speculum Devotorum* or *Myrowre to Devout Peple* (c.1415-25), in which he accepted that any error was ‘to be redressyd fully to my unabylnesse and unkunnyng’.¹⁶³

Richard Misyn’s reticence in identifying himself in his work, and his *apologia* for the act of translation, can be accounted for by the climate of censorship and control that existed in England in the 1430s. Following the 1407/09 Arundel *Constitutions*, the condemnation of Lollardy at the 1414-18 Council of Constance, and the heresy trials in various English dioceses in the 1420s, writing theological material in the vernacular was a risky undertaking.

Again, the *Speculum Devotorum* makes for a helpful comparison with Misyn’s project. Likewise written for a ‘Gostly syster’ [2] and ‘soulys that cunne not or lytyl undyrstonde Latyn’ [56-7], the anonymous hermit-monk author of *Speculum Devotorum* was at pains to defer all credit [37-9], accept all errors as his own [39-40], and state that ‘the entent of hym that dede hyt was ful goode, and therefore hoso cunne not escuse the weke, lete hym escus the entent’ [54-5].

According to the *Speculum Devotorum*’s preface, its composition was prompted partly in reaction to the production of another Carthusian text, the *Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, a

Benedictine Thomas Spofforth may have taken his copy of *Incendium Amoris* to the Council of Constance: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 25.

¹⁶³ Quoted in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 75, lines 39-40. On the text see: *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 73-78; Paul J. Patterson, *Myrroure to Devout People (Speculum Devotorum): An Edition with Commentary* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2007), published as Paul J. Patterson, *A Mirror to Devout People (Speculum Devotorum)*, Early English Text Society Original Series 346 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016 for 2015). An interesting comparison can also be made with the prologue by ‘M. N.’ (all he gives are his initials) of his English translation of Marguerite Porete’s *Mirror of Simple Souls*, a text compiled alongside Rolle/Misyn in the Amherst manuscript. In his prologue M. N. explains that he is writing a second translation because of misunderstood words in the first. M. N.’s prologue is appended to Margaret Porete, *The Mirror of Simple Souls* (trans.) Edmund Colledge, J. C. Marler, Judith Grant, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture 6 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999). Misyn’s translation work can also be usefully compared, in its overlapping subject matter and audiences, with the *Speculum Inclusorum* (Mirror for Recluses), a late-medieval guide for anchorites written in Latin probably for the reclusory at Sheen, and translated into Middle English for female anchorites. See: E. A. Jones (ed.), *Speculum Inclusorum – A Mirror for Recluses*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

translation into English and adaptation of the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Speculum* or *Meditationes vitae Christi*, written by Nicholas Love (d. 1423/24), appointed prior of Mount Grace Charterhouse in Yorkshire in 1410.¹⁶⁴ In his translation Nicholas Love made various additions and omissions to the text ‘which heightened the affective, didactic, and meditative’ elements.¹⁶⁵ In c.1411 Archbishop Thomas Arundel approved the publication of Love’s *Myrrour* specifically as a tool for confounding heretics and for edification of the faithful.¹⁶⁶ A process of manuscript manufacture subsequently began, with members of the ‘Arundel Circle’ in York supporting the dissemination of the *Myrrour*. This resulted in a large number of copies (59 complete versions extant) of high quality and uniformity, making the *Myrrour* one of the most popular devotional texts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century England. Love’s *Myrrour* was the only Carthusian text widely and actively disseminated by that order in medieval England,¹⁶⁷ and Carmelite copies of the text have recently been discovered.¹⁶⁸

Nicholas Love’s *Myrrour* makes for a useful comparison with Richard Misyn’s texts for those trying to understand the Carmelites’ efforts to support theological development within tight boundaries. Like Misyn in his *Fyer* prologue, Love states that his translation was written in response to a request, ‘at þe instance and þe prayer of some deuoute soules’. Just as the Carmelite wrote for

¹⁶⁴ Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition* (ed.) Michael G. Sargent, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2004). A reading text is also available, and quotations here are from Michael G. Sargent (ed.), *Nicholas Love’s Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ*, Garland Medieval Texts 18 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1992). On Nicholas Love see: W. N. M. Beckett, ‘Love, Nicholas (d. 1423/4)’, *ODNB*; Lagorio *et al.*, ‘English Mystical Writings’, 3103-06; Kantik Ghosh, ‘Nicholas Love’, in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 53-66; Kantik Ghosh, ‘Nicholas Love and the Lollards’, in *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 147-73. On the impact of Love’s text see: Michael G. Sargent, ‘Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* and the Politics of Vernacular Translation in Late Medieval England’, in Denis Renevey, Christiania Whitehead (eds.), *Lost in Translation?*, *The Medieval Translator* 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 205-21; Ian Johnson, ‘The Non-Dissenting Vernacular and the middle English Life of Christ: The Case of Love’s *Mirror*’, in Denis Renevey, Christiania Whitehead (eds.), *Lost in Translation?*, *The Medieval Translator* 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 223-35; Ian Johnson, Allan F. Westphall (eds.), *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, *Medieval Church Studies* 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); David J. Falls, *Nicholas Love’s Mirror and Late Medieval Devotio-Literary Culture: Theological Politics and Devotional Practice in Fifteenth-Century England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁶⁵ Beckett, ‘Love, Nicholas (d. 1423/4)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁶⁶ ‘hereticorum siue lollardorum confutationem’ [Sargent (ed.), *Nicholas Love’s Mirror*, 7, line 22]. On the use of Love’s text to promote orthodoxy, see the introduction to Sargent’s editions; Vincent Gillespie, ‘Cura Pastoralis’, 172, ‘Vernacular books’, 322-4.; Shoichi Oguro, Richard Beadle, Michael G. Sargent (eds.), *Nicholas Love at Waseda: Proceedings of the International Conference 20-22 July 1995* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997); Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 437-440. On such texts as tools for orthodox reform, see: Lawrence F. Hundersmarck, ‘Reforming Life by Conforming it to the Life of Christ: Pseudo-Bonaventure’s *Meditaciones vite Christi*’, in Thomas M. Izbicki, Christopher M. Bellitto (eds.), *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe, S.J.*, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*, 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 93-112.

¹⁶⁷ Gillespie, ‘Dial M for Mystic’, 248.

¹⁶⁸ Michael Sargent informs me that he has identified a Carmelite-produced manuscript of Nicholas Love in Padua. It is difficult to know the significance, but it is interesting – and perhaps indicative of ownership of copies of Love’s *Mirror* by Whitefriars or their associates – that a Letter of Confraternity issued in 1396 by William, prior of the Carmelite convent at Scarborough, was used as a pastedown in a copy of Love’s *Mirror*, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 131, fo. 150; for details see: Pamela Robinson, ‘The Manuscript of *The Book of Margery Kempe*’, in Julia Boffey, Virginia Davis (eds.), *Recording Medieval Lives*, *Harlaxton Medieval Studies* 17 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), 130-40 [135].

those ‘þat curiuste of latyn vnderstandes noght’, so the Carthusian wrote for ‘symple creatures’, envisaging ‘an audience of men and women, literate and illiterate, religious and lay’.¹⁶⁹ Richard Misyn’s prologue advice to Margaret Heslyngton to keep ‘sum holy lesun’ [1/18] at hand as a ward against sin and error is reminiscent of the beginning of Love’s *Mirror* in which the reader is encouraged to imitate St. Cecilia, who ‘bare alwey þe gospel of criste hidde in her breste’,¹⁷⁰ books possessing a more than metaphorical power to ward off evil.

In 1411, roughly when Nicholas Love’s *Myrroure* was ‘licensed’, Richard Misyn was probably entering the Carmelite Order. As a novice in Lincoln or a student in York, Misyn may have recognised the potential of such devotional and didactic religious texts as vehicles for orthodoxy. Given the Carmelite’s known dates and locations, it is also highly likely that he was aware of the *Speculum Christiani*, ‘probably produced in Lincolnshire in the first two decades of the fifteenth century, though the first securely dateable manuscript copy comes from 1425. It has established patterns of ownership and use in the northern province of York, including priests attached to York minster, and offers an interesting perspective on orthodox *pastoralia* in the immediate aftermath of Wyclif’.¹⁷¹

Misyn would also have been aware of parallel Carmelite efforts to promote right faith and combat heresy within the more scholastic world of Latin literature. Sometime in late 1425, Misyn’s Prior Provincial, Thomas Netter, presented the first volume of his anti-Wycliffite text, *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei ecclesie Catholice*, to Pope Martin V. The pope praised the Carmelite Provincial for his ‘most welcome gift, written against the Hussite heretics and their perverse heresy and detestable doctrine’, and having entrusted the copy to Cardinal Orsini, the legate charged with eradicating the heresy, the pontiff praised the work’s usefulness in ‘teaching the truth and confounding the errors of the heretics’. Perhaps taking a lead from Nicholas Love, Thomas Netter also donated a copy of the *Doctrinale* to the Primate of All England, Archbishop of Canterbury Henry Chichele. Archbishop Chichele likewise received his copy ‘full of joy’.¹⁷² Writing to the Carmelite Procurator

¹⁶⁹ Beckett, ‘Love, Nicholas (d. 1423/4)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁷⁰ Sargent (ed.), *Nicholas Love’s Mirror*, 11, lines 25-6. Thomas Betson, the scribe of the Syon catalogue, prefaced his *Right Profitable Treatise* with Jerome’s command that those in the service of God should have ‘euer bokes in your handes’: Gillespie, ‘Dial M for Mystic’, 260.

¹⁷¹ Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 22-23. See: Gustaf Holmstedt (ed.), *Speculum Christiani*, Early English Text Society Original Series 182 (London: Oxford University Press, 1933); Vincent Gillespie, *The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual, with particular reference to the ‘Speculum Christiani’ and some related texts*, Doctoral Thesis (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1981); Vincent Gillespie, ‘The Evolution of the *Speculum Christiani*’, in Alastair J. Minnis (ed.), *Latin and Vernacular Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer 1989), 39-62; Vincent Gillespie, ‘Chapter and Worse: An Episode in the Regional Transmission of the *Speculum Christiani*’, *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 14 (2008), 86-111.

¹⁷² Quoted in Netter’s, *Doctrinale*, i, xviii; also Eliseo Monsignano (ed.), *Bullarium Carmelitanum* (Rome: G. Plachi, 1715), iii, 113 (where the Pope’s letter is wrongly dated 27th June 1423). The translations here are by Richard Copsey, who discusses the Pope and Archbishop’s approval of Netter’s text in Johan Bergström-Allen and Richard Copsey (eds.),

(curial liaison with the Holy See) in Rome, Thomas Netter stated: ‘it is right that we should labour, good *magister*, so that Christ’s Church should benefit from our labours’.¹⁷³

Being an academic text in Latin, Netter’s *Doctrinale* did not require a licence in the way that Nicholas Love’s *Myrrour* seems to have done, but it is clear that the Carmelite Provincial nevertheless sought official endorsement for his work by the Church hierarchy. Writing in English less than a decade after Thomas Netter, and two decades after Nicholas Love, we might expect Richard Misyn to have embarked on a similar process of authorisation by the magisterium. However, Misyn does not appear to have received a *nihil obstat* licence for his text from any diocesan authorities. As Ian Doyle points out, most members of religious orders ‘required the command or permission of the religious superior’ before writing ‘for any purpose’, but as superiors of their respective communities this did not necessarily apply to Love or Misyn, and religious orders were outside the immediate control of episcopal structures.¹⁷⁴ So why did Nicholas Love seek formal endorsement for his text? Either writing immediately after the issuing of the 1409 *Constitutions*, or recognising the potential of re-circulating a pre-existing text in the light of the *Constitutions*, perhaps Nicholas Love thought it safer to seek Arundel’s endorsement. This seems even more likely when we bear in mind that although the Carthusian Order was as respected as the Carmelite when it came to upholding orthodoxy, Mount Grace had only been formally recognised as a Charterhouse, and Love as its prior, at the Carthusian general chapter in 1410, and therefore did not enjoy a long-established reputation.

Despite the passage of time between 1407/09 and 1434/35, it is clear from Richard Misyn’s prologue that a charge of heresy was still a concern for vernacular writers in the 1430s. Though ‘the series of orthodox refutations of Wyclif in Latin was concluded with the death of Thomas Netter in 1430’¹⁷⁵ the heresiarch’s teachings and influence lingered in that decade and well beyond.¹⁷⁶ Richard Misyn was perhaps aware that elsewhere in his Order scribes were engaged in making copies of Netter’s *Doctrinale*, and compiling the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* of heretical errors (as discussed in previous chapters). Love’s *Myrrour*, the *Speculum Devotorum*, and Misyn’s *Fyer* all reveal a post-

Thomas Netter of Walden: Carmelite, Diplomat and Theologian (c.1372-1430), Carmel in Britain 4 (Faversham: Saint Albert’s Press, 2009).

¹⁷³ The text is preserved in Bale’s transcripts from Netter’s letterbook: Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 94v. Translated by Richard Copsey.

¹⁷⁴ A. I. Doyle, ‘Publication by Members of the Religious Orders’, in Jeremy Griffiths, Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 109-23 [110]. As prior of his convent at Lincoln, Misyn would arguably not have to consult any superior before producing the *Fyer*. However, Love was prior of the Charterhouse at Mount Grace, and the Carthusians also enjoyed a reputation for orthodoxy, so the Carmelite lack of official sanction needs further consideration.

¹⁷⁵ Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 447.

¹⁷⁶ Hudson, in *The Premature Reformation* (particularly Chapters 9, 10), shows that Wycliffite thought survived and re-emerged at various points in the fifteenth century. On the endurance of Wycliffite thought see the studies noted in Chapter Two, *passim*.

Arundelian concern with asserting official Church teachings in the vernacular. Though we cannot be certain whether some of the Carmelite texts considered in previous chapters might have been produced and copied in the early fifteenth century, the apparent dearth of Carmelite writing from after c.1410 seems to have ended only with Richard Misyn in 1434. It may be that, by that time, the English language was somewhat freer from the ‘tarnish’ of Lollardy. More likely, Richard Misyn decided to use one of the enemy’s tools, vernacular writing, against it.

Perhaps the statement of Misyn’s Carmelite credentials in the colophons of his translations actually functioned as some form of self-licencing. Given the Carmelite Order’s reputation for upholding the *fides vera*, perhaps Misyn’s name and religious affiliation functioned as a form of certificate with semi-episcopal authority, even prior to his elevation to the bishopric. This would be a possible reason for the colophons’ retention in copies of the *Fyer* and *Mendynge* that Margaret Heslyngton did not own.

Richard Misyn may well have been aware that some of Richard Rolle’s writings had been appropriated by the Lollards (as discussed in previous chapters). This awareness might have prompted his translation of Rolle’s *Emendatio* and *Incendium* before heretical interpolations could be made to confuse the faithful. Misyn’s declaration that ‘to reforme I make protestacyon, with entent no þinge to wryte ne say agayns þe faith or determinacion of holy kyrk, god to wytnes’ [1/14-16] can be read as not only a self-defence of his motives but also as warning to heretics capable of writing not to challenge Church teaching, or even to correct possible errors in his text. More forcefully however, this statement is a further *apologia* from the Carmelite, swearing loyalty to ‘holy kyrk’ and submitting to its authority, rejecting all allegations that he was interested in unsanctioned ‘reforme’.

We should not be under any illusion that Richard Misyn’s high standing within the Church as a prior and Carmelite graduate would automatically guarantee him protection from accusations of heresy. Writing only a decade or two after Misyn, Reginald Pecock (d. in or after 1459), who even as a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (Bishop of Chichester) experienced various forms of censure.¹⁷⁷ Pecock echoed the Carmelite’s profession of orthodoxy almost verbatim in his prologue to the *Donet*:

Y make protestacioun that it is not myn entent for to holde, defende, or favoure – in this book or in enye othire bi me writun or to be writun, in Latyn or in the comoun peplis

¹⁷⁷ Wendy Scase, ‘Pecock, Reginald (b. c.1392, d. in or after 1459)’, *ODNB*. See also the comments on Pecock made in Chapter Two.

langage – enye erreure or heresie or enye co[n]clusioun whiche schulde be ayens the feith or the lawe of oure Lord God.¹⁷⁸

The significance of the vernacular as a possible indication of heresy is further highlighted if Misyn's preface is contrasted with the incipit and prologue of *The Manere of Good Lyvyng*, a Middle English translation of *Liber de modo bene Vivendi ad sororem*, a text written between 1150 and 1250 and attributed in the Middle Ages (like so many texts) to Bernard of Clairvaux. An English translation was written some two hundred years later. Like Richard Misyn's *Fyer*, pseudo-Bernard begins his text with an address to a female audience, acknowledging a request:

A devoute tretes of holy Saynt Bernard, drawne oute of laytn into English, callid the *Manere of Good Lyvyng*, which he sent unto his own suster, wherin is conteyned the summe of every vertue necessary unto Cristis religion and holy conversacion. The prolog. My wel beloved suster, in Criste, ye have long desired þat I wold wryte som tretes of holy doctryne unto yowe ...¹⁷⁹

This introduction to the translation – very faithful to the original text – draws no attention to the allegations that could be made against a vernacular translator later. Misyn's production demonstrates a much stronger sense of fear.

In writing his preface it is not surprising that Richard Misyn should demonstrate fear about the accusation of heresy. During the years immediately preceding Misyn's writing, the Bishop of Norwich William Alnwick (in office 1426-36), enacted severe and even capital punishment at the heresy trials he oversaw between 1428 and 1431.¹⁸⁰ Alnwick's court, which numbered Carmelites among the scholarly clerics, examined about a hundred suspected Lollards, including Margery Baxter who was sentenced to four Sunday floggings, and others who were burned at the stake: John Wadden, Hugh Pye, and William White (Thomas Netter attended his trial). In 1436, that is a year after Richard Misyn

¹⁷⁸ Quoted in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 99, lines 11-14. Pecock goes further than Misyn in demonstrating his willingness to be corrected and retract any errors, but is also more forthright in his defence of what constitutes heresy and in praying for understanding readers.

¹⁷⁹ Quoted in Anne Mouron, 'The Manere of Good Lyvyng: The Manner of a Good Translator?', *Medium Ævum*, 78:2 (2009), 300-22.

¹⁸⁰ On these trials – notorious partly because they are well documented – and Alnwick see: Rosemary C. E. Hayes, 'Alnwick, William (d. 1449)', *ODNB*; Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 117-18; Steven Justice, 'Lollardy', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 662-89 [686]; 'Heresy Trials' in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, Fiona Somerset (eds. and trans.), *Wycliffite Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2013), 319-66.

had written the *Fyer of Lufe*, William Alnwick was appointed bishop in the Carmelite's home city of Lincoln, a see he held until 1449. Alnwick's ownership of a copy of Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale* produced by Carmelites shows his awareness of the Order's anti-heretical writing projects,¹⁸¹ and no doubt the Carmelites knew of the bishop's reputation for zealous purging of heretics. Misyn's tone of caution in the *Fyer* prologue shows the Lincoln Carmelite was all too aware of the religious and political consequences of writing, and especially of writing in the vernacular.

One of the ways in which Thomas Arundel had tried as Archbishop of Canterbury to control heresy was to prohibit religious debate outside the universities.¹⁸² However, since Wycliffism had emerged in Oxford itself, Article 6 of the 1407/09 *Constitutions* declared:

For that a new way doth more frequently lead astray, than an old way, we will and command, that no book or treatise made by John Wickliff, or others whomsoever, about that time, or since, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in schools, halls, hospitals, or other places whatsoever, within our province of Canterbury aforesaid, except the same be first examined by the university of Oxford or Cambridge ... But if any man shall read any such kind of book in schools or otherwise, as aforesaid, he shall be punished as a sower of schism, and a favourer of heresy, as the quality of the fault shall require.¹⁸³

Writing in 1434-35, with the *Constitutions* casting a long shadow, this stipulation – advocates of Arundel's censorship would argue – was still applicable to Richard Misyn. However, the Whitefriar circumvented the clause by translating pieces of writing that pre-dated Wyclif. Nicholas Watson has shown that because of Arundel's *Constitutions*, most texts written between 1410-1500 were translations or derivations of pre-existing works.¹⁸⁴ Whilst few texts during this period were entirely original compositions, the *Constitutions* stimulated production of 'orthodox' vernacular texts, such as Misyn's translations.¹⁸⁵ As we have observed with regard to Richards Lavenham and Spalding it is possible that their compositions were made in the early fifteenth century, but given the Carmelites'

¹⁸¹ Alnwick's copy is now Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. 153. See: Margaret Harvey, 'The Diffusion of the *Doctrinale* of Thomas Netter in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in Margaret Harvey, 'Netter Manuscripts and Printings', in Johan Bergström-Allen, Richard Copsey (eds.), *Thomas Netter of Walden: Carmelite, Diplomat and Theologian (c.1372-1430)*, Carmel in Britain 4 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2009), 137-77.

¹⁸² 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 (October 1995), 822-64 [827].

¹⁸³ Foxe's translation in *Acts and Monuments* [3:245], quoted in Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change', 827, n. 13.

¹⁸⁴ Nicholas Watson, 'The Middle English Mystics', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 539-65 [560 n. 64].

¹⁸⁵ Watson includes Misyn's translations in his listing of post-1410 vernacular theological texts in the Appendix to 'Censorship and Cultural Change', 863.

opposition to Lollardy it seems unlikely that they would have knowingly contravened the ban imposed by Arundel.

Although translating Richard Rolle, an author from decades before John Wyclif, allowed Richard Misyn to circumvent the prohibition on new writing imposed by Thomas Arundel's *Constitutions*, the possible dangers of writing Rolle's somewhat idiosyncratic theology in the vernacular were clearly foremost in the Carmelite's mind, since he felt obliged to point out in his preface that 'The whilk boke, in sentence ne substance I þink to chaunge, bot treuly aftyr myn vnderstandynge to wryte it in gude exposicione' [1/9-11].¹⁸⁶ It may be that in seeking 'gude exposicione', Misyn sought to write a literal translation that would help his audience, 'þat curiuste of latyn vnderstandes noght' [1/3-4], come to knowledge of some Latin, as Rolle himself had done in his translation of the *Psalter* (as discussed previously in relation to Maidstone). More likely, however, Misyn's prologue reveals he was concerned not only by the threat heresy posed to his audience, but also that by changing the language – the 'sentence' – of Rolle's *Incendium* he could be accused of heresy himself. As Marleen Cré states, 'Misyn was, on the whole, less suspicious of Rolle's doctrine than of his own mistranslation of it'.¹⁸⁷

Orthodoxy and the language of Misyn's translations

Despite Misyn's stated desire not to alter the text in either style or content, translations and 'gude exposicione' require a certain amount of interpretation and innovation, thus constituting an important component of medieval Carmelite literature in their own right (as discussed in an earlier chapter). However, it must be admitted that Misyn's promise not to alter the text 'in sentence ne substance' – even if we generously surmise that his hope was, as he puts it, to develop his audience's grasp of Latinity, rather than avoid accusations of heresy – resulted in rather lacklustre prose. As his editor puts it, 'The order of words is un-English, and generally follows the Latin fairly closely. Still the un-English order seems to be due to the translator being thoroughly accustomed to Latin order, and perhaps thinking in Latin order, rather than to his careful adherence to the text before him. For sometimes, when the Latin order is unclassical and like English, the translator does not follow the Latin version, but writes in the order we should *expect* to find in the Latin text.'¹⁸⁸ In this way Richard Misyn did sometimes alter the text in terms of *sentence*, perhaps seeking to improve the consistency and style of his author. Misyn's prose adheres somewhat slavishly to the original Latin to the point of

¹⁸⁶ Cf. the translator of the *Mirror of Our Lady* (1420-50), in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 260, lines 65-68.

¹⁸⁷ Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 89.

¹⁸⁸ Rolle, *The Fire of Love* (ed.) Harvey, xii.

being awkwardly literal and unimaginative; occasionally a transliteration as much as a translation.¹⁸⁹
The opening of Chapter 6 ('Of þe caus of heritikis, and fayth of þe Trinite') serves as an example:

<i>Latin</i>	<i>Middle English</i> <i>translation of the Latin</i>	<i>Modern English</i> <i>translation of the Latin</i>
Abundancia ueritatis integre et sancte inquirentibus se ostendit, et patent clausa misteria filiis unitatis. Unde hereticorum namque perfidia oritur, nisi ex inordinata et indisciplina mente, que appetitu proprie excellencie obcecatur. Quia uero inter se per inanem concupiscenciam Deum impugnare non desinunt, ex merito suo est quod eciam exterius manifestis argumentis ueritati obsistunt, et cum christiana religio sit omnem contrarietam abscidere et in unitatem fidei et amoris conuenire: hereticorum et superbiorum est semper nouas opiniones gignere, et insolitas ab ecclesiastica assercione quesciones peruulgare, et sic ea	Plente of holy treuth and hol to þam it sekys, schewes þe self; and to þe childer of vnite, misteris hyd ar opyn. Qwharfore sople spryngis frawardenes of heritikis, bot of a vntaght mynde and inordinate, þe whilk with desire of þe awen excellence is blyndid? for þai treuly with-in þame-self, god to repreue be vayne desiris, cesis not; of þare addillynge it is also þat þai vtward with playne argumentis gaynstandys þe treuth. And when cristyn religyon will all contrariuste cut a-way, and fully acorde in vnite of lufe, þe maner of heretikis and proude is, new opynions to gett, and fro þe saying of haly kyrk, questyons vnwont to schewe;	Truth in plenty, whole and holy, reveals itself to those who look for it: 'closed books' are open to the sons of God. Then where does the treachery of the heretic spring from if not from his undisciplined and chaotic mind, blinded by its desire for its own reputation? For heretics never cease opposing God in their hearts by their insensate greed. Moreover when the Christian religion would cut away what is opposed to it, and make all agree in the unity of faith and love, they will openly resist truth by manifold argument. It is ever the way of the heretical and proud to ventilate new ideas and to question whatever the Church has asserted. Things that the

¹⁸⁹ A new edition of the *Incendium* and *Emendatio* with the Latin and Middle English texts on facing pages would allow a greater comparison with Misyn's technique. Such a project was initially envisaged by Michael Sargent but dropped once Peg Amassian, who was working towards a new edition of Misyn, found that there was no manuscript better than the Corpus Christi Oxford manuscript upon which the Harvey edition was based (a conclusion confirmed by Margaret Laing). For 'a painstaking investigation of Misyn's translations, vis-à-vis the original works, and a discussion of Rolle's Latin style' [Lagorio, Bradley, *The 14th-Century English Mystics*, 59] see: Eugen Schnell, *Die Traktate des Richard Rolle von Hampole Incendium Amoris und Emendatio Vitae und deren Übersetzung durch Richard Misyn* (Borna-Leipzig: Universitätsverlag von Robert Noske, 1932); reviewed by B. J. Whiting in *Modern Language Notes* 49:4 (April 1934), 272-273.

que fideles christiani and so þo þinges þat trew faithful Christian holds dear
 inconcusse retinent ipsi suis cristen men haly haldys, þai Ioy they take pleasure in decrying.
 uanitatibus dissipare gaudent. with þer vanites to sparpyll.

Deanesley edition 160.

Misyn translation (ed.) Harvey, Walters translation 61.
 13/33-14/6.

The un-English word order of Misyn's translation can be seen in a sentence such as: 'when cristyn religyon will all contrariuste cut a-way, and fully acorde in vnite of lufe, þe maner of heretikis and proude is, new opynions to gett, and fro þe saying of haly kyrk, questyons vnwont to schewe'.

In what Margaret Laing calls the Carmelite's 'slavish adherence to the words of the original, Misyn's translation runs counter to the norm'¹⁹⁰ of fifteenth-century translators, to the extent that the Whitefriar is used by modern critics (perhaps a little unfairly) as an illustration of bad translation practice.¹⁹¹ The 'unnaturalness'¹⁹² of Misyn's cumbersome syntax fails to recreate Rolle's characteristic style.¹⁹³ In a few places Misyn's translation is nonsensical because some of Rolle's words have been omitted (perhaps lacking in the Carmelite's working copy).¹⁹⁴ One seventeenth-century annotator of the Yale manuscript found Misyn's prose so incomprehensible that he rewrote whole passages.¹⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the poor fluency of Misyn's translation is not due to a lack of artistic flair; after all we have noted his desire to 'correct' inconsistencies in Rolle's use of Latin, and as Margaret Laing points out, artistically Misyn's own prologue is more successful than the ensuing translation.¹⁹⁶ Nor is Misyn the only Carmelite whose translation of Latin texts into English has been criticized stylistically; as we shall see in the next chapter, Thomas Scrope's translation of Felip Ribot's *Decem*

¹⁹⁰ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 221 n. 21.

¹⁹¹ For example: Samuel K. Workman, *Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose*, Princeton Studies in English 18 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), 96-101; Michael G. Sargent, 'Medieval and Modern Readership of Marguerite Porete's *Mirouer des simples âmes anienties*: The French and English Traditions', in Nicole R. Rice (ed.), *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 47-89 [67, n. 69].

¹⁹² Workman, *Fifteenth Century Translation*, 97.

¹⁹³ On Rolle's style see: Workman, *Fifteenth Century Translation*, 2; Watson, *Richard Rolle, passim*; John Philip Schneider, *The prose style of Richard Rolle of Hampole with special reference to its euphuistic tendencies* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1906); Fiona Somerset, 'Excitative Speech: Theories of Emotive Response from Richard Fitzralph to Margery Kempe', in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Nancy Warren, Duncan Robertson (eds.), *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 59-79 [64-65]. On Misyn's prose, see: Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 71-90.

¹⁹⁴ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 194. Harvey's edition supplies omissions in square brackets. The words omitted are not especially contentious theologically, so it does not seem that Misyn deliberately excised them.

¹⁹⁵ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 214. Harvey in his introduction [Rolle, *The Fire of Love* (ed.) Harvey, xiii] gives two examples of Misyn's more impenetrable translations, though does not cite where they come from.

¹⁹⁶ Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 191.

libri is also somewhat awkward. Compared against their confrere Thomas Fishlake’s excellent translation of Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection* from English into Latin, and against the known Carmelite writers of vernacular texts we have already considered, it seems unlikely that Misyn and Scrope were incapable of accomplished vernacular writing. Both Misyn and Scrope were well-educated preachers, teachers, and eventually bishops, each clearly interested in vernacular theology. Their poor writing style and clunky turn of phrase in the vernacular indicate that it is fear over precision of language, not their mother tongue, which presented them with difficulties. Most of the time these difficulties were overcome, but some choices of words and small alterations indicate the concerns. An illustrative passage is found in Misyn’s translation of Chapter 25 of the *Incendium*:

<i>Latin</i>	<i>Middle English</i> <i>translation of the Latin</i>	<i>Modern English</i> <i>translation of the Latin</i>
<p>Sed quamuis hoc mundum perfecte relinquat, leccioni, oracioni, et meditacioni, uigiliis et ieiuniis iugiter et instanter insistat, mundiciamque mentis ac consciencie consequatur, ita ut more [sic. mori?] desideret propter gaudium supernorum, dissoluique cupiat et esse cum Christo.</p>	<p>Bot and a man þe world forsake partfitely, and to prayer, wakyng and fastinge bisily take hede, and þat he haue clenness of conscience, so þat he desire to dy for heuenly ioy, to be dissoluyd and be with criste.</p>	<p>A man who gives up this world completely, and attends closely to reading, prayer, meditation, watchings, and fastings, will gain purity of mind and conscience, to such an extent that he would like to die through his supernal joy, for he longs to depart and to be with Christ.</p>

Deanesley edition 215.

Misyn translation (ed.) Harvey, 56.

Clifton Walters translation 121.

In translating this passage, Richard Misyn leaves out the words ‘reading’ and ‘meditation’ from the list of ‘reading, prayer, meditation, watchings, and fastings’. It may be an inadvertent elision on his part, or reflect a belief that ‘oracioni et meditacioni’ are essentially the same thing, but for a careful translator to leave out two words could indicate some concern on Misyn’s part that his audience should focus more on the devotional acts of prayers, vigils, and fasts, than on the more speculative work of reading and meditation. This is reinforced by the fact that he leaves out the word ‘mind’, translating ‘mundiciamque mentis ac consciencie consequatur’ not as ‘will gain purity of mind and conscience’,

but simply ‘clennes of conscience’. Misyn leaves out ‘purity of mind’, suggesting deliberate omission of the potential dangers of the mental and intellectual consequences of reading and meditation.¹⁹⁷ Misyn was all too aware of the fact that ‘because of the nature of language to give shape to thought, vernacular expression of ideas created new theological and linguistic possibilities’¹⁹⁸ which could be beyond clerical control.

Misyn’s fears about translating theology from Latin into English account for his ‘conscious effort to Latinize his expression’ and attempt ‘to give his English a classical turn’.¹⁹⁹ As Samuel K. Workman admits, whilst the Carmelite’s concerns at best encouraged a ‘blindly mechanical’ translation procedure in Misyn’s prose, ‘one at least feels a purpose if not a system’.²⁰⁰ Part of that purpose is to present Rolle’s thought in a style that reads as learned, classical, dignified, even prayerful and numinous. Each phrase must be pondered carefully for its full meaning to become clear, any strangeness of sound reflecting the supernaturalism of the subject matter. Vincent Gillespie has suggested that Misyn’s ‘extreme literalism’ would almost infer ‘he were attempting to produce in English an equivalent of Rolle’s highly wrought Latin, and – as Rolle’s own writing had done – to dramatize a conviction of the divine inspiration of Rolle’s life and work.’²⁰¹ Misyn’s technique may indeed betray the high esteem in which he held the spiritual master of Hampole, and a frustration – common in other translators of religious texts from Latin into the vernacular – of the inadequacies they perceived in the English language for expressing theological terms.²⁰² Richard Misyn would be

¹⁹⁷ Misyn does go on to translate faithfully the ensuing passage which deals with mental reflection, and he does use the word ‘meditacion’ elsewhere, but there are other instances where he avoids it, for example at the conclusion of the *Incendium* Chapter 31 [*Fyer* Book II Chapter 1] where he speaks of ‘beholdynge’ rather than meditating on holy books [70/26]. ‘Beholding’ in Middle English could mean the act of applying one’s mind in an act of thought or meditation (for example as it is used by Julian of Norwich), but Misyn’s use of it is less explicit than Rolle’s use of the Latin ‘meditacio’.

¹⁹⁸ Nuth, *God’s Lovers in an Age of Anxiety*, 29.

¹⁹⁹ Workman, *Fifteenth Century Translation*, 100.

²⁰⁰ Workman, *Fifteenth Century Translation*, 96, 100. Cf. Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 73.

²⁰¹ Vincent Gillespie, ‘Religious Writing’, in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: Volume 1 – To 1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 234-83, [268]. In another article, Gillespie addresses the new rise of Latin that took place in England after the Council of Constance, when the leaders of the English Church felt more consciously part of the Roman Church bound together by the common use of the ancient language. Gillespie speaks of ‘a consciously fostered aureation as part of a self-aware turn to a Latinate English vernacular, perhaps in the face of Lollard calls for a wholesale ‘simple’ translation of religious materials. 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. Aureation created a lexical and stylistic bridge between the Latin language of formal theology and the vulgar tongue of vernacularity ... Far from eschewing vernacular theology, these writers of Chichele’s generation created for it a whole new high-style register, seeking to reclaim the vernacular for orthodoxy, and to make it fit for precise and nuanced theological thought’: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 35-36.

²⁰² Misyn’s awkward turn of phrase may reflect a position of humility in relation to his subject. After the tremendous impact of Geoffrey Chaucer, a number of English poets put on the pose of dullness, claiming less ability than the ‘master’, but using this guise to comment subtly on contemporary affairs. Misyn may have deliberately affected a certain dullness in his style. See: David Lawton, ‘Dullness and the Fifteenth Century’, *English Literary History*, 54 (1987), 761-99. Vincent Gillespie argues that Lawton ‘presents a remarkably prescient argument that benefits from re-reading in the light of our developing understanding of English reformist orthodoxy’: Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 42.

far from being alone among medieval writers and translators in holding the view that English was an inferior vehicle to Latin for theological speculation, and he seems to have been caught between his intention of promoting Rolle's Latin teachings in English and a fear of doing so in what might prove to be inappropriate language.

Whilst Misyn's prose is not the best example of fifteenth-century vernacular style, his project nevertheless allowed readers and hearers greater access to the theological literature of their day, and the Carmelite Prior of Lincoln's contribution to the corpus of vernacular theology in late medieval England should not be overlooked. As Bella Millet says of anchoritic literature in the centuries preceding Misyn, 'in the texts produced for recluses ... we see not only the recording in writing of works originally intended for oral delivery, but the development of something still closer to our modern concept of 'literature', vernacular works composed with readers rather than hearers in mind'.²⁰³

Writing in English, for readers or hearers, was often perceived as evidence of seditious leanings in the early fifteenth century. As we have already seen Article 7 of the 1407/09 *Constitutions* forbade the translation of the scriptures into the vernacular, and 'any vernacular religious work produced from the 1380s on ... was liable to be treated with circumspection by orthodox readers'.²⁰⁴ However, it would seem that in the use of the vernacular, later medieval English Carmelites were necessarily pragmatic. Alan of Lynn's Bible discussions with Margery Kempe (as discussed in Chapter One) took place after the *Constitutions* but because of her Latin illiteracy perforce involved the vernacular. Richard Misyn similarly felt that the translation of Richard Rolle's Latin text was of benefit to Margaret Heslyngton and others 'þat curiuste of latyn vnderstandes noght' [1/3-4]. But, given that this address to a non-Latinate female audience seems not to have been simply a rhetorical commonplace, such a project could not be undertaken lightly.²⁰⁵ Misyn warned his audience – which went beyond the immediate addressee Margaret Heslyngton to incorporate all potential 'Cristyn sauls' [131/4-5] – not to stray beyond the bounds of Church teaching, 'for drede þou erre, namely in slyke þinges þat touches þe .xij. artikils of þi fayth, als of þe holy Trinite, and oþer dyuers, als in þis holy boke filouynge is to oure lernynge connyngly writtyn' [2/1-4]. Whilst the *Fyer of lufe* was not, it

²⁰³ Bella Millett, 'Women in No Man's Land: English recluses and the development of vernacular literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in Carol M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, Second Edition 1996), 86-103 [99].

²⁰⁴ Nicholas Watson, 'The Composition of Julian of Norwich's Revelation of Love', *Speculum*, 68:3 (July 1993), 637-83 [665]. Watson lists a number of critical writings on this subject, of which should be highlighted Anne Hudson, 'Lollardy: The English Heresy?', in *Lollards and their Books*, 141-63.

²⁰⁵ We must keep our minds open to what the editors of *The Idea of the Vernacular* point out: 'clerics usually address the laity and women – the classic *illiterati* – as those for whom English translation is most necessary, but this audience can sometimes be little more than a pretext for the production of the text in English, a production that may serve other interests' [Wogan-Browne, et al (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 120].

would seem, a coterie text circulating among a small group of people with shared interests, Misyn’s prologue is evidence that he addressed a wider audience with hesitation. He presumably agreed with Rolle’s judgment in the *Emendatio Vitae* that ‘hard sentens to disputars and witty men be longe tyme vsyd in holy doctrine be left’ [121/10-12].

Misyn’s warnings against heresy only preface the *Fyer of lufe*, not the *Mendynge of lyfe*. The absence of such warnings from the shorter, earlier, translation suggests that Misyn either had some adverse feedback on his first translation or, more likely, perceived a greater danger in translating ‘to informacioun of Cristyn sauls’ [131/4-5] the theologically more complex and contentious *Incendium*, in which Rolle describes a life not regulated by the magisterium of the Church or controlled by a religious community.²⁰⁶ The year’s gap between his two translations may have been a period in which Misyn could assess the impact of the earlier text, before translating the more complicated longer treatise. It is perhaps significant that in all three manuscripts the colophon of the theologically more straightforward *Mendynge* is in English, whilst the colophons of both books of the *Fyer* are in Latin, perhaps to lend a more ecclesiastically ‘respectable’ and scholarly air.

Rolle’s example and voice in Carmelite debates over the solitary life

If there is a dominant theme in the *Incendium* and the *Emendatio* it is praise of the solitary life.²⁰⁷ A reclusive Christian living apart from others, in Richard Rolle’s opinion, is the true contemplative most open to the grace of God, and thus most worthy of respect:

<i>Latin</i>	<i>Middle English</i>	<i>Modern English</i>
	<i>translation of the Latin</i>	<i>translation of the Latin</i>

Actiui uero et prelati, uirtute et sciencia clari, contemplatiuos sibi iugiter preponant, et coram Deo superiores arbitrent, et se	Actyue þerfore, and prelati clere in connyng and vertew, men contemplatyue before þame-self suld sett, and before	Men of action and rank, even if they are outstanding for their virtue or knowledge, should always put contemplatives
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²⁰⁶ On Rolle’s ‘invention of authority’, see Watson’s study of that title. Carmelite concerns about illegitimate autonomy and self-authorisation are expressed by Thomas Netter in a letter to Thomas Fishbourne, confessor to the Bridgettine nuns at Syon, in which the Carmelite Provincial criticises a disobedient Praemonstratensian monk to whom it seems ‘that obedience to any mortal man derogates from the state of a recluse’. See: Alban, ‘The Letters of Thomas Netter’, 371.

²⁰⁷ Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 63. For a recent study of the notion see: Diana Webb, *Privacy and Solitude in the Middle Ages* (London: Continuum, 2007). On medieval notions of solitude see: Dee Dyas, “‘Wildernesse is Anlich Lif of Ancre Wununge’: the Wilderness and Medieval Anchoritic Spirituality”, in Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden, Roger Ellis (eds.), *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 19-33. For a consideration of Rolle as part of the English Church’s eremitic tradition, see: Wolfgang Riehle, *The Secret Within: Hermits, Recluses, and Spiritual Outsiders in Medieval England* (trans.) Charity Scott-Stokes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

ad uacandum contemplacioni god þer bettyrs þame hald, before themselves, reckoning
 idoneos non estiment, nisi forte þame-self not trouand worþi to them to be their superiors
 diuina gracia eos ad hanc be gyfen to contemplacyon, bot before God, and admitting that
 inspiret. if paraunter goddis grace to þat they themselves are not capable
 þame wald enspyr. of contemplation unless,
 maybe, God's grace should
 inspire them to it.

Deanesley edition 154.

Misyn translation (ed.) Harvey, 9.

Walters translation 55.

Such an analysis was in danger, particularly post-Wyclif, of being interpreted as a criticism of Church leaders.²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, it is understandable that Richard Rolle's particular form of isolationist spirituality should have interested a Carmelite like Richard Misyn whose Order had a 'strong emphasis on solitude and silence ... separation and detachment, which allowed space for contemplation even within a life which included some aspects of an active apostolate'.²⁰⁹

For example, Rolle's stress on the need for quiet, particularly in order to experience 'heet', 'songe' and 'suetnes' [33/8, 9] finds echoes with the stipulations on silence found in the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert* [Chapter 21].²¹⁰ Rolle's statement 'Euer truly we awe to pray, or reed, or þinke, with oþer dedis profetabyt, þat our enmy neuer fynd vs ydil' [47/28-30], quoted alongside scriptural injunctions to busy oneself with good works and keeping watch in prayer, finds direct corollaries in the *Rule of Saint Albert's* teachings on constant prayer [Chapter 10] and avoiding the devil through work [Chapter 20].

Other sections of the *Fyer of lufe* also have resonances with the imagery of the Carmelite Order's charism which, although not uniquely applicable, would have struck a particular chord for Whitefriars and those knowledgeable about their heritage. For instance, Rolle refers to the joy of contemplative lovers of God as sweeter than 'hony and hony-kombe' [32/14]. This phrase may have reminded a Carmelite friar or devotee of the Order of the praise bestowed upon the fraternity's early hermits by Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre (1216-28), who wrote in his *History of Jerusalem* that men 'in

²⁰⁸ See: Anne Hudson, 'Lollard Views on Prelates', in Martin Heale (ed.), *The Prelate in England and Europe, c.1300-c.1560* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), 277-94.

²⁰⁹ Valerie Edden, 'The Mantle of Elijah: Carmelite Spirituality in England in the Fourteenth Century', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition, England, Ireland and Wales, Exeter Symposium VI* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 67-83 [83], available online in the 'Carmelite Studies' section of the website of the British Province of Carmelites: www.carmelite.org.

²¹⁰ For an overview of the topic, with particular reference to medieval texts, see: Maggie Ross, *Silence: A User's Guide*, Volume 1: Process (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2014).

imitation of the holy anchorite the prophet Elijah, led solitary lives on Mount Carmel ... where in little comb-like cells, those bees of the lord laid up sweet spiritual honey'.²¹¹ Such images and phrases, woven into the rich tapestry of a Carmelite's education in history and spiritual formation, find many parallels in the writings of Richard Rolle that would make him particularly attractive to the Order.

Rolle's texts are comparable to Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* in their provision of basic Christian doctrine. The *Mendynge of lyfe* discusses the essentials of how one may turn efficaciously to Christ, and in the *Fyer of lufe* Rolle offers basic theological teaching on such diverse matters as the Trinity [Chapters VII and VIII in Misyn], 'þe way of penance' [43/11], the 'profett and worþines of prayer and meditacioun' [46/22], and the distinction between 'veniall' and 'deedly syn' [50/7]. The *Fyer* greatly differs from most books on the *vices and virtues* genre – such as Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* – in Rolle's mixing of didactic instruction with exalted, indeed rapturous, autobiographical descriptions of his own personal experience as a solitary. In Rolle's view the Christian solitary's life is independent of – and more perfect than – the prelate's, and he has little or no concept of the 'Mixed Life'. Rolle instructs that a recluse 'allone sothely sal he sytt ... with odyr not syngand, ne psalms rede' [72/22-3]. However, 'not ilk man þus suld do, bot he to qwhome it is gyffyn, and qwhat hym likys lat hym fulfill, for of þe holy goste he is led' [72/23-5]. Rolle's declarations on the limitations of the communal life and the praise of the solitary in large sections of the *Incendium* find echoes – both corroborative and contradictory – in the Carmelites' Albertine Rule and Felip Ribot's *Decem libri* (these texts also insisting on the importance of community life and liturgy).

Rolle's teachings predated the fourteenth-century developments in the theology of the 'Mixed Life', as discussed in a previous chapter. To Rolle, divinely-inspired solitaries are closest to God, and 'In lufe of lyfe euerlastynge, men contemplatyue hily þat ar brynde þai ar forsoth as hyst in luflyest byrnyng, and miryest of þe lufer euerlastynge, so þat þai seldum or neuer gos vtward to wardly besynes, nor 3it tak þe dignite of worschyp or prelacy' [8/6-9]. Rolle's praise of the 'contemplative' life as primarily the prerogative of the solitary does not seem to accept any integration with the 'active' Christian life, as favoured by Carmelites, nor acknowledge the solitaries later called to Church leadership.²¹² Rolle does concede the example of St. Cuthbert, who went 'fro hys byschopryk to Ankyr' [30/17-18], but Margaret Heslyngton's vocation as an anchorite concurs more with Rolle's description of the contemplative life than Misyn's vocation as a friar. It might seem to us surprising that as a prelate (Prior of Lincoln at the time of writing) Richard Misyn should have translated and propagated a text which said that he could not simultaneously hold office and be a contemplative.

²¹¹ Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, Chapter 27, quoted in Smet, *The Carmelites*, 3.

²¹² In discussing the respective merits of the 'active' and 'contemplative' lives, Rolle distinguishes those engaged in pastoral ministry such as preaching from pure contemplatives [49/14].

Yet Misyn's desire for the status of solitary is plain in his self-labelling, in the colophon of Book I of his translation, as 'hermit' [68/29]. 'Hermits of Mount Carmel' was an ancient name given to the Carmelites, and though it was dropped from the Order's official title (in *Constitutions* and other documents) before 1435, Misyn's retention of it in his colophon is significant.²¹³ The title 'hermit', applied to both Rolle and Misyn in the same colophons, had the specific technical sense in the medieval Church of a solitary not tied to an anchorhold but free to roam about. Misyn's use of the term perhaps reflects his self-perception as both a solitary and a peripatetic friar.²¹⁴ As Nicholas Watson observes, 'hermits – at least the more educated hermits who, after Rolle in the fourteenth century, often joined one of two eremitic orders, the Carthusians and the Carmelites – were also specialists, whose contemplative expertise continued to put them in a class of their own to the end of the Middle Ages.'²¹⁵ We have already noted that Misyn may have lived as a hermit during the period 1425-34, perhaps calling to mind the eremitic Carmelite depicted in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* (discussed above).

We can identify in later medieval Carmelite vernacular writers – Misyn, and we shall see also Fishlake and Scrope – a characteristic interest in their Order's desert roots which was not so evident in the preceding writings of Maidstone, Lavenham, Ashburne and Spalding. As Valerie Edden observes 'the urban friars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were unable to follow the life-style of their forebears in their desert cells. Some Carmelite writing of the period reflects this new life'.²¹⁶ The Carmelite interest in Richard Rolle reveals a certain nostalgia for the purely eremitic life. Misyn was not the only Carmelite who found inspiration in Rolle's spirituality. We have already seen that Carmelite verse such as Ashburne's was sometimes confused with Rolle, as was Maidstone's

²¹³ John Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 349-75 [349]. The Order retained the name 'hermits' in its title well into the Middle Ages. The Order's official titles are listed chronologically in Emanuele Boaga, *The Lady of the Place: Mary in the History and in the Life of Carmel* (trans.) Joseph Chalmers, Míceáil O'Neill, Carmelitana Series 2 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2001), 24-5. The Carmelite prior provincial Thomas Netter made no distinction between hermits and religious when speaking of the origins of the Order [*Doctrinale* (ed.) Blanciotti, Tome III, 575]. Pointing out the eremitic stipulations of the Albertine Rule on solitude, fasting, silence, and perpetual abstinence, Yoshikawa states 'the Carmelites maintained the pre-eminence of contemplation at the root of their spirituality' [69]. The Carmelite use of the title 'hermit' is discussed further in the next chapter in relation to *De charge of an hermyztis lyffe*. On the iconography of hermits in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* see: Valerie Edden, 'A Fresh Look at the Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: London, British Library, Ms. Additional 29704-05', in Stephen Kelly, John J. Thompson (eds.), *Imagining the Book, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 111-26 [118-19].

²¹⁴ On the changing terminology used for and by hermits in the Middle Ages, see: Tom Licence, *England's Hermits 970-1220*, Doctoral Thesis (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2006), summarised by the author in *Monastic Research Bulletin* 12 (2006), 42-44, and published as *Hermits and Recluses in English Society 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). On the role of hermits in medieval English society see also: Roberta Gilchrist, 'A desert place: the archaeology of hermits', in *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 157-208.

²¹⁵ Watson's introduction to Fanous, Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*, 20.

²¹⁶ Edden, 'The Mantle of Elijah', 82-83.

Penitential Psalms.²¹⁷ Copies of Rolle's *Incendium* and *Emendatio* are known to have been in the Carmelite library at the *studium generale* in London.²¹⁸

It has also been suggested that a *florilegium* in Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, Ms. 218, dating from about 1400, further exposes Carmelite admiration for the Hermit of Hampole.²¹⁹ The library cataloguer Rodney Thomson and other scholars have suggested that some of the numerous miniatures (for example fo. 89, 101) depict Carmelite friars.²²⁰ If true, the enticing implication is that the manuscript was a Carmelite production and perhaps indicative of the Order copying or commissioning Rolle texts. However, Richard Copsey and I are not convinced that the miniatures do in fact depict Whitefriars. Instead of the white cloak over a brown habit seen in miniatures such as in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, the Lincoln manuscript depicts a religious figure in an entirely white or grey tunic, more Cistercian or Carthusian in style, advising a secular lord (fo. 89) and receiving divine inspiration (fo. 101). Whilst it is known for medieval illuminators to be quite inaccurate in their

²¹⁷ Lagorio *et al*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3067.

²¹⁸ Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries*, 186-87. It is possible that individual Carmelites owned copies of Rolle texts. For example, a manuscript containing Rolle's *Prose Psalter* – Oxford, University College, Ms. 64 – contains the name 'Thomas Geffraye of Bryntyeates' in a sixteenth-century hand (fo. 78), perhaps indicating ownership by someone from Burnt Yates in Yorkshire's West Riding [noted by Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), 185]. A Carmelite friar named Thomas Geffray was at the York friary when ordained in 1509 [*Reg. Bainbridge, York*, fo. 100, 101v, 103; Claire Cross, *York Clergy Ordinations 1500-1509* (York: Borthwick Institute, 2001), 97]. The location and dating make this Carmelite a possible owner of the manuscript. Likewise, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson C 285, fo. i^v, bears the death notice inscription '<O>biit dominus Iohannes Marchal' [noted by Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, 176]. A Carmelite friar named John Marshall received the various stages of holy orders in York between 1480-82 [*Reg. Rotherham York*, fo. 373, 378v, 380v]. Three of the four main hands in the manuscript write in northern, probably Yorkshire, dialects. The contents of the manuscript, compiled from four booklets, are texts of definite interest to a Carmelite, including Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, extracts from Rolle's *The Commandment*, *Emendatio Vitae*, *The Form of Living*, a *Meditation on the passion*, and *The Epistle of St. John the Hermit*. For a recent consideration of the manuscript see 'The History of a Book: Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.285', in Ralph Hanna, *Introducing English Medieval Book History: Manuscripts, their Producers and their Readers*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 59-95. The 'Magister T. G.' who owned what is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Don. C 13, fo. 168v [noted in Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, 148] might perhaps be identified as the Carmelite Thomas Gilbert, who was regent master at the Theology Faculty in Cambridge in the 1460s-70s. Such an academic might well be interested in owning this collection of religious lyrics, Rolle's Latin commentary on the *Pater noster*, and the Wycliffite Sermon Cycle. According to Richard Copsey's *Biographical Register* there were four Carmelites called John Savage known in fourteenth-century England, though presumably none of these are the John Savage referred to in a sixteenth century hand in the same manuscript (fo. 168v), and no known Carmelite has the name 'Dominus Johannes Coldane of Pos<inglet>' (fo. 170). According to Copsey's *Register*, three Whitefriars could be the 'John Whyte' (Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, 32) inscribed alongside other names in Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Ff.v.45 (fo. 72v), a compendium of *The Form of Living* alongside various religious texts including *Horilogium sapientiae*, *The Craft of Dying*, *The Pore Caitif*, a meditation on the sacrament. More research needs to be done in identifying Carmelites as possible owners of pre-Dissolution copies of Rolle.

²¹⁹ Rodney M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), 177-179.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 179; Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, Part 6 of J. J. G. Alexander (ed.) *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), vol 1, 66 n. 17; Sargent discusses this manuscript in connection with Carthusian interest in Rolle: Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians', 232 n. 3. Moyes (editor of Rolle's *Expositio*) states the manuscript may have come from the continent [I, 71].

depiction of religious habits, it seems unlikely that a text owned or commissioned by the Carmelites would depict them in the wrong colours. Another explanation of the religious figure is therefore needed. Pamela Tudor-Craig's suggestion that this figure, standing at the top of two texts attributed to Richard Rolle, may be Rolle himself is quite plausible (but less so her statement that 'Rolle was a hermit, so it was perhaps appropriate to show him ... in his Carmelite habit').²²¹ Elsewhere in the manuscript, depictions of priests administering the sacraments could illustrate either secular or religious clergy.



Richard Rolle (?) depicted in Lincoln Cathedral Library, Ms. 218, fo. 89 (left) and 101 (right).

The Lincoln Cathedral manuscript contains four of Rolle's Latin texts, including the *Emendatio Vitae* and *Incendium Amoris*. Given the manuscript's current location, where Misyn was prior of the Carmelite convent, it would be pleasant to speculate (as Tudor-Craig does) that this manuscript was the copy Misyn worked from. More likely, however, it was amassed from elsewhere by the book collector Michael Honeywood, who as Dean of Lincoln (1660-81) donated it to the Cathedral Library which he restored, along with Ms. 58, a theological compendium of definite Carmelite provenance, coming from the London Whitefriars.

According to the cataloguer, Ms. 218 is in two physically distinct parts and the relationship between them is not clear, though Thomson says the two were probably collated early in the codex's life. The first part certainly hints at a Carmelite provenance. Prayers for benefactors would suggest that the codex was once part of a coenobitic community dependent upon earthly patronage. This is

²²¹ Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'The Image of the Writer in Medieval English Manuscripts', in Julia Boffey, Virginia Davis (eds.), *Recording Medieval Lives*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 17 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), 243-56 [245]. Her statement that Misyn was a canon of Lincoln Cathedral must also be queried.

preceded by a series of hymns and prayers to heavenly patrons: Saint Joseph, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and her parents Saints Anne and Joachim. Though not the exclusive domain of Carmelites by any means, these members of The Holy Family enjoyed particularly strong devotion in the Order, Joseph being regarded as its Principal Patron and Protector, and Anne and Joachim as Secondary Patrons. In medieval Europe, guilds dedicated to Anne and Joachim were to be found linked to Carmelite priories, and depictions of them featured in prominent manuscripts and altarpieces.²²² According to pious tradition, Anne was the person who taught Mary to read and ponder God's Word, and may have been a figure of inspiration to Carmelites seeking to broaden access to contemplation through literature.



The meeting and marriage of Anne and Joachim depicted in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*.

London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 165 (detail).

²²² On Carmelite devotion to the parents of Mary, see the many references in: Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Emanuele Boaga, *The Lady of the Place: Mary in the History and in the Life of Carmel* (trans.) Joseph Chalmers, Miceál O'Neill, Carmelitana Series 2 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2001); Kathleen Ashley, Pamela Sheingorn (eds.), *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1990); Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 226; Michael Alan Anderson, *St. Anne in Renaissance Music: Devotion and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). A late fifteenth-century *Life of Saint Anne* by an anonymous Flemish Carmelite will be referred to in the next chapter.



Saint Anne brought by her mother Emerenciana to meet the hermits on Mount Carmel.
Saint Anne retable (altarpiece) from the Carmelite church in Frankfurt, created by the Master of Frankfurt c.1495,
Painting on wood. Frankfurt am Main, Historisches Museum.



The birth of the Virgin Mary (digital restoration).
Fifteenth-century stained glass window from the Carmelite Church at Boppard-am-Rhein.
Glasgow, The Burrell Collection.²²³

²²³ See: <https://boppardconservationproject.wordpress.com/2014/09/24/a-digital-restoration-of-the-birth-of-the-virgin-panel/> [accessed June 2016].

Despite the possible Carmelite provenance of Ms. 218, the copy of the *Incendium Amoris* that Richard Misyn worked from is more likely to have been a manuscript with layout and division in closer keeping with his own translation's *mis-en-page*. One manuscript of the long text of the *Incendium*, Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.v.64, includes chapter-headings that are 'translated almost verbatim in Richard Misyn's version'.²²⁴ Moreover, this manuscript contains exactly the same opening and chapter-headings in the *Emendatio* as in Misyn's *Mendynge*.²²⁵ Since only two other manuscripts give chapter-headings at all it would seem that this manuscript, which was in York in the seventeenth century, could contend as Misyn's exemplar. Moreover, like Misyn, the scribe of this manuscript divided the *Incendium* into two books, of thirty chapters plus twelve. Misyn's consists of thirty-one plus twelve, but since he counts Rolle's prologue as the first chapter, this would correspond perfectly. This manuscript also contains Rolle's *The Form of Living*, addressed to 'margaritam anachoritam' (fo. 85), and *Ego Dormio*.²²⁶ Another possible source manuscript is Cambridge, Emmanuel College, Ms. 35, which also contains Misyn's chapter-headings but as a *tabula* rather than between each section.²²⁷ This manuscript is particularly interesting because it contains both the short and long versions of the *Incendium* and was owned by one of Thomas Arundel's circle of clerks, John Newton (d. 1414), a canon lawyer, bibliophile, and Treasurer of York Minster.²²⁸ The Bridgettine Joan Sewell and the Carthusian James Grenehalgh later annotated his manuscript.²²⁹ The other manuscript containing chapter-headings numbered like Misyn's *Fyer of lufe* is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. 861.²³⁰ This also contains the *Emendatio* and other Rolle texts.

Carmelite appropriation of Rolle in a time of declining religious observance

Let us return to the Carmelite interest in the solitary life, in order to understand better why Richard Rolle should have been incorporated into the Whitefriars' efforts at promoting and policing the spiritual life.

²²⁴ Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 7. On this manuscript see: Isabel de la Cruz Cabanillas, 'Studies in the language of some manuscripts of Rolle's *Ego Dormio*, *Selim: Journal of the Spanish Society for Mediaeval English Language and Literature*, 8 (1998), 147-56; Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*.

²²⁵ This is revealed by comparison between Harvey's edition of the *mendynge* and Watson's edition of the *Emendatio*, which is based on Cambridge Mss. Dd.v.64 and Kk.vi.20.

²²⁶ Rolle (ed.) Allen, 132-42; 152-83. See also: Isabel de la Cruz Cabanillas, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Rolle's *Ego Dormio*', *English Studies*, 84:6 (December 2003), 511-19; Annie Sutherland, 'Biblical Text and Spiritual Experience in the English Epistles of Richard Rolle', *Review of English Studies*, 56 (2005), 695-711.

²²⁷ Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 12-15.

²²⁸ James A. Brundage, 'Neuton, John (c.1350-1414)', *ODNB*; Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 63 ff.; 'Three Northern Magnates as Book Patrons: John Newton, Thomas Langley, Thomas Rotherham, and their Manuscripts' in John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 203-23.

²²⁹ Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 15, 78-83.

²³⁰ Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 18.

One of the limits on the popularity of Rolle's Latin treatises 'was the fact that Rolle on principle belonged to no religious order, which would have been interested in preserving his works'.²³¹ Indeed, although Rolle's writings show that he was influenced by mendicant, especially Franciscan, spirituality,²³² his *Incendium* contains strong criticism of religious. Despite this ambivalence, Misyn's translations reveal a Carmelite's desire to establish Richard Rolle firmly within the canon of orthodox religious literature. Misyn's interest in Rolle also demonstrates perhaps a Carmelite desire to appropriate the Hermit of Hampole as one of their own, as revealed perhaps by the linking of Rolle's text and possibly Carmelite texts in the Lincoln Cathedral *florilegium*. Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* can't be called a 'Carmelite work', but as already pointed out there are a number of parallels in terms of imagery and content between Rolle's spirituality and that of the Whitefriars. Further examples include the fact that the Carmelites decided to change their religious mantle,²³³ just as the *Officium* biography of Rolle's life compiled by the nuns of Hampole in 1381 describes how he made a habit out of his sister's dress.²³⁴ According to the *Officium*, Rolle adopted the hermit's life of contemplation and gave spiritual advice to women, as later Carmelites did. In dedicating his text to Margaret Heslyngton, Richard Misyn might have been conscious of parallels with Richard Rolle's correspondence with female recluses such as Margaret Kirkby.²³⁵

To better understand the appeal of Richard Rolle in the Carmelites' efforts to both promote and police devotional reading, we must look at the Order's growing preoccupation with eremitism in the early fifteenth century.

Richard Misyn was writing in a period when, compared with previous decades, remarkably little academic innovation and artistic creativity seems to have flourished within the Carmelite Order in England, David Knowles remarking that 'the seventy years that followed the death of ... Netter ...

²³¹ Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, vi. This issue is considered by Ralph Hanna in two articles: 'The Transmission of Richard Rolle's Latin Works', *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 7th Series, 14:3 (September 2013), 313-33; 'Making Miscellaneous Manuscripts in Fifteenth-Century England: The Case of Sloane 2275', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 18 (2015), 1-28.

²³² Nuth, *God's Lovers in an Age of Anxiety*, 36.

²³³ The Carmelites exchanged the striped mantle for a white one in the 1280s [Smet, *The Carmelites*, 21-22]. Coincidentally, this decision was made in the English Province in 1287 at a chapter held in Lincoln [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 79v.]. On the legends surrounding the Carmelite scapular which emerged in the fifteenth century see: Richard Copsey, 'Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:4 (October 1999), 652-83, reprinted in Richard Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2004), 75-112.

²³⁴ Lagorio et al, 'English Mystical Writings', 3051; Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 37; Nuth, *God's Lovers in an Age of Anxiety*, 36.

²³⁵ On Rolle's relationship with women religious and anchorites see 'Richard Rolle and the Yorkshire Nuns' in Frances Beer, *Women and Mystical Experience in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992).

make up the darkest period in the history of the English friars'.²³⁶ This sweeping caricature may be nuanced by subsequent historians but there does seem to have been a gradual decline in the Order's more visible scholarly activities and cultural achievements.²³⁷ Arguably there is a *prima facie* link between this decline and various changes in the Order's lifestyle, the literary upshot of which was the production of texts by Richard Misyn and Thomas Scrope. Misyn's translations were written only two or three years after Pope Eugene IV mitigated the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert* for the second time with his bull *Romani Pontifices Providentia*. This bull, issued in 1432, relaxed the Carmelite brothers' lifestyle in matters of perpetual abstinence from meat, fasting, and strict enclosure. It allowed the Whitefriars to vacate their cells and wander around the convent freely when not occupied in communal duties, a communal life that seems to have been disintegrating for a number of years, possibly from laxity but also from dispensations granted for the pursuit of the active apostolate.²³⁸ The mendicants' gradual but increasing abandonment of enclosure provoked Wycliffite allegations against them that 'freres ben fisches wiþouten water þat dwellen ouzt of cloister'.²³⁹

The full significance of Chapter XV of the *Fyer of lufe* is best understood in this context. Though writing decades before the decline of mendicant enclosure, Richard Rolle's criticism of 'rynnars aboute, þat ar sclauderes of hermyts' [32/2-3] and *girovagi* or vagabonds who 'trow þame-self be þe world may ryn and be contemplatye' [76/21-22] might have had uncomfortable and immediate resonances for a readership of Carmelite friars increasingly at liberty to travel beyond their cells and convents after 1432.²⁴⁰ On the other hand, could Misyn have read Rolle as validating and legitimizing the recent changes in the Carmelite Order? Hermits were not restricted by Church custom and law to

²³⁶ David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948, 1955, 1959), vol 3, 52.

²³⁷ There is a broad consensus among observers, both contemporary and modern, that religious fervour declined within the Carmelite Order (and indeed more broadly in religious life) during the second half of the fourteenth century, leading to more widespread laxity in the fifteenth. The General Chapter of the Carmelites in 1354 laments the lack of silence being observed after compline. Chapters increasingly invoked sanctions against abuses such as the neglect of the Divine Office, and friars abandoning the common table in favour of eating and drinking in private rooms.

²³⁸ On the mitigation see: Ludovico Saggi, 'La mitigazione del 1432 della regola carmelitana, tempo e persone', *Carmelus*, 9 (1958), 3-29; Sheppard, *The English Carmelites*, 36-37; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 70-73; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 118; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 64; Emanuele Boaga, *Come pietre vive ... nel Carmelo – Per leggere la storia e la vita del Carmelo* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1993), 105. In 1416 a Provincial Chapter had had to reiterate an earlier prohibition on parties being held in Carmelites' private rooms, and the importance of observing enclosure, subjects on which Thomas Netter had cause to complain to the Whitefriars of Yarmouth in a letter. See: Alban, 'The Letters of Thomas Netter', 374. It is likely that Misyn would have been well aware of the calls for the mitigation of the *Rule* made by the 1430 General Chapter at Nantes, which sought to heal some of the divisions left within the Order by the Schism: see Alban, 'The Letters of Thomas Netter', 368.

²³⁹ This allegation is made in the *Dialogue between Jon and Richard*, edited by Fiona Somerset, *Four Wycliffite Dialogues*, Early English Text Society Original Series 333 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4, lines 60-61.

²⁴⁰ On *girovagi* – warned against in the prologue of the Benedictine *Rule* – see: Rolle, *The Fire of Love* (ed. and trans.) Wolters, 87, n. 4; Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 39-40, 183 n.; Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 372.

remain ‘anchored’ in one building as anchorites were, though traditionalists stated that hermits should practice *stabilitas* and be fixed in one general area as much as possible. Rolle’s seeming contradiction that ‘cellis forsoth to leue for cause reasonable, to harmetis is not ill’ [35/22-3] may have been interpreted as justifying the Carmelites’ recent acceptance of vacating their cells.²⁴¹

The significance, to a Carmelite, of Rolle’s criticism of ‘comon lyff’ [29/4] can also be appreciated better when seen in the context of the 1432 mitigation of the Carmelite *Rule*. Rolle’s distaste for communal worship and living with others finds resonances in the Order’s debates about fraternal life. Yet his image of solitaries who ‘þof all emongis men full fare þa dwell, ȝit fro heuenly desyrs þai stumbyll not’ [29/35-6], may have encouraged Whitefriars in their efforts to integrate the communal and the solitary aspects of their lifestyle.²⁴²

As inquisitor for apostate friars in his later ministry, Richard Misyn would have had a particular interest in upholding the ideals of religious community life.²⁴³ Misyn translated Rolle’s description of the solitary who has relinquished the ‘communem habitum’²⁴⁴ as forsaking ‘comon clethinge of þe world’ [29/30], rather than spurning ‘the habit of the community’.²⁴⁵ ‘Habitus’ could refer to one’s manner of living, as well as dress, and Misyn’s lexical choice of the latter interpretation is telling.²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ It is worth noting that the issue of enclosure and the eremitic element of Carmelite life prompted a number of reform movements within the Order on the European Continent. Some Carmelite houses refused to accept what they perceived as the laxity eventually represented by *Romani Pontificis*. The first record of a ‘house of observance’ occurs at the Tuscan Provincial Chapter in 1413, initiated by Jacobo di Alberto, prior of the convent of Le Selve near Florence. This was the beginning of the ‘Reform of Mantua’, with observant congregations later established at Geronde in Switzerland, and at Albi in France (from 1480, established as a congregation in 1502). In 1434 the houses of the Mantuan reform were grouped into a congregation with a vicar general of their own. See: Ludovico Saggi, *La Congregazione Mantovana dei Carmelitani sino alla morte del B. Battista Spagnoli (1516)* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954); Leo van Wijmen, *La congrégation d’Albi (1499-1602)* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1971); Coralie Zermatten, ‘Reform Endeavors and the Development of Congregations: Regulating Diversity within the Carmelite Order’, in Krijn Pansters, Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability: The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, *Disciplina Monastica* 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 245-60 [255-56]; Emanuele Boaga, *Come pietre vive*, 109-29. In 1435, the same year as Misyn’s second translation of Rolle, a significant reform movement began within the Carmelite Order in Germany. John Ubach of the Lower German Province, and John Inguen, Prior of Enghien, renounced all privileges for life, ‘from a motive of holy reformation’. In the Upper German Province the house at Heilbronn was formed in 1451 under the same aegis of reform. These houses were to play important roles in the reform of Jean Soreth, elected Prior General in 1451.

²⁴² In a series of lectures given in the United States in 1935-36, the Carmelite academic Titus Brandsma highlighted the translation of the works of Rolle as part of the enduring Carmelite desire for reform and observance against the declining observance of the later Middle Ages. In this context he also highlighted the establishment of hermitages in England as well as in Italy as proof that the eremitic spirit of the Order was never completely forgotten. The latest printing of the lectures is: Titus Brandsma, *Carmelite Mysticism: Historical Sketches* (Darien, Illinois: The Carmelite Press, 2002).

²⁴³ For an international comparison of what this role might have involved, see: Michael Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors: Dominican Inquisitors and Inquisitorial Districts in Northern Italy, 1474-1527*, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*, 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

²⁴⁴ Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 180.

²⁴⁵ Rolle, *The Fire of Love* (ed. and trans.) Wolters, 83.

²⁴⁶ Langland’s description of the ‘habite as an heremite unholy of werkes’ [*Piers Plowman*, B-Text, I.3] captures the ambiguity of the term. As mentioned previously, the question of clothing and community life was a major concern to late medieval Carmelites. Misyn’s successor as Prior of Lincoln appealed to the king for the detention and return of three friars who had left the community without permission and wandered abroad in secular clothes [P.R.O. C81/1793/30].

The *Fyer of lufe* could also have been read as supportive of the 1432 relaxation of the Carmelites' more ascetic practices. Whilst much of the *Incendium Amoris* and an entire chapter of the *Emendatio Vitae* could be read as approving the Whitefriars' life of voluntary poverty, Richard Rolle criticises those who think they cannot please God 'bot if þa castis be to mikyl abstinens and vnmesurde nakydnes' [94/21-2], and advises against 'to mykill abstinence' [25/30]. Rolle's balanced criticism of 'vnwyse abstinence' [113/33] would have particular significance to Carmelites after the relaxation of the their *regula*.

As well as reading Misyn's translations in the wake of the 1432 *Rule* mitigation, it is possible to see the *Fyre of lufe* and *Mendynge of lyfe* as part of the Carmelites' growing interest in eremitic texts more broadly.²⁴⁷ As we noted in Chapter Two, Carmelites regarded themselves as the inheritors of the desert prophets Elijah and John the Baptist, and articulated in the *Rubrica Prima* prefacing their *Constitutions* a sense of being solitaries living together in a community for mutual support in their contemplative vocation.



Elijah (left, in Carmelite habit) and John the Baptist (right) depicted by Pietro Lorenzetti on panels from a predella (platform on which an altar stands) painted by Pietro Lorenzetti for the Carmelite Church in Siena between 1328 and 1329. Tempera and gold leaf on wood. Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum, F.1973.08.2.P and F.1973.08.1.P.

²⁴⁷ On the interest later medieval Carmelite authors had in the eremitic origins of the Order, see the section 'Tra Cronologia e Leggenda: La Tradizione Primitiva su Alberto nel Carmelo' in Vincenzo Mosca, *Alberto Patriarca di Gerusalemme: Tempo, Vita, Opera*, *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana*, 20 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996), 393-430.

It is very significant that a few years before Misyn translated Rolle a document was purportedly rediscovered within the Carmelite Order that called for the brothers to return to desert solitude. In his encyclical letter, the *Ignea Sagitta* (*Flaming Arrow*), Nicholas the Frenchman, Prior General of the Order from 1265, called for the preservation of the primitive traditions of Mount Carmel.²⁴⁸ Claimed to be written in 1272, this text was seemingly lost for over a century but re-circulated within the Order from c. 1411.²⁴⁹ Though the *Ignea Sagitta* comprised the thoughts of just one (admittedly most senior) Carmelite author concerning the essence of the Order's charism, the popularity of this text shows an enduring Carmelite preoccupation with how the 'sons of the prophets' should live. The proper balance of the solitary and communal life has preoccupied Carmelites since Albert of Jerusalem's *formula vitae* strove to regulate the hermits gathered together on Mount Carmel in the early years of the thirteenth century. The tension between the individual life of the solitary hermit and that of the community has always been a dynamic force and creative tension in the Order, itself inspiring a number of written texts, most famously the *Ignea Sagitta* and *Decem libri* (the so-called *Ribot Collection* to be discussed in the next chapter), but also passages of Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale* which deal with the 'contemplative life'.²⁵⁰

Netter was not the only English Carmelite who influenced the eremitic spirituality of the Order in the fifteenth century. From about 1425 the Order produced documents concerning Simon Stock, an early Carmelite Prior General from England.²⁵¹ Though 'Simon Stock the Englishman' died in Bordeaux in 1265, his devotional cult seems only to have reached England in the early fifteenth century. Regarded as a holy man since the time of his death, Simon's cult really took off when accounts of his life became conflated with various visionary legends. Though the name Stock probably derived from the Kent village of Stockbury, some legends claimed that the Carmelite took his name from the Old English word for the stump of a tree-trunk, and he was imagined as a form of

²⁴⁸ Sheppard, *The English Carmelites*, 19-21; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 18; Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 2, 198-99. An extract is reproduced in Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 272. For secondary reading on the *Ignea Sagitta* see the bibliography given in Chapter Two, n. 63.

²⁴⁹ See: Richard Copsey, 'The Ignea Sagitta and its readership: A Re-Evaluation', *Carmelus*, 46 (1999), 164-173, reprinted in Richard Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2004), 17-28; Richard Copsey, 'Establishment, Identity and Papal Approval: the Carmelite Order's Creation of its Legendary History', *Carmelus*, 47 (Rome: Istituto Carmelitano, 2000), 41-53 [46], also reprinted in *Carmel in Britain 3*, 1-15. Because of this date, many critical discussions of the *Ignea Sagitta*'s influence on the early Order are probably anachronistic. My current opinion is that the *Ignea Sagitta* was a fifteenth-century composition attributed to Nicholas the Frenchman to give the text the authority of antiquity.

²⁵⁰ According to Kevin Alban, in the *Doctrinale* 'Netter shows that he is still in touch with the founding charism of the group of hermits on Mount Carmel. In this he demonstrates that not all links with the Carmelites' eremitical past had been broken even as late as the 1420s, and that there will still a strong awareness of this heritage.' See: Kevin Alban, 'Thomas Netter on Contemplation in the *Doctrinale*', in Giovanni Grosso, Wilmar Santin (eds.), *Memoriam Fecit Mirabilium Dei: Scritti in onore di Emanuele Boaga, O. Carm.*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 31 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2009), 513-32 [532].

²⁵¹ Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 171; Andrew Jotischky, 'Simon Stock [St Simon Stock] (*supp.* 1165-1265)', *ODNB*; Richard Copsey, 'Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision', *op. cit.*

anchorite taking a tree-trunk for his cell. Some accounts described Stock's time spent as a hermit on Mount Carmel, or his life as a recluse in England. The burgeoning interest in Saint Simon Stock at the time when Richard Misyn was writing his *Rolle* translations is symptomatic of the Carmelite Order's interest in the eremitic life, and quest for reclusive exemplars.



Fresco medallion of Simon Stock by an artist of the Lombard school, 1472.
Santuario del Carmine (Carmelite Friary), San Felice del Benaco, Brescia, Italy.

Another example of an eremitic figure promoted within the Carmelite tradition in the late Middle Ages is the legendary Saint Cyril of Constantinople (not to be confused with namesakes in Jerusalem and Alexandria). In his *Decem libri* (Ten Books), the Catalonian Carmelite Felip Ribot claimed to cite letters sent from Cyril, 'a prophet and hermit on Mount Carmel', to Eusebius, prior of Mount Neroi near Antioch. These letters, supposedly written *c.*1200, dealt with matters of Carmelite identity such as the symbolism of the Order's white cloak, and the writing of the Order's manner of life. Cyril was reputedly a hermit on Mount Carmel who received a prophetic text from an angel. Around 1400 the Prior General of the Carmelites of the Clementine/Avignon Obedience, Jean Grossi, compiled texts that heightened awareness of Cyril. In his *Viridarium* (Garden), Grossi compiled a wide range of mottos and spiritual traditions pertaining to the Carmelites, which listed Saint Cyril as the second Prior General of the Order. In Grossi's *Catalogue* of Carmelite saints, Cyril was listed as third Prior General. Whether second or third, he was regarded as senior within the Order at a time when it was still an eremitic community on Mount Carmel, Cyril maintaining a life of solitude even as prior. In 1399 the Carmelite General Chapter introduced his liturgical feast across the Order as a doctor and

confessor. In England devotion to *S. Cyrilli Greci* (presumably Cyril of Constantinople) was promoted by the Carmelite Provincial Nicholas Kenton (d. 1468) who wrote a *Vita* of the saint (now lost).

The fifteenth-century revival of Carmelite interest in reclusive personalities like Simon Stock and Cyril of Constantinople, and the dissemination of eremitic propaganda texts like the *Ignea Sagitta* and the *Decem libri*, may well have been formative during Richard Misyn's novitiate. Carmelite interest in eremitism is demonstrated visually in artwork that is near contemporary with Misyn writing in the mid-1430s. Between 1437 and 1439, an artist now dubbed the 'Albrechtsmeister' created a large folding retable (altarpiece) for the Carmelite Church in the main square (Karmeliterkirche 'Am Hof') in Vienna. As well as depicting the life of the Virgin Mary, the panels illustrate key episodes in the life of the Carmelite Order, placing particular emphasis upon exemplars of the solitary desert life, such as the prophet Elisha.²⁵²



Elisha and the 'Sons of the Prophets' wearing the original striped cloak of the Carmelite Order, depicted in the *Albrechtsaltar*, 1437-39. Vienna, Klosterneuberg, Stiftsmuseum.

²⁵² See: Floridus Röhrig (ed.), *Der Albrechtsaltar und sein Meister* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1981).

The Carmelites' self-identification as essentially eremitic was also noted by their critics. For example, an anonymous anti-fraternal poem, preserved in a codex that was probably compiled in Bohemia in the early fifteenth century, describes the Whitefriars as 'falsos heremitas' ('false hermits'), a telling indictment of the Order's claims to eremitic origins.²⁵³ This poem was recorded by the antiquarian Carmelite-turned-Protestant bishop John Bale in one of his notebooks.²⁵⁴ In the summarising epilogue (chapter 54) of his *Anglorum Heliades (The English Followers of Elijah)*, written in 1536, Bale reiterates the suggestion that the Carmelites deviated from their eremitic roots:

The sons of Elijah were poor hermits, of small repute among men, humble, retiring, unknown, even despised. They owned no lands, and lived hidden in valleys, in woods, and in mountainside caves ... In those days they were endowed with the Holy Spirit, of fervent devotion, occupied in contemplation of God, and shining with a multitude of divine virtues. This time having passed, they devoted themselves to scholarship and gave themselves to the study of the various sciences. So from among them came many who were wise and learned men. Then they came to the notice of princes, put on airs and graces, and having obtained employment, were finely dressed, rewarded with honours and titles, enriched with gifts. From that time forward they relaxed, and the religious spirit, the ardent devotion, and the innocent simplicity of life of the early fathers dried up and dwindled away ... being thoroughly lukewarm, lazy and idle, they became the dregs, prey to the basest of vices.²⁵⁵

Writing a century after Richard Misyn, John Bale's assessment of his former Order must be read with an appropriately sceptical eye, but his text highlights a perception in some quarters of the Church that the Carmelites in late medieval England had deviated from their vocation.

The fifteenth-century English Carmelite Order's desire for a return to its eremitic roots can help account for the precise dating of the colophon of Richard Misyn's translation of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* to the feast of the Translation of St. Martin ('in festo translacionis sancti Martini Episcopi'). The specific dating of a text is often symbolically significant. Saint Martin of Tours (c.316-97), a very

²⁵³ The Latin poem and a Modern English translation are given by Michael van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies of Anne of Bohemia', *Medium Ævum*, 78:2 (2009), 231-60 [234].

²⁵⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 139v. Richard Copley has included an English translation of the Latin verse recorded by Bale (entitled 'Lollard verses against the mendicants') in his forthcoming *Early Carmelite Documents*.

²⁵⁵ Translated by Richard Copley in *Early Carmelite Documents*.

popular saint in the Middle Ages, was a bishop noted for his great encouragement of monasticism.²⁵⁶ Martin, the founder of a community of monk-hermits, was portrayed as an eremitic figure in the widely popular *Vitas Patrum* ('Lives of the Fathers'),²⁵⁷ and in the *Vita Martini* by Sulpicius Severus (one of the most influential medieval *Lives*),²⁵⁸ and thus might have become popular in Carmelite circles. As a champion of orthodoxy in doctrinal disputes, Martin possibly also inspired the Carmelites in their efforts to carefully control religious speculation and theological development. Even as a bishop Martin continued to live in his cell, which could have motivated Richard Misyn in his calling as both prelate and hermit, highlighted in the same colophon that refers to Martin. Perhaps the strongest link between the Carmelites and St. Martin, however, is the Basilica of San Martino ai Monti (St. Martin's in the Hills) in Rome. This church dedicated to Martin of Tours – an ancient *titulus* or house church that became one of the first parish churches of Rome – was granted to the Carmelite Order by Pope Boniface VIII in 1299 and served as the Order's central curia house for most of the Middle Ages. Richard Misyn's reference to St. Martin may therefore have a particular Carmelite resonance. Within England there is visual evidence of the Order's devotion to Martin exhibited in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* (London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 159).²⁵⁹



Saint Martin depicted in the
Reconstructed Carmelite Missal.
London, British Library,
Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 159 (detail).

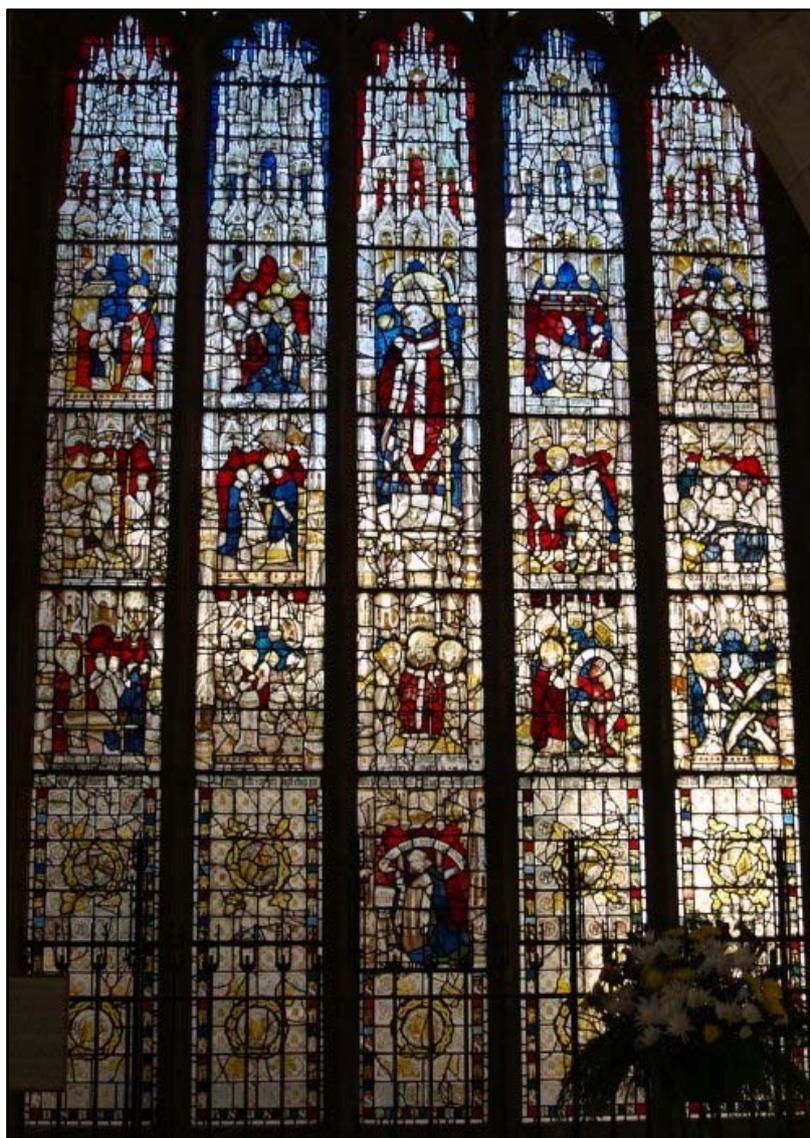
²⁵⁶ *The Book of Saints: A Dictionary of the Servants of God canonized by the Catholic Church*, compiled by the Benedictine monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate (London: A & C Black, sixth revised edition, 1989), 377-78; David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 287-88.

²⁵⁷ The *Vitas Patrum* (or *Vitae Patrum*), falsely attributed to Saint Jerome, consists of accounts of the early Desert Fathers and Desert Mothers of the Church. Compiled mostly in Greek in the fourth century, this corpus of narratives was translated into Latin over the next three centuries. The sentences and exempla of the desert monks enjoyed considerable popularity across medieval Christendom, being translated into various vernacular versions from the thirteenth century onwards. Being concerned with Christian escapism to the solitary life, it was particularly popular in religious communities. An English translation was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1495.

²⁵⁸ C. Stancliffe, *St. Martin and His Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983). Interestingly for a Carmelite audience, Sulpicius Severus mentions in his *Life* of Martin of Tours a young man in Spain claiming to be Elijah; this is mentioned by G. R. Evans, *The I. B. Tauris History of Monasticism: The Western Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 102.

²⁵⁹ Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, Part 6 of J. J. G. Alexander (ed.) *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), vol 2, 25.

More localised devotion to St. Martin within Yorkshire can be seen in the fact that York had two churches dedicated to the saint, and three side altars in the city's various parish churches.²⁶⁰ His cult was popular among townsfolk. For example, in c.1440, very shortly after Richard Misyn's composition work, Robert Semer the vicar of St. Martin-le-Grand Church in York commissioned a great west window (the largest in any of York's parish churches) depicting the life of the saint.



The Martin window in St. Martin-le-Grand Church, York (photographed 2014).

As the cult of St. Martin grew over the centuries, his popularity was reflected in the development of several feasts. His principal feast day (11th November) was one of the first celebrations of saints to

²⁶⁰ Rachel Koopmans, 'Early Sixteenth-Century Stained Glass at St. Michael-le-Belfrey and the Commemoration of Thomas Becket in Late Medieval York', *Speculum*, 89:4 (October 2014), 1040-1100 [graph on 1083].

be observed across the Western Church.²⁶¹ Subsequent additional feasts included Martin's 'Subvention' marking his intercession in conflict (12th May), his 'Reversion' marking the return of his relics after an invasion (13th December), the translation of his head (1st December), and the translation of his body (4th July) which was also the date he was consecrated bishop.²⁶² The dating of the Misyn-text colophon specifically to the 'translation' of St. Martin's relics could be a pun on Misyn's own act of translating holy text. Latinate readers would surely perceive in the colophon's text – 'Explicit liber de Incendio Amoris, Ricardi Hampole heremite, translatus in Anglicum ... in festo translacionis sancti Martini Episcopi' – a play on the two meanings of the verb 'translate', namely, a change of language, and the change of resting place of a saint's relics. In medieval culture the translation of a saint's relics was a significant event, often associated with miraculous events and prompting a number of *translatio* narratives.²⁶³ At least one near-contemporary of Misyn's, the Augustinian friar Osbern Bokenham (1393-1464+), exploited the double-meaning of 'translation' in his prologue to *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* (1443-47).²⁶⁴ Bokenham sets out his desire to relate the life and legacy of Saint Margaret, including 'be whom and how oftyn she translatyd was / And where now she restyth, and in what plas' (lines 105-06). His use of the verb 'translate' then shifts to mean 'thys translacyoun ... into oure language' (124-25), before returning to a discussion of the saint's relics 'bothe flesh and boon' (138). Reflecting on the devotion paid to Margaret's relics, Bokenham declares 'thys is oo skyl [one reason] why I am steryd the more / Hyr lyf to translate' (173-74). Bokenham's juxtaposing of the two interpretations of 'translation' is more explicit than Misyn's, but it suggests that at least two mendicant writers in the fifteenth century were aware of the significance of the word; just as the translation of relics could increase the faithful's devotion to a saint, so the translation of a text could increase the faithful's devotion to its contents. Furthermore, to refer to the translation of relics is a direct counter to the denunciation of their veneration often made by Lollards.

²⁶¹ André Vauchez, 'Saints and pilgrimages: new and old', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 324-39 [324].

²⁶² On the various feasts see: Régine Pernoud, *Martin of Tours: Soldier, Bishop and Saint* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006), 160.

²⁶³ See: 'Relics in Movement' in Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 282-310; Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Sherry L. Reames, 'Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket', *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 118-70; 'Relics: Theft, Translation, Invention' in Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 327-29; Thomas Head, 'Translation of the Body of St. Junianus', in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, Princeton Readings in Religion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 217-21; Marika Räsänen, Gritje Hartmann, Earl Jeffrey Richards (eds.), *Relics, Identity, and Memory in Medieval Europe*, Europa Sacra 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

²⁶⁴ Reproduced in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 64-72. On Bokenham see the bibliography listed in the previous chapter, n. 80.

Carmelites and Anchorites

The Carmelite interest in eremitic spirituality is also seen in the interaction between Whitefriars and anchorites in late medieval England. The early fifteenth century was a watershed in Carmelite literary production when interest in a new type of literature on the ‘contemplative life’ emerged among the Whitefriars who were looking back to the origins of their Order two centuries earlier. Scholastic output by mendicants in the universities began to decline, and writers such as Richard Misyn, Thomas Scrope and others experimented with a new brand of reclusive Carmelitism that was lived in anchorholds, rather than friaries. Misyn’s writing for Margaret Heslyngton can be seen as Carmelite engagement with, and regulation of, this expression of the solitary vocation.

Anchorites in England have a long history. Like the Carmelites, the inspiration for anchorites can be traced back to the desert hermits of antiquity.²⁶⁵ Throughout the Middle Ages, monks and nuns, and eventually laypersons in pursuit of the contemplative life, dwelt in ‘Ankers’ (*inclusorium*), that is simple cells often built alongside a church or religious community building. Here they were ‘anchored’ to the spot so that they could better dedicate themselves to prayer, reflection, and the ascetic life. The exact forms of anchoritic life varied in different times and places, but essentially all anchorites sought to withdraw from secular society in order to focus intensely on prayer: the term anchorite derives from the ancient Greek ἀναχωρητής meaning ‘one who has retired from the world’. Unlike hermits who were free to wander, anchorites opted for (generally) permanent enclosure, taking a vow of stability as part of a consecration rite that, through its echoes with the funeral rite, proclaimed the anchorite symbolically dead to the world.

²⁶⁵ The classic study of solitaries in medieval England is Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London: Methuen and Co., 1914), which was developed further by Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). Since the 1990s there has been a blossoming of anchoritic studies, including Eddie Jones’s *Hermits and Anchorites of England* project which is building on Clay’s research: <http://hermits.ex.ac.uk/>. On solitaries in medieval England see: Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action - The Other Monasticism* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995); ‘Anchoresses and Recluses’ in Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995, reprinted London: Phoenix Press, 2002), 206-21; Grace M. Jantzen, *Julian of Norwich* (London: SPCK, 1987); Nuth, *God’s Lovers in an Age of Anxiety*, 19-22; Liz Herbert McAvoy, Mari Hughes-Edwards (eds.), *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005); Mari Hughes-Edwards, ‘Anchoritism: the English tradition’, in Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *Anchoritic Traditions of Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 131-52; Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden, Roger Ellis (eds.), *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), especially the chapter by E. A. Jones, ‘Hermits and Anchorites in Historical Context’, 3-18; Alexandra Barratt, ‘Creating an Anchorhold’, in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, Princeton Readings in Religion (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 311-17; Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space and the Solitary Life*, Gender in the Middle Ages 6 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2011); Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism: Ideology and Spiritual Practices* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012); ‘The Anchoritic Life’ and following sections in Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 149 ff.; *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, Special Issue: Anchoritic Studies and Liminality, 42:1 (2016).

In late medieval England *anachoresis* ('withdrawal') was important in the Carmelite Order's sense of identity, reminding the Whitefriars of their own ascetic roots as hermits on Mount Carmel. There were at least two types of what we might call 'Carmelite-anchorites' in medieval England: friars who spent some time in an anchorhold; and those anchored laypersons (usually women) with some form of relationship bond with the Order. Some Carmelite friars dissatisfied with communal life in the convent spent a while as anchorites, not only (as we shall see in the next chapter) Thomas Scrope, but figures such as John Castleacre, Thomas Barton and a Carmelite friar living as an anchorite in Lynn who acted as a resident chaplain at a grammar school.²⁶⁶

Richard Misyn wrote for Margaret Heslyngton in the well-established tradition of providing rules and guides for anchorites.²⁶⁷ However, Heslyngton's request of a copy of Rolle demonstrates that she was not content with the anchoritic texts already available, being more interested in the contemporary spiritual trends of Yorkshire. We have already noted that in calling Heslyngton a 'recluse', Misyn framed his relationship with her in similar terms to the 'spiritual friendship' between Richard Rolle and Margaret Kirkby.²⁶⁸ This was not simply a literary device, since works of anchoritic guidance 'seem to have been genuine responses to requests for such a guide.'²⁶⁹ Richard Misyn did indeed know Margaret Heslyngton, and wrote specifically in response 'to þe askynge of þi desyre' [1/1-2]. Clay rightly states that 'the works of Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton were much appreciated by anchoresses, who were often well-educated women',²⁷⁰ and the Carmelite interest in both authors is indicative of the Order's awareness of anchoritic and literary movements in England, and participation

²⁶⁶ Castleacre and Barton are listed among the researches of Rotha Mary Clay, and feature in Copsey's *Biographical Register*. The Carmelite-anchorite in Lynn is mentioned by Rotha Mary Clay, 'Some Northern Anchorites – with a Note on Enclosed Dominicans', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 33 (1955), 202-17 [215], quoting from Henry James Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, 2 vols (Norwich: East of England Newspaper Company, 1907), vol 1, 230, source untraced. The reference to teaching in a grammar school may be some confusion with the role of *informator*, the friar in a Carmelite house charged with teaching Latin and grammar to junior brothers. Copsey's *Biographical Register* also notes a Carmelite Thomas Sylvester who in 1493 requested permission 'to transfer to a Carthusian monastery and live as an anchorite'. On Carmelites and anchorites in general see: Johan Bergström-Allen, 'The Whitefriars Return to Carmel'; Johan Bergström-Allen, 'A defining moment for Carmelites: *The Ten Books* (or *The Book of the First Monks*) of Felip Ribot, O.Carm. (c.1385) (unpublished presentation, 2006); Kevin Alban, 'Thomas Netter: Pushing Back the Boundaries of Affiliation in the Carmelite Order', *Carmelus*, 61 (2014), 9-29. The references to a Carmelite-anchorite named George or Gregory Ripley made by Clay [*The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 172] and Warren [*Anchorites and their Patrons*, 24, 221n.] are, according to Copsey, confusions with an Augustinian Canon and Alchemist both from Bridlington.

²⁶⁷ Texts written for female solitaries are listed in: Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection* (ed.) Thomas H. Bestul, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), 2; Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 103, 294-98; Anne Savage, Nicholas Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality: 'Ancrene Wisse' and Associated Works*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 44-45.

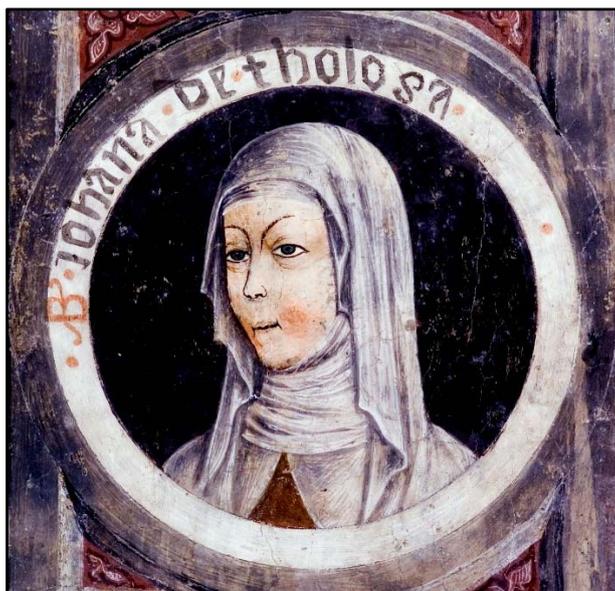
²⁶⁸ 'Margaretam de Kyrkby, reclusam', Incipit of *The Form of Living*, in Rolle (ed.) Ogilvie-Thomson, 3. On Rolle and Kirkby's relationship, see: Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 212-13. On spiritual friendship between men and women, which was of great concern to Rolle [Misyn Book II, chapter IX], see: Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 363; Lagorio *et al.*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3050.

²⁶⁹ Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 103.

²⁷⁰ Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 177.

in promoting the more ‘mystical’ aspects of vernacular spirituality. It is perhaps also part of a pre-existing mendicant tradition of friars offering vernacular theological texts to consecrated women.²⁷¹

Compared with the High Middle Ages, little study has been done on the provision of guidance for solitaries in the middle to late medieval period, particularly from a Carmelite perspective. Nevertheless, English and continental examples establish the existence of fruitful interactions between Carmelites and recluses, and what is known can be extrapolated to shed light on the dynamic of Misyn’s relationship with Heslyngton. One of the earliest known female Carmelite recluses was Blessed Joan (or Jane) of Toulouse (d. 1286).²⁷² John Bale claimed that Saint Simon Stock affiliated Joan to the Order as a tertiary, and though there is no contemporary evidence for this, it is significant that in associating Stock and Toulouse the late medieval Order linked the cults of two recluses. Even if Misyn and Heslyngton did not know of Toulouse’s cult, she initiated a practice of female solitaries being affiliated to the Carmelite friars.



Fresco medallion of Joan of Toulouse by an artist of the Lombard school, 1472.
Santuario del Carmine (Carmelite Friary), San Felice del Benaco, Brescia, Italy.

²⁷¹ An interesting example of this is the Franciscan Thomas of Hales who wrote a Middle English spiritual poem, the so-called *Luve Ron*, at the request of a young female religious, quite possibly a Poor Clare. For details see: Fleming, ‘The Friars and Medieval English Literature’, 363.

²⁷² Joachim Smet, ‘Giovanna da Tolosa’, in Ludovico Saggi (ed.), *Santi del Carmelo: Biografie da vari dizionari* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1972), 222-23, translated in Louis Saggi et al, *Saints of Carmel: A Compilation from Various Dictionaries* (trans.) Gabriel Pausback (Rome: Carmelite Institute, 1972), 44, 136-37; Théophile Baurens de Molinier, *Histoire de la vie et du culte de Ste. Jeanne de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1895), Italian translation by Alberto Picciolo, Alberto (Rome: Tipografia Failli, 1896); Joachim Smet, *Cloistered Carmel: A Brief History of the Carmelite Nuns* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1986), 14-15; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 88-89; Sheppard, *The English Carmelites*, 39, 79; *Book of Saints*, 293. The earliest known Carmelite anchorite, Franco Lippi (d. 1291), was admitted as a lay-brother [Smet, *The Carmelites*, 27; *Book of Saints*, 227].

The Carmelite Order had no nuns in pre-Reformation England, and Carmelite sisterhoods of enclosed women were not formally approved by the papacy until the bull *Cum Nulla* in 1452.²⁷³ This did not mean, however, that Carmelite spirituality had no appeal to women in medieval England. In the opening chapter we explored Margery Kempe's links to Carmel, and saw how some lay people were affiliated to the family of the Order by letters of confraternity.²⁷⁴ Joan of Toulouse demonstrates that female solitaries were recognised as members of the Order's broader *confraternitas*, living according to the direction of Carmelite friars and possibly living some version of their *Rule* and *Constitutions*.²⁷⁵ Richard Rolle himself followed no established guide or rule of living that we know of, but Richard Misyn transformed Rolle's autobiographical mysticism into a model or 'rewl of lyfyng' [105/6-7] for Margaret Heslyngton, dealing with the interior life rather than external regulations.²⁷⁶ Misyn's translation might even be seen as extending some kind of 'honorary membership' of the Carmelite Order to the Walmgate anchorite with whom he evidently had a spiritual bond.

We know that recluses contemporary with Margaret Heslyngton lived under the spiritual direction of Carmelite friars. As we will discuss in the following chapter, Emma Stapleton lived as some kind of Carmelite anchorite at the Whitefriars' convent in Norwich from 1421 until her burial in the Order's chapel in 1442.²⁷⁷ The Norwich Carmelite Priory was somewhat unusual in incorporating not only the friary, but also separate hermitages or anchorites' cells – probably one for a man and one for a woman – used throughout the fifteenth century. References to 'the ankyr at Wyght Freres' are found in wills and records as late as 1510.²⁷⁸

²⁷³ David Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1940), 53-54; Keith J. Egan, 'The Spirituality of the Carmelites', in Jill Raitt (ed.), *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 50-62 [56]; Smet, *The Carmelites*, 89-90; Smet, *Cloistered Carmel*, 7-18; Emanuele Boaga, *Le Carmelitane in Italia: Origini e sviluppi, vita e spiritualità* (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2015).

²⁷⁴ Copesey, *Early Carmelite Documents*, 219; Smet, *Cloistered Carmel*, 11; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 270.

²⁷⁵ That is, 'added to the fraternity', in a variety of possible ways; Smet, *Cloistered Carmel*, 10-11. For a broader consideration see: 'The Status of Women in Religious Life, Semi-Religious Life and Heresy in the Era of St. Elizabeth' in Kasper Elm, *Religious Life between Jerusalem, the Desert, and the World: Selected Essays by Kaspar Elm* (trans.) James D. Mixson, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*, 180 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

²⁷⁶ Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 62.

²⁷⁷ Recorded by Bale, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 51v.; London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 197v; Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 137; Smet, *Cloistered Carmel*, 17; Edward L. Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages* (London: Alexander Moring Limited, 1911), 129; John Ashdown-Hill, *Whitefriars: The Priory of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Norwich* (undated privately printed booklet, Carmelite Provincial Library, Aylesford Priory, C271.73 0942/NOR), 5, 13; Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 213; Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, 184. On Stapleton see: Johan Bergström-Allen, 'The Whitefriars Return to Carmel' in Liz Herbert McAvoy, Mari Hughes-Edwards (eds.), *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), 77-91 [84-5]; Johan Bergström-Allen, 'Prophetic Power: the relationship between Carmelite Friars and Anchorites in medieval East Anglia' (unpublished presentation); Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 213.

²⁷⁸ Cutts [*Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, 129] says that there are records of legacies given to the anchor at the house as late as 1494, but they go beyond this. As Richard Copesey points out: 'Blomefield [420-1] claims that there were



The ruins of Emma Stapleton's anchor cell at the site of the Norwich Whitefriars (photographed 2006).

Carmelite women recluses in England seemingly made some form of profession of vows before the Prior Provincial of the Order. As Provincial between 1414 and 1430, Thomas Netter – who in the 1420s described anchorites as the contemplative heart of the Church²⁷⁹ – is recorded by John Bale in the following century as having ‘veiled’ Emma Stapleton and various other women in East Anglia linked to the Carmelites.²⁸⁰ Some recluses are known to have lived alongside Carmelite friars during

two anchorite's cells, one for a man and the other for a woman. The latter was under the chapel of the Holy Cross, which is still standing [1805] although converted into dwelling houses. The former stood by St. Martin's bridge, on the east side of the street, and a small garden belonging to it adjoined the river.' [Richard Copsey, *The Medieval Carmelite Priory at Norwich* (private printing, 2000), 42]. The suggestion of two cells – the chamber under the Holy Cross Chapel being reserved for women – is reiterated by Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 77, 163 *et seq.* The archway of the ‘female’ anchorite's cell still stands by the River Wensum. I am grateful to the companies now present at St. James' Quay in Norwich for their permission to visit the remains of the friary and cell.

²⁷⁹ *Doctrinale*, 2.2.14: ‘ut quibusdam accessit affectio contemplandi et facti sunt corda ecclesiae ut sunt sanctissimi An[a]choritae’, translated as ‘the love of contemplation in some people turns them into the heart of the Church, as are the most holy anchorites’ by Kevin Alban, ‘Thomas Netter on Contemplation in the *Doctrinale*’, in Giovanni Grosso, Wilmar Santin (eds.), *Memoriam Fecit Mirabilium Dei: Scritti in onore di Emanuele Boaga, O.Carm.*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana 31 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2009), 513-32 [514].

²⁸⁰ Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 93; McCaffrey, *The White Friars*, 87. Bale listed anchorites influenced by Netter and the Order [Ms. Bodley 73; Bale, *Scriptorum*, I, 565; *Heliades*, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 37a]. On Netter's support of eremitic life, see: Alban, ‘The Letters of Thomas Netter’, 370 ff.; *idem*, ‘Thomas Netter: Pushing Back the

Netter's provincialate, even if we do not know of any contact between them and him.²⁸¹ If there was a formal bond between Margaret Heslyngton and the Carmelite Order, Thomas Netter or a delegate may well have received her 'profession' as a solitary. This might account for why Heslyngton does not feature in the York diocesan register when normally an enquiry into the solitary's life and proposed enclosure required episcopal approval and was recorded in the bishop's register.²⁸² However, 'Carmelite' anchorites were presumably exempt from the usual episcopal control, and friars would probably carry out vocational discernment and spiritual formation themselves.²⁸³ Misyn's provision of texts and Heslyngton's response to them may have formed part of this process. Carmelite intervention in the enclosure of anchorites seems even more likely given the evidence that at least one Carmelite bishop, Thomas Scrope, conducted such ceremonies.²⁸⁴ It is even possible that another Carmelite bishop, Robert Mascall, composed a rite of enclosure that was used by Henry Chichele when Archbishop of Canterbury.²⁸⁵

Boundaries of Affiliation in the Carmelite Order', *Carmelus*, 61 (2014), 9-29. The significance of the veil is linked to the social status and canonical rank signified by clothing in medieval society. It was not until the Council of Trent and Pius V's *Circa Pastoralis* (1566) that increasing concerns regarding women's dress were resolved, since the Church wished to distinguish nuns who were to wear veils from other women (tertiaries, vowesses, etc.) who then had to exchange veils for hoods or bonnets. In private correspondence Mari Hughes-Edwards has informed me that by the fifteenth century it was not common for anchorites to be given a veil; therefore perhaps the reference to a veil in the case of Stapleton is indicative that she had the status of a *mantellate* (cloak-wearer) within the Order. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the white cloak of the Order was one of the principle signs of Carmelite identity (hence *Whitefriars*). On *mantellate* as among the prototype nuns of the Carmelite Order, see: Patrick McMahon, 'Laity in Carmel before *Cum Nulla*: The experience of the Florentine Carmelite *Pinzocheri*', in Johan Bergström-Allen (ed.), *Relocating Carmel in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Carmel in Britain 5 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, forthcoming). Liz Herbert McAvoy has published research on another anchorite called Emma Stapleton who occupied an anchorhold near Shrewsbury in 1296, and who wore the Franciscan habit: see Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space and the Solitary Life* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), 159-62.

²⁸¹ On 13th June 1426 Alice Wakeleyn, who had lived as a recluse in the Carmelite priory at Northampton, died. Significantly, she was buried in the Carmelite habit. Margaret Hawteyn likewise lived as a recluse there, dying in an unknown year. These women are noted by John Bale [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. i^v, 136; Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 37; *Catalogus*, vol 1, 565], and included in Copsey's *Chronology* of the house.

²⁸² Francis Darwin, *The English Mediaeval Recluse* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1944), 49. The usual requirement for an anchorite to have episcopal approval is asserted by the canon lawyer William Lyndwood, *Provinciale (seu Constitutiones Angliae)* (Oxford, 1679), iii.20.2 at 214-15, as pointed out by Jones, 'Hermits and Anchorites in Historical Context', 9.

²⁸³ Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, 123. Debates at the ecumenical councils of the period show that the exemption of certain orders from episcopal control was a frequent cause of complaint for some bishops.

²⁸⁴ As discussed in the next chapter, Scrope possessed a manuscript which included an *Ordo ad includendum hominem vel feminam*, intended for use by a bishop (Ms. Harley 211, fo. 167-169v.).

²⁸⁵ This rite of enclosing anchorites, with a Mass of the Holy Trinity written by a Doctor of Theology and bishop, is included in pontificals belonging to Archbishop Chichele. After consultation with me, Dr. Eddie Jones considers that the authorial attribution could be to Robert Mascall. Among Mascall's letters is one dated 21st October 1411 authorising the Archdeacon of Salop to conduct an anchoritic enclosure ceremony for Margaret Shardlowe; see Copsey, *Biographical Register*.



Early fifteenth-century illumination showing the enclosure of an anchorite by a bishop.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 79, fo. 96 (with detail), a Pontifical setting out episcopal liturgies, including an *Ordo ad recludendum reclusum* (fo. 96-98).

Enclosure within a Carmelite context allowed a female anchorite to live a reclusive life but also meant the Whitefriars could monitor her religious sentiment. It was far easier for the Carmelite brothers to regulate the spiritual activities of Emma Stapleton and Margaret Heslyngton, for example, than it was to control a ‘freelance religious mystic’ like Margery Kempe.²⁸⁶

Possible exemption from the normal episcopal supervision did not mean that Emma Stapleton was not scrutinised by Church authorities; far from it. The Prior Provincial Thomas Netter appointed the most able Carmelite friars as counsellors to women anchorites; in the case of Emma Stapleton none less than the Carmelite Prior of Norwich William Thorpe, the sub-prior Bartholomew Acton, and three other members of the convent – Adam Hemlyngton, Adam Hobbes and John Thorpe – probably all of whom were Doctors of Theology, some being writers of known theological and philosophical texts.²⁸⁷ It is possible that Emma Stapleton was assigned no less than five Carmelite counsellors

²⁸⁶ Margaret Gallyon, *Margery Kempe of Lynn and Medieval England* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1995), 132.

²⁸⁷ Bale, *Scriptorium*, I, 565; Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 66 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 63; Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 137. The prior, William Thorpe (not to be confused with a Lollard of the same name), was an Oxford graduate and Doctor of Theology who attended the Councils of Pavia-Siena and Florence [see: Copey,

because of doubts about her orthodoxy; though anchorites were generally renowned for their orthodoxy, recluses with Lollard sympathies were not unheard of.²⁸⁸ Contrariwise, the considerable number of academic Carmelite counsellors assigned to Emma Stapleton could be an indicator of her intellectual abilities and her spiritual maturity. Ann Warren suggests that the generous provision of counsellors was probably because of her high social status: Emma Stapleton ‘must have been considered a person of some consequence because she was placed under the spiritual guidance of one of their more learned friars, a man named Adam Hemlyngton who had received a doctorate in theology from Oxford’.²⁸⁹ Hemlyngton was an academic writer, and at one time Master of the Carmelite School of Theology at Paris.²⁹⁰ Tellingly, in 1414 Hemlyngton and Prior William Thorpe had attended an enquiry into the spread of heresy held by the Congregation of the University of Oxford.²⁹¹ Another of Stapleton’s Carmelite counsellors, John Thorpe, was likewise highly active in Lollard trials and was probably also connected to the Arundel Circle.²⁹² Thorpe’s skill in disputation led John Bale to dub him *doctor ingeniosus*, noting that Thorpe ‘did not hesitate to rebuke even prelates for their vices and errors’.²⁹³ As Eddie Jones observes, ‘Stapleton was a member of the spiritual as well as the material aristocracy of late medieval England. It would not be surprising if, when the daughter of Sir Miles Stapleton announced her vocation to the solitary life, her case was treated with more than the usual attentiveness’.²⁹⁴ Whatever the reason(s) for the high number of

Biographical Register]. Hemlyngton and Thorpe are discussed further in the paragraph above. Other than their supervision of Emma Stapleton, nothing more of Bartholomew Acton or Adam Hobbes is noted by Richard Copsey in his *Biographical Register*.

²⁸⁸ Watson, ‘The Composition of Julian of Norwich’s Revelation of Love’, 666; Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 79-80.

²⁸⁹ Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 213; Bale, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 89v, 186v.

²⁹⁰ On Hemlyngton see: Copsey, *Biographical Register*; Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, 906; Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), Entry 23, 16; Benedict Zimmerman, *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, I (Lérins: Ex typis abbatiae, 1905-07), 407; Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, 191.

²⁹¹ The inquisition was also attended by the Carmelite Thomas Watlyngton. See: M. Archer (ed.), *The Register of Bishop Philip Repingdon, 1405-1419*, Lincoln Record Society, Volumes 57, 58, 74 (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1963-82), fo. 151v; H. Salter (ed.), *Snappe’s Formulary and Other Records*, Oxford Historical Society, 80 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 184.

²⁹² Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 213; Copsey, *Biographical Register*. John Thorpe is listed among the scholarly clerics who took part in the trials in 1428 of John Wardon and Margery Baxter: see ‘Heresy Trials’ in J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey, Fiona Somerset (eds. and trans.), *Wycliffite Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2013), 319-66 [327]. In 1430 Thorpe assisted at the Norwich heresy trials of Robert Cavel, William Bate, Edmund Archer, and John Pert.

²⁹³ Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 51v; Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 98; translated by Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

²⁹⁴ E. A. Jones, ‘“Vae Soli”: Solitaries and Pastoral Care’, in Cate Gunn, Catherine Innes-Parker (eds.), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 11-28 [14]. In this article, Jones goes on to consider what the ‘usual attentiveness’ to the matter of a solitary’s pastoral care in medieval England might have been. On the pastoral care of Stapleton see also: E. A. Jones, ‘Anchoritic Aspects of Julian of Norwich’, in Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 75-87 [85-86].

academics assigned to Emma Stapleton's pastoral care, she is further proof that the Carmelites put considerable resources into supporting and supervising those with ambitions in the spiritual life.

Emma Stapleton's example suggests that the role of spiritual guide for anchorites was reserved for senior members of the Carmelite Order. This was certainly true of Margaret Heslyngton and Prior Misyn. The reason for the allocation of high-born female anchorites to the supervision of senior clergy may have been intellectual as much as social; as Vincent Gillespie has pointed out, in the fifteenth century a number of high ranking vowesses were associated with spiritual centres and movements (such as Syon Abbey) and were the owners of vernacular religious texts.²⁹⁵

Like many anchorites, Dame Emma was indeed a 'person of consequence', being the daughter of Sir Miles Stapleton of Bedale and Ingham.²⁹⁶ Sir Miles had died in 1419, two years before Emma's entry into the Carmelite cell, which suggests there may have been an element of social protection in her immurement.²⁹⁷ Sir Miles was part of a rich and influential family in Norfolk and Yorkshire, and a patron of book production.²⁹⁸ He had been in close contact with the anchorite Julian of Norwich, as executor of a will that had benefited her. Whilst it is probably an overstatement to say that Dame Emma was 'Julian's follower',²⁹⁹ it seems feasible that Emma (like Margery Kempe) knew of Julian. Norwich had more recluses than any other city in England in the middle years of the fifteenth century, and it would not be a geographical fallacy to suggest that the Carmelites directing Emma would have been well aware of the anchoritic movement in the city.³⁰⁰

The fact that women anchorites such as Emma Stapleton were immured within the boundaries of a Carmelite friary suggests that they were valued additions to the meditating community, and not only

²⁹⁵ Vincent Gillespie, 'The haunted text: Reflections in *The Mirror to Deuout People*', in Graham D. Caie, Denis Renevey (eds.), *Medieval Texts in Context* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 136-66.

²⁹⁶ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 21. On the family's ancestry see: Caroline Shenton, 'Stapleton, Sir Miles, of Bedale (1320?-1364)', *ODNB*; Henry Edward Chetwynd-Stapylton, *Chronicles of the Yorkshire Family of Stapleton* (London: Bradbury, Agnew and Company, 1884); Henry Edward Chetwynd-Stapylton, *The Stapeltons of Yorkshire: Being the History of an English Family from Very Early Times* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1897).

²⁹⁷ It is also striking that Emma was installed in her cell on 1st April 1421, and died there on 2nd December 1422, meaning that she was resident for less than two years. We cannot know whether this is coincidental, or whether it reflects either her own state of health, or the rigorous environment of an anchorhold.

²⁹⁸ Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 209 ff; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 32, 89. Sir John Stapleton, son and heir of Joan and Sir Miles Stapleton, became a member of the York Guild of Corpus Christi in 1455, shortly before Richard Misyn. Another member of the Stapleton family, Agnes, left contemplative texts to religious houses in her will, including *The Chastising of God's Children*, a Psalter, a primer, *Stimulus Amoris*, and *The Prick of Conscience* [Bazire and Colledge, 38]. On the Stapleton family and book production see: Samuel Moore, 'Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk, c. 1450', *PMLA* [*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*], 27 (1912), 188-207 [particularly 196-202], 28 (1913), 79-105; Richard Beadle, 'Prolegomena to a Literary Geography of Later Medieval Norfolk', in Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of 'A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English'* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 89-108 [105-06].

²⁹⁹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 213.

³⁰⁰ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 90; Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 214. Additionally on the Church in medieval Norwich, see the following chapter of this thesis.

because of the possible financial benefits of supporting aristocratic women.³⁰¹ The relationship between female anchorites and Carmelites was symbiotic; the Whitefriars provided the recluse with spiritual direction, and she sustained them by adding to the Order's 'spiritual treasury' of grace by her life of prayer. Both friars and anchorite relied upon the generosity of benefactors for physical sustenance. Towns afforded more support for the recluse than rural communities,³⁰² and anchorites sought support for their spiritual deserts in the urban environment, just as the friars had done. As monastic orders declined in England from the fourteenth century, the contemplatives in the cities – friars and anchorites – became more popular.³⁰³ Even when Carmelite friar communities declined in the fifteenth century, Carmelite anchorites flourished.

Women such as Emma Stapleton and Margaret Heslyngton seem to contradict the general truth that 'English solitaries often had no links to established religious orders or specific monasteries'.³⁰⁴ It is also possible that such relationships – in an era shortly preceding the formal incorporation of nuns into the Carmelite Order – were prototypes for an organised form of female religious life within Carmel.³⁰⁵ Even after the development of Carmelite nuns and tertiaries, female anchorites continued to live alongside friaries on the Continent.³⁰⁶

A notable feature of the link between the Order and recluses is that anchorites seem to have been guided by Carmelite friars in academic centres where the Order had *studia*: Joan at Toulouse, Stapleton at Norwich, and Heslyngton at York. Anchorites also seem to have been important at Cambridge, Oxford, and York, for academic, social or religious reasons.³⁰⁷ The academic milieu of mendicant *studia* seems to have intellectually and spiritually nurtured anchorites with literature. The literature Whitefriars produced for anchorites exemplifies how eremitism was perceived as an

³⁰¹ For a comparison with 'Anchoresses near Dominican Priors' see: Rotha Mary Clay, 'Some Northern Anchorites – with a Note on Enclosed Dominicans', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 33 (1955), 202-17 [213 ff.].

³⁰² Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 39.

³⁰³ Gilchrist, *Contemplation*, 208.

³⁰⁴ Nuth, *God's Lovers in an Age of Anxiety*, 19.

³⁰⁵ Rotha Mary Clay observes that 'When a woman was occasionally attached to the Friars Preachers, she was not a Dominican. Indeed, the constitution (circa 1358-63) prohibited the veiling and profession of women' ['Some Northern Anchorites', 213]. However, the situation with the Carmelites is less clear and merits further study. As noted above, the phrase 'giving the veil', and burials of anchorites in the Carmelite habit, suggest some sort of formal incorporation into the Carmelite Family.

³⁰⁶ A notable example is Maria Petyt (d. 1677) who had a strong relationship with the Carmelite friars in the Low Countries, especially Michael of Saint-Augustine. Maria was enclosed at the Carmelite church in Mechelen. See: Titus Brandsma, 'Maria Petyt', in *In Search of Living Water: Essays on the Mystical Heritage of The Netherlands* (trans.) Joachim Smet (ed.) Jos Huls, Fiery Arrow 10 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 361-73; Michael van Meerbeeck, 'Daily Life at the Hermitage in Mechelen at the Time of Maria Petyt (1657-1677)', in Joseph Chalmers, Elisabeth Hense, Veronic Meeuwssen, Esther van de Vate (eds.), *Maria Petyt: A Carmelite Mystic in Wartime*, Radboud Studies in Humanities 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 53-66.

³⁰⁷ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 113.

essential quality of Carmelite spirituality, of which anchorites (and eventually nuns) were among the inheritors.³⁰⁸

The significance of Richard Misyn's translations as tools of theological encouragement and control becomes more apparent in this anchoritic climate of late medieval England. Though the solitary life of the friars was continually under threat from apostolic demands and mitigations of their original way of life, Richard Misyn was keen to instruct another – outside of the convent, but perhaps within the Order's circles of confraternity – of the benefits of solitary life. Encouraging the anchoritic way of life in another person allowed Prior Richard Misyn to live eremitic spirituality by proxy. Misyn perhaps perceived in Heslyngton some imitation of the heroism and holiness of the early hermits of Carmel. It was something he was keen to encourage, but which he also knew was potentially misconstrued. Their relationship is a classic example of how 'the popularity of the solitary life in England gave rise to a significant body of literature written to aid its practitioners, particularly anchoresses'.³⁰⁹

There is no evidence that the original *Incendium Amoris* was ever targeted at women – Rolle's writing in Latin would seem to preclude this (and most of the general Christian populace he professes to be writing for).³¹⁰ Nevertheless, the text was eminently suitable for women anchorites, given its echoes with the ritual of enclosure. Richard Rolle's repetitive insistence in the *Incendium Amoris* on the need to die to the world, and the desirability of death, would have special resonance for Margaret Heslyngton, whose immurement ceremony would probably have echoed the funeral rite.³¹¹ Modern readers might expect Rolle's misogyny to have dissuaded women from reading his *Incendium Amoris*, but Misyn's translation of it into English at a woman's request helped to disempower the language of patriarchal authority and rendered it a more gynocentric text. Just as women could 'socialise Rolle into writing his vernacular epistles, whose spirituality obliges the elusive and eccentric solitary to discover his own capacity for teaching in English',³¹² so Misyn's translation effectively 'feminised' the *Incendium Amoris*, and vastly widened its readership to include women.³¹³ In this way, Richard Misyn greatly encouraged lay readers to explore theology more deeply.

³⁰⁸ 'Carmelite Solitaries' in Peter F. Anson, *The Quest of Solitude* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1932), 140-58.

³⁰⁹ Nuth, *God's Lovers in an Age of Anxiety*, 19.

³¹⁰ The *Incendium* was addressed to 'bredyr' [33/27, 37/26].

³¹¹ The rite is discussed in Crampton's edition of *The Shewings of Julian of Norwich*, 9; Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, Appendix A.

³¹² Riddy, 'Women talking about the things of God', 107.

³¹³ On gender, anchoritism, and devotional literature, see: Elizabeth Ann Robertson, *Early English Devotional Prose and the Female Audience* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Anne Clark Bartlett, *Male Authors, Female Readers: Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); McAvoy, Hughes-Edwards, *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages*. On clerical authors of pastoral literature for women see: Beth Allison Barr, *The Pastoral Care of Women in Late*

Contemplative spirituality beyond the convent – challenges to society

Richard Misyn's translations of the *Emendatio Vitae* and the *Incendium Amoris* can best be seen in the light of the Carmelite desire to make contemplative and eremitical spirituality available to audiences outside the convents and universities. The text Misyn chose to translate appealed to those not schooled professionally. Although Rolle's thought is not strictly anti-intellectual (he wrote for a Latinate audience), his *Incendium Amoris* makes strong criticism of 'disputacion vnprofetabill' [13/19-20] such as might be found in the schools of Oxford which he had abandoned.³¹⁴ Rolle's statement that 'an olde wyfe of goddis lufe is more expert, and les of warldly likynge, þen þe grete devin, whos stody is vayne' [13/26-7] is closely translated by Misyn, himself a scholar writing for a woman's benefit. Misyn's translation can be taken as evidence that he, like Rolle, did not consider it possible for the contemplative to be taught by those 'bolnyd with foldyn Argumentis' [74/25] in the schools. Just as Richard Rolle addressed his *Incendium Amoris* to the 'non philosophis, non mundi sapientibus, non magnis theologis infinitis quescionibus implicatis, sed rudibus et indoctis',³¹⁵ so Richard Misyn wrote his *Fyer of lufe* translation for 'all redars' [1/11], and 'for edificacyon of many saules' [1/6]. In this way, Misyn's prologue can be seen as mimicking Rolle's literary mission to extend contemplative spirituality beyond its usual boundaries. It may be that another form of mimicry is implied in Misyn's offering of 'edificacyon of many saules'. Misyn may have been aware of the rhetoric of 'edification' used by Lollards and reformists in texts such as *The Holi Prophete David Seith*, produced between the 1380s and 1420s probably in the East Midlands where Misyn lived. *The Holi Prophete David Seith* advocated the reading of the Bible in the vernacular so that people could speak of it 'to the edificacion of othere men', learning just enough for their own salvation and for 'edificacion to othere mennes' souls.³¹⁶

Rolle's criticism of prelates and scholars was dangerous to promote after Arundel's *Constitutions*. Like the Carmelites who continually fought to justify their existence, Rolle's 'self-authorization' justified his experiences and teachings, independent of the Church hierarchy. Misyn was interested in

Medieval England (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008). The editors of *The Idea of the Vernacular* discuss the 'possible connection between the vernacular and the feminine/female', and the fact that 'the vernacular may have the potential to feminize its male audience by aligning them with non-Latin-literate women' [Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 121-22].

³¹⁴ Nuth, *God's Lovers in an Age of Anxiety*, 23; Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 38.

³¹⁵ Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 147; Translated by Wolters [Rolle, *The Fire of Love* (ed. and trans.) Wolters, 46] as follows: 'I offer, therefore, this book for the attention, not of the philosophers and sages of this world, not of great theologians bogged down in their interminable questionings, but of the simple and unlearned, who are seeking rather to love God than to amass knowledge'.

³¹⁶ Quoted in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 150, lines 11-12, 27-28. Nicholas Love may similarly have thought of Lollard polemic when using the notion of 'edificacion' more than once in his prologue to *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (quoted in *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 253, lines 12, 16). For other instances of the word see the glossary in *The Idea of the Vernacular*.

Rolle's independence of thought, but the danger of translating such texts was that they encouraged independence in others. When translating Rolle's statement 'þat lufer[s] of endles lufe of þer inward maister myȝt be taght to speek better þen þai of men taght' [74/26-8], Misyn must have been conscious that the notion of directly-inspired inner teaching, free from Church control, was of serious concern to many fifteenth-century theologians, keen to practise *probatio* and *discretio* on the experiences of independent female laity and religious.

Richard Misyn seems to have perceived reading and meditating upon holy books as a means of regulating Margaret Heslyngton's autonomy and shielding her from error. The *Fyer of lufe* states that 'it is full gude truly to despisyng of þis world, desyre of þe heuenly kyngdome [and] desyre of cristis lufe, and to þe hatynge of syn, bisy redinge or holy bokis behaldynge' [70/23-6].³¹⁷ However, Rolle points out that contemplative experiences are not to be described in any 'docturs writynge' [72/17]. This distinction between devotional and scholastic books had implications for Carmelite vernacular writers in England, all of whom we have noted had impeccable academic credentials. We see in Misyn's translation of Rolle an educated Carmelite's turning away from 'docturs writynge' towards a more personal, private, and sensory spirituality; an embrace of not only the vernacular language but also a more vernacular form of piety.

Richard Rolle's abandonment of his studies in pursuit of a rural eremitic life is the antithesis of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel who deliberately twice mitigated their life of solitude in order to immerse themselves in the towns and universities of Europe. Rolle's mockery of the vain scholar who is 'a foyle, and not wis' [13/29] is one of several instances in the *Fyer of lufe* where the text might be seen as subverting Misyn's own position as a Carmelite lecturer and challenging the social order of the day. Rolle – a layman to whose authority and holiness Misyn submits in his prologue – is also critical of the pretensions of Church dignitaries 'glad in byschoppys aray' [22/32]. Rolle states that prelates rank lower in the Church than solitary contemplatives, the former being 'siluer' and the latter 'gold' [49/2, 4]. Whilst Rolle's hierarchical ordering of the spiritual life is not unconventional, it is nevertheless radical in its implications.³¹⁸ It elevates the solitary, such as Margaret Heslyngton, above senior clergy, such as Richard Misyn. Furthermore, by translating Rolle at Heslyngton's request, Misyn essentially became her clerk. Heslyngton must have been a powerful patron to commission a text from such a high-ranking cleric, and shows that not only

³¹⁷ Cf. advice on holy reading in the prologue to the *Mirror of Our Lady*, Book II: Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 261-63.

³¹⁸ Watson, *Richard Rolle*, 7-18.

Carthusians had links with ‘the posh and powerful’.³¹⁹ Margaret Heslyngton was one of a growing number of fifteenth-century laypersons who could commission written spiritual direction from the cleric of their choosing.³²⁰ Felicity Riddy is surely right that ‘we should not assume that women were merely passive recipients of books, or that they could not have taken the initiative in the process of translating from Latin into the vernacular ... In the relation between the male clerks and their women readers it must often have been difficult to tell who followed and who led.’³²¹ The opening sentence of Misyn’s prologue suggests that Heslyngton played a dynamic role in obtaining the translation of the *Incendium Amoris*. Richard Misyn’s respect for Margaret Heslyngton is evident, and there is nothing to suggest that the two did not enjoy a mutually beneficial relationship.

Carmelite promotion of Rolle in a Yorkshire context

Finally, as well as recognising that Richard Misyn wrote within the context of growing interest in Carmelite and anchoritic eremitism, we must see his translations of Richard Rolle in the context of a spiritual and literary movement in the north of England. As Jonathan Hughes states, ‘most of the devotional works which were copied and circulated throughout England in the fifteenth century were originally composed or translated by men who lived and worked in the area administered by the archbishop of York’.³²² Whilst Misyn’s *Fyer of lufe* was written in Lincoln, York was the place where the text was read and where the relationship between writer and recipient was first nurtured. That city’s environment – and the wider literary and bibliographic culture of late medieval Yorkshire – must thus have been hugely influential during Misyn’s formation, and on his efforts to mobilise and manage vernacular theological speculation.³²³

We have already noted that during the friar’s studies the clergy of York were notable for their book-owning and producing activities. The Minster was not only a cathedral but also a pilgrimage site and ecclesiastical training centre where prayer and learning flourished. The clerks, many of them members of Thomas Arundel’s circle, continued a pastoral programme in the Diocese of York that

³¹⁹ Ralph Hanna, ‘Augustinian Canons and Middle English Literature’, in A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, Ralph Hanna (eds.), *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London: British Library, 2000), 27-42 [27].

³²⁰ Cf. Edmund Leversedge’s text, which ‘witnesses to lay selectivity in the choice of parochial clergy to approach for advice over spiritual matters’: Gillespie, ‘Dial M for Mystic’, 248.

³²¹ Riddy, ‘Women talking about the things of God’, 107. On male clerics writing for women see: George R. Keiser, ‘Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth-Century England: Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, Symon Wynter, and Beineke Ms. 317’, *Yale University Library Gazette*, 60 (1985), 32-46; Veronica O’Mara, Virginia Blanton, Patricia Stoop (eds.), *Nuns’ Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Hull Dialogue*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts Series (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

³²² Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 1.

³²³ For the broader context within the county see: Ralph Hanna, ‘Some North Yorkshire scribes and their context’, in Graham D. Caie, Denis Renevey (eds.), *Medieval Texts in Context* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 167-91.

had been initiated by Archbishop Thoresby.³²⁴ Integral to the programme was the provision of instructive texts and pastoral manuals, such as John Burgh's *Pupilla oculi* ('Pupil of the Eye').³²⁵ Leading nobility and clergy in the Diocese of York also owned and distributed copies of Rolle's writing, and were instrumental in the promotion of his cult.³²⁶

That Richard Misyn should have been interested in producing a version of Richard Rolle's most popular works is not astonishing since 'friars were among the most assiduous of medieval literary popularizers and translators'.³²⁷ It is even less surprising when seen in the religious and literary climate of early fifteenth-century York. Misyn's rendering of Rolle in the vernacular had at least the potential of making Rolle even more widely read, and not only supported the Carmelite anchoritic movement but also contributed to the corpus of pastoral and Rollean texts in Yorkshire.³²⁸

Pastorally, Richard Misyn's translation ostensibly functioned as a penitential aid. Misyn's prologue tells us that Margaret Heslyngton requested the translation 'couetyng a-sethe to make' [1/2], that is, she wished to use the translation in preparation for confession or to make amends for her misdeeds, perhaps not unlike readers of Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*.³²⁹ Misyn's *Fyer*

³²⁴ It is interesting that the 'Arundel circle' seems keen to have promoted translations of religious texts as a way of promoting orthodoxy. By contrast, in the prologue to his translation of the *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, the Augustinian Osbern Bokenham articulates a (probably mock) concern that his fellow Cambridge graduates will consider his translation to be unlearned [quoted in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 65, 70].

³²⁵ Joseph Goering, 'Burgh, John (fl. 1370–1398)', *ODNB*. This text, composed sometime between 1380–85, was an adaptation of William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* (1320–23), itself influenced by the Peckham *Constitutions* of 1281. There is no modern edition of the *Pupilla oculi*, but the edition printed by Hopyl in London in 1510 can be read via *Early English Books Online (EEBO)*: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>.

³²⁶ Details about the York province come from a variety of studies: Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, *passim* (especially 192 ff.); Dobson, 'The Residentiary Canons'; Gillespie, 'Cura Pastoralis', 180; Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, vii–viii; Wogan-Browne *et al*, 336; Denis Renevey, 'Looking for a context: Rolle, anchoritic culture, and the Office of the Dead', in Graham D. Caie, Denis Renevey (eds.), *Medieval Texts in Context* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 192–210 [esp. 206–07].

³²⁷ Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', 350.

³²⁸ Archbishop Booth and a suffragan granted an indulgence to readers of the *Incendium* in a Carthusian manuscript: Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 8–9; Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians', 233. Whilst Deanesly [*The Incendium Amoris*, 8, 89] identifies this 'Suffraganeus Ebor' as John, bishop of Philippopolis, a suffragan from 1446–58, I do not see why 'Suffraganeus' could not equally refer to Misyn, acting in the same capacity during the same period, a number of years after having translated the *Incendium* himself.

³²⁹ 'a-sethe' or 'assethe' derives from the Old English *sæd* or Old French *assez*, and means reconciliation, fulfilment, satisfaction, reparation, amends. It is found in contemporary vernacular texts such as the *Wycliffite Bible*, Mirk's *Festial*, Hoccleve's *Series*, and Margery Kempe's *Book*. See: *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954), Volume 1 A–B, 449–50. The *Middle English Dictionary* cites as an example of the word 'assethe' its use in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* in which a protagonist 'Gret repentaunce he hadde / And made psalmis off gret contricion / To make a-seeth for his transgressioun'. At the 2012 International Medieval Congress in Leeds, Mishtooni Bose presented a paper in which she claimed that the word 'asseeth' was used by Hoccleve in his *Series* as a call for sinners to return to the Church by means of the sacrament of confession, and part of Hoccleve's avowedly anti-Lollard rhetoric. Derek Pearsall too has argued that Hoccleve used the word to promote an 'orthodox' notion of confession. On Hoccleve's promotion of orthodoxy through vernacular poetry, see: Gillespie, *Chichele's Church*, 38–41. It is interesting to note a scenario in Germany somewhat comparable to Misyn and Heslyngton: in 1510 an anonymous Carmelite friar wrote *Peycht Spiegel des sünders*, a vernacular manual on confession, requested by pious laymen in Nuremberg. See: Thomas N. Tentler, 'The Summa for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control', in Charles Trinkaus, Heiko A. Oberman (eds.), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion: Papers from the University of Michigan Conference*, Studies in

of lufe can be seen as one of a number of fifteenth-century texts that taught readers in York ‘how to integrate their personal meditations with social responsibilities, conformity to the sacraments of the church, especially to compulsory annual confession, and the performance of penitential satisfaction’.³³⁰ Following attacks on sacramental confession by Wyclif and his followers, Misyn’s translation asserted orthodoxy by responding to a direct request for help in making ‘a-sethe’.

In their pastoral concern York clergy saw in Richard Rolle’s theology much that was spiritually beneficial. On the other hand, the combination of satire, autobiography, polemic, social commentary, gospel analysis, and personal accounts of mystical experiences in the *Incendium Amoris* made interpretation of his work difficult to control. Archbishop Thomas Arundel and his successors perceived the potential dangers of the ‘enthusiasm’ of the Rolle cult, and the burgeoning eremitic movement.³³¹ They were keen to distinguish ‘between the genuine piety of recluses ... and either irresponsible emotional enthusiasm, or the heretical beliefs of the Lollards’.³³² We have already noted Richard Misyn’s concerns over accusations of heresy. His translation also reveals concern about Rolle’s more extreme language and imagery. In her study of the Amherst manuscript, Marleen Cré shows that although Misyn largely kept his stated promise not to alter the text, he shared contemporary concerns about Rolle’s theology. For example, Misyn occasionally added to the text to clarify Rolle’s meaning in English, and subtly curbed the more excessive aspects of Rolle’s language by removing some superlatives.³³³ In these ways the Carmelite sought to influence and guide his readership.

Despite these changes, Misyn largely admired his *auctour* and deemed Rolle’s theology to be beneficial for Heslyngton and others. Though the *Incendium*’s discussions of *calor* (heat), *dulcor* (sweetness), and *canor* (spiritual song) are more than a little indebted to the affective piety of mendicants,³³⁴ Rolle’s passionate and zealous tone never becomes too intemperate or extremist. Rolle’s idiosyncratic brand of piety combines the affective with more sophisticated and scholastic

Medieval and Reformation Thought 10 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 103-26 [125]; Ronald K. Rittgers, ‘Embracing the ‘True Relic’ of Christ: Suffering, Penance, and Private Confession in the Thought of Martin Luther’, in Abigail Firey (ed.), *A New History of Penance*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 377-94 [379-80].

³³⁰ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 2. On penitential piety in the north, see: Hughes, *The Religious Life of Richard III*. For a broader consideration of the care of women’s souls in this period, see: Beth Allison Barr, *The Pastoral Care of Women in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008).

³³¹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 90.

³³² Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 174. On the concerns Hilton and the *Cloud*-author expressed about Rolle, see: Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 73-90.

³³³ Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 71-90.

³³⁴ On the promotion of affective piety by the mendicant movement, see: Denise Nowakowski Baker, *Julian of Norwich’s Showings: From Vision to Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, reprinted 1997), 15-39; Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 70-112; Nuth, *God’s Lovers in an Age of Anxiety*, 17-18; Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism, 1200-1350*, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Mysticism* 3 (New York: Crossroad Herder, 1998), 79 ff; Watson, *Richard Rolle*, 18-27; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 284-92.

theology. Cré contends that the texts in Amherst are arranged ‘in ascending order of interpretative difficulty’,³³⁵ Rolle’s texts being the least theologically complex compared with its companion pieces.³³⁶ Nevertheless, Misyn’s translation of the *Incendium Amoris* represents a desire to provide a woman with a more theologically mature and learned text than the devotional (often visionary) literature usually circulated amongst women in late medieval England.³³⁷ By toning down the language of Rolle’s sensory experiences, Misyn emphasised the more conventional contemplative elements of the text. As well as raising the intellectual possibilities for women readers, Misyn’s translation took Rolle’s *Incendium* from the restricted world of ‘the recluse or hermit, and the members of contemplative religious orders’ to the laity at large.³³⁸

Circulation of Misyn’s text

We know that Richard Misyn anticipated the *Fyer of lufe* circulating beyond Margaret Heslyngton’s anchorhold to the increasingly literate laity, because he wrote ‘for edificacyon of many saules’ [1/6].³³⁹ We have yet to consider fully how Misyn’s texts circulated and what this might tell us about the Carmelites’ sensitive project to gently push the boundaries of religious knowledge. We know from the colophons that Richard Misyn composed the *Fyer of lufe* in Lincoln, and that Margaret Heslyngton read it in York. We have no internal evidence of where the *Mendynge of lyfe* was written, but Lincoln, the Carmelite *studium* in York, Oxford or even the London *studium generale* all seem possible locations.

We do not know whether Margaret Heslyngton possessed a copy of the *Mendynge of lyfe* as well as the *Fyer of lufe*, but it is preserved in all three manuscripts. It may be that Heslyngton commissioned the *Fyer* having read Misyn’s *Mendynge* the year before, and this would suggest an element of reader-response in Carmelite literary circles. Copying both Rolle/Misyn texts together suggests that either Heslyngton owned a copy of both (which seems likely, given the thematic links between them), or

³³⁵ Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 9.

³³⁶ Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 59-61.

³³⁷ Watson argues that the *Incendium* is perhaps Rolle’s first major ‘mature’ work, in which Rolle ‘finds his voice’ as an *auctor*, [Richard Rolle, 113-141]. Hilton and the *Ancrene Wisse* author were cautious in their approach to visionary experiences [Watson, ‘The Composition of Julian of Norwich’s Revelation of Love’, 647]. For an introduction to the matter see: Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, (ed.), *Medieval Women’s Visionary Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). We have already noted that Margery Kempe tried to lend herself an educated air by referring to the *Incendium Amoris*. Since Margaret Heslyngton specifically asked for Richard Rolle’s text, female readers must have wanted access to quasi-academic texts previously denied them by language restrictions.

³³⁸ Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, v.

³³⁹ In this regard Misyn’s translation is not unlike Osbern Bokenham’s *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* which, according to Ian Johnson, ‘moves between (and offers appropriate authorizing strategies to) at least three inscribed audiences: a Latinate clerical peer group ... female lay patrons; and professed women religious’ [Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 65]. Likewise, his confrere John Capgrave’s *Life of St. Gilbert* addresses a ‘plural reading community’ [*The Idea of the Vernacular*, 159].

that the Carthusian copyists of the extant codices gathered together two separate translations. To produce the Amherst manuscript (and possibly copies further up the stemma) Carthusians must have had access to a copy of Misyn's translations, by being in communication with either the Carmelites of Lincoln, with Heslyngton in York, or other intermediaries. It is useful to speculate how the texts were transmitted from the Carmelite convent or the Walmgate anchorhold to the Charterhouse. Literary historians have shown how texts 'trickled-down' from religious orders to the laity,³⁴⁰ but how much did the process work in reverse? Carthusians did actively seek out copies of vernacular theological texts originally owned or written by the laity.³⁴¹ By writing for someone probably outside the direct daily control of the Whitefriars, Richard Misyn opened his text to potential wide dissemination which he envisaged by addressing readers and hearers other than Margaret Heslyngton.³⁴² The Carthusians may have received a copy from Misyn, from another Carmelite friar or library, or perhaps Heslyngton bequeathed it to them, since solitaries often donated books to religious orders.³⁴³

We know with certainty from the Amherst manuscript that the Carthusians shared the Carmelites' taste for the works of Richard Rolle,³⁴⁴ and the promotion of eremitism. Marleen Cré states that 'the references in Rolle's *Fire of Love* to the 'wyldyrnes' must have found double resonance amongst a Carthusian audience, as Carthusian houses were often referred to as 'heremi', deserts, or the wilderness', and that since all the texts in Amherst deal with the solitary life it was 'eminently suitable for a Carthusian audience'.³⁴⁵ Though undoubtedly true, this is equally applicable to the Order of the original translator, which saw itself as continuing the eremitical desert tradition.³⁴⁶

A striking feature that links Misyn's translations to many of the surviving pastoral manuals read in the Diocese of York is that they share a similar dialect, not of York itself, but of the northeast

³⁴⁰ Gillespie, 'Cura Pastoralis', 177; Gillespie, 'Dial M for Mystic', 249.

³⁴¹ See the literature on the Order listed in Chapter One, n. 140, especially Vincent Gillespie's 'Dial M for Mystic' and 'Cura Pastoralis'. The fact that the Carthusians acquired texts by Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich shows their interest in gathering vernacular theology and spiritual autobiographies composed by women.

³⁴² Doyle, 'Publication', 110-11. Living outside the convent, Heslyngton was probably less directly scrutinised by the Whitefriars than her contemporary Emma Stapleton at the Carmelite friary in Norwich.

³⁴³ Erler, 'Devotional Literature', *passim*; Anne M. Dutton, 'Passing the Book: Testamentary Transmission of Religious Literature To and By Women in England 1350-1500', in Lesley Smith, Jane H. M. Taylor (eds.), *Women, the Book and the Godly: Selected Proceedings of the St. Hilda's Conference, 1993, Volume I* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 41-54; Gillespie, 'Cura Pastoralis', 173. Even though Bridgettine nuns were enclosed, not unlike Heslyngton, they were able to 'act as the catalysts for the transmission of texts into the wider community': Gillespie, 'Dial M for Mystic', 250.

³⁴⁴ Sargent, *James Grenehalgh*, 37 ff.; Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians', 231-35; Cré, Ph.D. Thesis, 20-22. On the eremitic origins of the Carmelite and Camaldolese Orders, see: Cécile Caby, 'L'érémisme au XIIIe siècle, entre solitude du coeur et contraintes du droit', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 234 (2006), 13-26.

³⁴⁵ Cré, 'Women in the Charterhouse?', 49, 48.

³⁴⁶ The sixteenth-century reform of the Carmelites revived the practice of establishing houses called 'Deserts': Bede Edwards, *The Rule of Saint Albert*, Vinea Carmeli 1 (Aylesford and Kensington: Carmelite Press, 1973), 39.

Midlands, probably Lincolnshire. There were strong links between the city of York and the county of Lincolnshire which may well account for the transmission of texts between the two places.³⁴⁷ Vincent Gillespie wonders whether the composition of such works was ‘the result of some collaboration between the Carthusians and the secular diocesan authorities’.³⁴⁸ Equally plausible is some collaboration between Carthusians and Carmelites.³⁴⁹ The Charterhouse of Epworth in Axholme stood less than ten miles north of Gainsborough, in the region where Laing located the lost exemplar manuscript.³⁵⁰ Carthusians there could conceivably have obtained Misyn’s prose from either Mount Grace Charterhouse or York, or the neighbouring Carmelite friaries of Doncaster, Hull, or Lincoln. Carthusians could have disseminated Misyn’s translations southward to the Charterhouse of Beauvale, very near to the Nottingham Carmelite convent, and near the region where both Yale and Amherst scribes have been located.³⁵¹ Whilst Carthusian houses in the north were geographically (and culturally) close to Carmelite foundations, this theory of transmission can be nothing more than informed speculation. It is possible that dissemination of the *Fyer of lufe* and *Mendynge of lyfe* was done in conjunction with the chantry priests of York Minster.³⁵² These priests would perhaps have known Misyn and Heslyngton as eminent members of York society.

Amongst the most assiduous promoters of the Rolle cult were the ubiquitous Scrope and Stapleton families, who flourished especially in Yorkshire and East Anglia. The Scrope family was notable for its patronage of solitaries and probably supported Rolle during his life.³⁵³ Emma Stapleton, as we

³⁴⁷ Gillespie, ‘Cura Pastoralis’, 180 n. 98.

³⁴⁸ Gillespie, ‘Cura Pastoralis’, 181.

³⁴⁹ There are many similarities between the spirituality and way of life of the Carmelites and the Carthusians. A telling insight into the link between the Orders’ charisms is given by Thomas Netter in a sharply sarcastic letter to the Prior of the Carthusians at Sheen, written 24th March 1415; discussing a request from one of his Province to transfer from the Carmelites to the Carthusians, Netter asserts that the Whitefriars’ way of life is no less perfect. See: Alban, ‘The Letters of Thomas Netter’, 369-70. In 1493 Thomas Silvester of the Carmelite friary at Blakeney was granted papal dispensation to transfer to a Carthusian monastery and live as an anchorite: Entry 3560 in Peter D. Clarke, Patrick N. R. Zutshi (eds.), *Supplications from England and Wales in the Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary 1410-1503*, Volume III: 1492-1503, Canterbury and York Society 105 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 34.

³⁵⁰ Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England*, map 2 and 79.

³⁵¹ Cré [Ph.D. Thesis, 50] posits Beauvale as a possible location for the Amherst scribe. Whilst admitting that ‘we cannot of course know the actual geographic movements of texts or scribes merely from a study of textual dialects’, Laing [‘Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism’, 208] says ‘it would be pleasing to conjecture, however, that the manuscript C [Corpus] found its way to Grantham or some nearby place where it was independently copied by two local scribes’. On the Beauvale Charterhouse see: Brian C. Vander Veen, ‘Literary Production at Beauvale Priory’, in *The vitae of Bodleian Library Ms Douce 114*, Doctoral Thesis (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 2007), 34-69; M. Roberts, *The Story of Beauvale Priory and the Martyrs* (date and publisher unspecified).

³⁵² On combined dissemination see: Gillespie, ‘Cura Pastoralis’, 180; Sargent (ed.), *Nicholas Love’s Mirror*, xxv. On the role of the Carthusians in disseminating Rolle and Hilton see: Gillespie, ‘Dial M for Mystic’, 242.

³⁵³ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 90, 202; Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, 125; Renevey, ‘Looking for a context’, 206. On the Scrope family, see: Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry ... containing a History of the Family of Scrope*, 2 vols (London: Samuel Bentley, 1832); ‘Sir Richard Scrope and the Scrope and Grosvenor Depositions’, in Joel T. Rosenthal, *Telling Tales: Sources and Narration in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 63-94.

know, herself became an anchorite.³⁵⁴ We have already noted that her family were serious book owners, and like the Scropes, the Stapletons owned autograph copies of Rolle.³⁵⁵ Both families were in an ideal position to acquire and disseminate Rolle's texts in the North of England and East Anglia.³⁵⁶ Before succeeding Arundel to the See of York, Richard Scrope was bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and was perhaps responsible for overseeing the copying of Hilton and Rolle texts in the cathedral's scriptorium.³⁵⁷

A number of Scropes were members of Arundel's circle at Ely and York, and were probably responsible for the introduction of Rolle's work to that group.³⁵⁸ Since the broader Circle included Carmelites, it is possible that these families also introduced the Order to Rolle's writings. Secular family members may also have been influential. A number of Scropes, and Emma Stapleton's father, were Knights of the Garter,³⁵⁹ and would thus have come into contact with Carmelites active at court such as Richard Maidstone (and possibly, via the Percy family, Richard Misyn). It was probably John Scrope, Fourth Baron of Masham, who commissioned one of the two surviving copies of the *Speculum Devotorum*, showing an interest in vernacular theological literature.³⁶⁰ Both the Scropes and Stapletons were supportive of the friars in York, and like Heslyngton and Misyn were members of the city's Corpus Christi Guild.³⁶¹ Thomas Scrope is an embodiment of the strong links between the Carmelites and leading Yorkshire nobility. Since both the Scrope and Stapleton families supported the anchorite at Walmgate, Misyn's translations for Heslyngton may have been encouraged by such patrons.³⁶²

³⁵⁴ She is not to be confused with the earlier anchorite Emma of Stapleton discussed by Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space and the Solitary Life*, Gender in the Middle Ages 6 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2011), 159-62.

³⁵⁵ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 91; Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 175; Susan H. Cavanaugh, *A Study of Books Privately Owned in England 1300-1450* (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 769-77.

³⁵⁶ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 203; Rolle (ed.) Moyes, I, 82.

³⁵⁷ Clark, 'Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology', 1-16 [7-8]; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 213-14.

³⁵⁸ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 91, 178, 203; Deanesly (ed.), *The Incendium Amoris*, 65.

³⁵⁹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 33.

³⁶⁰ On this see Paul J. Patterson's doctoral thesis and edition, cited above, n. 163.

³⁶¹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 50, 192.

³⁶² In 1465, Lady Margaret Stapleton made a donation to Heslyngton's successor amongst the 'Anachoritis in Walmgate et Fisshergate': *Testamenta Eboracensia, or Wills Registered at York*, Part 2, Surtees Society 30 (London: Whittaker and Co, 1855), 271. When Henry Scrope died in 1455, he also left money to Heslyngton's successor [Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 201]. For a general survey of lay patronage of mendicants and other orders, see: Emilia Jamrozik, Janet Burton, *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, Europa Sacra 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

Concluding remarks on Richard Misyn

How far and how fast Richard Misyn's translations circulated may perhaps be attested to by a reference made more than once by Margery Kempe in her *Book* to the Christian texts that were read to her, in particular by a young priest over a seven-year period.³⁶³ Richard Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* is among those texts. Unless the young priest translated Rolle's Latin text for Kempe as he read, he must have had access to an existing English translation. Richard Misyn's *Fyer of lufe* is the only known Middle English translation of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*.³⁶⁴ Margery Kempe began dictation of her *Book* in 1436, one year after Misyn wrote his *Fyer of lufe* translation. Given how relatively quickly the three surviving copies of Richard Misyn's translations were produced, the links between East Anglia and Lincolnshire/Yorkshire, and the efficient scribal network across Carmelite communities, it is not impossible that a copy of Misyn's *Fyer of lufe* might have reached his brethren in Lynn before Kempe's *Book* seems to have been completed by about 1438. If this was the case, then both Richard Misyn and the Carmelite Order in late medieval England can be said to have been successful in using the vernacular to broaden the participation of the laity in the theological discussions of their age. Both Alan of Lynn with Margery Kempe, and Richard Misyn with Margaret Heslyngton, appreciated the value of sharing their considerable theological knowledge with women who lived outside or alongside their own religious community. Yet, as we have seen, this 'democratisation of contemplation' was not undertaken without fear. Both Thomas Netter's prohibition on Alan of Lynn's discussion of the Bible with Margery Kempe, and Richard Misyn's express concerns about heresy and improper religious reform, reveal the difficulties facing those Whitefriars who wanted to write for the spiritual edification of others.

Thomas Fishlake and Walter Hilton

It is fitting to close this chapter with a brief comparison between Richard Misyn and another Carmelite translator, Thomas Fishlake (*fl.* 1377). Like Misyn, Fishlake was interested in the vernacular spirituality of his age but 'in reverse' as it were, translating Walter Hilton's *The Scale of Perfection* from English into Latin around the year 1400, that is within a very few years of Hilton's death in 1396.

³⁶³ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Book 1, Chapters 17, 58, 62. This passage was discussed further in Chapter One of this thesis.

³⁶⁴ As Laing observes ['Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism', 188], this makes Misyn's work all the more significant.

Before considering Fishlake's life and work, a short biography of Walter Hilton is helpful.³⁶⁵ Born c.1343, the first records which are presumed to relate to Hilton inform us that he was a Bachelor of Civil and probably also Canon Law at Cambridge. This would account for his various links with the Arundel Circle of clerks already referred to. As J. P. H. Clark puts it, 'Arundel and his circle at Ely were active in responding to incipient Lollardy; after Arundel's translation to York in 1388, Hilton and others would have been instrumental in the policy of imposing rule and order upon an 'enthusiastic' piety that was influenced by the tradition of the hermit Richard Rolle, as well as in the conflict with Lollardy.'

Like Richard Misyn (if we are to take literally his self-labelling as 'hermit'), Walter Hilton perhaps spent some time as a solitary, but his correspondence reveals that he was 'unfulfilled in this condition; he was at heart a pastor and a 'community' man'. This is what drew Hilton to the priory of Augustinian Canons at Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire, where he seems to have been from c.1386 until his death a decade later. Clark notes that 'In 1388 the prior of Thurgarton was authorized, with others, to examine heretics. But while Hilton's writings are severely critical of 'heresy' and of 'enthusiastic' piety, his fame as a spiritual writer rests rather on his positive statement of orthodox ascetic and mystical theology, to which contemporary controversy has added precision.'³⁶⁶

This is clearly evidenced in Walter Hilton's pre-eminent work, *The Scale of Perfection*.³⁶⁷ This treatise on the Christian life is a compilation of two books. The first, like Richard Misyn's *Fyer of lufe*, is addressed to a female anchorite, and like Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* it discusses capital sins to be overcome, combined with practical advice on prayer and meditation, and the virtues necessary for the soul to be better disposed to receive God's gift of contemplation. Book Two, written shortly before the author's death, states that contemplation is the natural fulfilment of baptism, and as such Walter Hilton addresses a much broader Christian readership. His balanced advice includes discussion of asceticism and the 'luminous darkness' a soul experiences on the journey towards union

³⁶⁵ The following is largely derived from: J. P. H. Clark, 'Hilton, Walter (c.1343–1396)', *ODNB*. On Hilton see also: Thomas Bestul, 'Walter Hilton', in Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden, Roger Ellis (eds.), *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 87-100; Ad Putter, 'Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* and *The Cloud of Unknowing*', in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 33-51.

³⁶⁶ For this and preceding quotations: J. P. H. Clark, 'Hilton, Walter (c.1343–1396)', *ODNB*.

³⁶⁷ For the Middle English text see: Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection* (ed.) Thomas H. Bestul, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000). A Modern English translation is given by John P. H. Clark, Rosemary Dorward, *Walter Hilton: The Scale of Perfection*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1991). The first edition of modern times was: Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection* (ed.) Evelyn Underhill (London: J. M. Watkins, 1923). From Underhill's text a number of Modern English translations were printed, including: Walter Hilton, *The Ladder of Perfection*, translated and introduced by Leo Sherley-Price (London: Penguin Classics, 1957); Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, abridged and presented by Illyd Trethowan (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975); Walter Hilton, *The Scale of perfection* (ed.) Halcyon Backhouse (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1992).

with God, but Hilton ‘firmly eschews the element of negative, or “apophatic”, theology’ found in *The Cloud of Unknowing*, whose author Hilton may have known.³⁶⁸

The acknowledgment that a good and holy life can be lived outside the cloister is also expressed by Walter Hilton in his Middle English letter *On Mixed Life*, probably written in the 1380s, in which he advised a devout layman not to renounce his worldly affairs but rather give glory to God by mixing his secular and spiritual responsibilities.³⁶⁹ Latin letters by Walter Hilton also survive.³⁷⁰

Other works attributed to Walter Hilton include *Of Angels’ Song* which discusses the phenomenon so enthusiastically embraced by Richard Rolle’s devotees, and *Conclusiones de ymaginibus* which defends the veneration of images against Lollard critiques.³⁷¹ In these texts Hilton dealt with some of the pressing theological issues of his day. Other texts that may be Hilton’s include *Qui habitat* (an English commentary on that psalm), and *The Prickyng of Love* (an expanded English version of *Stimulus Amoris*).³⁷² Hilton also translated into English *Eight Chapters on Perfection* by the Aragonese Franciscan Luis de Fontibus.³⁷³ Hilton’s writings ‘reflect his clear legal mind and interest in moral theology, as well as his wide grasp of spiritual theology ... He avoids the appearance of innovation, but can still give fresh applications to old principles. He emerges as a firm yet compassionate pastor, with a sense of moderation in ascetic practices.’³⁷⁴

It was no doubt Walter Hilton’s sound theology and pastoral compassion that encouraged the young priest in Lynn to include ‘Hyltons boke’, *The Scale of Perfection*, among the literature he read to Margery Kempe. And it was no doubt the same attributes that encouraged a Carmelite friar, Thomas

³⁶⁸ J. P. H. Clark, ‘Hilton, Walter (c.1343–1396)’, *ODNB*. For a recent appraisal of Hilton (alongside the *Cloud*-author) see ‘Two Mystical Masters of Late Medieval England’ in Bernard McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism (1350-1550)*, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* 5 (New York: Crossroad, 2012), 371-424. For a comparison between Hilton, the *Cloud*-author, and the sixteenth-century Spanish Carmelite St. John of the Cross, see: John P. H. Clark, ‘The “Cloud of Unknowing”, Walter Hilton and St. John of the Cross: A Comparison’, in *Downside Review*, 96:325 (October 1978), 281-98.

³⁶⁹ Walter Hilton, *Walter Hilton’s “Mixed Life” edited from Lambeth Palace Ms. 472* (ed.) S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:15 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1986). Translated in R. N. Swanson, *Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance Before the Reformation*, Manchester Medieval Sources series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993). On *Mixed Life* see: Watson’s introduction to Fanous, Gillespie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*, 14, 21; in the same volume Roger Ellis, Samuel Fanous, ‘1349-1412: texts’, 133-61 [145-49].

³⁷⁰ J. P. H. Clark, C. Taylor (eds.), *Walter Hilton’s Latin Writings* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1987).

³⁷¹ An edition of *Of Angels’ Song* is printed in Fumio Kuriyagawa and Toshiyuki Takamiya (eds.), *Two Minor Works of Walter Hilton* (Tokyo: T. Takamiya, private printing, 1980).

³⁷² Björn Wallner (ed.), *An Exposition of “Qui habitat” and “Bonum est” in English* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954); Walter Hilton, *The Goad of Love: An Unpublished Translation [by] Walter Hilton, of the Stimulus Amoris formerly Attributed to St. Bonaventura* (ed. and trans.) Clare Kirchberger (London: Faber and Faber, 1952); Harold Kane (ed.), *The Prickyng of Love*, 2 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1983).

³⁷³ An edition of *Eight Chapters on Perfection* is printed in Fumio Kuriyagawa and Toshiyuki Takamiya (eds.), *Two Minor Works of Walter Hilton* (Tokyo: T. Takamiya, private printing, 1980).

³⁷⁴ J. P. H. Clark, ‘Hilton, Walter (c.1343–1396)’, *ODNB*.

Fishlake, to translate Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* from English into Latin so that it could benefit an even broader readership.³⁷⁵

Thomas Fishlake's translation demonstrates a Carmelite's interest in making vernacular English theology available to an international Latinate audience. Indeed, thanks to Fishlake, the *Scale of Perfection* ranks 'together with Gower's *Confessio Amantis* as the only works originally composed in Middle English which are known to have circulated on the Continent during the medieval period.'³⁷⁶ The fifteen extant Latin manuscripts show the wide dispersal and obvious popularity of the text, and since five of these are of Continental rather than English provenance, Fishlake's work was demonstrably copied across the medieval Christian world.³⁷⁷

Among the communities responsible for copying the Carmelite's translation were the Bridgettines. They possessed several copies of Fishlake's translation, one at Syon Abbey in Middlesex, and two at their Swedish motherhouse at Vadstena; one of which (now Uppsala University Library, Ms. C 159) was copied at Syon by a Bridgettine deacon, Clement Maydstone (d. 1456).³⁷⁸

The Carthusians (linked to the Bridgettines in many ways and also highly active in the collecting of religious texts as we have noted) were also responsible for the gathering and dissemination of Carmelite works, as we have seen in the case of Richard Misyn's translations of Richard Rolle. The copy of Thomas Fishlake's translation in Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille, Ms. 729, was written 'in carthusa Vallisbenedictionis secus avinionem' (Villeneuve-les-Avignon), and the Charterhouse of Sheen owned another manuscript.³⁷⁹

Walter Hilton's incipit of Book One dedicates *The Scale of Perfection* to a female recluse, and Thomas Fishlake's interest in the text again demonstrates a Carmelite attraction to texts originally written for solitaries, an attraction that was later particularly evidenced by Richard Misyn. Fishlake's translation attracted the energies of Carthusian textual critic James Grenehalgh,³⁸⁰ and the Carthusian

³⁷⁵ There is currently no edition of the Latin translation of *The Scale of Perfection* by Thomas Fishlake (or Fyslake), but see n. **Error! Bookmark not defined.** below on Sargent's project. On the text see: S. S. Hussey, 'Latin and English in The Scale of Perfection', *Medieval Studies*, 25 (1973), 456-76. It is noted in: Richard Copley, 'The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings', *Carmelus*, 43 (1996), 175-224 [186-87]; Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), Entry 1748, 656-57; Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica: siue, De scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia ad saeculi XVII initium floruerunt, commentarius* (London: 1748, reprinted (ed.) D. Wilkins, London, 1974), 282; Lagorio *et al*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3075-76, 3430-3433; Helen L. Gardner, 'The Text of *The Scale of Perfection*', *Medium Aevum*, 5 (1936), 11-30 [11, 22].

³⁷⁶ Lagorio *et al*, 'English Mystical Writings', 3076. On the circulation see: Michael G. Sargent, 'Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* in Continental Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Textus – English Studies in Italy*, XXIV:3 (2011), 463-76.

³⁷⁷ Hussey, 'Latin and English', 456-57.

³⁷⁸ Simon Walker, 'Maidstone, Clement (c.1389–1456)', *ODNB*.

³⁷⁹ Hussey, 'Latin and English', 457; Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians', 235-36.

³⁸⁰ Sargent, *James Grenehalgh*, 10.

recluse at Sheen John Dygon, who annotated and copied texts now in Oxford colleges.³⁸¹ As we have seen in the case of Richard Misyn, scribal copying by Carthusians is a recognisable phenomenon in the circulation of Carmelite texts.

One Fishlake manuscript in particular illustrates that Carmelites also circulated devotional texts amongst themselves, internally promoting theological development within the Order. Now at York Minster Library but once at the Carmelite priory in Cambridge, this manuscript was owned by another of Walter Hilton's probable university contemporaries and Thomas Fishlake's friend, the Carmelite friar John Pole.³⁸² This *constat*, or gifted copy, is a compilation of materials on the eremitic life, of particular interest to the Carmelites who, as we have seen, regarded themselves as maintaining the solitary desert tradition of Elijah and John the Baptist.

Thomas Fishlake was a good and careful translator who made few errors and used a good English manuscript as his source, so good that his Latin translation preserved in the York Minster manuscript provides a good (though not 'learned') base text for examination of the English ones. The Latin text functions as a witness to an early version of the English text, one that is perhaps particularly authoritative given the friendship between Hilton and Fishlake.³⁸³ Like all the other Latin manuscripts bar one, the York manuscript ascribes *The Scale of Perfection* to Walter Hilton, and like six others (though one is erroneous) it has a colophon about Hilton's death, suggesting that it was written soon after the Augustinian Canon's demise, and that the copyists were especially concerned with authorial attribution.

³⁸¹ Hussey, 'Latin and English', 457. Dygon is particularly interesting when compared to Misyn and Heslyngton, since, like them, he and an anchorite named Dame Joan at St. Botolph's Church in London left a book (now Oxford, St. John's College, Ms. 77) to Exeter College, Oxford, 'for the use of students there wishing to preach the word of God': see Ralph Hanna, 'John Dygon, Fifth Recluse of Sheen: His Career, Books, and Acquaintance', in Stephen Kelly, John J. Thompson (eds.), *Imagining The Book*, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 127-41.

³⁸² This manuscript, written in a fifteenth-century hand, is now in York, Minster Library, Ms. XVI.K.5. Book I of *The Scale* occupies the first 13 quires, and the colophon [fo. 36] is reproduced in: Neil Ripley Ker, with A. J. Piper, Andrew Watson, Ian Cunningham, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1969-2002), vol 4: Paisley – York, 725-27. John Pole was at the Cambridge house in 1377, incepted as D.Th. in 1381, and died at the Coventry house: Hussey, 'Latin and English', 457; Bale, *Scriptorium*, I, 568; Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, 456. It is also worth noting that Bale [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2v] attributes a now lost work to Richard Lavenham entitled *Excerptiones quedam a libro magistri Walteri reclusi, Lib. 1: "In primo capitulo libri, quem edidit*. This could be a compilation of excerpts (presumably in Latin?) from Book One of Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*; if so, it demonstrates further Carmelite interest in his theology. See Appendix 1, Lavenham (48).

³⁸³ On the usefulness of Fishlake's translation as a resource for editing the original Middle English text of *The Scale* see: *Walter Hilton – The Scale of Perfection* (eds. and trans.) Clark, Dorward, 56-57; *The Scale* (ed.) Bestul, 7, 14; Hussey, 'Latin and English', 456, 457 n. 6, 464; Michael G. Sargent, 'Editing Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*: The Case for a Rhizomorphic Historical Edition', in Vincent Gillespie, Anne Hudson (eds.), *Probable Truth: Editing Medieval Texts from Britain in the Twenty-First Century*, Texts and Transitions 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 509-34. Michael Sargent (inheriting the projects of A. J. Bliss and Stanley Hussey) is preparing an edition of Books I and II of *The Scale of Perfection* for the Early English Text Society which will place Fishlake's Latin text and Hilton's Middle English text on facing pages.



Explicit libellus magistri Walteri hiltōn caudici de thurgartōn. qui obiit anno d'ni m' cccc' lxxxv. v. In vig' annūciacōis quem libellū tūstulit de aughico ī latinū magist' et fr' thōm' fishlake ordi's beate marie gelctas dei de monte carmeli et constat magistro fr' jōh' pole eadem ordi's que fecerat scribi ex elemosinis annuoz suoz quoz oim aiabz ppiet' deus amen.

York, Minster Library, Ms. XVI.K.5, fo. 36 (detail: John Pole's colophon).

On the face of it, translating *The Scale of Perfection* into Latin may seem to work against the principle of having theological texts available in the vernacular; on the contrary, Fishlake's work shows a desire among English Carmelites to increase access by the Church at large to a specifically insular brand of vernacular theology. Stanley Hussey interprets Thomas Fishlake's act of translation

as ‘the ultimate medieval accolade’ for the writer of an ‘eminently sane, moderate and balanced treatise’.³⁸⁴

At the same time, we know that Carmelites trod a fine line in both promoting and policing theological speculation, and translating Walter Hilton’s vernacular theology into Latin may have been a way for the lexical mindset of an academic cleric such as Thomas Fishlake to test *The Scale*’s orthodoxy in the language with which scholastic theologians felt more comfortable. Such probation would seem likely given the prevailing milieu of orthodoxy in Cambridge in the late fourteenth century (particularly when contrasted with Oxford and its Wycliffite legacy).³⁸⁵

Thomas Fishlake’s surname perhaps suggests a familial connection with a small village on the flatlands to the north-east of Doncaster. A youthful connection between clerics in South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire is possible, but a more likely place of encounter was East Anglia. Thomas Fishlake is known to have been an active member of the University and Carmelite convent in Cambridge between at least c. 1375 (when he became a bachelor of theology) and 1377, later gaining his doctorate.³⁸⁶

Being a Carmelite in Cambridge at this time, Thomas Fishlake would have followed the debate that took place at the University there in February 1375 between his confrere John Hornby and the Dominican John Stokes (discussed in previous chapters). The resulting vindication of the titles and privileges of the Carmelites, published by the Chancellor and preached to the public by Hornby, unquestionably boosted the Order’s own sense of its significance in theological matters.

In addition to Carmelite influences, Fishlake’s academic interests and literary tastes were undoubtedly formed by his membership of the Arundel Circle, which included Cambridge friars who ‘would have worked with Arundel’s Ely clerks and been valued for their theological knowledge and pastoral skills’.³⁸⁷ Carmelites were very influential in the Cambridge theological community, and in 1377 at Bishop Arundel’s personal request Thomas Fishlake preached at the Ely diocesan synod.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ Hussey, ‘Latin and English’, 476.

³⁸⁵ As John Clark points out, ‘Cambridge men are regularly to be found on the side of orthodoxy while Oxford men appear on both sides’: ‘Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology’, 15; Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, 92. On Cambridge Carmelites at this time see also: J. P. H. Clark, ‘Some Cambridge Carmelite Theologians of the Late Fourteenth Century’, in Johan Bergström-Allen (ed.), *Relocating Carmel in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Carmel in Britain 5 (Faversham: Saint Albert’s Press, forthcoming).

³⁸⁶ John Bale, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 79; Rawlinson Ms. C 397, fo. 8v; Lagorio *et al*, ‘English Mystical Writings’, 3076.

³⁸⁷ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 183. On the links between medieval clergy in Cambridge and Ely see: James A. Brundage, ‘The Cambridge Faculty of Canon Law and the Ecclesiastical Courts of Ely’, in Patrick Zutshi (ed.), *Medieval Cambridge: Essays on the Pre-Reformation University*, The History of The University of Cambridge Texts and Studies 2 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993), 21-45.

³⁸⁸ Cambridge, University Library, Reg. Consist. 1373-81, fo. 72; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 183, 189-90; Clark, ‘Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology’, 7; Aston, *Thomas Arundel*, 74-75.

Fellow Carmelite John Pole was another member of this tight-knit network of friends and colleagues, as was Walter Hilton.³⁸⁹ It seems probable that the ‘positions which [Hilton] takes must reflect some of the cross-currents in contemporary theology’.³⁹⁰ Carmelite theologians were particularly active in Cambridge, and it is quite possible that Hilton’s vernacular theology of the ‘mixed life’ was influenced by the friars whose preaching and ministry to the general populace argued that contemplation was not restricted to professional religious, but within the reach of all.³⁹¹ It may be possible to find in Walter Hilton the influence of the Carmelite friar Thomas Maldon, doctor of theology and prior of the Cambridge house in the early 1370s, who wrote *questiones* on topics such as the proper conducting of the pastoral office, and the spiritual understanding of Scripture.³⁹² East Anglian prelates rated such Carmelites and their writing highly: William Grey, Bishop of Ely (d. 1478), had a collection of texts that included Thomas Maldon’s *Lectura in Ps. 118*.³⁹³

The admiration between Carmelites and East Anglian clerics was often mutual. The work of Thomas Fishlake shows that the Carmelites had a particular regard for Walter Hilton’s brand of vernacular theology.³⁹⁴ Like many of the texts read, written or translated by medieval Carmelites, Walter Hilton’s writing addressed the important debate in the medieval Church about the perceived conflict between the active and contemplative lives, which had exercised the Carmelites ever since their migration west from Mount Carmel since the 1230s. The Whitefriars’ concerns about their own paradoxical position of being solitaries living in community and blending prayer with pastoral work within the world made Hilton’s text eminently suitable for translation by a Carmelite. Thomas Fishlake’s translation of *The Scale* shows that a Carmelite considered Hilton’s vernacular theology to be as beneficial for the Latinate clergy as it was for its original recipient, a female recluse.

³⁸⁹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 175, 179-81. Hilton was probably a canon lawyer at the Ely diocesan consistory court in Cambridge.

³⁹⁰ John P. H. Clark, ‘Thomas Maldon, O.Carm., a Cambridge theologian of the fourteenth century’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 125-67 [125]; Clark, ‘Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology’, 7 ff.

³⁹¹ On the links between Hilton and the Cambridge Carmelites, see: Clark, ‘Late Fourteenth-Century Cambridge Theology’, 7-10, 13-14; Clark, ‘Thomas Maldon, O.Carm.’; Hussey, ‘Latin and English’; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 183, 189, 213-14. On the possible influence of the friars upon Hilton, see: Patricia R. Bart, ‘The Hidden Life of the Friars: The Mendicant Orders in the Work of Walter Hilton, William Langland, Geoffrey Chaucer, and their Literary World’, in Donald S. Prudlo (ed.), *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 24 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 307-34.

³⁹² Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, 385; Clark, ‘Thomas Maldon, O.Carm.’, 137, 165.

³⁹³ Oxford, Balliol College, Ms. 80, fo. 190-232. For details of this text see Chapter Three, n. 175.

³⁹⁴ *Walter Hilton – The Scale of Perfection* (eds. and trans.) Clark, Dorward, xi, 18-19.

Conclusion

As already stated, Thomas Fishlake's translation of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* from English into Latin may also be proof of the desire to render vernacular theological ideas in the language of international scholarship, so as to test and engage with them academically. One of the objections made by scholars and clerical authorities in the late Middle Ages against writing or translating religious texts in English was that technical theological terms could not be sufficiently rendered in the vernacular. The end of the first prologue to Book I of *The Myroure of oure Ladye* – probably a near-contemporary of Thomas Fishlake's work – expresses the translator's concern as follows:

Yt is not lyght for every man to drawe eny longe thing from Latyn into oure Englyshe tongue. For there ys many wordes in Latyn that we have no propre Englyssh accordynge therto, and then suche wordes muste be turnyd as the sentence may beste be understandyd. And therefore, though I laboure to kepe bothe the wordes and the sentence in this boke as farre as oure language wyll well assente, yet some tyme I folowe the sentence and not the wordes as the mater asketh.³⁹⁵

Similar concerns about the restricted vocabulary of the English language for theological discussion were also expressed in the early 1400s with regard to Bible translation by William Butler and Thomas Palmer.³⁹⁶ Although Carmelites did not explicitly express such fears about the inadequacy of English for articulating theological concepts, Thomas Fishlake's translation of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* into Latin may have been partly motivated by a desire to render this masterpiece of vernacular theology in the 'usual' language of theological speculation.³⁹⁷ Nevertheless, Thomas Fishlake's work should be viewed as a significant Carmelite contribution to the Arundel Circle's spiritual programme, expanding and democratising – within strict limits – participation in the spiritual life.

Thomas Fishlake's translation of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* illustrates a number of important points regarding Carmelite literary activity in post-Ricardian England. It shows a real interest and influence in contemporary theological developments, a regard for anchoritic literature, and a desire to promote native English spirituality amongst readers at home or abroad. The provenance

³⁹⁵ Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 260. John Henry Blunt (ed.), *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, Early English Text Society Extra Series 19 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1873, reprinted 1998).

³⁹⁶ See: Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 343.

³⁹⁷ See: John P. H. Clark, 'English and Latin in the *Scale of Perfection*: Theological Considerations', in *Spiritualität Heute und Gestern, Analecta Cartusiana*, 35:1 (Salzburg, 1982) 167-212.

of extant manuscripts informs us that Carmelite writings were circulated internally around the Order, and also copied by other groups. In particular, Thomas Fishlake highlights the Carmelite desire for ‘mixed life’ literature that blended the ideals of mendicancy and eremitism, and by doing so broadening the scope of those who can embark on the road of contemplation. All these aspects of Carmelite literature re-emerged, albeit in different circumstances, in the writings of Richard Misyn.

Whereas Thomas Fishlake’s translation of Walter Hilton’s *Scale* into Latin had made English vernacular theology available to the international Church thirty years before Richard Misyn’s translation of Richard Rolle, Misyn wished to make English theological treatises in Latin available to the *illiterati*. After a thorough textual, palaeographic, and linguistic study of Misyn’s work in its religious and socio-political context, one cannot take the somewhat saccharine and transhistorical view that Misyn’s translation ‘has embodied and preserved for us the simple faith and enthusiastic love of the generation for which it was written’.³⁹⁸ Unlike Thomas Fishlake, Richard Misyn was writing after the Arundel *Constitutions* of 1407/09, and so was well aware that his society’s faith was far from simple, and fraught with theological, social and linguistic difficulties. Richard Misyn’s translations were written with an awareness of events occurring in his Order and society at large, and in Richard Rolle and Margaret Heslyngton he sought to rediscover something of the Carmelites’ contemplative identity, looking back to a heritage that pre-dated the troubles prompted by John Wyclif and his followers.

Vincent Gillespie has observed that ‘The history of vernacular theology in England is a history of intralingual ambition, aspiration, and achievement. Sophisticated and challenging religious texts moved from Latin into French and English, from French into Latin and English, and from English into Latin and French. Ambitious vernacular texts, like Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection* or the *Cloud of Unknowing*, were translated into Latin. Ambitious Latin texts, like Rolle’s *Incendium amoris*, were translated into English for lay readers’.³⁹⁹ That Carmelite friars in late medieval England were responsible for such ambitious and aspiring translation projects shows that they were deeply interested in, and daunted by, the promotion of vernacular religious thought in late medieval England.

³⁹⁸ Comper, *The Fire of Love*, xxxi.

³⁹⁹ Vincent Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, in Paul Strohm (ed.), *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 401-20 [402].



Carmelites chanting from a manuscript during the dedication of a church.
London, British Library, Ms. Additional 29704-5, fo. 68v (detail).

Chapter Seven: TRANSLATING CARMELITE MYTH AND MYSTICISM – THE CASE OF THOMAS SCROPE

Interest in both promoting and policing theological development and religious practice through vernacular writing is evident in the oeuvre of the last known – certainly one of the most eccentric and engaging – of the medieval Carmelites who wrote in English, Thomas Scrope.¹ Also known from his place of birth as Thomas Bradley or Scrope-Bradley, Scrope’s reputation as a holy and learned man spread within his lifetime (c.1395-1492). For a long time Thomas Scrope was regarded as ‘venerable’ in the Carmelite Order’s calendar of saints, and as recently as 1908 the cause for his beatification was put forward by the Carmelite General Chapter, a recognition of the English Whitefriar’s part in promoting the Gospel and the spiritual heritage of the Order in his native land and in his native tongue.² As the historian Richard Copsey remarks, Scrope’s reputation for holiness seems well-founded and he ‘deserves an honoured place among the mystics of fifteenth-century England’.³

The legacy of his personal reputation aside, Thomas Scrope is best (though sadly not much) remembered among today’s literary historians for a number of short writings in Latin on Carmelite history, a few brief texts preserved in his commonplace book, and his interest in a major work of Carmelite legendary history and spirituality compiled c.1385 by the Catalan Carmelite Felip Ribot, the *Decem libri de institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum* (sometimes dubbed the ‘Ribot collection’), which Scrope translated into Middle English as *Pe Instytucionys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys*.⁴

This chapter will examine Thomas Scrope’s activities as a writer, translator, bibliophile, and promoter of Carmelite spirituality in both the Latin and English languages, to see how – like his fellow Whitefriars – he used vernacular theology to push back yet also delineate the bounds of religious thought and practice. We will begin by considering Scrope’s remarkable religious career as mendicant, apocalyptic preacher, anchorite, bishop, and papal legate. We will then examine his literary interests, because his collection, copying, and composition of texts in both Latin and English tell us much – and provoke yet more questions – about Carmelite attitudes to literature and language

¹ This chapter significantly develops the very broad discussion of Scrope in my Masters Thesis [32-35]. It also combines some of the findings of two as yet unpublished papers: Michelle M. Sauer, Johan Bergström-Allen, ‘The Fifteenth-Century Carmelite *Rule of St. Linus* for Hermits: Contexts, Controversies, and Albertine Influences’; Johan Bergström-Allen, ‘A Defining Moment for Carmelites: *The Ten Books* (or *The Book of the First Monks*) of Felip Ribot, O.Carm. (c.1385)’, presented at the 2006 International Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo.

² *Catalogo dei Santi, Beati e Venerabili del Sagro Ordine dei Carmelitani Calzati* (Viterbo: Presso Sperandio Pompei, 1870), 6; *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 1 (Rome, 1909), 10.

³ Richard Copsey, ‘Scrope, Thomas (d. 1492)’, *ODNB*.

⁴ Valerie Edden (ed.), *Pe Instytucionys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys: Edited from London, Lambeth Palace, MS 192*, Middle English Texts 54 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016).

in medieval England. A number of manuscripts associated with Scrope survive, and we will consider in particular his commonplace book: London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211. We will then turn our attention to London, Lambeth Palace, Ms. 192, which contains not only English and Latin versions of the ‘Ribot collection’, but also a vernacular rule for hermits that may also be linked to Scrope or a fellow Carmelite. The chapter will conclude with a consideration of Scrope’s interest in the *Decem libri*, and how his translation of it into the vernacular may have simultaneously prompted speculation about theological subjects such as salvation history, whilst asserting the established position of the Carmelite Order as a bulwark of orthodoxy in the face of its detractors.

Biography of Thomas Scrope-Bradley

The details of Thomas Scrope-Bradley’s life have considerable bearing on his reading and writing activities, as well as his promotion and restriction of vernacular theology.⁵ Thomas Scrope’s first biographer was the one-time-Carmelite and antiquarian John Bale, who entered the Order in Scrope’s own community of Norwich. In 1526 Bale wrote in one of his notebooks a verse epitaph of Thomas Scrope who had died some thirty-five years previously, succinctly summarising his main achievements for which his Order celebrated him: his devotion to Carmel (including the Order’s

⁵ The most recent biography of Scrope is Richard Copsey, ‘Scrope, Thomas (d. 1492)’, *ODNB*. A comprehensive list of previous commentators is given in Copsey’s forthcoming *Biographical Register*, including: John Bale in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1; *idem*, *Summarium*, 213-14; *idem*, *Catalogus*, vol 1, 629-30; *idem*, *Scriptorum*, vol 1, 629-30; John Leland, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, 472-73; P. R. McCaffrey, *The White Friars – an Outline Carmelite History, with Special Reference to the English-Speaking Provinces* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1926), 86, 261-63, 390-92; Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), Entry 1827, 679-80; Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites – A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Volume I, ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, revised edition 1988), 135; Richard Copsey, ‘Thomas Scrope’, *Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1991), fasc. 99-101, 33; G. Mesters, ‘Thomas Scrope’, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg: Herder, 1965), X, 147; F. O’Briain, ‘Thomas de Bradley’, *Dictionnaire d’Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastique* (Paris: Letouzey, 1938), X, 343; G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: an introduction to sermon manuscripts of the period c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 118-121; Stefano Possanzini, ‘Thomas Bradley’, *La dimensione Mariana del Carmelo*, I (Rome: Carmelite Fathers, 1989), 24-25; Thomas Winship, ‘Thomas Scrope; Carmelite and Bishop’, *Aylesford Review*, 2:1 (Autumn 1957), 22-25; Bartolomé Maria Xiberta, *De visione Sancti Simonis Stock* (Rome: Curiam Generalitiam Ord. Carm., 1950), 88-89, 106-08; Lancelot C. Sheppard, *The English Carmelites* (London: Burns Oates, 1943), 39-40; Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 66 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 59-60; James Ware, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, Revised and Improved* (Dublin, 1739), trans. and revised Walter Harris, 2 vols (Dublin, 1764), vol 1, 261-62; Richard Copsey, *English and Irish Medieval Carmelite Bishops – A Listing* (Private Printing, 1987), 6; *Calendar of Papal Letters*, IX, 241; Fryde *et al* (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 317; Copsey, ‘The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings’, *Carmelus*, 43 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996), 175-224 [209-11]; Richard Copsey, ‘Establishment, Identity and Papal Approval: The Carmelite Order’s Creation of its Legendary History’, *Carmelus*, 47 (2000), 41-53 [52]; Richard Copsey, ‘Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:4 (October 1999), 652-83 [659, n. 28]; Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London: Methuen and Co., 1914), 163.

special patrons Elijah and Mary); his wisdom and theological astuteness; his varying roles as recluse, bishop and legate; and his numerous writings (including tracts destined for the papacy).⁶

John Bale's reverence towards Thomas Scrope was reinforced in his 1536 book on illustrious English Carmelite followers of Elijah, the *Anglorum Heliades*:

Claruit sub eodem patre venerabilis vir, et idem doctus Thomas Scropus, ab oppido natali Bradleyensis vocatus, et e Nordovicensi recluso Episcopus Dromorensis in Hibernia. Hic sanctitatis opinione famatus, post Rodianorum legationem in Lowestofta Sudovlgie non ignobili pago lumina clausit Anno domini MCCCCXCI.

*There flourished under the same father [Carmelite Prior Provincial John Vynde], the venerable and also learned man, Thomas Scrope, called Bradley from the town of his birth, and, from his hermitage in Norwich, Bishop of Dromore, in Ireland. Renowned because of his reputation for sanctity, he was sent as legate to Rhodes. He ended his days at Lowestoft, in the noble county of Suffolk, on 15th January 1491 A.D.*⁷

Bale goes on to describe Thomas Scrope as a singular teacher, polite, affable, modest, and worthy of veneration.⁸

It is said that Thomas Scrope was nearly one hundred years old when he died in 1492, which suggests that, like Richard Misyn, he was probably born in the mid-1390s. Biographers have posited from his two surnames that he was born, probably illegitimately, in Bradley within the Leicestershire parish of Medbourne, where the Bolton branch of the celebrated noble family of Scrope were major

⁶ Presulis eximij iacet hic venerabile corpus / Carmelo dolor est, gaudia celitibus. / Progenie clarus, Scroporum sanguine Thomas / Bradleya satus est, hunc fovit omne sophos. / Carmeli placuit Thome vita, atque cuculli, / Norwico vitam semisepultus agit. / Carmeli cultor factus, fit et inde reclusus / Plurima (que superant) scripserat ille suis. / Presertim scripsit, de religione parentum / Ordinis Helie, virginis atque pie. / Inde per Eugenium tractus, per Hiberna Dromorre / Promeruit tandem pontificale decus. / Sic sua se probitas statum provexit in altum, / Mens sincera simul, ambicione carens. / Iste legatus erat populis Rodiana per arva, / Cum splendore pater nuncia celsa refert. / Gracia, et hunc virtus vitam rexere per omnem / Doctrine et superis pectora sancta vacant. / Concionando canit, que sit lex inclita Christi, / Et rectum ad superos scandere pandit iter. / Venit ad occasum morbo confectus atroci / Spiritus alta petit, pondere corpus humum. / Ipsam (pij qua fit Pauli conversio) iam / Lux, anime patris celica regna parat. .1491o.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 131v-132. Included in Copsey, *Biographical Register*. Copsey points out that Bale repeated parts of this epitaph in later compositions: London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 108-108v; *Catalogus*, vol 1, 630. Bale gives the year of Scrope's death as 1491, which Richard Copsey corrects to 1492.

⁷ *Anglorum Heliades*, Book 1, Chapter 50, transcribed and translated by Richard Copsey, Brocard Sewell (private printing, Aylesford Priory). In the same work, Bale cites Scrope as an 'authority' (*Anglorum Heliades*, Book 1, Chapter 8), and continues the biography in Book 2 (Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 107v-108).

⁸ *Anglorum Heliades*, Book 2 (Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 107v-108).

landowners. If James Tait is right in suggesting that Thomas Scrope was perhaps an illegitimate offspring of one of the sons of Sir Richard Scrope, first Baron Scrope of Bolton, then no doubt the young Thomas would have been influenced by the political, literary, and spiritual interests of one of the leading families of England, remarkable for its political power and literary patronage.⁹ As mentioned in the previous chapter, a number of Scopes were members of Thomas Arundel's 'circle' at Ely and York, and were probably responsible for the introduction of Richard Rolle's work to that group of clerics, and quite possibly the Carmelites. Thomas Scrope's grandfather, Richard Scrope (c.1327-1403), was a major Yorkshire landowner, building Bolton Castle in Wensleydale.¹⁰ A retainer of John of Gaunt, he was appointed Treasurer of England and Steward of the Household of young Richard II, before becoming Chancellor of England. Baron Scrope was a man of devout piety, founding chantry chapels, endowing abbeys, and donating money to York Minster as well as a wide range of northern friaries and monasteries, finally bequeathing the missal and breviary he used daily to his eldest surviving son, Roger. Baron Scrope acted as executor of Archbishop Thoresby of York, a See taken up by his nephew, godson, and namesake Richard Scrope. As mentioned in previous chapters, this Archbishop Scrope was the first prelate to be executed by a secular court in England, for his alleged role in the failed Percy uprising against the Lancastrian Henry IV. For some this cast a pall of shame over the Scrope family, but for others it was a source of pride, as the archbishop was quickly hailed as a martyr in Yorkist circles, with his tomb in York Minster developing into an important (if unofficial) shrine. The fallout from the execution of a family member whilst Thomas Scrope was a child may have made a lasting impression; the efforts to reconcile fighting factions may have convinced him of the need to seek unity within Church and Society, and the potential consequences of rebellion against either.¹¹

⁹ In addition to the notes on the Scrope family in the previous chapter (nn. 110, 353), see: Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 211; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries, passim* [though Hughes calls Scrope 'Richard', not Thomas on 116]; 'Sir Richard Scrope and the Scrope and Grosvenor Depositions', in Joel T. Rosenthal, *Telling Tales: Sources and Narration in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 63-94; A. S. G. Edwards, 'The Contexts of Notre Dame 67' in Jill Mann, Maura Nolan (eds.), *The Text in the Community: Essays on medieval works, manuscripts, authors, and readers* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 107-28.

¹⁰ The following biographical information is from Brigitte Vale, 'Scrope, Richard, first Baron Scrope of Bolton (c.1327-1403)', *ODNB*.

¹¹ It has been argued that the so-called 'Bolton Hours' book (York, York Minster Library, Ms. Additional 2), which dates from no later than 1410, was compiled in such a way that its elaborate artwork – including pictures of Archbishop Scrope – would promote harmony and reconciliation after the prelate's martyrdom. See: John Osborne, 'Politics and Popular Piety in Fifteenth-Century Yorkshire: Images of 'St' Richard Scrope in the Bolton Hours', *Florilegium*, 17 (2000), 1-19; Sarah Rees Jones, Felicity Riddy, 'The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere', in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (eds.), *Household, Women, and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts*, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 215-60 [244 ff.]; Alexandra Barratt, 'Enveloped In Synne': The Bolton Hours and Its Confessional Formula', in Richard Firth Green, Linne R. Mooney (eds.), *Interstices: Studies in Middle English and Anglo-Latin Texts in Honour of A. G. Rigg* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 3-14.



The tomb of Archbishop Scrope at the East End of York Minster.



The prayers of 'Saint Richard Scrope' being invoked in 'The Bolton Hours'. York, York Minster, Ms. Additional 2, fo. 100v.

Modern biographers must resist the urge to psychologise Thomas Scrope, but being born an illegitimate child within one of the country's leading families may have given him a complex sense of being both inside and outside Establishment circles. Scrope's eventual interest in Carmelite history might well be interpreted as evidence of a desire to cement himself within a religious family's spiritual lineage. Though the precepts of medieval Canon Law meant that birth outside wedlock was normally a barrier to religious life and ordination, perhaps the prestige of Thomas Scrope's family background overcame any obstacles to his entering the Carmelite Order, probably in around 1415-20 (when in his teens or early twenties as was the norm), and probably in Stamford as the house nearest his likely place of birth.¹² He seems to have studied in Norwich, the *studium* for the eastern distinction of the Order, and the earliest extant reference to Thomas Scrope suggests that he had completed his studies and been ordained by 1425.

That reference, in the correspondence of the Carmelite Prior Provincial Thomas Netter, is noted by John Bale. In 1425 Netter wrote to the Prior of the Norwich Whitefriars, William Thorpe, complaining about the eccentric apostolate of a friar in his community, the young Thomas Scrope.

¹² Copsey, in the *ODNB*, states that Scrope entered the Carmelites at Norwich, but I am not certain on what basis this claim is made. It seems to me more likely that Scrope would have entered the novitiate in his nearest community, before proceeding to further studies in Norwich. Copsey notes [*Biographical Register*] that John Bale in his later works [*Catalogus*, vol 1, 629] recounts how Thomas Scrope first entered the Benedictines and then the Dominicans before transferring to the Carmelites, 'however, these moves are not in Bale's earliest notes and would seem very unlikely.'

Apparently Scrope had been travelling the Norfolk countryside preaching repentance in an extravagant manner. Dressed in sackcloth with an iron girdle about his waist, Scrope had proclaimed ‘the new Jerusalem, the bride of the Lamb, was shortly to come down from heaven prepared for her spouse’.¹³ If, as has been suggested in an earlier chapter, Thomas Netter’s instruction to Alan of Lynn that he desist from discussing the Bible with Margery Kempe took place around the time of the Carmelite Provincial Chapter in Lynn in 1424, then Netter’s intervention regarding Thomas Scrope took place just months later, and reveals a Provincial’s enduring concern over eccentric, demonstrative, religious practice at that time. Norwich Diocese would not experience the fear induced by Bishop Alnwick’s heresy trials until 1428, but the region was clearly one in which reports of potentially suspect religious behaviour effectively and damningly reached the ears of ecclesiastical authorities who reacted quickly and firmly.

As in the case of Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn, no doubt Thomas Netter’s actions against Thomas Scrope were prompted by fear of the accusations that might be levelled against a member of his Order for displaying what some might deem unruly spiritual behaviour, reminiscent of Lollard fervour and ferment. Whilst it was the role of mendicants in particular to prepare God’s people for Christ’s Second Coming by preaching and teaching (as we have seen previously the Carmelite Thomas Ashburne’s poem *De contemptu mundi* seems to have dealt with this topic, for instance), proclaiming the impending *parousia* dressed in clothes other than the regulation Carmelite habit could also be interpreted as eccentric at best, and at worst bordering on the heretical. Not only did much Wycliffite literature employ apocalyptic terminology to expose the established Church as the Beast or Antichrist who would come forth in the End Times as predicted in *The Book of Revelation*,¹⁴ but in the High Middle Ages a number of theologically-suspect writers and esoteric movements had preached and written in apocalyptic terms which help us better to understand Netter’s concerns over Scrope.¹⁵

¹³ Thomas Netter, Letter XXXVII, recorded by John Bale in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 101v; *Catalogus*, vol 1, 630. Netter’s letters, transcribed from Ms. Bodley 73 by Benedict Zimmerman as part of his *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana* (Lérins: Ex typis abbatiae, 1905-07), are currently being edited and translated by Fr. Kevin Alban, O.Carm, and some have been published as: Kevin J. Alban, ‘The Letters of Thomas Netter of Walden’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 343-80. On mendicant rural preaching missions, see: Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen, ‘Them Friars Dash About’: Mendicant *terminatione* in Medieval Scandinavia’, in Marianne O’Doherty, Felicitas Schmieder (eds.), *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea*, International Medieval Research 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 3-29.

¹⁴ See: Curtis V. Bostick, *The Antichrist and the Lollards: Apocalypticism in Late Medieval and Reformation England*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 70 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

¹⁵ For a general overview of the genre see the introduction and texts in Bernard McGinn (ed. and trans.), *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1979). See also: Bernard McGinn, ‘Apocalypticism and Violence: Aspects of Their Relation in Antiquity and the Middle Ages’, in Thomas J. Heffernan, Thomas E. Burman, *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and*

For example, Joachim of Fiore (Gioacchino da Fiore, c.1135-1202) had been an itinerant preacher before entering monastic life. He became a renowned mystic and interpreter of prophecies. His apocalyptic writings underwent examination by the papal curia, though he died before judgment could be passed, leaving his theological status as popular but suspect. Claiming divine inspiration, Joachim interpreted various verses in *The Book of Revelation* as prophesying that the Church would ultimately become unnecessary, a view some scholars held to be orthodoxly reformist, and others millenarian and heretical. Whilst some contested Joachim's theories – including the Carmelite Gui Terreni and the Dominican Thomas Aquinas – and the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 condemned a number of his theories, he had many admirers including a Joachite group among the Franciscan Spirituals (a stricter branch of that mendicant movement). In 1263 the Synod of Arles declared heretical some of Joachim's theories, but never went so far as to condemn him personally. Though some Christians held Joachim in high regard, he was accused by later inquisitors of inspiring heretical movements such as the Brethren of the Free Spirit, the Dulcinians, and the Amalricians, all of which saw adherents being burned at the stake.¹⁶ There were also Carmelite connections that seemingly endorsed Joachim. In the fourteenth century legends were embellished regarding a reputed hermit on Mount Carmel c.1200, Cyril of Constantinople, third Prior General of the Carmelites, who was said to have received from an angel prophetic texts inscribed in Greek on two silver tablets. Cyril was said to have translated these into Latin and sent them to Abbot Joachim for comment. Joachim reputedly (but not actually) wrote a letter of commentary in reply, and these prophecies, known as the *Oraculum angelicum* (*Angelic Oracle*) were esteemed and expounded by the Spirituals.¹⁷ It seems that Cyril's text was known in England.¹⁸

Renaissance, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 209-29; Michael A. Ryan (ed.), *A Companion to the Premodern Apocalypse*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Ilya Dines, Chet Van Duzer, *Apocalyptic Cartography: Thematic Maps and the End of the World in a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

¹⁶ On Joachim of Fiore see: Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and The Prophetic Future: A Medieval Study in Historical Thinking* (London: S.P.C.K., 1976, reprinted Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999); E. Randolph Daniel (ed.), *Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachimism*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS985 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). On subsequent heresies see: N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Walter L. Wakefield, Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

¹⁷ See: Adrian Staring, 'Cirillo di Constantinopoli', in Ludovico Saggi (ed.), *Santi del Carmelo: Biografie da vari dizionari* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1972), 189-90.

¹⁸ The *Oraculum Cyrilli* occurs in a number of medieval copies, including the Poppleton Manuscript discussed previously (Chapter Six, n. 15), and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius, Ms. 388, where it is claimed that a friar Gilbert of England discovered the prophecy in the monastery of Cluny. See: John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 51-52; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science During the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923), vol 2, 479.



A fresco of Saint Cyril of Constantinople, painted in the second half of the fifteenth century, at the Carmelite Church of San Felice del Benaco by Lake Garda, Italy.

Seen in this context of general international concern over apocalypticism, and in the specific climate of Norfolk with its impending heresy trials, it is unsurprising that Thomas Netter regarded with concern Thomas Scrope's zealous preaching about the end of the world. It is possible that Scrope's preaching was unconventional but entirely orthodox, just as, most likely, were the vernacular Bible discussions between Alan of Lynn and Margery Kempe. However, the key issue seems to have been, in both instances, the perceived nature of the audience and propriety of delivery. Just as Alan of Lynn must have spoken about Scripture in the vernacular to a woman lacking in formal theological training, so Thomas Scrope must have preached in the vernacular to a general public that was largely illiterate. Given that 1425 was the very year in which Thomas Netter dedicated his *Doctrinale* to the pope as a major work against heresy, and secondarily addressed it specifically to his own Carmelite

brothers, it would have been embarrassing for the Provincial if members of his own Order had been seen – or just seen to be seen – as undermining his efforts at asserting orthodoxy through their promotion of vernacular theology, either in private or in public.

Describing the young friar's actions in terms of 'scandal', 'schism', and 'commotion', Thomas Netter instructed the Carmelite Prior of Norwich that Thomas Scrope should be restrained.¹⁹ Either as an act of imposed punishment or self-determined withdrawal, Scrope retreated to the solitude of an anchorite's cell or possibly other form of hermitage within the grounds of the Carmelite house in Norwich. We noted in the previous chapter that seemingly there were two reclusive cells at Norwich Whitefriars, generally one occupied by a Carmelite friar, and the other by a laywoman connected to the Order. It was not uncommon for wayward brethren to be physically detained in their communities, though usually for a limited time within the confines of a convent prison rather than long-term in an anchorhold.²⁰ The practice of seeking (or imposing) deeper solitude within a religious community is not as paradoxical as it might initially appear; as early as the tenth century the *Regula solitariorum* (*Rule for Solitaries*) of the Carolingian monk Grimlaicus had offered a rule of life for cenobitic solitaries enclosed within a monastic community.²¹ Even earlier, in the seventh century, Saint Isidore of Seville, in his *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, specified that monastic anchorites were those who had first learned the cenobitic way of life and then chosen isolation so that their contemplation would not be interrupted.²² As we saw in the previous chapter with regard to Richard Misyn and Margaret Heslyngton, within fifteenth-century Carmelite circles in England there was a growing culture of enclosure and eremitism that harked back to the semi-desert origins of the Order.²³ Thus the restraint

¹⁹ The letter began: "Hec scandalum Ecclesie, hec schisma et commotionem in populis generant, ac ruborem illis ordinibus incutiunt, quos ita transcurrit, etc." Bale, *Catalogus*, vol 1, 630.

²⁰ The most infamous example is the imprisonment of Saint John of the Cross by his Carmelite brothers in Toledo in 1577. On discipline and imprisonment in medieval Carmelite communities see: Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 46. On the spiritual symbolism of imprisonment in medieval spirituality see: Anthony Bale, 'God's Cell: Christ as Prisoner and Pilgrimage to the Prison of Christ', *Speculum*, 91:1 (January 2016), 1-35.

²¹ Grimlaicus, *Grimlaicus: Rule for Solitaries*, translated by Andrew Thornton, Cistercian Studies 200 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2011).

²² Isidore specified six varieties of monk, three exemplary and three bad. The three good types are: cenobites who live holy and poor lives in community; hermits who live in isolation; and anchorites who withdraw after experience of community life. The three bad types are: *sarabaitae* who found monastic communities to live by their own rules; 'wanderers' who travel about seeking glory; and 'pretend anchorites' who spend only a short time in community before withdrawing to a cell where their behaviour cannot be observed but where they can enjoy a false reputation for humility and holiness. Isidore of Seville, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* [II.xv/xvi] (trans.) Thomas L. Knoebel, *Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation* 61 (New York: The Newman Press, 2008), 87-88. This summary is from G. R. Evans, *The I. B. Tauris History of Monasticism: The Western Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 102. See also Edden (ed.), *De Instytucyonys*, xvi.

²³ For Church historian Norman Tanner, Scrope and the Carmelite anchorites in Norwich 'represent an interesting return to the original traditions' of the Order [*The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, 59]. Edden rightly sees Scrope's entry into the anchorhold not as a rejection of Carmelite life, but as a deepening of his vocation: 'He considered himself to be a Carmelite anchorite, not an anchorite attached to a Carmelite friary, and continued to write in defence of the Order after he was recalled to active life', *De Instytucyonys*, xvi.

of Thomas Scrope inside a recluse's cell may have been regarded as a very proper means for curbing youthful religious zeal, and fostering a more sober and profound spirituality.

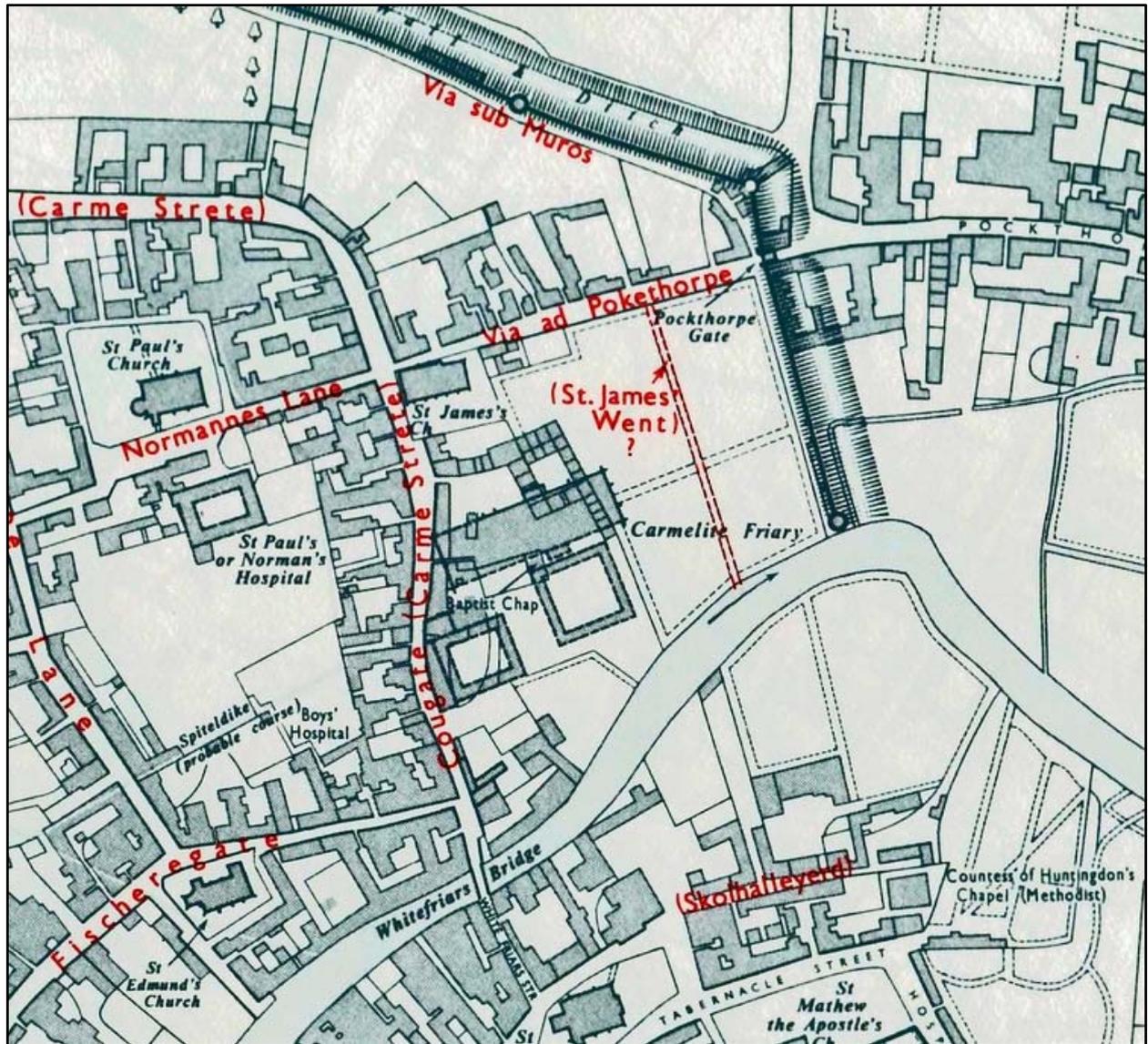
For those content to submit to the diktats of orthodox authority, an anchorhold at Norwich Whitefriars in the 1420s may have been as much a locus for privileged spiritual formation as it was for punitive supervision. As noted in the previous chapter, four years before Thomas Scrope's 1425 enclosure, Lady Emma Stapleton had been admitted to the other solitary cell on site, receiving supervision from five senior Whitefriars until her death and burial in the Carmelite chapel in 1442. Both Scrope and Stapleton were members of aristocratic families, and their anchorholds may have been regarded as places of study and reflection specially suited to pious nobility, whose withdrawal from the ordinary business of the world – and the extra reliance on the support of others that entails – could be sponsored by wealthy connections. We do not know the extent to which Thomas Scrope was supervised and supported by his confreres, but as will become clear, his anchorhold became a place for dedicated study and writing. With Scrope and Stapleton being exact contemporaries at the Norwich Carmelite convent, it is interesting to speculate how strict or otherwise the friar's enclosure might have been compared with his female counterpart, and whether or not he had any direct or indirect dealings with her.²⁴

The environment of the Carmelite friary in fifteenth-century Norwich is worth further consideration for what it can tell us about formative influences on Thomas Scrope, and his subsequent efforts to encourage or hamper religious ambitions through the provision of vernacular theological texts. Norwich was one of the pre-eminent cities of medieval England, and Carmelite friars participated in the city's ecclesiastical culture in a number of ways. As already noted in previous chapters, the Norwich Carmelite community was founded in 1256, early in the Order's English expansion, and it grew to become the principal house and *studium* (regional study centre for academically-promising Carmelites) of the Province's eastern distinction.²⁵ As a sizeable religious institution, Norwich Whitefriars gave hospitality to prominent prelates, among them the Carmelite

²⁴ On the practice of solitaries living alongside religious communities, see the first part of Cate Gunn, Liz Herbert McAvoy (eds.), *Medieval Anchorites in their Communities*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion XLV (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017).

²⁵ On the Norwich Carmelites see: Keith J. Egan, 'Medieval Carmelite Houses: England and Wales', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 1-85 [66-68]; Richard Copley, *The Medieval Carmelite Priory at Norwich* (private printing, 2000); Francis Blomefield, Charles Parkin, 'Carmelites or Whitefriars', *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 Volumes (London: William Miller, 1805-10), vol 4, 416-23; J. C. Cox, 'The Carmelite Friars of Norwich', *A History of Norfolk* (London: Victoria County History, 1906), vol 2, 431-32.

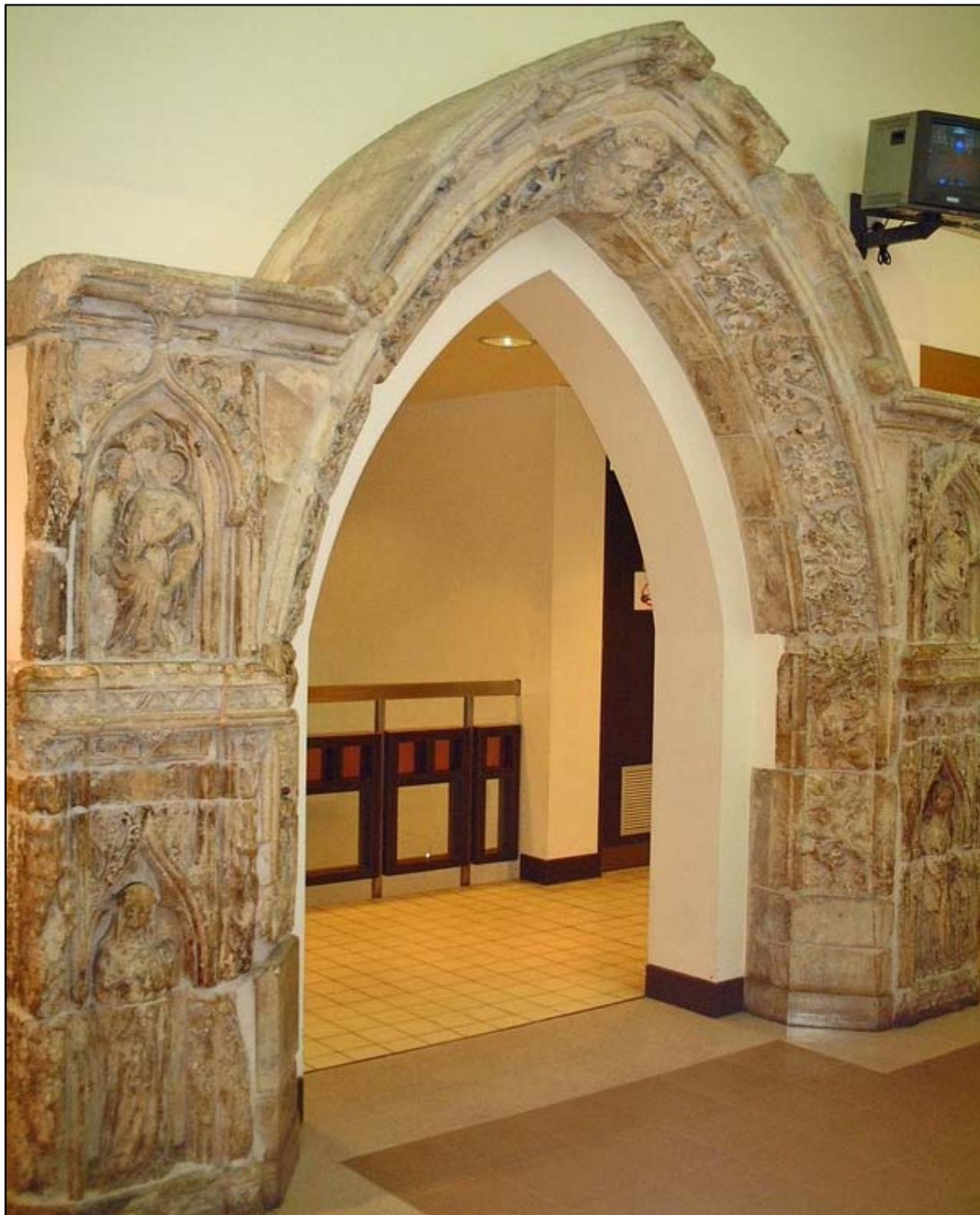
Provincial Thomas Netter and the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel, both men whose concerns about vernacular theology have already been noted.²⁶



The Carmelite Friary site shown on a map of Norwich in 1789 highlighting medieval street names and buildings.²⁷

²⁶ For details of visitors to the convent see: Copey, *The Medieval Carmelite Priory at Norwich*, 13. Arundel stayed at Norwich Whitefriars during a metropolitanical visitation in 1400: Blomefield, Parkin, 'Carmelites or Whitefriars', 419.

²⁷ James Campbell, 'Norwich', in Mary D. Lobel (ed.), *The Atlas of Historic Towns, Volume 2* (London: The Scholar Press in conjunction with the Historic Towns Trust, 1975), available online at www.historictownsatlas.org.uk [accessed October 2015].



The one-time splendour of Norwich Whitefriars can be seen from the intricate stone carving on its fourteenth-century ‘Armingall Arch’, now in the city’s Magistrates’ Courts, just over the River Wensum from the original friary site.

The reputation of medieval Norwich as a hotbed of anchorites and recluses – more than any other city in England – is well-known among today’s scholars thanks to the enduring legacy of its most famous medieval daughter, Dame Julian, and recent studies of urban religious life in East Anglia’s largest city.²⁸ As we know, the Carmelite friary site incorporated at least two separate hermitages or anchorites’ cells, and references to ‘the ankyr at Wyght Freres’ are found in wills and records as late as 1510. At various times at least two of these are identified as friars who seem to have been immured in the manner common for anchorites.²⁹ However, we know from the case of Emma Stapleton that at least at one time a cell was available for a lay person wishing to live immured alongside the brethren.

We know that Carmelite friars in Norwich extended some form of participation in their spiritual life to those normally excluded from the religious cloister. Like Emma Stapleton, another Norfolk woman, Agnes Paston (d. 1479), from the local family celebrated today for its unparalleled collection of medieval letters, also had some form of affiliation with the Norwich Carmelites. In an extract from one of several redactions of her will, preserved in a seventeenth-century genealogy, Agnes declares: ‘Also I bequeath to the Whight Fryers of the said city of Norwich, for I am there a suster, to help to pay hir debts xx li., which I will be gathered of the arrerage of my lyvelode.’³⁰ This Carmelite ‘suster’ Agnes goes on to list members of her family buried at the Whitefriars’ convent in Norwich, some of whom in turn remembered anchorites and Carmelites in their wills.³¹ Indeed, the large number of records testifying to the burials of lay people at the site – most prestigiously Lady Eleanor Talbot (also known as Boteler or Butler) in 1468, daughter of the First Earl of Shrewsbury, benefactor of the

²⁸ On the Church in medieval Norwich, including its anchoritic culture and the role of the Carmelites within it see: Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 66 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984); Carole Rawcliffe, Richard Wilson (eds.), *Medieval Norwich* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), especially the chapters by Norman Tanner, ‘Religious practice’, 137-55, and Christopher Harper-Bill, Carole Rawcliffe, ‘The Religious Houses’, 73-120; Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); E. A. Jones, ‘Hermits and Anchorites in Historical Context’, in Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden, Roger Ellis (eds.), *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 3-18, [10]; Cate Gunn, ‘“A recluse ate Norwyche”: Images of Medieval Norwich and Julian’s Revelations’, in Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 32-41.

²⁹ In 1499 Friar John Folsham of the Norwich Carmelite convent was granted papal dispensation to return to the state he held before he was enclosed as an anchorite: entry 3623 in Peter D. Clarke, Patrick N. R. Zutshi (eds.), *Supplications from England and Wales in the Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary 1410-1503*, Volume III: 1492-1503, Canterbury and York Society 105 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 62. Folsham is evidence that Scrope is not the only Carmelite anchorite to have left his cell.

³⁰ Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Add. 6968, 11-12; reproduced in Norman Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, Early English Text Society Supplementary Series 20 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Part I, 49.

³¹ Upon her death in 1484 Margaret Paston bequeathed three shillings and fourpence each to the anchoresses at Conisford, the Friars Preachers, and the White Friars in Norwich, as noted by Kim M. Phillips, ‘Femininities and the Gentry in Late Medieval East Anglia: Ways of Being’, in Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 19-31 [26].

Carmelites and allegedly lover of King Edward IV³² – suggests that the Whitefriars nurtured a close relationship with town and county.³³ Burial stipulations about the location of graves also tell us something about the devotional practices of the Norwich Carmelites and lay worshippers; in the friary church there was a Chapel of the Virgin, Chapel of the Holy Cross, images of Our Lady, Saint Lawrence, and Saint Anne. Candles burned before the Blessed Sacrament, and there was a light to Our Lady. The interaction of the Whitefriars and laity is also implied by the reference to local guilds that met at the priory, such as the Candlemakers' Guild of St. Mary, the Guild of St. Barbara, and the Guild of St. Gation.

In their interactions with the general public, the Carmelites in Norwich would no doubt have used vernacular speech and also writing to convey theological information. We saw as much in Chapter One when considering the interaction in Norwich between Margery Kempe and the Carmelite William Southfield (d. 1414), revered during his lifetime for his mystical insights, who along with Alan of Lynn exemplifies the Carmelite Order's interest in supportive interaction with pious individuals.

The documentary evidence left us by Kempe, the Pastons, and others all point to the Norwich Carmelites' deep engagement in local society, and promotion in that city of what has previously been dubbed the 'democratisation of contemplation'. This contemplative community of Whitefriars was in regular contact with prelates, clergy, nobility, the mercantile classes, and other devout laypersons seeking religious guidance and spiritual stimulation.

Yet we know from the strictures of Thomas Netter that this pastoral outreach had its limits, and so it was, in this highly-charged religious environment of Norwich Carmelite friary, that the chastised Thomas Scrope 'died to the world' and entered the solitude of an anchorhold within the community enclosure. As we shall see in due course, even if this cell was considered punishment for Scrope's transgression of the boundaries of religious speculation, it opened up for him an imaginative literary space.

Exactly when Scrope entered the anchorhold is not known, but it seems likely to have been soon after Thomas Netter's letter of complaint in 1425. Certainly from this date records of Scrope's activities fall silent for some time. That silence is briefly broken on 5th May 1441 when an indult from Pope Eugene IV (who in 1432 had granted the second mitigation of the Carmelite *Rule*) to 'Thomas Bradley, an anchorite of the Carmelite house of Norwich' granted him permission to choose his own confessor.³⁴ This dispensation perhaps represented a relaxation of restrictions that might hitherto have

³² A. J. Pollard, 'Talbot, John, first earl of Shrewsbury and first earl of Waterford (c.1387–1453)', *ODNB*.

³³ Guilds are listed chronologically and by subject in Copey, *The Medieval Carmelite Priory at Norwich*. See also the list of gentry burials noted by Blomefield, Parkin, 'Carmelites or Whitefriars', 417.

³⁴ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, ix, 241.

been imposed upon Scrope, and certainly shows his interaction with Church society beyond the confines of the cell. Such interaction may have come about in occasional exeats from the cell for specific acts such as preaching.³⁵

There is some confusion as to when Thomas Scrope physically re-emerged from the recluse's cell. In 1442 a reference is made to 'the anker of the Carmels'; in 1443 the specific name 'friar Thomas, the recluse of the order of the Carmelites of Norwich' is recorded; then in 1445 Thomas Bumsted senior bequeathed 6s. 8d. to 'the anchorite dwelling in the convent of the Carmelites at Norwich'.³⁶ These mentions could have been to Scrope, to a successor occupying his cell, or to a contemporary in the other solitary's cell after the death of Emma Stapleton in 1442. The next reference to a recluse at the Norwich Whitefriars is to another Thomas, brother Thomas Castleacre, priest and anchorite, in 1465.³⁷ Whatever the exact date of his re-emergence, it seems that Thomas Scrope spent the better part of two decades in one of the solitary cells at Norwich Whitefriars.

A definitive *terminus ad quem* for Scrope's departure from the cell is 1449, since early the following year he is recorded as being in Rome, ordained there on 1st February 1450 as bishop of the Irish diocese of Dromore.³⁸ To enter the anchorhold in disgrace in 1425 yet emerge several years later and be ordained bishop in 1450 shows a remarkable transformation in Thomas Scrope, or at least a change in how he was regarded by ecclesiastical authorities. Such a radical change in vocation – from anchorite to bishop – was unusual, but not entirely unheard of in Church history.³⁹ It has been suggested that Scrope's influential noble family may have had a hand in his episcopal promotion. Whatever the prompting for Scrope's elevation to the hierarchy, it could only have come about by his having proved his theological orthodoxy during his time of enclosure. Indeed, the respectability of Scrope's reputation, opinions, life, and morals is commended in a letter of introduction from his then

³⁵ Blomefield and Parkin ['Carmelites or Whitefriars', 419] say that Scrope 'led an anchorite's life here many years, seldom going out of his cell, but when he preached', though no evidence of such activity is given. A few male anchorites are known to have occupied their cells only 'part-time'. Though there is no evidence for this in the case of Scrope, his occupancy of the cell coincided with the 1432 papal mitigation of Carmelite friars' enclosure, and it is possible that this had some secondary impact on the strictness of enclosure for anchoritic Whitefriars.

³⁶ The 1443 reference is recorded in *Reg. Doke*, Norwich, fo. 5. The 1445 Bumsted reference is given by J. Kirkpatrick, *History of the Religious Orders and Communities and of the Hospitals and Castle of Norwich* (ed.) D. Turner (Yarmouth: Charles Sloman, 1845), 177, citing an unspecified folio in *Reg. Wilbery*, Norwich. The date 1441 is sometimes given as Scrope's departure from the anchorhold, but this would seem to contradict the reference to 'friar Thomas' in 1443 [Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, 198; Bale, *Scriptorium*, I, 629-30; Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 163; Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 211 n. 61]. 1446 is a popular conjecture. John Bale is also inconsistent, listing both 14 and 20 years as the length of Scrope's enclosure, which suggests an exit in either 1439 or 1445.

³⁷ Blomefield, Parkin, 'Carmelites or Whitefriars', 421.

³⁸ The text of the papal bull and sworn statements attesting to the consecration have been copied into the bishop of Norwich's register: *Reg. Lyhert*, Norwich, XII, fo. 214-215; Konrad Eubel (ed.), *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, Volume II (1431-1503) (Regensburg: Monasterii Sumptibus et typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1901), 146.

³⁹ The most celebrated example in the English Church is that of Saint Cuthbert (c.634-87) who in 684 reluctantly left his hermitage off the Northumbrian coast to become Bishop of Lindisfarne.

Carmelite Provincial, Nicholas Kenton, to the bishops and prelates of Ireland.⁴⁰ This epistle suggests that Thomas Scrope may have briefly visited his diocese in the summer of 1450, but otherwise he seems (like many of his fellow Hibernian appointees) to have been an absentee bishop, remaining mostly in East Anglia. From September 1450 he was given permission to officiate as a suffragan bishop in Norwich Diocese, and although it is possible that Scrope resigned his See of Dromore in 1457 when Richard Misyn took that office, entries in the diocesan registers show that he continued to use the title and act in Norwich, holding a number of rectorships near the city (as a source of income, Dromore being such a financially poor diocese). Whilst working as a suffragan, Scrope would surely have been aware of the fate of his fellow bishop, Reginal Pecock, accused of heresy by Oxford theologians in 1457, and by the Carmelite Provincial the following year (as discussed in previous chapters).



Imagined portrait of Thomas Scrope wearing Carmelite habit and bishop's mitre.
Painting in the Carmelite Friary, Krakow, Poland.

⁴⁰ The only surviving letter of Nicholas Kenton (d. 1468) within an original collection of more than 212 letters was written in 1450 (not 1448 as it is dated by John Bale c.1527) and concerns Thomas Scrope: *Magnum epistolare*, "Reverendissimo in Christo patri et magistro fratri Johanni Faci tocius ordinis, etc.", London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 196v-197, 200-200v. The letter refers to Scrope having been an anchorite in Norwich. See: Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 294; Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

In 1454 Thomas Scrope was admitted rector of the Norfolk village of Sparham, and subsequently held the benefice of Belton in Suffolk in 1461. In 1466 he was given the living of Trowse Newton in Norfolk, but he then disappears from the diocesan records for the next three years.⁴¹ Richard Copey suggests that this is the period (June 1466 – December 1468) in which (by tradition of later biographers rather than precise contemporary record) Thomas Scrope served as Pope Paul II's legate to the Dodecanese island of Rhodes. The city of Rhodes was at that time under threat of Turkish invasion, and perhaps Scrope's posting there was due to the interest in early Carmelite and Crusader history he had (as we shall see later) exhibited in his writings. It is striking that the post was entrusted to an English Whitefriar precisely a century after the death of a previous Carmelite incumbent, the saintly Frenchman Peter Thomas. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Peter Thomas's biographer, Philippe de Mézières, stated that as papal legate in Rhodes the Carmelite bishop had learned the language and thus earned the love of the people amongst whom he ministered. Peter Thomas had striven to unite Latin and Greek Christian communities. Sadly, a century later, Thomas Scrope was less successful in his efforts as legate. What little we know of his mission is derived from later accounts, John Leland, for instance, recording that Scrope had frequent talks in Rhodes with a Franciscan friar, a convert Jew from Jerusalem.⁴² A telling claim (though it cannot be corroborated) made in the seventeenth century by Sir James Ware was that Scrope came into conflict with clergy and people in Rhodes because of his failure to learn the local language.⁴³ Contrasted directly with the linguistic efforts of Peter Thomas, this account suggests that Thomas Scrope was not always a keen communicator in the local vernacular.

Thomas Scrope reappears in English records in 1469, holding the benefice of Freston in Suffolk, as well as performing ordinations in Kent at Maidstone (perhaps because of its closeness to Aylesford Carmelite Priory), and in Canterbury. By March 1470 Scrope had returned to Norwich Diocese, and continued working there as suffragan bishop, consecrating the new Carmelite church in Ipswich in 1477.⁴⁴ He seems to have performed ordinations in Norwich Diocese for the last time in March 1478,

⁴¹ *Reg. Norwich* xi, 34, 155.

⁴² John Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis, auctore Joanne Lelando* (ed.) Anthony Hall, 2 (Oxford, 1709), 472–73.

⁴³ *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland* (ed. and trans.) W. Harris, revised edition, vol 1 (1764), 261–62, and vol 2 (1764), 324.

⁴⁴ Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, *Reg. Lyhert*, Reg/6/11, fo. 214–15; William Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum - an Attempt to Exhibit the Course of Episcopal Succession in England from the Chronicles and Records of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, Second Edition 1897), 205; Konrad Eubel (ed.), *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, Volume II (1431–1503) (Regensburg: Monasterii Sumptibus et typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1901), 162; Fryde *et al* (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 349. Richard Copey has suggested that three Carmelites from Ghent probably saw the church under construction in 1474 as they made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Edmund the martyr at Bury St Edmunds: 'Three Carmelites from Ghent in England', *Bulletin of the British Province of Carmelites*, 49:3 (Winter 2015), 25–29.

being admitted two months later as rector of the parish church of St. Margaret of Antioch in the Suffolk town of Lowestoft, where he seems to have retired from active episcopal ministry.

According to John Bale, Thomas Scrope spent his later years walking barefoot through the East Anglian countryside teaching the Ten Commandments to the unlearned and distributing his goods to the poor.⁴⁵ Instead of preaching the apocalyptic message of his youth, the old man focussed his popular teaching on the Decalogue, one of the staples of a basic Christian faith.⁴⁶ Such a description of Scrope's last days may depend more upon hagiographic convention than actual fact, but the epitaph that Bale set down in 1526 certainly suggests that the friar-turned-solitary-turned-bishop died with a reputation for sanctity and orthodoxy, providing for the material and spiritual needs of the poor. The venerable Carmelite ended his ministry much as he had begun, preaching in the highways and byways of East Anglia, now a well-established bishop rather than a figure of suspicion and censure. Thomas Scrope died on 15th January 1492, when he was said to be nearly 100, and was buried in St. Margaret's, Lowestoft.⁴⁷



St. Margaret's Church in Lowestoft, final resting place of Thomas Scrope-Bradley, (pictured here in the early years of the 21st Century), was substantially enlarged in the 15th Century.

These three Whitefriars were making a pilgrimage on behalf of a noble lady of Ghent who was hoping for children, and the episode tells us more about the interaction between Carmelites and their patrons.

⁴⁵ John Bale, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. i (3); *Catalogus*, vol 1, 630. In *Anglorum Heliades*, Bale says that Scrope preached 'Interim nudis pedibus apostolico more patriam circuibat, et Dei precepta feriis Sextis inerudito predicabat vulgo' (Meanwhile barefoot, in an apostolic manner, he went around the country, and on Fridays preached God's commandments to the uneducated people) [Book 2: London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 107v-108].

⁴⁶ See: Lesley J. Smith, *The Ten Commandments: Interpreting the Bible in the Medieval World*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

⁴⁷ Edmund Gillingwater wrote in *The History of Lowestoft* (London, 1790), [294] that Scrope was buried: "Beneath a large stone in the middle of chancel ... There was formerly on this stone the effigy of the bishop in his episcopal habit; his crozier in one hand and his pastoral staff in the other, with several escutcheons of the arms of his family, etc. and ornamented with a border, all in brass; but scarce any remains of them are now to be seen, and the matrices wherein they were placed are almost empty ... From these circumstances, it is evident that formerly there was a monument in the church in memory of this bishop, though not the least remains of it are now to be seen; neither are we able to ascertain in what part of the church it was erected, though probably it was in the chancel."

Thomas Scrope's cell: a bibliophile's imaginative space

Entering the anchorhold at Norwich Whitefriars under a cloud in 1425, by 1449 Thomas Scrope had emerged to take up rank within the Church's hierarchy. Exactly what happened in the intervening twenty or so years we do not know in detail, but it seems likely that Thomas Scrope's maturation and promotion were greatly advanced not only by his noble connections but also by his reading, writing, and reflection within the recluse's cell at Norwich. It seems that his time spent in solitary prayer and mental labour under some form of Carmelite supervision allowed Scrope to develop spiritual insight and pastoral awareness that rendered him not only palatable to Church authorities but worthy of promotion. It is worth pondering the notion of the cell – a physically enclosed space but spiritually boundless – for what it can tell us about Thomas Scrope's attitudes to literature and religion, and the interaction between the two.

In the case of Thomas Scrope the cell at Norwich Whitefriars was, effectively, a chrysalis from which a Carmelite caterpillar might emerge as a bishop butterfly. As was discussed in Chapter Two, the Order's foundational *Rule of Saint Albert* envisages the hermit's cell as the primary space in which spiritual transformation takes place: 'Let each [Carmelite] remain in his cell or near it, meditating day and night on the Word of the Lord and keeping vigil in prayer, unless he is occupied with other lawful activities' [Chapter 10].⁴⁸ Such lawful activities, for an enclosed medieval friar like Thomas Scrope, may well have included manuscript reading and production. Indeed, the *Rule of Saint Albert* commands: 'Some work has to be done by you, so that the devil may always find you occupied' [Chapter 20]. Thus, the Carmelite reclusive cells in Norwich may have been regarded as akin to the Carthusian notion of each monk's individual cell being a scriptorium where composition is the labour.

We are not entirely certain whether Thomas Scrope was a hermit with some liberty of ingress and egress, or a more strictly enclosed anchorite, but the latter seems much more likely. Richard Misyn described himself as 'hermit', whereas 'anchorite' is the description of Thomas Scrope in bequests and indults referring to him, and the term he uses in the manuscripts written whilst a recluse. Canon Law and Church custom permitted hermits to leave their cells for pastoral or physical labour, and some anchorites had limited permission to walk abroad, but generally speaking an 'anachorita' or 'anker' was restricted to the anchorhold most or all of the time. Thus, Scrope's opportunities for physical work and public preaching were probably limited. However, a reclusive cell was potentially very conducive to the composition and copying of books and devotional texts (such as sermons, prayers, hymns, and so on).

⁴⁸ On the cell as a 'mystical space' in the Carmelite tradition, see: Emanuele Boaga, *Come pietre vive ... nel Carmelo – Per leggere la storia e la vita del Carmelo* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1993), 72.

In order to copy, compose, and translate texts, Thomas Scrope would have required access to manuscripts and the paraphernalia of writing. Being located within the grounds of a friary – resourced with a library, writing materials, and servants – this would not have presented Scrope with any particular difficulties.

Before looking at the texts which Scrope produced himself, it is worth briefly reviewing the titles known to have been in his possession, those which he saw, and those which were in the Norwich Carmelite friary, because these give us a clearer understanding of his interests and attitudes with regard to promoting and restricting theological ideas in the vernacular.

As noted in a previous chapter, being a *studium* the Norwich Carmelite house was blessed with a substantial collection of books. It had grown to such a size that a spacious and ‘very beautiful’ new library was built by the retired Prior Provincial John Keninghale in 1450, the year of Scrope’s episcopal ordination.⁴⁹ Destined primarily for the use of the student friars in the house, it seems likely that the *indexes* and *tabulae* compiled by Alan of Lynn (d. 1432+) – friend of Margery Kempe and Lector in Theology at the Norwich house in 1407 – were derived from manuscripts held in the Norwich Carmelite library. Those *tabulae* which survive tell us something of the holdings and interests of the Whitefriars in the early-to-mid fifteenth-century. Likewise, something can be learned by what John Bale says about the ‘noble and fair’⁵⁰ library of his filial house, as well as the list of books noted by his friend John Leland in the early sixteenth century.⁵¹ As well as the patristic writers, natural philosophers, Scriptural commentaries, and moral redactions common to an academic house, there were books on Birgitta of Sweden, Lollard heresy, astronomy, histories, and hagiographies. In addition to scholastic texts there were manuscripts of a more localised, more vernacular, bent. Local gentry, including the Paston family, are known to have made bequests to the Carmelites specifically in order to enhance the community’s library.⁵²

As well as having access to such a strong collection of books, Thomas Scrope is known to have consulted and owned texts whilst both inside and outside the recluse’s cell. In his *Chronicon*, Scrope records seeing a copy of the *History of Jerusalem* in the Cistercian abbey at Boxley in Kent.⁵³ It is

⁴⁹ John Bale, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. i^v.

⁵⁰ Bale, *Scriptorium*, I, 468-9, quoted in Jesse W. Harris, *John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1940), 14; McCaffrey, *The White Friars*, 263.

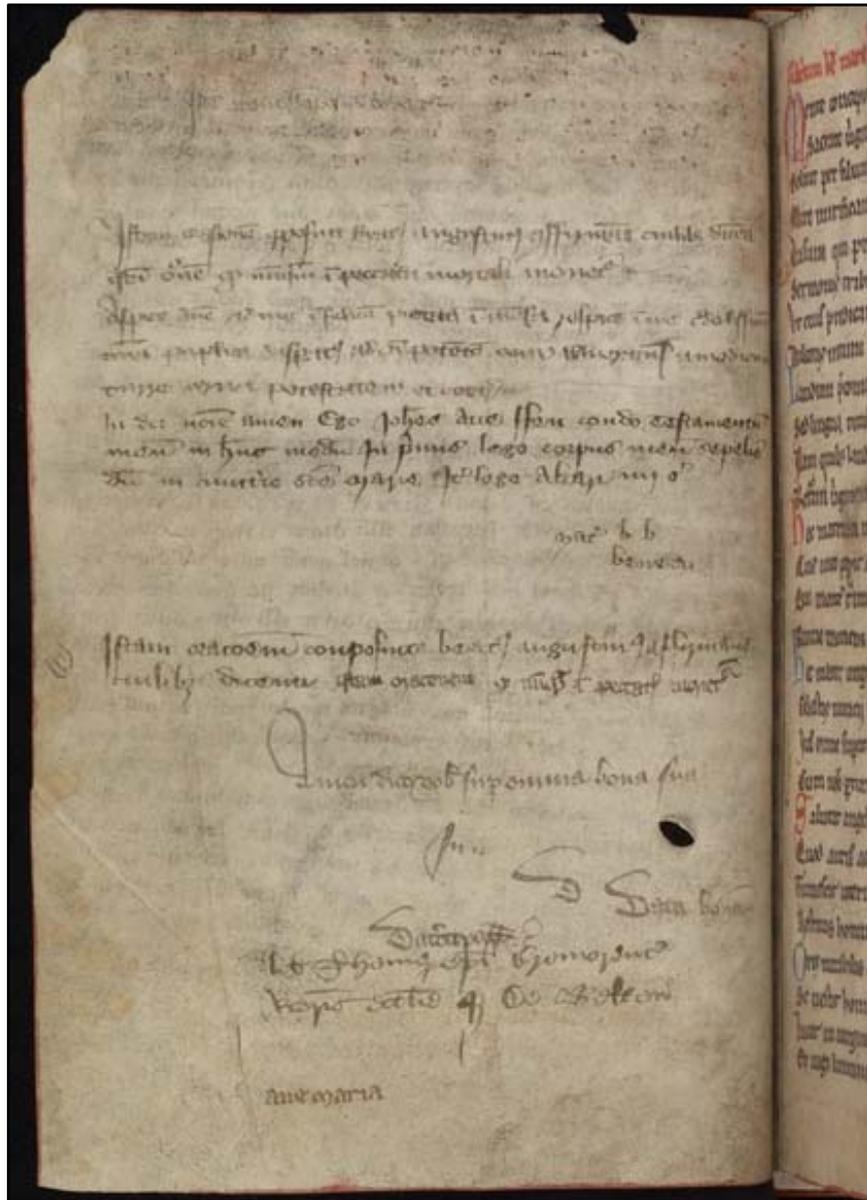
⁵¹ Listed in K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars’ Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 1 (London: The British Library, 1990), 188-190. See also: Copsey, *The Medieval Carmelites of Norwich*, 42-44.

⁵² Norman Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, Early English Text Society S.S. 20 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Part I, 625.

⁵³ The *Chronicon* is printed in the Carmelite *Speculum* (1680), 176. The manuscripts known to have been owned or seen by Scrope are listed in Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

natural that such a text should have attracted a Carmelite such as Scrope, interested in the history of his Order and its origins in the Holy Land.

Scrope is also recorded as the owner of a copy of the *Postil on the Gospels* by the Franciscan biblical commentator Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1349), a text of mendicant evangelism.⁵⁴ Scrope likewise possessed a *Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary* which bears his signature.⁵⁵



Scrope's signature on Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Ff vi 14, fo. vii^v.

⁵⁴ Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Ii vi 14. The flyleaf bears the inscription: 'Liber iste constat Thome Scrope episcopo Dromorensi cujus precium est quinque solidos. empto de decano capelle beate marie de campis in Norwic. A.D. 1462. Johann. Nelle.' On Lyra, who was one of the scholars who condemned Marguerite Porete, see: Philip D. W. Krey, Lesley Janette Smith (eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

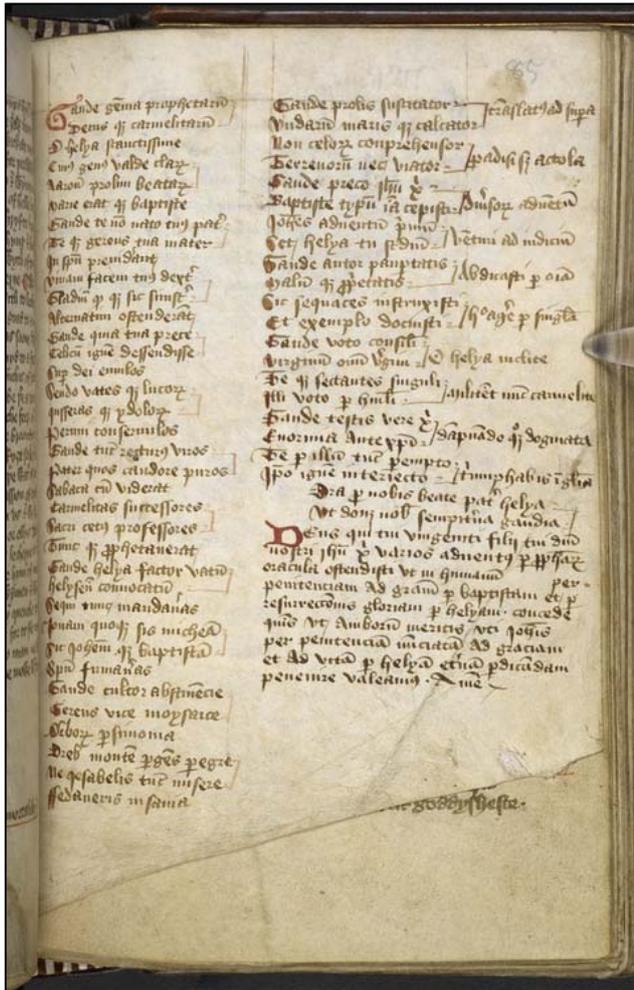
⁵⁵ Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Ff vi 14 [signature on fo. vii^v].

Most interestingly for our enquiries into Carmelite vernacular writings, Thomas Scrope also once owned a manuscript containing a copy of Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, bound alongside offices and prayers in Latin and in English: London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211, which was discussed at length in Chapter Four. Harley 211 was a 'commonplace' book in which Scrope, over a number of years, collected the *Office of Our Lady*, blessings, prayers, medical recipes, and – most interestingly given his personal experience – there is an *Ordo ad includendum hominem vel feminam*, that is, a bishop's rite of enclosure for men or women [fo. 167-169v].⁵⁶

By its personal nature, a Latin prayer to saints named Thomas [fo. 176] seems likely to have been Thomas Scrope-Bradley's own composition. This very important Carmelite codex also contains a Latin prayer to the prophet Elijah, 'Leader of the Carmelites', written in verse form which, though the authorship is unattributed, may also have been by Scrope himself, given his interest in the Order's spiritual ancestry.⁵⁷

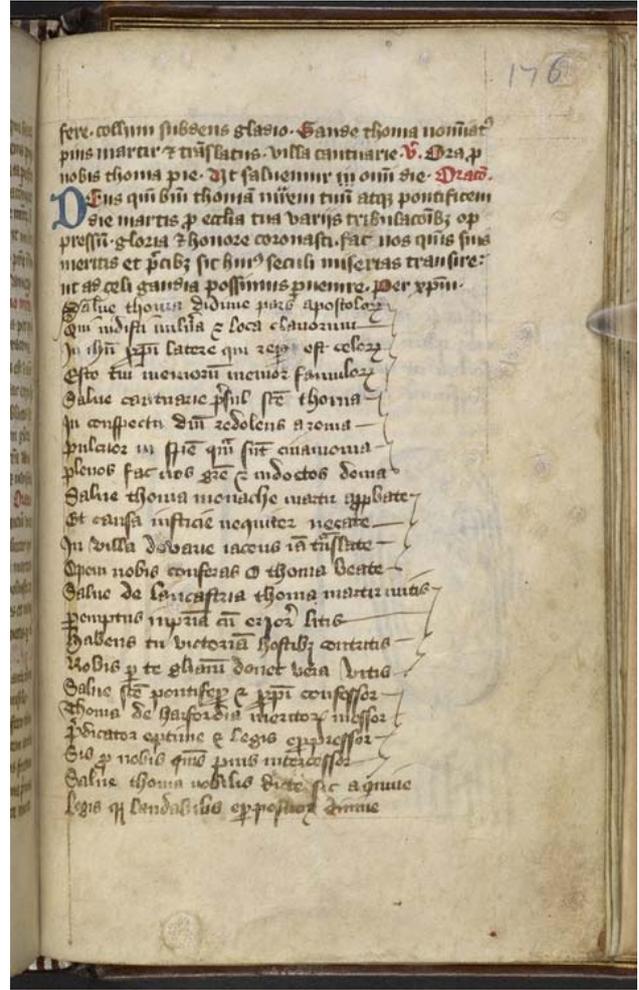
⁵⁶ According to Copsey in his *Biographical Register*: 'Scrope's name occurs twice in an *Orate pro anima* on fo. 174, 191v; at fo. 176 there is a hymn and a prayer to several saints named Thomas ... Van Zutphen [*A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, xxxv-vi] suggests that some of these entries, notably the *Ordo* and the invocation of patrons, were written by Scrope himself and it is possible that other entries are also in his hand.'

⁵⁷ Ms. Harley 211, fo. 85. Richard Copsey lists under unknown Carmelite authors this *Poem to St. Elijah*, "*Gaude gemma prophetarum/ Decusque Carmelitarum/ O Helya sanctissime.*" Copsey notes there are 23 verses (similar to that in the *incipit*) followed by a prayer. Copsey says the poem is possibly the work of Scrope, noting his authorship of the poem to saints called Thomas. See: Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 408.



London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211, fo. 85.

Latin Poem-Prayer to Saint Elijah,
possibly composed by Thomas Scrope.

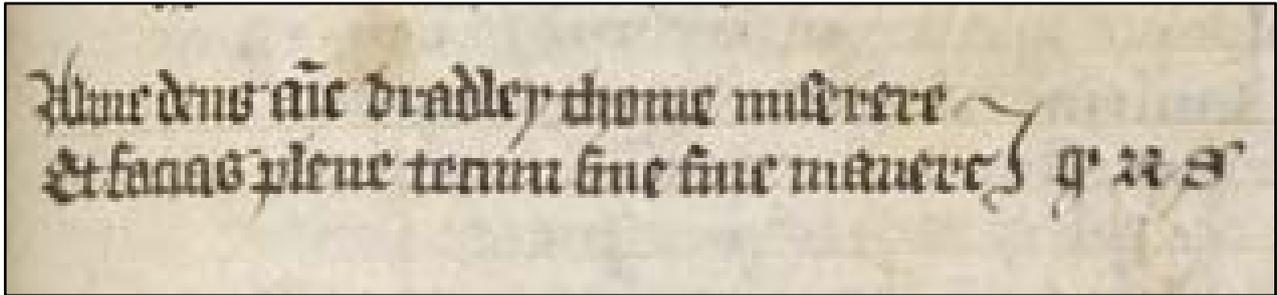


London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211, fo. 176.

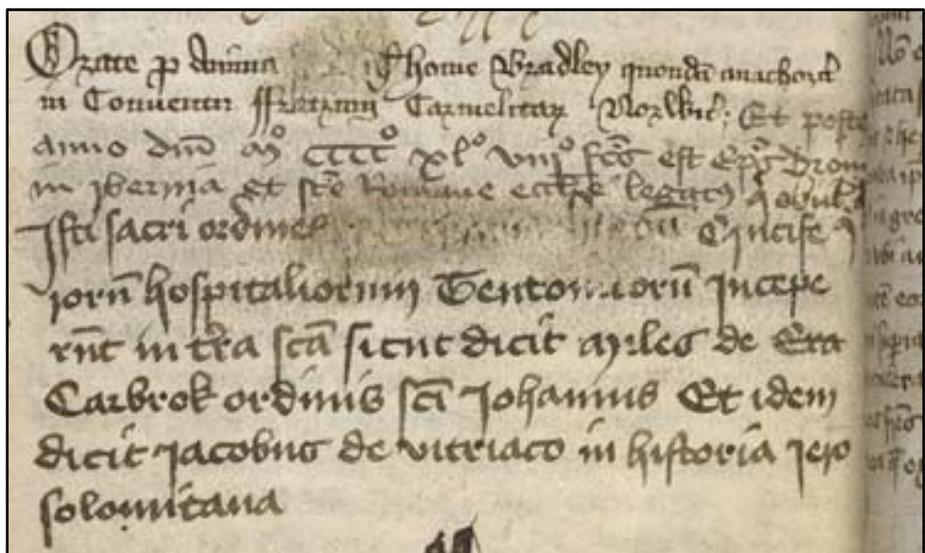
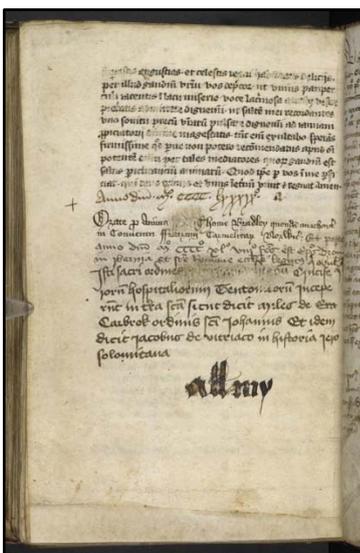
Latin Prayer to Saints Named Thomas,
probably composed by Thomas Scrope.

Scrope’s name appears twice as Bradley in Harley 211.⁵⁸ The first instance [fo.174] is an ‘Orate pro anima’ (‘pray for the soul of’) invocation in a two-line Latin prayer asking for God’s mercy on Thomas Bradley. The second [fo. 191v] is another section of Latin text beseeching prayers for Thomas Bradley, ‘formerly anchorite in the convent of Carmelite friars in Norwich’, which refers to some of his writings.

⁵⁸ Listed by J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litol Tretyz on the Seven Deadly Sins* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956), xxxv-vi.



London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211, fo. 174 (full folio and detail)
'Orate pro anima' prayer naming Thomas Bradley.



British Library, Ms. Harley 211, fo. 191v (full folio and detail)

'Orate pro anima' prayer naming Thomas Bradley and some of his writings.

From these references we can deduce that Scrope probably had possession of the manuscript whilst in the anchorhold, that is sometime between 1425 and 1449. From the request that others pray for him we can also deduce that Scrope envisaged the eventual circulation of the manuscript after his death, making the references to his writings effectively a form of self-promotion. The inclusion of episcopal resources within Harley 211 suggests that Scrope retained the manuscript after his becoming a bishop in 1450. In Chapter 4 I stated that Harley 211 is a document associated with Carmelites in London and East Anglia who passed it between themselves. Assuming that the manuscript's contents have not been changed and rebound several times, and that my conjecture is correct that the portion of the manuscript containing Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* was copied out by the German friar Aegidius Fleeber de Arluno during his time studying in London in 1466-67, Harley 211 must have passed from Scrope's possession by this time. Indeed, 1466 would seem a likely time for Scrope to have handed on the codex, setting off that year for Rhodes as papal legate and possibly not expecting to return to England within a couple of years. Since the manuscript is known to have passed between Carmelites in East Anglia, it is possible that Scrope took possession of it again on his return to England. Whatever its transit, Scrope's ownership of Harley 211 shows his interest in *Carmelitana*, devotional materials, and public religious rituals, especially useful for ecclesiastical teachers and preachers such as friars and bishops.

Some of the manuscripts owned by Thomas Scrope, including Harley 211, seem to have come to the attention and indeed eventual possession of John Bale, suggesting that they passed from friar to friar, either in the Norwich community or collected by Bale during his visits to other houses. The significance of this internal circulation of manuscripts within the Order becomes even stronger when we consider the texts which Scrope is known to have written himself.⁵⁹

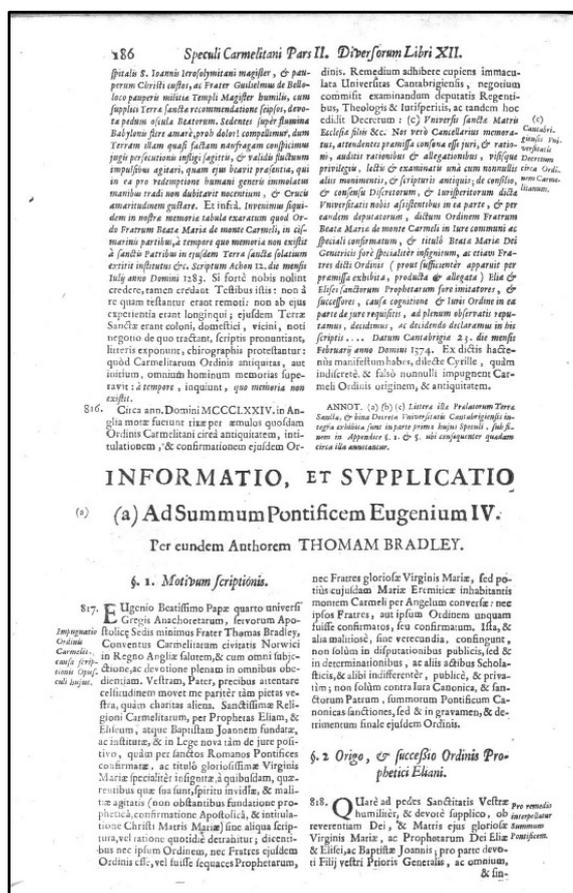
The known writings of Thomas Scrope that survive in full or part are predominantly in Latin. These are: the prayers in Harley 211 mentioned above; four texts on the history of the Carmelites; and a life of the Order's legendary second prior general Saint Brocard. Scrope's only English work is a translation of Felip Ribot's *Decem libri*, though as we shall see, Scrope may perhaps have been responsible for an English *Charge of an hermyztis lyffe*, and tantalisingly John Bale comments that Scrope was the author of 'not a few works in the common tongue which deserve perpetual remembrance'.⁶⁰ If Bale's records are correct, Scrope was also the author of a number of works now lost, including additional Carmelite histories (though these may be confusions with texts already

⁵⁹ Full details of Scrope's writing are listed in Appendix 1.

⁶⁰ 'Atque alia non pauca, etiam in ydiomate vulgari, plura cudebat opuscula, quibus commeruit sui perpetuitatem nominis': *Anglorum Heliades*, Book 2: London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 108. Bale's statement might have proved true if he had been as scrupulous in recording vernacular titles as he was Latin ones!

known), and sermons on the Ten Commandments (perhaps a reference to Scrope’s preaching in the countryside towards the end of his life). Thanks to their colophons where they exist, some compositions can be dated to Scrope’s time as a recluse, others to his time as a bishop.

John Bale says that Thomas Scrope wrote various original historical works as well as translations whilst in the seclusion of the anchorite’s cell at Norwich.⁶¹ Carmelite historiography certainly seems to have been Scrope’s overriding interest, prompting him to write four works on the history of his Order.⁶² His corpus includes a defence of the Carmelite Order entitled *Informatio et Supplicatio*, bearing the explicit ‘Scriptum in cella anachoretæ Norwici anno Domini 1441 tertia die mensis Decembris’ (‘written in the anchorite’s cell at Norwich 3rd December 1441’).⁶³



Thomas Scrope’s *Informatio et Supplicatio* as it survives in part, edited by Daniel a Virgine Maria in *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680).

⁶¹ *Anglorum Heliades*, Book 2 [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 107v].

⁶² For an analysis of Scrope’s Latin writings, see references to him in Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*. To set Scrope’s interest in history in its broader setting see: Daniel Woolf, ‘Historical Writing in Britain from the Late Middle Ages to the Eve of Enlightenment’, in José Rabasa, Masayuki Sato, Edoardo Tortarolo, and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing – Volume 3: 1300-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 473-96.

⁶³ Though no manuscript copy survives, parts were edited by Daniel a Virgine Maria in *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680).

The *Informatio* purports to be a justification for the Carmelite Order in answer to continuing criticisms about its claim to antique origins from the prophets Elijah and Elisha. The *Informatio* is evidence that, even though the Carmelite Order was firmly established within the ranks of the Church by the fifteenth century, disparagement of Carmelite historiography from various quarters continued well beyond.⁶⁴ No doubt Scrope's *Informatio* was appreciated by the Order beyond Norwich, indeed beyond England, since copies (now lost) were once recorded as being in the Carmelite libraries at Mechelen and Cologne.⁶⁵ As we shall see, Thomas Scrope's participation in the defence of his Order was a significant part of his literary project's promotion and policing of theological speculation. To defend the Order against its critics was to uphold religious orthodoxy as far as the Carmelites were concerned. The *Informatio* was apparently written at the suggestion of Scrope's influential noble family, and it was addressed to Pope Eugene IV. For reasons that will become apparent later in this chapter, it is significant that Scrope sent his work to the pope whose 1432 bull *Romani Pontifices Providentia* had granted various mitigations to the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert*, and to whom Thomas Netter had dedicated his *Doctrinale*.

Defending the Carmelite Order's mythical and mystical foundation, titles, antiquity, rule, and ecclesiastical approbations was the purpose of another Latin text written by Thomas Scrope: *Tractatus de fundatione, intitulatione, antiquitate, regula, et confirmacione ordinis beate Marie de monte Carmeli*.⁶⁶ This also refers to its author as 'Thomas Bradley anachorita', and therefore appears to date from Scrope's reclusive period. As we shall see, the title of this work echoes very closely the themes of the *Decem Libri* he translated into English.

A third work on the history and spirituality of the Carmelite Order was also written by Thomas Scrope in his anchorhold. His *Libellus de institucione fratrum Carmelitarum ordinis* is found in a manuscript dedicated as follows: 'Frater Thomas Bradley, monachus et anachorita, carissimo fratri suo Johanni Blakeney, nigro monacho, salutem in eo qui iudicat fines terre' ('Brother Thomas Bradley, monk and anchorite, to his most dear brother John Blakeney, Black Monk, greetings in Him who judges the ends of the earth').⁶⁷ This exchange of a book between a Carmelite 'monk and anchorite' and a Benedictine gives a small glimpse into the bibliographic networks that existed

⁶⁴ On continuing hostility towards Carmelite claims to antiquity, see: Copley's introduction to his translation of the 1375 'Cambridge Debate' declaration in *Early Carmelite Documents*.

⁶⁵ Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols (Orléans, 1752, reprinted (ed.) Gabriel Wessels, Rome: 1927), vol 2, column 830.

⁶⁶ Printed in a very truncated form in the 1680 *Speculum*, and preserved more fully in four manuscripts, several of them belonging to German Carmelites (listed in Appendix 1). It is notable that, like Scrope's *Informatio*, copies of this text ended up in Germany.

⁶⁷ Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Ff. 6.11.

between medieval religious of different orders.⁶⁸ The text, or portions of it, also reached Carmelites on the Continent.⁶⁹ The work seems to have been intended as another defence of the Carmelites, since it cites the declaration in their favour by the Chancellor of Cambridge University in 1375 [fo. 24v ff.], and its title is very close to the first portion of Felip Ribot's *Decem libri*. Scrope's self-designation as a monk and anchorite is also telling, as will become clear. The *Libellus* is indicative of Scrope's activities as a writer, 'for his role was rarely that of 'author' but more usually that of 'redactor' or translator. It is often difficult to distinguish clearly between these two activities.'⁷⁰

Once outside the anchorhold, Thomas Scrope continued his writing activities as a bishop. Being raised to the episcopate did not put a stop to Scrope's interest in his religious order. He composed his *Chronicon de institutione, successione, intitulatione, et propagatione ordinis fratrum beatae virginis Dei genitricis Mariae de monte Carmel* (*Chronicle of the institution, succession, title, and propagation of the Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, of Mount Carmel*), sometime after 1469 (Scrope refers to a book he saw that year in Boxley, near Maidstone), which he dedicated to Cyril, archdeacon of his former See of Dromore.⁷¹

Another text, which refers to its author as 'Thomae Bradley episcopi Dromorensis, Legati Apostolici' ('Thomas Bradley, Bishop of Dromore, Apostolic Legate') is the *Vita S. Brocardi*, a legendary life of the supposed second Prior General of the Carmelite Order, Saint Brocard, whom tradition identifies as the *Brother B.* addressed in the *Rule of Saint Albert*.⁷² Again, this text shows Scrope's fascination with the early origins and development of the Carmelite Order. His identification as 'Apostolic Legate' suggests perhaps a sense of connection with Eastern Christianity, either on his own part, or in the mind of later editors.

Other minor works can be attributed to Thomas Scrope. The collation in Ms. Harley 211 [fo. 176] of a Latin prayer to saints named Thomas ('Salve Thoma Didime pars apostolorum'), presumably written by their namesake, alongside episcopal prayers, would also date this work to after Scrope's seclusion in the anchorhold.

⁶⁸ On John Blakeney, a Benedictine monk in Norwich, see: Joan Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury c.1066-1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁶⁹ A copy of the catalogue of saints in Scrope's *Libellus* was in the now lost Brussels, Ms. lat. 3477, formerly from the Carmelite house at Frankfurt. Again, we note the presence of Scrope texts in German Carmelite convents.

⁷⁰ Edden (ed.), *De Instytucyonys*, xviii. She goes on to point out that Scrope's explicit of the *Libellus* is apt: '[it] reads: *Actor huius opusculus erat frater Thomas Bradley monachus et anachorita de ciuitate Norwyci*. 'Actor' nicely blurs the distinction between author, translator and compiler.' In his literary efforts – anthologising, editing, summarising the work of others, and sometimes writing original material – Scrope is not unlike his Carmelite brother Felip Ribot.

⁷¹ No manuscripts survive, but a copy once existed in the Carmelite library at Chalon-sur-Saône in eastern France. Daniel a Virgine Maria used a copy of this to print in his *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680), Vol 1, part 1, 172-86.

⁷² Printed by Daniel a Virgine Maria in the *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680), Vol 2, 662-64.

In his notes John Bale lists various other works by Thomas Scrope which are now lost, though being mostly concerned with Carmelite history they were possibly duplicates of the above works known by other titles. Of probably broader appeal outside the Carmelite Order were Scrope's lost sermons on the Ten Commandments.⁷³ If these were copies of what Scrope preached in the Norfolk countryside during his final days, they were perhaps examples of his using the vernacular to promote instruction in the basics of the Christian faith.

Surveying Thomas Scrope's known writings, it is very evident that he was greatly interested in the history of his own Carmelite Order. Richard Copsey gives the following estimation:

Scrope's historical compositions are somewhat repetitive, consisting of the same quotations from other authors without any particular literary style or inventiveness. However, they were well known in the Order and helped to perpetuate the idea that the Carmelites could trace their origins back to Elijah the Prophet.⁷⁴

Like Richard Misyn, Thomas Scrope may have been deliberately keen to avoid literary flair and inventiveness in favour of reliance on 'authorised' and widely accepted sources. However, again like Misyn, Scrope did not want the audience for such works to be limited by their availability only in Latin. Hence the work for which Thomas Scrope is best remembered today, his translation of Felip Ribot's *Decem Libri* as *Pe Instytucionys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys*.

By producing an English translation of a monumental history of the Carmelites written originally in Latin, it is clear that Thomas Scrope wished to use the vernacular to promote in England the Carmelite Order and its self-understanding in relation to its mythical founding figure of Elijah. A contemporary comparison might be made with the English Augustinian friar John Capgrave (1393-1464) whose vernacular *Life of Saint Augustine* promoted knowledge of his Order's reputed founder amongst both clergy and laity.⁷⁵

Scrope's knowledge of Carmelite history and spirituality, and his desire to promote the Order, are evident in the fifteenth-century codex containing his translation of Ribot, which prompts questions

⁷³ Noted by John Bale: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 120v; London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 108. In his *Biographical Register*, Richard Copsey dismisses as doubtful the claim by G. R. Owst [*Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), 118-21] to identify this work with an anonymous composition on the ten commandments in British Library, Ms. Harley 2398, fo. 73-106. Indeed, the text from that manuscript has been edited, and not only predates Scrope by some considerable time, but has also been shown to exhibit Lollard sympathies: 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*, Doctoral Thesis (Bristol: University of Bristol, 1995).

⁷⁴ Copsey, *ODNB*.

⁷⁵ John Capgrave, *Life of Saint Augustine* (ed.) Cyril Lawrence Smetana (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2001).

about the use of the vernacular in both promoting theological thought and policing the practice of faith in the late medieval Carmelite Order and beyond.

Lambeth Palace Ms. 192

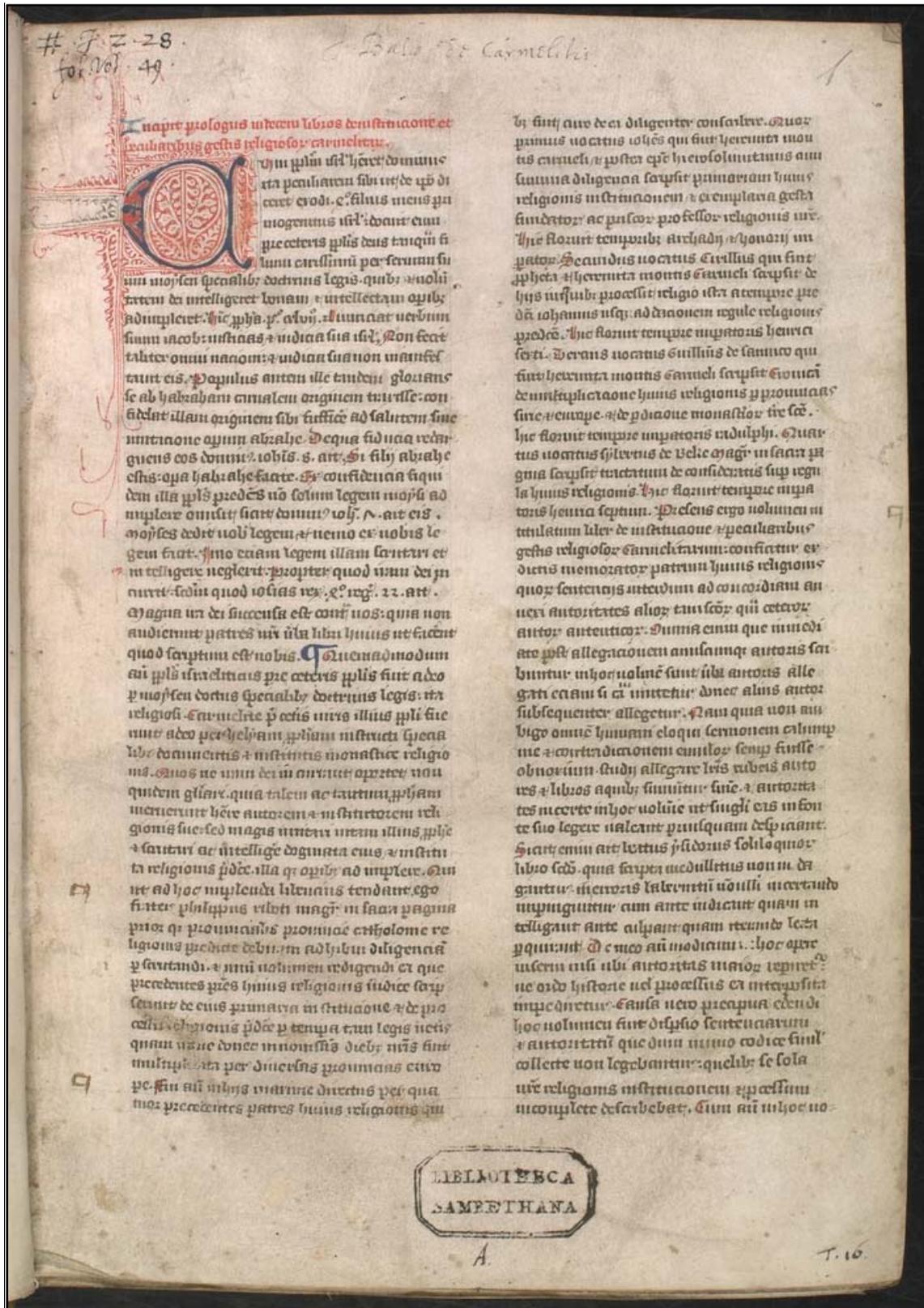
Manuscript number 192 in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Library at Lambeth Palace in London contains the following texts:

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| fo. 1-43 | <i>Decem libri de institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum</i>
[Felip Ribot's 'Ten Books' collection of texts in Latin] |
| fo. 43v | A list of 27 Carmelite bishops |
| fo. 46 | <i>De charge of an hermyztis lyffe</i> |
| fo. 47-153v | <i>De Instytucyonys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys</i> [Thomas Scrope's translation of the Ribot collection] |

These texts will be discussed more fully in due course, but in order to understand how they came to be bound together it is worth giving a fuller description of the contents of Ms. 192 at this point.

The first item in the Lambeth codex is a compilation of various texts in Latin dealing with the foundation, spirit, privileges, and way of life of the Carmelites, from their supposed foundation on Mount Carmel by the Prophet Elijah, through to their receipt of episcopal and papal recognitions in the thirteenth century. The *Decem libri de institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum* (*Ten Books on the Institution and Great Deeds of Religious Carmelites*) was put together sometime between 1379 and 1390 by Felip Ribot, Prior Provincial of the Catalan Carmelite Province. Soon after its emergence the 'Ribot collection' spread quickly from northern Iberia across the Order in Europe where it became better known by the name of its first section, the *Liber de institutione primorum monachorum* (*The Book of the First Monks* or *Institution of the First Monks*). The *Decem libri* eventually became even more influential than the Order's foundational *Rule of Saint Albert* and governing *Constitutions* in developing a distinct sense of Carmelite history and spirituality.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ The first seven books of the *Decem libri* have been edited by Paul Chandler, *The 'Liber de Institutione et Peculiaribus Gestis Religiosorum Carmelitarum in Lege Veteri Exortorum et in Nova Perseverancium ad Caprasium Monachum'* by Felip Ribot, O.Carm., Doctoral Thesis (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1991). Chandler is preparing a critical edition of the Latin text for publication. A translation of Ribot's work into Modern English has been published: Richard Copley (ed. and trans.), *The Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites*, Early Carmelite Spirituality 1 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, 2005, second edition 2007). Valerie Edden's 2016 edition of Thomas Scrope's Middle English translation supercedes the partial edition [Book 1, Chapters 1-8 only] by Philip Kenny, O.Carm., *An Edition of Thomas Scrope's Fifteenth Century English Translation of 'The Book of the Institution and Proper Deeds of Religious Carmelites (Book I)'*, Masters Thesis (New York: St. Bonaventure University, 1965). All quotations are taken from



London, Lambeth Palace, Ms. 192, fo. 1: opening of the *Decem Libri*.

Chandler’s thesis edition (Latin) and Edden’s edition (Middle English) by page and line number where appropriate. Modern English translations of the *Decem libri* are by Copsey from the Latin, not the Middle English which often does not quite tally. Good summaries of Ribot’s life and work are found in the introductions to Copsey (ed. and trans.), *The Ten Books*, and Edden (ed.), *De Instytucyonys*.



Elijah dressed in a Carmelite habit, painted 1360-62 by Andrea di Bonaiuto, on an altarpiece depicting Madonna and Child with Saints, in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.

According to Felip Ribot, the *Decem libri* was a collection of texts he compiled and edited that he claimed were written by clerics from the fifth century onwards: John the 44th Bishop of Jerusalem (Books 1-7); Cyril, ‘a hermit on Carmel’ (Book 8); and William of Sandwich or Guillelmus de Sanvico (Book 9), an English Carmelite who was Provincial of the Holy Land (d. 1291). Most modern scholarship believes that, whilst the first book (which deals with Elijah as the prototype of not only the Carmelite vocation but of the religious life in general) may well have been a pre-existing text, in fact Ribot or a contemporary was the originator of most of the collection, drawing on a range of sources.⁷⁷ The *Decem libri* is thus most likely a compilation, anthology, or library in which Felip Ribot constructed a number of authorial personae, a variety of writing ‘selves’, creating a text that blurs modern boundaries between literature and history, fact and fiction, myth and mysticism.⁷⁸ At great length, and with some sophistication, the *Decem libri* deals with the spiritual life and ideals of the Carmelites, from the Order’s supposed Old Testament beginnings under the prophet Elijah, the conversion of his followers to Christianity at Pentecost, the Order’s special relationship to the Virgin Mary, its survival under Arab rule in the Holy Land, its ecclesiastically-sanctioned rules, its emigration from the Crusader kingdom to Europe, and its various approvals by the papacy.⁷⁹

In as much as it is possible to reclaim authorial intentions, it seems clear that Felip Ribot’s *Decem libri* was intended to be a justification for the Carmelite Order, a meditation on its purpose and charism, a defence for its claims to pre-eminent antiquity amongst religious orders, and an *apologia* for the various ways of life (eremitic, mendicant, anchoritic) embraced by Carmelites in different periods of history.⁸⁰ The *Decem libri* was the Carmelites’ first protracted attempt to write themselves

⁷⁷ A theory that Book 1’s source may have been an eremitic or anchoritic text already in existence is put forward by Paul Chandler [thesis] and by Richard Copey, ‘Felip Ribot and his *Ten Books*: the Carmelite background and sources’, in Fernando Millán Romeral (ed.), *In Labore Requies*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana Volumen 26 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2007), 169-93. In summarising the various materials anthologised in the *Decem libri*, Edden helpfully untangles a complicated knot: Edden (ed.), *De Instytucyonys*, xi-xii. For the broader context in which Ribot wrote, including the Order’s attainment of intellectual distinction in the region, see: Jill Rosemary Webster, *Carmel in Medieval Catalonia*, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures 400-1453* 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1999). On Ribot’s engagement with issues of heresy see: Jaume de Puig i Oliver, ‘El Tractatus de haeresi et de infidelium incredulitate et de horum criminum iudice de Felip Ribot, O. Carm.’, *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 1 (1982), 127-90.

⁷⁸ With regard to medieval devotional compilations, a more sophisticated understanding of the authorial roles, reading practices, and patronal relationships among religious and secular individuals and communities is being produced by recent scholarly projects. For example, the *Devotional Compilations Project* – led by Professor Denis Renevey at the University of Lausanne and funded by the FNRS (Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique) since 2013 – is demonstrating how the act of ‘compilatio’ was a popular literary activity playing an essential role within the late medieval religious and intellectual landscape of England. See: <http://wp.unil.ch/devotionalcompilations> [accessed July 2016].

⁷⁹ For a discussion of how the ‘Primitive’ and ‘Mitigated’ versions of *The Rule of Saint Albert* are presented in the *Decem libri*, see: Copey’s introduction to *The Ten Books*; Valerie Edden, ‘The prophetycal lyf of an heremyte’: Elijah as the model of the contemplative life in *The Book of the First Monks*, in E. A. Jones (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium VII* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 149-61, especially 151 ff.

⁸⁰ On this last point, see: Johan Bergström-Allen, ‘A defining moment for Carmelites: *The Ten Books* (or *The Book of the First Monks*) of Felip Ribot, O.Carm. (c.1385) (unpublished presentation, 2006); Copey, ‘Felip Ribot and his *Ten Books*’.

into sacred history, claiming spiritual descent from Elijah, and presence at the birth of the Christian Church. In Ribot's own words from his Prologue:

[Latin] Quemadmodum autem populos israeliticus pre ceteris populis fuit a Deo per Moisen doctus specialibus doctrinis legis, ita religiosi carmelite pre ceteris uiris illius populi [israelitici] fuerunt a Deo per Heliam prophetam instructi specialibus documentis et institutis monastie religionis. Quos, ne iram Dei incurrant, oportet non quidem gloriari quia talem ac tantum prophetam meruerunt habere auctorem et institutorem religionis sue, sed magis imitari uitam illius prophete, et scrutari ac intelligere dogmata eius et instituta religionis predicte, illaque operibus adimplere. Qui ut intelligi prompcius et adimplendi queant, ego frater Philipus Riboti, magister in sacra pagina priorque prouincialis prouincie Cathalonie religionis predicte, debitam adhibui diligenciam perscrutandi et in unum uolumen redigendi ea que precedentes patres huius religionis ueridice scripserunt [de eius primaria institucione, et documentis Helie], et de processu religionis predicte per tempora tam legis ueteris quam noue, donec in nouissimis diebus nostris fuit multiplicata per diuersas prouincias Europe. [Chandler's thesis edition, 2-3]⁸¹

[Middle English translation of the Latin] Lych as þe peple of Israel befor othyr pepyl was tawt of God be Moyses wyth specyal techyngys of þe lawe, so religyous Carmelitys befor othyr men of þat pepyl wern informyd of God be Helye þe prophet wyth specyal techyngys and informacyonys of þe religyoun of monkys, whom it behouyth þat þei fal not into þe wratthe of God, not to enioyyn þat þei han deseruyd to haue swyche and so gret a prophet to here awtour and informere of here relygyoun, but more to folwyn þe lyf of þat prophet and to serchyn and vndyrstondyn þe techyngys of hym and þe informacyonys of þe seyde relygyon, and to fulfyllen tho in werkys. The quych to these to be fullyd, þei may gon þe more gladly, I, Frere Phylp Rybot, Mastyr of Dyuynte and

Other commentators on Ribot and the *Decem libri* include: Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, especially 136-50; Edden, 'The prophetycal lyf of an heremyte'; *idem*, 'The Mantle of Elijah: Carmelite Spirituality in England in the Fourteenth Century', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition, England, Ireland and Wales, Exeter Symposium VI* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 67-83, available online in the 'Carmelite Studies' section of the website of the British Province of Carmelites: www.carmelite.org; *idem*, 'Felip Ribot's *Institution of the First Monks*: Telling Stories about the Carmelites', *Journal of the Early English Book Society*, 7 (2004), 141-51; Sheppard, *The English Carmelites*, 39; Joachim Smet, 'The Perfection of Solitude', *Carmelus*, 44 (1997), 176-81 [179]; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 66; Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 11; Keith J. Egan 'An Essay towards a Historiography of the Origin of the Carmelite Province in England', in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 86-119 [98 ff.].

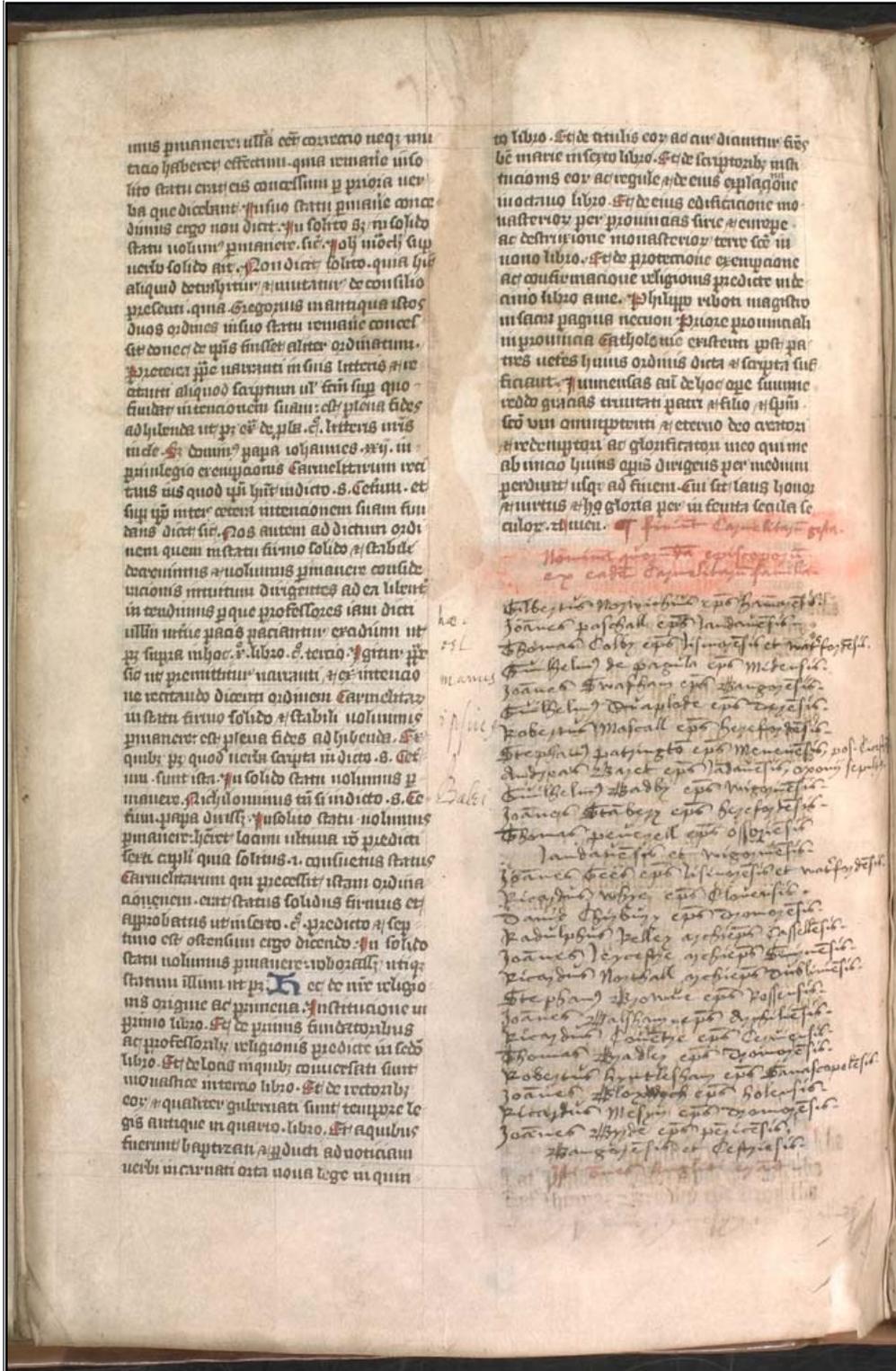
⁸¹ The Latin text here, and later in the chapter, has been corrected against the Lambeth copy by Roger Ellis, with text that Lambeth omits shown in square brackets.

Pryowr Provyncyal of þe Provync of Catholonye of þe seyð relygyoun, haue done my dew dilygens of ransakyn and gaderyng togedere in on volym tho thyngys quych þe forme faders of þis relygyoun trely han wrytyn of þe processe of þe forseyd relygyoun and of hys fyrst institucion be tymes as wel of þe Old Lawe as of þe Newe, tyl it was multiplyyd in owr last dayys be dyuers prouynvys of Ewrop. [Edden's edition, 1/22-2/5]

As its most recent English translator observes, '*The Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites* was the ideal answer to all the critics of the Order's claims and it was clearly a skilful attempt to provide a once and for all response to those who denied the Order's foundation by Elijah and its claim to have the Virgin Mary as its special patron.'⁸² Given that the history and defence of the Carmelite Order was a major preoccupation for Thomas Scrope, it is natural that he should have turned his attention to the *Decem libri*.

The text immediately following the *Decem libri* in Lambeth Palace Ms. 192 is a list of 27 Carmelite bishops. The list seems to have been added at this point in the codex because it conveniently fills an empty space on the folio. Its likely compiler (judging from the hand and subject matter) was John Bale, and we know from comments in his *Anglorum Heliades* that he considered the not inconsiderable number of Carmelite friars to have been elevated to the rank of bishop in England as proof of the Order's eminence, utility, sanctity, and authority within the Church. The list concludes with two bishops of Dromore who happen to be translators of Latin theological texts into the vernacular: Thomas Scrope and Richard Misyn.

⁸² Copsey, 'Felip Ribot and his *Ten Books*', 172.

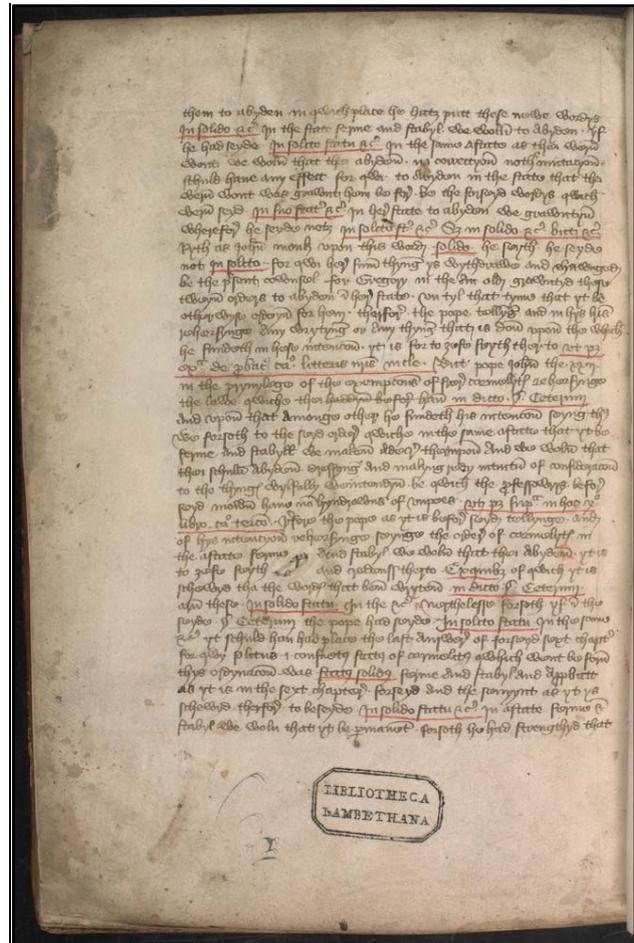
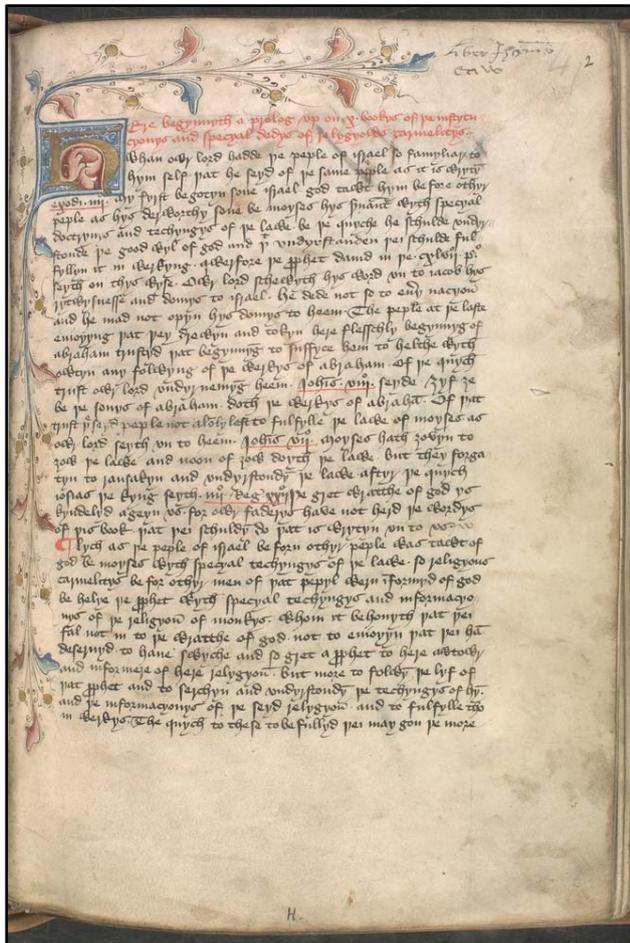


Close of the *Decem libri*, followed by a list of 27 Carmelite bishops (bottom right).

London, Lambeth Palace, Ms. 192, fo. 43v.

The list of Carmelite bishops in Lambeth Ms. 192 is followed by two items in Middle English. The first is a single-folio text which purports to be a ‘charge of life’ for a hermit written by Saint Linus. The second English text, and the final item in the codex, is *Pe Instytucyonys and Specyal Dedys*

of *Relygyows Carmelitys* (hencefore abbreviated).⁸³ This is a translation of Felip Ribot's *Decem libri* into Middle English by Thomas Scrope, the only copy known to exist, and slightly truncated.⁸⁴



London, Lambeth Palace, Ms. 192, fo. 47, 153v: the opening and close of Scrope's translation, *Pe Instytucyonys*.

In order to understand the relationship between these texts, and thus what they can tell us about Carmelite attitudes to vernacular theology, we need to appreciate the way in which the codex is made-up. It has been described by a variety of cataloguers.⁸⁵ As they point out, the codex as it is currently

⁸³ The 'Rule of St. Linus' and 'Institutions and Special Deeds of Religious Carmelites' are described in Lagorio *et al*, 'English Mystical Writings', 479-81, 659; Copsey, *Early Carmelite Documents*, 206. Disappointingly, Scrope's translation is not referred to by the contributors in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: Volume 1 – To 1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁸⁴ The Latin text of the *Decem libri* in Ms 192 ends with the complete 'thanksgiving' on fo. 43v. Scrope's translation begins just as the Latin text begins, but the Lambeth copy ends not quite completely [fo. 153v] in the discussion of the meaning of the term *in solito statu* (Book 10, Chapter 8).

⁸⁵ Henry John Todd, *A Catalogue of the Archbishopal Manuscripts in the Library at Lambeth Palace* (London, 1812), 124; Montague Rhodes James, Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Mediaeval Manuscripts*, 5 parts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930-32), 300-02; O. S. Pickering, V. M. O'Mara, *The Index of Middle English Prose Handlist XIII: Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), 15.

bound contains two fifteenth-century vellum volumes, the first being the Latin *Decem libri* up to folio 44, the second being Scrope's Middle English translation, with *De charge of an hermyztis lyffe* (henceforth abbreviated) inserted in between. As M. R. James observes, it seems likely that both volumes were owned by John Bale, whose name appears on the first folio.⁸⁶ For reasons James does not give (possibly because he associated 'Bishop Bale' with the Irish diocese of Ossory), he suggests that the first volume, the *Decem libri*, was written in Ireland. If correct, the subject matter would suggest that the volume was most likely written by Irish Carmelites, some of whom are known to have been scribes.⁸⁷ If John Bale bound Thomas Scrope's translation alongside the Latin text of the *Decem libri* it is a physical demonstration of the status accorded to vernacular writings by Carmelites at the end of the Middle Ages: still secondary, but valued as comparable and useful.

Ownership of the codex's contents prior to John Bale is difficult to ascertain, as is the precise date of binding in its current form (though it is post-medieval). Various divergences show that Scrope's translation was not based on the Latin copy of the *Decem libri* in Ms. 192, which implies that they were put together not immediately after copying.⁸⁸ On folio 47, that is in the 'English' portion of the codex, a late fifteenth-century hand has written 'Liber Jhoannis Caw'.⁸⁹ Caw may have been a Carmelite, possibly John Cawey, who according to Richard Copsey's *Biographical Register* was a friar at the London convent when ordained acolyte on 21st December 1443 in St. Bartholomew's Hospital in that city's Smithfield district.⁹⁰ Caw's possible ownership does not help us to date Scrope's translation of *De Instytucionys* or this copy of it, but it does show that the text was in circulation among fellow Carmelites before the time of John Bale.

The most recent cataloguers, Pickering and O'Mara, identified that the two items in English within Ms. 192 – *De charge* and *De Instytucionys* – were written by three hands: one was responsible for *De charge* (perhaps Scrope himself as we shall consider), and two for *De Instytucionys*, localised by

⁸⁶ James [302] states that Bale lists the codex in his list of manuscripts in *Scriptores illustrium maioris Brytanniae ... Catalogus* (Basle: 1555-57).

⁸⁷ A medieval manuscript of Irish Carmelite provenance, the Kilcormic Missal, survives in the library of Trinity College Dublin: Ms. B. 3.1. The missal was produced by a friar of the Loughrea community in 1458 (so contemporary with Scrope). On the manuscript see: Hugh Jackson Lawlor, 'The Kilcormic Missal: A Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin', *Transactions of The Royal Irish Academy*, XXXI:X (1896/1901), 393-430. On the medieval Irish Province and the Kilcormac Missal, see: Peter O'Dwyer, *The Irish Carmelites* (Dublin: Carmelite Publications, 1988); Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 24, 107. Edden reasonably questions the suggestion of Ms. 192 having Irish provenance [*De Instytucionys*, xxiii].

⁸⁸ Scrope's exemplar was the later (non-authorial) recension of the *Decem libri*, whereas the first volume of Ms. 192 is the earlier. Scrope's text contains material lacking in the first volume. Edden (ed.), *De Instytucionys*, xx-xxi.

⁸⁹ Noted by James, *A Descriptive Catalogue ... Lambeth Palace*, 302.

⁹⁰ *Reg. Gilbert*, London, fo. 170v.

dialect respectively in Suffolk and Norfolk.⁹¹ In her recent edition, Edden has noted that in fact three hands copied *De Instytucionys*, plus a fourth copying *De charge*.⁹² The presence of multiple hands shows that the Lambeth version of the *De Instytucionys* is not Thomas Scrope's holograph, but rather a copy (a fact substantiated even further by our having multiple examples of Scrope's own hand). Given the subject matter and translatorship, the most likely scribes are Carmelites themselves, and collaboration between three hands implies that there could have been a systematic copying of Thomas Scrope's work within the Order, as we have seen with other texts (such as Netter's *Doctrinale*) discussed previously in this thesis. Norwich would seem the most likely venue for production, drawing as it did friars from across the Order's eastern distinction which included houses in Suffolk and Norfolk.⁹³ It is possible that Thomas Scrope was one of the two scribes responsible for copying his own work, but given that other friars were clearly involved in the process there is no particular reason to suspect this, and the hands do not resemble known examples of his script.

Dating Scrope's translation of the *Decem libri* is not simple. On folio 45v of Ms. 192 appears 'Liber Thome Scrope episcopi Dromoren' ('Book of Thomas Scrope, Bishop of Dromore'), and folio 46v contains a brief note about Scrope in a seventeenth-century hand. It is possible that Scrope's name appearing in the second volume of the codex is evidence of his ownership of the book, but since it is a copy it is more likely a statement that he was the translator of *De Instytucionys*. Moreover, the title 'episcopi Dromoren' is probably written in Ms. 192 in retrospect. Since the end of his translation is missing, it is impossible to know if Scrope named himself as translator in a colophon, and whether he dated his work (as Richard Misyn did in his translations). We know that Scrope's writing activity continued as a bishop beyond the anchorhold, despite episcopal ministry's demands on his time, though presumably he would have enjoyed more leisure to translate the *Decem libri* before taking up his bishopric. In the eighteenth century Cosmas de Villiers claimed that Scrope's translation was made in 1434, that is whilst he was enclosed, but gives no supporting evidence.⁹⁴

⁹¹ *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, Linguistic Profile 4635 and 4636 [IMEP, XIII, 15]. In *De charge of an hermyztis lyffe* the inconsistent but distinctive use of the letter 'x' for Modern English's *sh*-sound (in words such as 'xall') is typical of Norfolk orthography. See Edden (ed.), *De Instytucionys*, xxiv.

⁹² Edden (ed.), *De Instytucionys*, xxiv.

⁹³ Copsey, *The Medieval Carmelite Priory at Norwich*, 40.

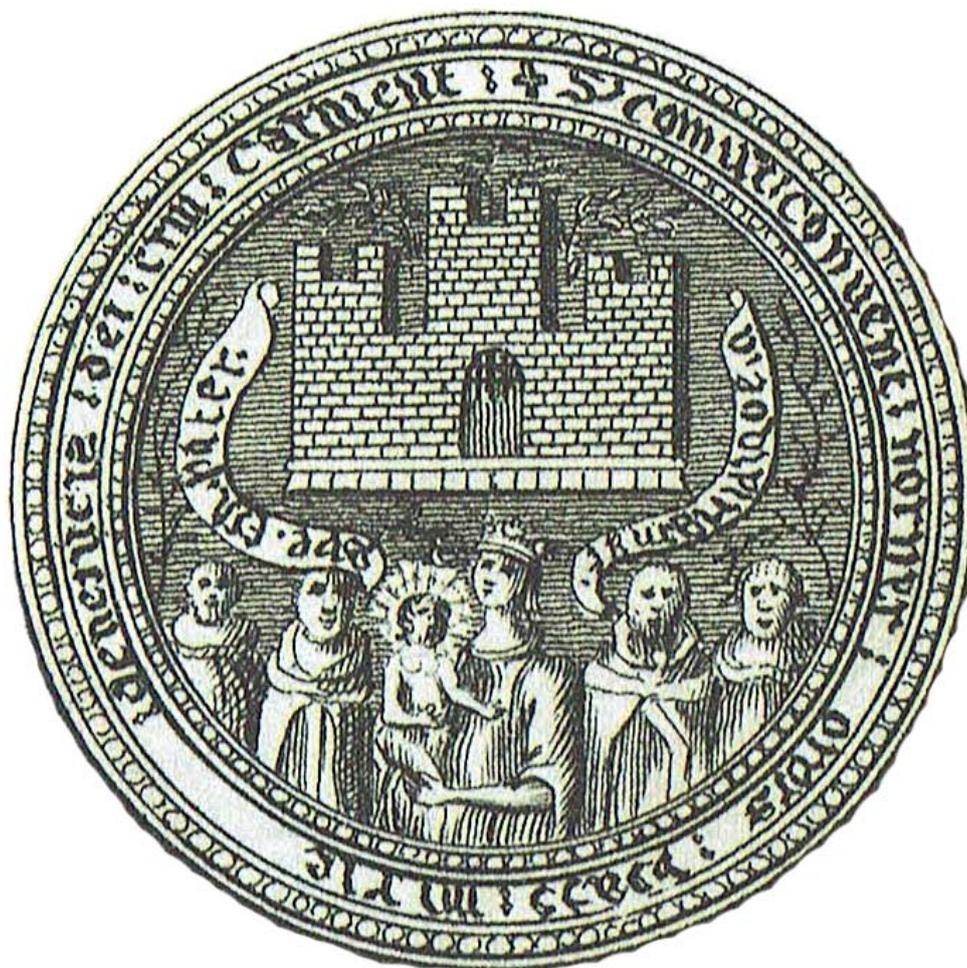
⁹⁴ Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, vol 2, column 639.



The reference to Scrope’s translation of Ribot as it appears (bottom right) in Cosmas de Villiers’s 1752 *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*.

The date of 1434 would make Richard Misyn and Thomas Scrope exact contemporaries in their work as translators, and indeed seems quite possible given the evidence of another source that identifies Scrope as the translator of *De Instytucyonys* more positively than Ms. 192 does. In the Lambeth codex the initial lines which might have included Scrope’s dedication of his translation are missing, but John Bale among his notes preserves the fact that the work (or at least one copy) was undertaken for Cyril Garland, prior of the Carmelite house in Norwich: ‘ad Cirillum Garlandum Nordovicensis Carmeli presidem decem libros Philippi Riboti Cathalani “De Peculiaribus Ordinis” sui gestis in vulgarem transtulit linguam’ (‘For Cyril Garland, governor of the Norwich Carmelites, the ten books of the Catalan Felip Ribot’s history on “The Special [Rights] of the Order” have been translated into the

common tongue').⁹⁵ According to Richard Copsey's *Biographical Register*, Cyril Garland must have become Prior of Norwich after 1425, and was out of office by 1443, as others occupied the position in those years. So, it seems reasonable to suggest that Scrope wrote his translation in those years, which correlates with his period of enclosure. The dedication is apt, not only because Garland was Scrope's prior, but because Book 8 of the *Decem libri* purports to be written by another Cyril, 'a hermit on Mount Carmel'.⁹⁶ Scrope's dedication of the translation to his prior at Norwich, and the possible ownership of a copy by Friar John Cawey, are further evidence that texts theology written in 'the common tongue' circulated within the Carmelite Order (though this raises some problematic questions that will be addressed later).



Seal of the medieval Carmelite friary in Norwich.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 108. James [*A Descriptive Catalogue ... Lambeth Palace*, 302] suggests that the dedication was once on a leaf preceding fo. 47.

⁹⁶ It is interesting to speculate whether Scrope accorded any significance to the name Cyril. As already mentioned, Scrope dedicated another work of his to a cleric of that name in Dromore. We know from Ms. Harley 211 that Scrope had devotion to saints who shared his name, and thanks to the cult of St. Cyril of Constantinople, perhaps he had a special affection for that name too.

⁹⁷ See: Blomefield, Parkin, 'Carmelites or Whitefriars', 416-23.

Be charge of an hermyztis lyffe

Before concluding this chapter with a more detailed consideration of Thomas Scrope's translation of the *Decem libri* into English, we must consider the significance of the other vernacular text in Lambeth Palace Ms. 192, that is, *Be charge of an hermyztis lyffe* on folio 46. This text clearly has Carmelite connections, being bound up in a demonstrably Carmelite collection, but whether it has any link to Thomas Scrope has yet to be thoroughly explored by modern scholarship.⁹⁸ Those few who have studied the text have given it the titles *Regula reclusorum laicorum anglice conscripta* (*Rule for lay recluses written in English*), *The Lambeth Rule* or *Rule of Pope Linus*.⁹⁹ I shall refer to this short vernacular work as *Be charge of an hermyztis lyffe*, a term which occurs at its end. The text itself is untitled, since we must discount the sixteenth-century hand which has written at the top of the page: *The booke of the institution and proper deeds of religious Carmelites*. This conflation of Pope Linus' supposed counsel with Scrope's translation of the *Decem libri* that in actual fact follows on the next folio tells us that *Be charge* and *Be Instytucionys* were in circulation together from at least the sixteenth century. The confusion of the manuscript annotator in mislabelling *Be charge* is not entirely risible, for as we shall see there are a number of reasons why the Linus text might have Carmelite connections, and might well have been considered part of the collection of writings compiled by Felip Ribot.

Be charge purports to recount the supposed ordinances of Pope Saint Linus on the solitary life, and reads thus:

Lyne owre holy fadyr [pope] of Rome he ordeyned thys rewle to all solyтары men that takys the degre of an heremyzte he byndis hym thus to spende the nyght and the day to the lovyng of god. The begynnyng of the day is at mydnyght and an hermyte schall ryse at mydnyght fro holy rode day vnto Esterday and fro Esterday vnto holy Rode day in the dayeng of the day, and he schall say for Mateyns of the day XL pater nosters XL auez and III Crede.

⁹⁸ Edden reckons the attribution of *Be charge*'s translation to Scrope is not proven but not impossible [*Be Instytucionys*, xix]. *Be charge* is discussed in Livarius Oliger, 'Regula Reclusorum et Eremitarum Angliae et Quaestiones tres de vita solitaria saec. XIII-XIV', *Antonianum – Periodicum Philosophico-Theologicum Trimetre*, Annus IX (January 1934), Fasc. I, 37-84, and (April 1934), Fasc. II, 243-68; *Index of Medieval English Prose*, XIII, 15; Lewis, Blake, Edwards (eds.), *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, 437; Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, 88; Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 103, 211 n., 296-7; J. Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), Volume 2 – Part 6 (1970): Charlotte D'Evelyn, 'Instructions for Religious', 659.

⁹⁹ Oliger, Warren, and Clay respectively. In my Masters Thesis [32-35] I stated that *Be charge*, which I then called the *Rule of Saint Linus* in deliberate contrast to the *Rule of Saint Albert*, was not a 'Carmelite' text, an opinion I now revise.

And for lauds XV pater nosters XV auez and I crede.

And for prime he schall say XII pater nosters XII auez and I Crede. And whan he hath seyde prime he schall here Masse.

And aftyr Masse he schall say for euery owre X pater nosters X auez and I crede.

Aftyr that he schall go to his oratorye and haue a meditacion of the Passion of criste. Or of sum odyr holy thyng.

For mydday he schall sey X pater nosters X auez and I crede and than go to his mete.

Aftyr mete he xal sey for alle his good doers XXX pater nosters [XXX auez: added, red] and III Crede and owre ladys psauter.

For Euensong he xall sey XL pater nosters XL auez and I crede.

For Complyn he schall sey X pater nosters X auez and I Crede and *from* complyn be seyde he schall kepe sylence.

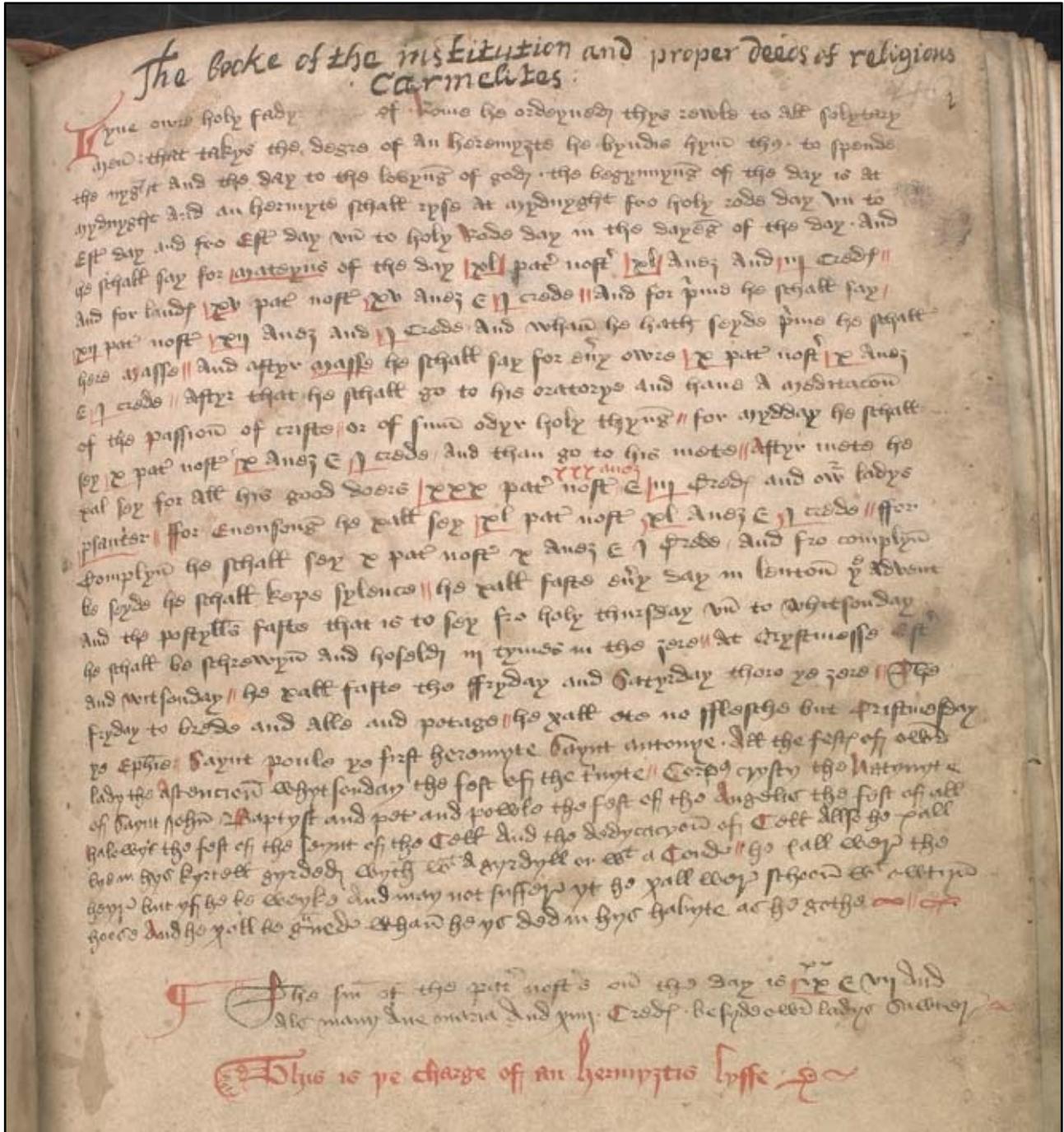
He xall faste euery day in lenton þe advent and the postylles faste that is to sey fro Holy Thursday vnto Whitsunday he schall be schrewyn and hoseld III tymes in the 3ere. At Crystmesse *Easter* and Witsunday.

He xalle faste the Fryday and Satyrday thoro ye 3ere. The fryday to brede and alle [sic] and potage. He xall ete no flesche but Cristmesday and *Epiphanie* Saynt Poule þe first heremyte Saynt Antonye. All the festes of owre lady the Ascencion Whytsonday the fest of the *trinyte*. *Corpus* crysty the Natyuyte of Saynt Iohn Baptyst and *peter* and powle the fest of the Angelis the fest of all Halewys the fest of the saynt of the Celle and the dedycacyon of Cell.

Allso he xall lyen hys kyrtell gyrded wyth *with* [sic: repetition] a gyrdyll or with a Corde. He xall wer the heyr but yf he be weyke and may not suffer yt he xall wer schoon withowtyn hoose. And he xall be graued whan he ys ded in hys habyte as he gothe.

The sum of the pater nosters on the day is IX^{xx} and VI and also many aue marias and xiiij Crede besyde ovr ladys sawter.

This is þe charge of an hermyztis lyffe.¹⁰⁰



De charge of an hermyztis lyffe in London, Lambeth Palace, Ms. 192, fo. 46.

¹⁰⁰ The first transcription and facsimile of *De charge*, along with various other rules for hermits, was by Oligier, ‘Regula Recluserum et Eremitarum Angliae’. It was also transcribed by Kenny in his 1965 edition of Book 1 of *De Instytucyonys*. I am grateful to Valerie Edden and Roger Ellis for noting errors in Oligier’s original edition which I have silently emended.

The nominal author of *De charge* is Saint Linus, who was the immediate successor of Saint Peter as Bishop of Rome, a See which he governed c.67-c.79 when, according to popular tradition, he was martyred. Since the eremitical life did not develop within Christianity (at least not in a form requiring textual guidance) until the Desert Fathers and Mothers of the third or fourth century, Linus is clearly not the real author, as is also apparent from the anachronistic inclusion of Christian feasts and devotional practices (such as Corpus Christi and Our Lady's Psalter) which were not in existence till many centuries after Linus' death. The implausibility of Linus being the true source of *De charge* must surely not have been lost on medieval readers with even a basic understanding of Church history, but when put alongside the *Decem libri's* fantastical sense of times past, it becomes clear that the supposed antiquity and spirit of the text mattered more to its medieval audience than precise historical accuracy. It may also be that the choice of Linus as reputed author of the text is to emphasise the notion of Petrine authority. As was noted in Chapter Two, after the Council of Constance, Carmelites (especially in Italy in the 1420s) were keen to encourage devotion to Saint Peter as a means of promoting loyalty to his successor, the pope. This was particularly important after years of Schism, and attacks on papal authority by John Wyclif and Jan Hus. Attributing *De charge* to Linus, Peter's immediate successor as Bishop of Rome, may have been an intentional effort to promote the notion of petrine succession.

Commentators have suggested that *De charge* was written for male lay anchorites in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but its possible additional attractiveness to members and associates of the Carmelite Order in fifteenth-century Norwich will become apparent. There are certainly French and Latin versions of the text written in the thirteenth century for male lay recluses, which means that *De charge* was not an original composition by Thomas Scrope.¹⁰¹ Although the text is known to have existed in a number of places, the fact that the only surviving copy in English is part of a Carmelite friar's collection suggests it may have circulated among members of the Order and their contacts. Though Thomas Scrope was not the author, he or another Carmelite might well have been the English translator or copier of this text. The scribal hand of *De charge* is different from the other works in Lambeth Ms. 192, is somewhat rougher in terms of layout, and suffers from some inconsistent orthography which could be proof of a scribe blending his own dialect with that of an original text. Since *De Instytucionys* seems to have been a scribal copy rather than the original, the presence in the Lambeth codex of a third hand which is distinct possibly points in the direction of Thomas Scrope. The position of *De charge* in the Lambeth codex alongside Thomas Scrope's translation may have

¹⁰¹ Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 296-97. Likewise, Oligier discusses *De charge* in relation to a family of such texts.

little bearing on him personally if, as has been argued, he was not the scribe of that particular copy. On the other hand, the collator of Ms. 192 may have known of a link between Thomas Scrope and *De charge*, deliberately placing them together. The folio on which *De charge* is written is not integral to the quires of the texts surrounding it.¹⁰² It is therefore hard to estimate to what extent its position in the codex is significant. It may simply have been a divider inserted to distinguish between the Latin text of the *Decem libri* and the English translation of it. On the other hand, this insertion could be highly significant. If it was an expert in the Carmelite Order's writers, such as John Bale, who bound the various texts in calfskin, it would be natural to bind *De Instytucyonys* alongside a text known to have been written or read by the same author.

The text concludes with the phrase 'This is þe charge of an hermyȝtis lyffe', and in the technical canonical sense a 'charge' is different from a 'religious rule', being shorter, less binding, not so strictly supervised, and more idiosyncratic (rather than communal).¹⁰³ It is possible that Thomas Scrope followed *De charge* whilst living as a recluse.¹⁰⁴ Many such charges existed for those who followed the eremitic vocation in medieval England.¹⁰⁵ Members of the same religious community reading different religious rules simultaneously is not unknown in medieval Christendom. The Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat in Catalonia, which developed from the hermitage of Santa Maria, is one of several examples of coenobites adopting eremitic rules within the monastery or friary, particularly in those orders inclined to eremitic spirituality. It is important to remember that in the Middle Ages religious orders approached *regulae* with some degree of flexibility; Carmelites often regarded the *Rule of Saint Albert* as a general guide framing the more prescriptive *Constitutions* of the Order and the spiritual practices and traditions of the friars, rather than the other way around.¹⁰⁶ As a Carmelite friar, Thomas Scrope had already professed to follow the Order's *Rule of Saint Albert*, but his early religious career is so unusual that he may have been permitted to follow both a rule and a charge at the same time, or effectively been dispensed from the Albertine Rule whilst enclosed on the edges of

¹⁰² According to James [*A Descriptive Catalogue ... Lambeth Palace*, 300], the collation of Ms. 192 is: 1⁸-5⁸ 6⁴ || 7² 8⁸-15⁸ 16⁴ 17⁸-20⁸ (wants I, 8); foliation very incorrect in volume II. James also points out [302] that after fo. 46 a leaf which bore writing has been cut out.

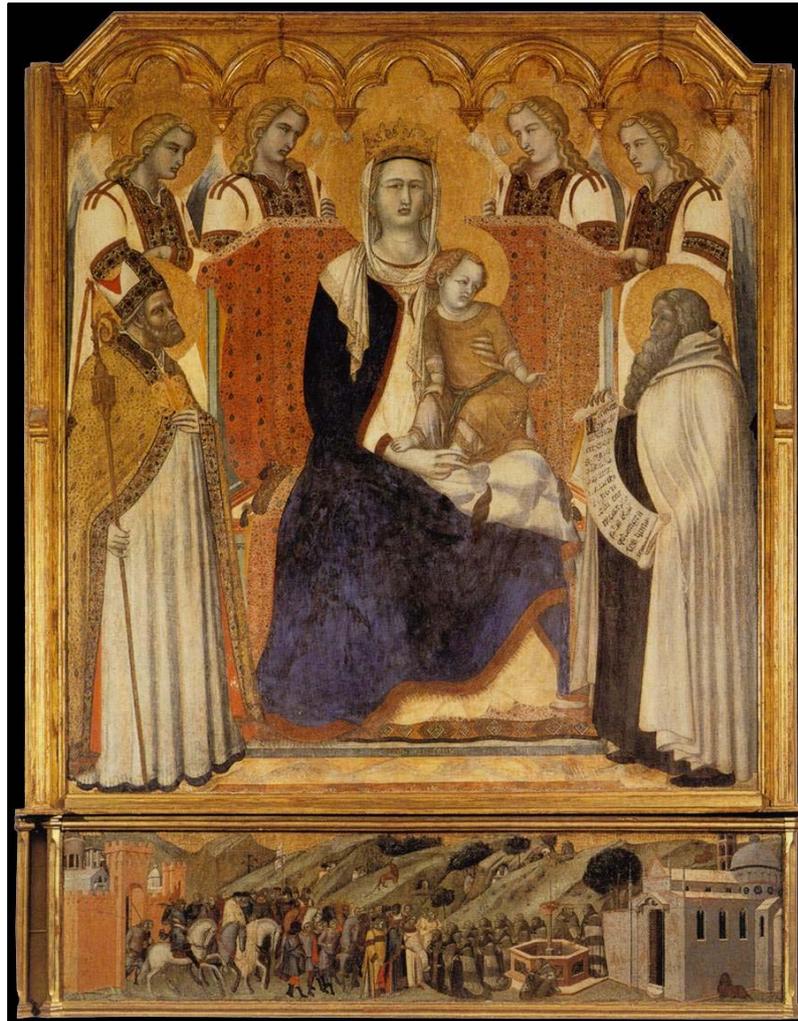
¹⁰³ The *Middle English Dictionary* defines a 'charge' as a duty, burden, encumbrance, order or mandate, as well as relating it to an oath of office.

¹⁰⁴ This is Copsey's opinion [*Early Carmelite Documents*].

¹⁰⁵ On the popularity of such eremitic guidelines, see: Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1988), 64; Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*; E. A. Jones (ed.), *Speculum Inclusorum – A Mirror for Recluses*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), xiii-xxi.

¹⁰⁶ On the flexibility with which religious rules could be approached, see 'Vita regularis sine regula: The Meaning, Legal Status and Self-Understanding of Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Semi-Religious Life' in Kasper Elm, *Religious Life between Jerusalem, the Desert, and the World: Selected Essays by Kaspar Elm* (trans.) James D. Mixson, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 180 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

the friar community. *De charge* could have been read not so much as a strict formula of life but rather as a source of inspiration for a mendicant or other person living the solitary vocation. It would not be so extraordinary for Thomas Scrope to find stimulus in such a text, set against the background of developments within the fifteenth-century Carmelite Order. The growth of the Order's sense of an 'Elijan succession' arguably displaced the significance of Albert of Jerusalem and his *formula vitae*, leaving Carmelites to look beyond the rule for other sources of inspiration.¹⁰⁷



The relative importance of Elijah over Albert to medieval Carmelites is visible in Pietro Lorenzetti's predella panel painted between 1328 and 1329, tempera on wood, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena. Elijah is depicted in the upper panel, front right. Albert and the hermits on Mount Carmel are the much smaller figures in the lower panel.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ This is the argument made by Patrick Mullins in *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem: Origins and Identity*, Institutum Carmelitanum Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana Volumen 38 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2015). Mullins demonstrates how the Carmelite claim to an Elijan succession grew in the Middle Ages until the advent of critical hagiography in the late fifteenth century, with the role of Patriarch Albert being gradually sidelined and eventually obscured as the figure of Elijah as spiritual founder and father became the dominant tradition in the Order.

¹⁰⁸ See: Joanna Cannon, 'Pietro Lorenzetti and the history of the Carmelite Order', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 18-28.

The vernacularity of *De charge* can be regarded not only in terms of language but also of stipulations about devotions, a point to be addressed shortly. Since we know that Thomas Scrope was literate (i.e. able to read and write Latin), it seems unusual (though as we have previously seen not unheard of) that an educated friar should have written or copied a text for himself in the English language. Some of his contemporaries seem to have been equally interested in compiling texts of Carmelite history, but did not go to the effort of translating them into the vernacular.¹⁰⁹

De charge is addressed to hermits. Most references to Thomas Scrope in the cell at Norwich (including self-references) are to him as a ‘recluse’ or ‘anchorite’. In medieval ecclesial structures there was a technical distinction between a hermit and an anchorite. Crudely speaking, an anchorite was strictly enclosed, whereas a hermit was free to leave his cell for labour.¹¹⁰ Having said that, the distinctions were sometimes blurred (particularly in the case of the Carmelite Order) and there is nothing in Ms. 192’s *De charge* which could not apply to an anchorite as well as a hermit.

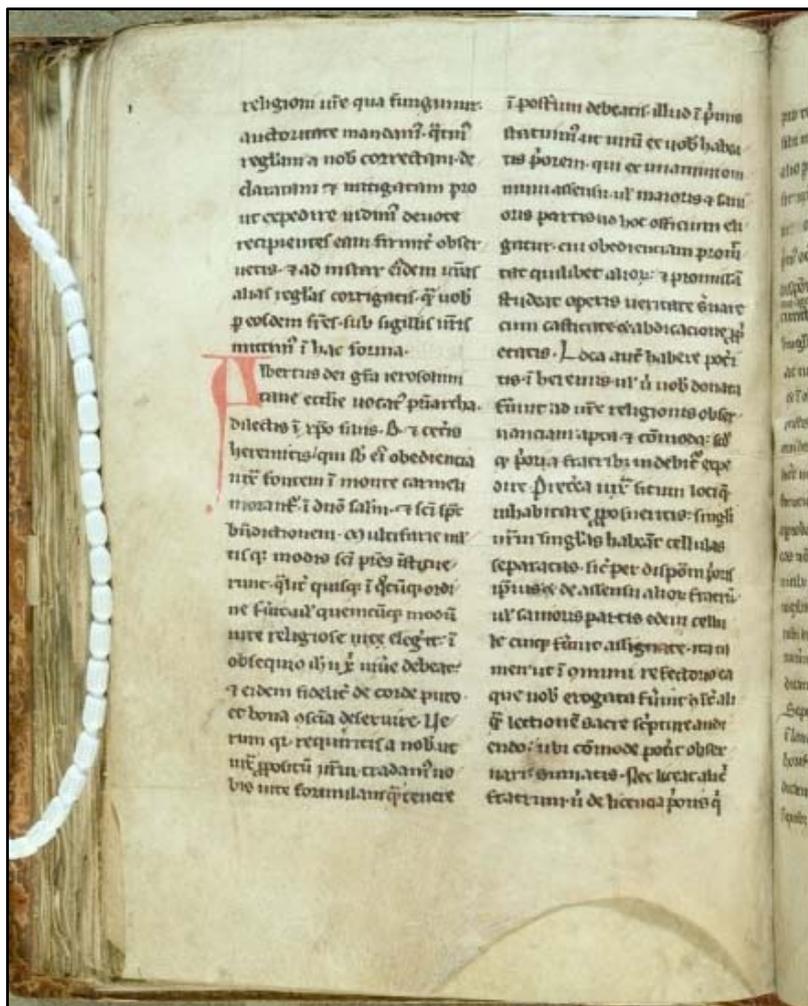
Whatever the original provenance and status of *De charge*, we cannot overlook the fact that it was bound within a Carmelite-owned codex containing texts by Carmelites on the eremitical life, probably within less than a century of its composition or translation. A look at the contents of *De charge* tells us why Carmelites valued it. Its regulations on the eremitic life would have obvious appeal to recluses such as Thomas Scrope, and to readers of the *Decem libri* or its English translation. The ascetic and eremitic spirituality of *De charge* recaptures what was perceived by some Carmelites in the fifteenth century to be an authentic early model of Carmelite life, as we saw in the examples of Richard Misyn and Thomas Fishlake. This brand of spirituality stressed the role of solitude in the cell as much as, if not more than, that of the community in the soul’s formation and development.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Comparison can be made between Thomas Scrope and his confrere Richard Paston, a friar who studied in York and seems to be the copyist of a series of Carmelite works whilst in Paris. Among these works were texts by Carmelite friar and historian William Coventry. These are preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Miscellany 722 (Summary Catalogue 1174), now bound up in a codex containing some texts that were once part of the library of Kirkstall Abbey. See: Richard Copsey, ‘Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:4 (October 1999), 652-83; Copsey, *Biographical Register*; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 126; John Taylor, *Medieval Historical Writing in Yorkshire*, St. Anthony’s Hall Publications, 19 (York: St. Anthony’s Press – Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1961); M. V. Clarke, N. Denholm-Young, ‘The Kirkstall Chronicle, 1355-1400’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 15:1 (1931), 100-37.

¹¹⁰ On the distinction, see the introduction to *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs*, and the discussion in the previous chapter (n. 213) of Misyn’s self-labelling as ‘hermit and Carmelite’.

¹¹¹ On Carmelite interest in the Order’s eremitic origins and spirituality, some Whitefriars in continental Europe are worthy of comparison. Jean Soreth, Prior General of the Order between 1451 and 1471, wrote an exhortatory commentary on the *Rule of Saint Albert*, commonly known as the *Expositio Regulae* or *Expositio paraenetica in Regulam Carmelitarum*. See: Johannes Soreth, *Expositio paraenetica in Regulam Carmelitarum* (ed.) Bryan D. Deschamp, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 259 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016). The Italian Carmelite friar Nicola Calciuri (d. 1466) composed in 1461 a little tract entitled *Vita de’ sancti et romiti del Monte Carmelo*, probably for the teaching of a lay Carmelite community he had established a year earlier. This text spoke of the eremitic origins on the Order, and its early saintly figures, which he later expanded upon in *La Vita Fratrum de Sancto Monte Carmelo*. See: Nicola Calciuri, *Vita Fratrum del sancto Monte Carmelo* (ed.) Graziano di S. Teresa (Pesenti), *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 6 (1955), 241-531; translated

The parallels between Pope Linus’ reputed *charge* and Patriarch Albert’s *rule* are made obvious in the context of the *Decem libri* and its translation, since Felip Ribot included in his compilation a long discussion of the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert*, and two complete versions of it (before and after papal mitigation in 1247). It is worth highlighting these comparisons to better understand how *De charge* may have been used by Thomas Scrope or other Carmelites to promote and control eremitic spirituality through a vernacular text.



The Rule of Saint Albert as it appears in a late thirteenth-century *Ordinale Ordinis Carmelitarum*, written either in England or Ireland. Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 194, fo. 165v.¹¹²

into modern Italian as Nicola Calcuri, *I Fioretti del Santo Monte Carmelo* (ed.) Graziano di S. Teresa, *Rivista di Vita Spirituale*, 12 (1958), 217-27, 228-50, 337-62. In 1491 the German Carmelite Matthias Fabri (d. 1497) wrote *Lucerna Fratrum Carmelitarum*, a commentary on the *Rule of Saint Albert* that considers the origins of the Order and the importance of prayerful reflection within the cell. See: Adalbert Deckert, *Die Oberdeutsche Provinz der Karmeliten nach den Akten ihrer Kapitel von 1421 bis 1529* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1961).

¹¹² The *Rule of Saint Albert* appears fo. 165-167v, alongside the text of Innocent IV’s 1247 Bull of mitigation *Quae honorem conditoris*. For a description of the codex see: Paschalis Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1962), 104-05; James Boyce, ‘The Liturgy of the Carmelites’, *Carmelus*, 43 (1996), 5-41 [18]; James Boyce, *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in the Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington D.C.: Carmelite Institute, 1999).

A comparison of two texts for hermits: *De charge* of Pseudo-Linus and the *Rule of Saint Albert*

The thrust of the *Rule of Saint Albert* (in either its original wording as a *formula vitae* or as a mitigated religious *regula*) is to promote meditation in the solitude of the hermit's cell, within the wider support and direction of a coenobitic religious community. In his text Albert Avogadro, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem at the start of the thirteenth century, outlines the importance of prayer, asceticism, silence, labour, and Bible meditation in reaching the unspoken goal of contemplation.¹¹³

Similar elements are found in *De charge*. As we noted in the case of Richard Misyn, the very title of 'hermit' which occurs in *De charge* was used by Carmelite friars well into the Middle Ages, and recalls the origins of the Order as a community of hermits on Mount Carmel.¹¹⁴ Albert's original *formula vitae* (approved by him between 1206 and 1214) was addressed to hermits on Mount Carmel, and the title of 'hermit' was maintained by the Order long after its adoption of the mendicant lifestyle after 1247 when Albert's *formula vitae* was adapted to become a papally-sanctioned religious rule. The *Decem libri* purports to be a history of this eremitic community, and Ribot devoted much discussion to what the Carmelites should be called, stressing the contemporary relevance of the term 'hermits'.¹¹⁵ As discussed in an earlier chapter, the eremitic vocation of the Carmelites was also stressed in the *Ignea Sagitta* (*Flaming Arrow*) text attributed to Nicholas the Frenchman which began to circulate contemporaneously with the *Decem libri*, and Richard Misyn used the title 'hermit and Carmelite' in his translation of the *Incendium Amoris*, which we have observed may be a contemporary work to Scrope's *De Instytucionys*.

The injunction of supposed Saint Linus that the hermit should 'spende the nyght and the day to the lovyng of god' has echoes of Albert's injunction in his *Rule* that each Carmelite hermit should 'remain in his cell or near it, meditating day and night on the Word of the Lord and keeping vigil in prayer' (Chapter 10). Likewise, Pseudo-Linus' requirement that 'an hermyte schall ryse at mydnyght

¹¹³ On the *Rule of Saint Albert*, its author, and numerous secondary studies, see the opening chapters of this thesis.

¹¹⁴ One of Ribot's purposes in writing the *Decem libri* is to point out that Carmelites may rightly be called by a variety of titles: hermits, monks, friars, sons of the prophets, anchorites, and so on. On Scrope's similar intention in his Latin writings, see: Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, 218-19.

¹¹⁵ For example, the two last chapters of Book 6 are titled:

[Latin] Capitulum vii, quod sub lege euangelii professores huius ordinis fuerunt et religiosi et fratres beate Marie uirginis et monachi et heremite et anachorite nuncupati, et quare hiis titulis fuerunt decorati. ... Capitulum viii, de illis titulis quibus professores huius ordinis nunc designantur, et quare aliis antiquis titulis modo non denominantur. [Chandler's thesis edition, 240, 243]

[Middle English] The vij chapter makyth mencyon that the professowrys of thys Order wern vndyr the lawe of the gospel and clepyd relygious men and also the Brethern of that blyssyd mayden Marye. Also they wern clepyd monkys heremytes and ankerys and why they wern wrcheppyd be these tytelys. ... The viij chapter makith mencyon of the tytelys be the which the professowrys of thys relygion arn now desygnatt and nootyde and why be other old tytelys they ben not now denomynatt and clepyd. [Edden's edition, 100/21-24, 102/1-3]

from holy rode day vnto Easterday and from Easterday vnto holy Rode day in the dayeng of the day'¹¹⁶ exactly follows the dates stipulated by Saint Albert for spiritual vigour: 'You shall observe the fast every day except Sunday from the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross until Easter Sunday' (Chapter 16). Linus follows his diktats regarding the calendar with the statement that the hermit 'schall say for Mateyns of the day XL pater nosters XL auez and III Crede'. It is notable that these prayers are to be said 'for' – that is 'in place of' – the Divine Office. He goes on to spell out the para-monastic timetable of prayers that should be said in place of the other 'hours' of the Office: 'aftyr Masse he schall say for euery owre X pater nosters X auez and I crede ... For mydday he schall sey X pater nosters X auez and I crede ... For Euonsong he xall sey XL pater nosters XL auez and I crede ... For Complyn he schall sey X pater nosters X auez and I Crede'. This substitution of well-known prayers in place of the more complex psalmody of the Divine Office is perhaps evidence against Scrope following *De charge* himself, since he would have been educated to a sufficient level to recite the full Hours of the Church, and could have written or copied *De charge* for the benefit of some other hermit or anchorite. Although living as an anchorite and therefore presumably outside the timetable of the friar community, as a cleric Scrope would still have been required to pray the Office, and although exemptions from Office could be granted to Carmelites by their superiors, it was not the norm.¹¹⁷ However, the recitation of basic prayers in place of the Office is also found in the *Rule of Saint Albert*, which in its slightly modified form of 1247 states:

Those who know how to say the canonical hours with the clerics shall say them according to the institution of the Holy Fathers and the approved custom of the Church. Those who do not know their letters shall say twenty-five Our Fathers for the night vigil, except on Sundays and feastdays, for the vigils of which we establish that the stated number be doubled, so that the Our Father is said fifty times. The same prayer is to be said seven times for the morning lauds. For the other hours the same prayer is to be said seven times, except for the evening office, for which you shall say it fifteen times. (Chapter 11)

¹¹⁶ 'dayeng of the day' could mean nightfall, or be a form of 'daying', which the *Middle English Dictionary* defines as 'the period between darkness and sunrise'.

¹¹⁷ On the exemptions recorded in the visitation notes of the Prior General Peter Terrasse, see: Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3, 241-81 [especially 245, 248, 249, 259, 264, 267]. Edden makes the following observation about the Office with regard to the Whitefriars: 'Historically the office is a public act not a private devotion, and generally the whole community gathered together for each of the seven offices, though there are exceptions to this. For example, Carmelite friars, who slept in separate cells rather than in a communal dormitory, said the office in private.' Valerie Edden, 'The Devotional Life of the Laity in the Late Middle Ages', in Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden, Roger Ellis (eds.), *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 35-49 [38]. This is true for the 'minor hours', but the 'major hours' would normally have been prayed communally in choir.

There is therefore a clear parallel between the texts of Pseudo-Linus and Albert in stipulating substitute prayers for ‘those who do not know their letters’. Though reading *Be charge* requires vernacular literacy, it seems primarily to address an audience of *illiterati* ignorant of Latin.

The two texts differ slightly in stipulating the number of prayers to be recited: Albert specifies only the praying of the *Pater Noster*, whilst the author of the Linus text adds the *Ave Maria* and *Credo*. However, the purpose is clearly the same: to allow non-literate persons to imitate the literate in the great *Opus Dei* of the Church’s divine worship. Evidently this was not necessary for the highly educated Thomas Scrope, and suggests that the text may have been translated or copied by him or another Carmelite and used not by a friar but by a lay recluse. Emma Stapleton and her successors, or those men and women that the rite of enclosure in Harley Ms. 211 suggests were immured by Thomas Scrope whilst a bishop, must be thought of as possible recipients of *Be charge*. The translation of religious regulations by clerics at the request of lay patrons (including women) is of course not unknown in the Middle Ages.¹¹⁸ Religious rules were translated from Latin into the vernacular in medieval England, and some such as the Northern Metrical Version of the *Rule of St. Benet* were specifically targeted at women readers:

Monkes and als all leryd men
 In latyn may it lyghtly ken,
 And wytt þarby how þay sall wyrk
 To sarue god and haly kyrk.
 Bot tyll women to mak it couth,
 Þat leris no latyn in þar ʒouth,
 In ingles is it ordand here,
 So þat þay may it lyghtly lere.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Previously (Chapter 2, n. 351) we noted that the Carmelite bishop Stephen Patrington (d. 1417) led a committee that drew up the *Additions* which adapted and supplemented the English Bridgettines’ Rule, and which were available in English as well as Latin. *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauioure* was a late medieval translation of the *Regula Salvatoris* produced for the Bridgettine nuns of Syon Abbey. See: James Hogg, ‘*The rewyll of seynt sauioure*’ and ‘*A ladder of foure ronges by the which men mowe clime to heven*’, *Analecta Cartusiana* (Salzburg: Institute für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2003). On the production (sometime between 1420 and 1450, that is roughly the same period as Scrope translated the *Decem libri*) of *The Mirror of Our Lady*, a commentary on – and part translation of – the Bridgettine Office, for the nuns of Syon Abbey, see: Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280-1520* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 258-65; John Henry Blunt (ed.), *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, Early English Text Society Extra Series 19 (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1873, reprinted 1998). In 1517, Bishop Richard Fox (c. 1448-1528) translated *The Rule of Seynt Benet* [Benedict] at the request of women Benedictines; see *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 162-65.

¹¹⁹ Ernst A. Kock (ed.), *Three Middle-English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet*, Early English Text Society Original Series 120 (London: Kegan Paul, 1902), 48, lines 9-16; cited in Tim William Machan, *English in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 91.

The only mention made to an ‘Office’ in *De charge* is that after the midday meal the hermit is to say prayers ‘for alle his good doers’ (perhaps in imitation of mendicant thanksgiving graces for benefactors after meals) including ‘owre ladys psauter’. The so-called *Our Lady’s Psalter* does not, in fact, contain any psalm verses but rather consisted of a rosary of fifty *Aves* interspersed with five *Pater Nosters* and one *Credo*.¹²⁰ Alternatively, *De charge* might here be making reference to the *Little Office of Our Lady*, a liturgical devotion to the Mother of God that included psalms, Scripture passages, antiphons and hymns, said in imitation of, and sometimes in addition to, the fuller Divine Office.¹²¹ The *Little Office* first developed in the eighth century but did not come into widespread use until the tenth, and by the fourteenth it had become mandatory for clergy. However, it was suitable for the laity as well because of its relative simplicity, and became part of the *Primer* or *Lay-Folk’s Prayer Book*. In particular, it became associated with lay brothers and sisters (especially tertiaries) connected to the contemplative orders. Its possible reference in *De charge* hints that the follower of the text may have been somehow associated with a religious order such as the Carmelites.¹²² The fact that Thomas Scrope owned Ms. Harley 211 with its copy of the *Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary* is further testimony to its use in Carmelite circles (though since it was generally required for clergy his possession of a copy is no real indication that he was following the stipulations of *De charge*).

A further liturgical instruction in the *Rule of Saint Albert* regards the keeping of silence:

The apostle recommends silence, when he tells us to work in it. As the prophet also testifies, Silence is the cultivation of justice; and again, in silence and hope will be your strength. Therefore we direct that you keep silence from after compline until prime of the following day. (Chapter 21)

¹²⁰ James H. Morey, *Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 173.

¹²¹ Rebecca A. Baltzer, ‘The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary’s Role at Paris’, in Margot E. Fassler, Rebecca A. Baltzer (eds.), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 463-84; Leslie Toke, ‘Little Office of Our Lady’, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), Volume 9, available online at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09294a.htm> [accessed January 2015]; Mary Ryan, *Our Lady’s Hours: An Introduction to the Little Office of Our Lady* (Cork: The Forum Press, 1941, reprinted Cork: Mercier Press, 1946); Michael Walsh, *A Dictionary of Devotions* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns and Oates, 1993), 161-62.

¹²² It is worth noting that the recitation of *The Little Office* was a standard practice across many religious orders until the liturgical reforms of the Catholic Church in the 1960s, and in the Carmelite Third Order in Britain as late as the year 2000 (when tertiaries were persuaded by the Prior Provincial to participate in the fuller Divine Office).

This stipulation on silence, previously discussed in relation to Misyn's translation of Rolle, finds a resounding echo in *De charge*: 'fro[m] complyn be seyde he schall kepe silence'.¹²³

Pseudo-Linus' permission to eat meat on the major feasts of the Christian calendar (Christmas Day, Epiphany, and so on) is not idiosyncratic, however, there are distinctive Carmelite associations with some of the other dates found in *De charge*: 'All the festes of owre lady ... Corpus crysty the Natyuyte of Saynt Iohn Baptyst and peter and powle the fest of the Angelis the fest of all Halewys the fest of the saynt of the Celle and the dedycacyon of Celle.' The feasts of Our Lady were universally celebrated in the Church, but as has been discussed previously the Carmelites regarded themselves as enjoying a particularly special relationship to Mary, hence it would be appropriate to break the fast in honour of all her memorials. Albeit that there is no reference to the Virgin in the *Rule of Saint Albert* the emphasis on Marian piety within *De charge* (the *Aves*, Our Lady's Psalter, and celebration of all Marian feasts) is typical of Carmelite devotions by the mid-fifteenth century. Likewise, the feast of Corpus Christi was universally celebrated, but the Carmelites seem to have particularly propagated this feast, especially in England in the wake of Lollard objections to Church teachings on the Eucharistic presence.¹²⁴ Devotion to Saint John the Baptist was also common across Christendom, but again the Carmelites were particular propagators of his cult. As an eremitic figure, devotion to the Baptist existed in the Order before the cult of Elijah was developed (whose 'spirit and power' John was said by Christ to embody: *Luke* 1:17). Medieval Carmelite houses (such as at Nottingham) contained statues of the Baptist dressed as a Carmelite; he is depicted flanked by a Carmelite in the 'Reconstructed Carmelite Missal'; and there are frequent references to him as a Carmelite in Ribot's *Decem libri*.¹²⁵

¹²³ As Edden states regarding *De charge*, 'Whilst Oligier says that there is nothing distinctively Carmelite about it, the duration of silence is precisely that prescribed in the mitigated Carmelite Rule, which suggests at the very least that the Carmelites would have found these rules attractive' [*De Instytucyonys*, xx].

¹²⁴ On the Carmelite's support of Corpus Christi celebrations in York and Siena see the preceding chapter. It is interesting to note that York contained branches of both the Scrope and Stapleton families where they are known to have been supportive of the Whitefriars and members of the Corpus Christi Guild [Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 50, 192].

¹²⁵ For Ribot's references see the index of Copsey, *The Ten Books*. On the Carmelite cult of John the Baptist, see the numerous references indexed in Copsey, *Carmel in Britain* 3.



A Carmelite friar (bottom right) prays in a miniature depicting the 'Decollation of John the Baptist' in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*. London, British Library, Mss. Additional 29704-5, fo. 136v (detail).



A Carmelite friar holding a scroll inscribed *Sancte Iohannes B(a)pt(ist)a ora* kneels before Saint John the Baptist.

Marginal miniature painting in the mid-fifteenth-century ‘Carmelite Missal of Nantes’.

Princeton, University Library, Ms. Garrett 40, fo. 155v (detail).

In contrast, the reference Pseudo-Linus makes to ‘Saynt Poule þe first heremyte [and] Saynt Antonye’ is more in keeping with the Desert Father tradition of the eremitic life than specifically Carmelite devotion.¹²⁶ Indeed the reference to these ‘first hermits’ would seem to be in contrast to the argument

¹²⁶ Jerome’s *Life of Paul* influenced the tradition that a desert father called Paul (died c.345) was the ‘first hermit’. See: Virginia Davis, ‘The Rule of St Paul, the first hermit, in late medieval England’, in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, Studies in Church History, 22 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 203-14. The Anthony referred to in *Pe charge* is Saint Antony of Egypt or Anthony the Great (c.251–356) who is supposed to have visited Paul shortly before the first hermit’s death. In the *Decem libri*, Ribot twice quotes Jerome’s *Letter to the monk Paulinus*, stating: ‘let

made in the *Decem libri* that Elijah was the ‘first hermit’. Nevertheless, Carmelite spirituality with its emphasis on solitude can hardly be seen to be in conflict with the Desert Fathers tradition, and *De charge* has clear parallels with Carmelite devotions and liturgies.

The sacramental liturgy of medieval Europe was so standardised in many respects that it is hard to argue that there is anything distinctive about Pseudo-Linus’ injunction to the hermit that ‘whan he hath seyde prime he schall here Masse’. However, the implication that attending Mass is a daily requirement was not common in the medieval Church and is again reminiscent of the *Rule of Saint Albert*: ‘you shall come together every day early in the morning to hear Mass, where this can be done conveniently’ (Chapter 14). The verb ‘here Masse’, used in both texts, implies attending the celebration of the Eucharist rather than presiding at it (receiving communion was not common in the Middle Ages even for Carmelites, and *De charge* anticipates the hermit will only be ‘hoseld III tymes in the 3ere’). If Scrope had followed this *charge*, surely he would have celebrated Mass himself. Again, both the Albert and Pseudo-Linus texts seem to envisage unordained addressees who, despite their solitude, are able to take part in liturgical and sacramental prayer.¹²⁷

There is also a parallel between Albert’s *rule* and Linus’ *charge* in terms of architectural terminology. *De charge* says that after Mass the hermit ‘schall go to his oratorye’, whilst the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert* states that ‘an oratory, as far as it can be done conveniently, shall be built in the midst of the cells’ (Chapter 14). In the oratory Saint Linus apparently recommends that the hermit shall ‘haue a meditacion of the Passion of criste’. In this regard *De charge* differs somewhat in tone from the *Rule of Saint Albert*, which makes no mention of meditation except upon the Bible, the ‘Word of the Lord’ (Chapter 10). Reflecting on Christ’s passion is more typically associated with affective piety, and indeed was recommended to lay people (especially women) in the fifteenth century in place of reading the Scriptures.¹²⁸ The phrase indicates yet again that *De charge* was more suited to a lay hermit than a friar who generally had better access to Scriptural texts, but given that affective piety was encouraged especially by the friars it is not entirely out of keeping with the more popular elements of mendicant devotion.

Most ecclesiastical rules stipulate dietary regulations, and therefore it is not surprising to find them in both *De charge* and the *Rule of Saint Albert* (chapter 16), though there is some variation in

us monks take the way of life of our leaders, Paul, Anthony, Julian, Hilarion, and the Macariuses. And let me return to the authority of scripture; our leader is Elijah, ours is Elisha, and our guides are the sons of the prophets ...’ [Book 4, Chapter 5, *The Ten Books* 64].

¹²⁷ On the likelihood of the early community on Mount Carmel having mostly consisted of lay hermits rather than priests, see: Johan Bergström-Allen, ‘Looking behind to see ahead: finding a future from the early Carmelites’, *Assumpta*, 46:4 (2003), 13-37, reprinted in *The Sword*, 65:1 (2005), 67-79.

¹²⁸ This, of course, was a major complaint of Wyclif and his followers, and has been discussed by modern critics in considerable depth, and in previous chapters with regard to Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn.

the times prescribed for fasting. The abstinence from meat except on feast days stipulated in *De charge* finds an echo in the *Rule of Saint Albert*'s prohibition against meat except in cases of illness (Chapter 17).

The final injunction in *De charge* regards the hermit's clothing: 'Allso he xall bydn hys kyrtell gyrded wyth *with* [sic: repetition] a gyrdyll or with a Corde. He xall wer the heyr but yf he be weyke and may not suffer yt he xall wer schoon withowtyn hoose. And he xall be graued whan he ys ded in hys habyte as he gothe.' The *Rule of Saint Albert* specifies nothing about what clothes the hermit should wear but instead speaks figuratively and biblically in Chapter 19 of the 'cincture of chastity', the 'breastplate of justice', the 'helmet of salvation', and so on. The stipulations of Pseudo-Linus may likewise have a metaphorical interpretation, if read alongside the *Decem libri* and its translation. For example, the Middle English word 'kyrtell(e)' has a variety of interpretations according to the *Middle English Dictionary*, including 'a garment made of the skins of animals'. In the *Decem libri*, Ribot devotes the entirety of Book 7 to a discussion of the Order's clothing, repeating an earlier stress in Book 5, Chapter 2, on the symbolic importance of the rough clothing and girdle of the Carmelites' forefathers Elijah and John the Baptist:

[Latin] Et propterea sacerdotes et leuite ab Ierosolimis per Iudeos ad Iohannem missi, intuentes eum in omnibus conuersacionem monastie vite [heremitice] Helie precipue sequi, querebant ab eo si ipse erat Helias. Quoniam sicut angelus Gabriel de eo predixerat, *Venit ipse in spiritu et uirtute Helie*, [ad exemplum cuius] domo sui patris et terrenis operibus derelictis, conuersatus fuit iugiter in desertis. Et [ad] instar illius *vinum et siceram non bibens*, habuit ad imitationem eius *uestimentum de pilis camelorum et zonam pelliceam circa lumbos suos*, ut testatur Matheus euangelista. [Chandler's thesis edition, 194]

[Middle English translation of the Latin] And therfor prestys and dekenys sent to Iohn fro Ierusalem be Iewys, behaldynge hym namely to folowyn in alle thynges the conuersacyon [of] the monkly lyffe of that holy man Helye. He askyd of hym 3if he wer Helye. For as angel Gabryel had seyde befor of hym, 'He com in the spryth and the vertu of Helye' and hys faders howshold and alle erthly rychesse forsakyn, he was also besyly conuersaunt in desert placys and he [in] the symylitud of hym, not drynkyng wyn and syder, hadde to hys folowyng a clothyng of the skynnes of chamellys and a gyrdel of a skyn abowtyn

hyse lyndes, as wyttenssyth Sent Methew the holy ewangelyst. [Edden's edition, 78/11-19]¹²⁹

An entire chapter of the *Decem libri* (Book 7, Chapter 3) is devoted to a discussion of 'How the founders of this Order and their earliest followers were clothed in skins, and why their successors have changed these for other garments, which represent the same symbols as those symbolised by the skins.' There are therefore clear parallels in the way 'Linus' wishes a hermit to dress, and the Carmelite habit.¹³⁰ The clause in *De charge* that the hermit shall be buried in the habit in which he lived may be a reminder – in a Carmelite context – of the salvific importance of being buried in the brown scapular of the Order, that garment having accrued to itself an entire devotional cult with redemptive overtones by the middle of the fifteenth century.¹³¹

The specific echoes between the Albertine Rule and the Linus charge are striking, though in overall tone a major difference must be noted: whilst *De charge* is full of specific requirements and specifications about the daily routine, the general tone of the *Rule of Saint Albert* is much vaguer on specific details, setting out instead a broad vision of the spirit of religious life.

The similarities between the eremitic content of *De charge* and the *Rule of Saint Albert* (particularly in its form prior to the 1432 papal mitigation) are so striking that the probable influence of the Carmelite way of life on the promotion, use, and possible translation of *De charge* cannot be disregarded. Approaching the text from the opposite direction, we can state that the similarities are so striking that we can appreciate why *De charge* came to Carmelite attention. Other than failing to make stipulations on labour and the vows of religious life, the only major practical elements from the *Rule of Saint Albert* that are lacking in *De charge* are those which concern the life of the community (such as the role of the Prior and community meetings, which is an understandable lacuna in an eremitic text). Even if *De charge* was not translated into English by a Carmelite, it is clear why it may have been appropriated by a solitary friar for his own spiritual motivation, or that of a spiritual ward, and why it ended up in a collection of Carmelite texts.

¹²⁹ Cf. other references to clothing and 'skins' in the index of *The Ten Books*.

¹³⁰ On the ways in which medieval forms of dress were interwoven with notions of identity, status and power, sometimes regulated by sumptuary laws, see: Kate Dimitrova, Margaret Goehring (eds.), *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

¹³¹ The Carmelite brown scapular came to be regarded as the 'habit of salvation' with miraculous stories attached to its wearing from the mid-1400s, i.e. relatively late in Carmelite history but probably around the time *De charge* was written or translated. Although there is discussion of the scapular in the *Decem libri* there is no mention in regard to the later legends of Simon Stock having received a vision of the Virgin Mary blessing his habit. On the development of the scapular cult see: Richard Copsey, 'Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50:4 (October 1999), 652-83, reprinted in Richard Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2004), 75-112.

The main contrast between the two texts is that whereas Albert's work is a much deeper and more sophisticated scriptural exposition on the virtues required for an eremitical life, *De charge of an hermyztis lyffe* is much more prosaic, dealing more superficially and specifically with the routine actions required of a hermit. In many ways it can be regarded as a redaction of the practical stipulations of the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert*, a redaction which imitates some of its spirit and adapts its requirements for 'all solytary men that takys the degre of an heremyzte'. The need for such a text in the fifteenth century is evident when we consider the number and variety of lay people who sought some sort of affiliation or association with the Carmelite Order, either through letters of confraternity, guild-membership, burial, or physically taking up residence alongside the friar community. Until the legal incorporation of such people into the Order with the promulgation of the papal bull *Cum Nulla* in 1452, texts such as *De charge* may have served a useful function in allowing 'Carmelite associates' to mirror aspects of the religious life of the brethren.¹³² In this way Carmelites used vernacular literature to broaden participation in the spiritual life.

We know that in East Anglia such pious individuals existed, whether visiting a Carmelite community occasionally such as Margery Kempe, or more regularly such as Carmelite 'suster' Agnes Paston, or located permanently within a Carmelite community such as Emma Stapleton. According to John Bale writing over a hundred years later, a number of women, including a married woman named Agnes who had a remarkable spirit of prayer and penance, were somehow linked to the Whitefriars in Ipswich, Cambridge, and Norwich in c.1420.¹³³ The requirements and expectations of

¹³² On lay people associated with Carmel before *Cum Nulla*, see the literature mentioned with regard to Misyn and Heslyngton in the previous chapter. Formal approval of the Carmelite Third Order Secular (as opposed to women religious communities and individuals) as such did not come until 1476 with Sixtus IV's Bull *Dum Attentis*.

¹³³ Capitulum 46: Moniales quedam in Anglia sub Carmeli instituto florebant ... Ex patrum prescriptis. Et quod pene exciderat Emma Milonis Stapiltoni nobilis filia, mulier vero sancta in Nordouicensi cenobio Carmelitani instituti sub prefato Waldeno velamen accepit, et condita domo illic reclusa ad mortem usque permansit. Obiit demum piis moribus plena, anno domini MCCCCXXII, quarto nonas Decembris. Eiusdem vite atque instituti genus seruabant etiam Alicia Wakeleyn illustrioris prosapie mulier apud Northamptonam sub eodem patre, que obiit anno domini MCCCCXXVI, decima tertia die mensis Junii, et Margareta Hawten, illic itaque reclusa, que etiam ad Christum migravit XVII die Nouembris. Apud Gippeswicum, Agnes quedam deuota matrona, et Cantabrigie Alicia Graunsetus, atque alie in magna vixere penitentia.

Chapter 46: Certain nuns who lived in England under the Carmelite rule ... From the writings of the fathers. And it fell out about then that Emma, a truly holy woman, the daughter of a nobleman Miles Stapleton, received the veil of the order of Carmelites from the said Thomas Walden in the convent at Norwich; there a cell was built in which she spent the rest of her life as a recluse. She died there full of holy virtues, on the 2nd December 1422 A.D. The same kind of life and virtuous observance was led by Alice Wakeleyn, a woman from an illustrious family near Northampton. She too was received by the same father and died on 13th June 1426. Likewise Margaret Hawton, another recluse there, who departed to Christ on the 17th November. At Ipswich a certain devout married woman named Agnes, and at Cambridge one Alice Graunsetus, and some others lived very penitential lives.

the rule that Bale describes are similar to those specified in *De charge*: they had a mostly vegetarian diet, wore hair shirts, woke at midnight throughout the winter and at dawn in summer, fasted on Fridays and Saturdays, and devoted much time to prayer.¹³⁴

It is worth here mentioning an interesting counterpart on the Continent which may shed light on the situation of lay people associated with the Carmelites in England, and those friars who perhaps wrote for them. The Carmelite Prior General Jean Soreth (1394-1471), who made formal provision for women in the Order through the 1452 papal bull *Cum Nulla*, was a known promoter of vernacular spirituality, and he appreciated the influence that laity – especially women – associated with the Order could have on the reform of the friars.¹³⁵ Just as lay women associated with the Dominican friars had prompted a number of religious texts to be written or translated into the vernacular, so the rise of female communities linked to the Carmelite friars prompted a similar outpouring.¹³⁶ Jean Soreth produced a *way of life* for the first formal community of Carmelite nuns (originally a beguinage), the first *Rule for the Carmelite Third Order*, as well as a paraphrase of the *Rule of Saint Albert* in French. He is also known to have preached a series of forty-nine sermons in the French vernacular in the city of Liège in 1451, that is to say a year after Thomas Scrope was made a bishop.¹³⁷ Jean Soreth is an

John Bale, *Anglorum Heliades (The English Followers of Elijah)*, Book 1, Chapter 46, London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 37. Transcribed and translated by Richard Copey, Brocard Sewell (private printing, Aylesford Priory).

Bale discusses Alice Wakeleyn in other texts, stating that she was buried in the Carmelite habit: Ms. Bodley 73, fo. i^v, 136; *Catalogus*, vol 1, 565. In his later printed work, Bale calls Alice Gransetter ‘Agnes’: *Catalogus*, vol 1, 565. In that same text he also mentions Joanna Catfelde as an anchorite living in a cell at the Carmelite house in Lynn c.1420. It is not clear whether these women followed a rule (formal or otherwise), nor whether they lived in isolation or in community. Speaking of the women in Ipswich, Roberta Gilchrist and Marilyn Oliva state that ‘these women were probably associated with the Carmelite friars in the same town, although the nature of the connection is unknown’: *Religious Women in Medieval East Anglia: History and Archaeology c.1100-1540*, Studies in East Anglian History 1 (Norwich: University of East Anglia Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1993), 73-74. Kim M. Phillips argues that such communities stood ‘outside of institutional structures and may have been self-governing’: ‘Femininities and the Gentry in Late Medieval East Anglia: Ways of Being’, in Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 19-31 [30].

¹³⁴ Benedict Zimmerman, ‘The White Friars at Ipswich’, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* (1899), X (2), 196-200 [198].

¹³⁵ On Soreth’s reforms see: Bert Roest, ‘Observant reform in religious orders’, in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 446-57 [451].

¹³⁶ On Dominican *beatae* as recipients and writers of spiritual texts, see: Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner [with Daniel E. Bornstein, E. Ann Matter, Gabriella Zarri], *Dominican Penitent Women*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2005).

¹³⁷ The sermons are preserved in Liège, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Ms. 6.G.2. On the sermons see: D. Henry Dieterich, ‘Blessed John Soreth and Liège: A Collection of Sermons from 1451’, *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 11 (1985), 23-36. A few points made by Dieterich are worth noting for comparison with English Carmelite engagement with vernacular theology. Soreth’s sermons seem to have been compiled by a layman ‘who knew Latin but was unfamiliar with Scripture or theology’. These Lenten sermons ‘deal less ... with contemplation of the passion of Christ than with the practical moral and spiritual lives of the congregation’, highlighting the sins of merchants, such as usury, so that the preaching ‘has the ring of real questions which Soreth may well have encountered as a preacher and confessor ... socially, his audience falls into the broad category of the comfortable bourgeoisie.’

example of a mid-fifteenth-century Carmelite friar – indeed the most senior in his Order – preaching and producing regulatory literature for the laity in the vernacular.¹³⁸



Women reading together appear in *Virgo inter Virgines* (*Virgin among Virgins*) painted by Gérard David (1450-1523) and donated in 1509 to the Carmelite Sisters of Sion in Bruges. Oil on wood. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, D.803.4.

Reference has already been made to the ‘vernacularity’ of *De charge*, not simply in terms of language, but also in its simple and direct setting-out of a para-monastic timetable and the promotion of ‘affective’ piety. I have argued that it would have been unsuitable in many ways for Thomas Scrope to have followed as anything more than a general source of inspiration, but that the same features which render it unsuitable for a learned and already professed friar make it quite apt for a lay anchorite,

¹³⁸ On Soreth see: Giovanni Grosso, *Il Beato Jean Soreth: Priore Generale, Riformatore e Maestro Spirituale dell’Ordine Carmelitano* (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2007); Coralie Zermatten, ‘Reform Endeavors and the Development of Congregations: Regulating Diversity within the Carmelite Order’, in Krijn Pansters, Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability: The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, *Disciplina Monastica* 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 245-60 [255 ff.]. Mention should also be made of another Whitefriar in the Low Countries, Thomas de Lemborc (Thomas of Limbourg, *fl.* 1487), who was appointed by Soreth to be chaplain to the Carmelite nuns at Namur. Writing at the end of the fifteenth century, he compiled a collection of early Carmelite saints, translating the life of Saint Peter Thomas from Latin into French. He also wrote in French a moral and spiritual treatise for the sisters, *Exhortations aus Carmélites de Namur*. His writings are preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 2243. See: Martine Thiry-Stassin, ‘Les légendiers en prose française écrits dans la Belgique actuelle: le cas du Leiden BPL 46A (Huy) et du BRB II 2243 (Namur)’, *Le Moyen Français*, 46-47 (2000), 563-75; Martine Thiry-Stassin, ‘De Quelques Mots Rares dans la *Vie du Prophète Jonas*’, in Alex Vanneste, Peter De Wilde, Saskia Kindt, Joeri Vlemings (eds.), *Memoire en temps advenir: Hommage à Theo Venckeleer*, *Orbis Supplementa* 22 (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), 313-21; Martine Thiry-Stassin, ‘Un légendier propre pour les Blanches Dames de Namur (XV^e siècle)’, in Tania Van Hemelryck, Stefania Marzano (eds.), *Le recueil au Moyen Âge: La fin du Moyen Âge*, *Texte, Codex and Contexte*, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 303-13. Mention should also be made of Blessed Frances d’Amboise (1427-85), considered alongside Jean Soreth as co-founder of the Carmelite nuns in France, who likewise wrote *Exhortations* for her sisters in Carmel.

and though addressed to ‘solytary men’ would be applicable for either men or women. We might safely conjecture, therefore, that it was a ‘charge’ followed either in addition to, or in imitation of, the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert* by one of the succession of lay anchorites who lived in the grounds of the Norwich convent, or the community of pious women associated with the Whitefriars at sites such as Ipswich. In the preceding chapter we saw in the case of Richard Misyn and Margaret Heslyngton that some fifteenth-century Carmelites were very interested in supporting lay people who pursued a reclusive vocation. It may be in this context of extending an adapted form of the Carmelite way of life to a lay recluse that we can read *Pe charge*, and possibly also Scrope’s vernacular translation of the *Decem libri*. Through such texts the Carmelite friars invited others – whom they could supervise – to participate in a version of their religious life. On the one hand that participation was regulated, literally, and thus controlled; on the other, it broadened the experience of religious life to those who were not themselves mendicant friars.

As we move on to consider in greater depth Thomas Scrope’s translation of the *Decem libri*, it is worth making another link between that text and *Pe charge*. Felip Ribot’s *Decem libri* emerged sometime in the late 1300s at a time when the Carmelite Order was still enduring criticisms from secular clergy and most particularly from other religious orders. Highest on the list of objections to the Whitefriars were two of their claims: firstly, that they descended from the Old Testament prophet Elijah and were therefore the most senior and venerable of all religious communities; secondly, that they had been founded specially (and, in light of the first claim, predictively!) in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary in a way that no other order could rival.

Objections to these beliefs were wide-spread, and anti-Carmelite sentiments were expressed across Europe. As previously discussed, the dispute came to a head in a debate at Cambridge University in 1375 when the Carmelite regent master John Hornby successfully defended his Order’s claims against the objections of the Dominican John Stokes. Among Stokes’ objections (recorded for us second-hand in the responses offered by Hornby), was the claim that the contemporary Carmelite Order could not be linked to any religious community in previous generations because it had changed its habit (specifically the colour of the cloak) in 1287. Another objection was that if the Carmelites followed the *Rule of Saint Albert*, which had been written sometime in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, then what rule had the Order followed previously? Within about a decade of the Cambridge declaration’s publication the *Decem libri* came into circulation. Though Hornby’s defence of the Carmelites was quickly and widely circulated within the Order, we cannot know for certain whether or not Stokes’ specific criticisms and the Carmelite riposte came to Felip Ribot’s attention. Nevertheless, the accusations and defences were well rehearsed across the Continent, and although Ribot claimed that his collection amassed ancient documents about the Order, he used those purported

documents to address very contemporary concerns.¹³⁹ Among these is the question of the Carmelite habit, which we have already observed may have had some bearing on, or resonances with, the discussion of the hermit's garb in *Pe charge*. The accusation made by Stokes and others that the Carmelites had no rule before that given them by Albert is also addressed in the *Decem libri*, and its prolonged discussion of the Order's various rules may even account for the insertion of *Pe charge* – which purports to date from the first century A. D. – between the Latin and English texts in Lambeth Ms. 192. For those willing to overlook the anachronisms within the text, *Pe charge* arguably adds a sense of antiquity to the compilation.

Carmelite writers preceding Felip Ribot had addressed the question of earlier rules by saying that, prior to Albert's regulation, the hermits on Carmel had followed diktats given to them by Saint Paulinus and Saint Basil.¹⁴⁰ Ribot asserts that Elijah was a living embodiment of how the hermit should live (for example in Book 2, Chapter 8), but the Catalan imitates his predecessors in claiming a 'rule' for Carmelites that existed before Albert's. Ribot devotes the whole of Book 8 to the subject:

[Middle English] The viij book makith also mencyon of the first wryters off the instytucion and Rewle of this religion, and in which tymes and for what causes it behouyd to wryten the instytucion and Rewle and be the Sete of the Apostel to prouyn and to confermyn the seyde Rewle and to declaryn and amendyn and makyn hoolsume of the clauses of yt. [Edden's edition 118/2-6]

[Modern English translation of the Latin] This eighth book deals wholly with the first writers of this institute [Order] and the Rules of the Order, and from whom and from the fathers and for what reasons it happened that the institution and the Rule were written, and the said Rule was approved by the Apostolic See and confirmed and some of its clauses were clarified, corrected, and mitigated.¹⁴¹

In Book 8, Chapter 4, Felip Ribot 'quotes' a letter from the venerable hermit Cyril on Mount Carmel, which claims that Albert's *Rule* was simply an elaboration of a rule given to the Carmelites by John, the 44th bishop of Jerusalem (the purported 'author' of Books 1-7, that is, the 'Book of the First Monks'). As 'Cyril' explains:

¹³⁹ The way in which Ribot's *Decem libri* addresses criticisms of the Carmelite Order is discussed fully by Copsey, 'Felip Ribot and his *Ten Books*'.

¹⁴⁰ For details see: Richard Copsey, 'Felip Ribot and his *Ten Books*', 174.

¹⁴¹ Preface to Book 8 (*The Ten Books*, 106); Copsey's translation varies from Scrope's in various respects.

[Middle English translation of the Latin] The Rewle and governawncs put in the forsayd chapter, Albert nothyng or ellys fewe he put in the qwich were not sweyd be Iohn in the Book of Instytucion of thys religion, other be suasyon or be exampyl of holy fadrys goynge befor. Forsothe thoo that Iohn seyde in the forseyd book in general be suasyon, Albert smytenge of alle causes of dowtfulnesse in hys statute made specyal determynacion. [Edden's edition, 127/12-18]

[Modern English translation of the Latin] The patriarch Albert added nothing or very little to the Rule ... which was not already recommended by John to the brothers, in his book on the way of life of this Order, by his words, or shown by the lives of the earlier holy fathers ... In short, what John recommended in the said book, he described in general terms. Albert, in order to remove any scruples of doubt about what was in the Rule described matters in detail. [Copsey's translation, 114]

Here Felip Ribot displays, like Carmelite apologists before him, a desire to show the antiquity and continuity of his Order, as evidenced by a succession rather than a change of eremitic/monastic rules.¹⁴²

In this context *De charge* takes on added significance. The *Decem libri* contains an entire Book of eight chapters on the Carmelite *Rule*, so it is surely significant that it should have been bound alongside a text that gives a 'charge' to hermits. Although Pseudo-Linus's text makes no explicit mention of the Carmelite Order, its eremitic content and position within the Lambeth codex mean that it could be interpreted as an additional 'rule' within the spirit of the Carmelite tradition. We have already seen that it cannot possibly have been written by Saint Linus, but the linking of the text to an ancient father of the Church gives it the apparent authority and authenticity so crucial to Ribot's project in the *Decem libri*. If translated or promoted by Thomas Scrope, *De charge* is perhaps a further contribution to his Order's quest to weave for itself a history of eremitic spirituality sanctioned by the very founders of the Christian church. Indeed, given Saint Linus' status as the first pope after Saint Peter, linking his name to a 'charge' might be seen to give very early papal sanction to the way of life promoted by the Carmelites.¹⁴³ *De charge* therefore inhabits a unique position, sandwiched between

¹⁴² For further discussion, see: Copsey 'Felip Ribot and his *Ten Books*', 189.

¹⁴³ The *Decem libri*, like many Carmelite texts from the Middle Ages, has no objection to 'appropriating' saints into the Order. However, I have not been able to find any evidence of particular Carmelite devotion to Saint Linus. It is, of course, possible that an individual recluse in Norwich had devotion to this saint, hence the reference in the *Rule* to 'the fest of the saynt of the Celle and the dedycacyon of Celle'.

the papal sanctions of the Carmelite Order cited in the closing chapters of the Latin *Decem libri* on one side, and on the other side the letter of ‘rule-giving’ John 44th in the English *Be Instytucyonys*.

Scrope’s translation of *Be Instytucyonys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys*

The publication by Richard Copsey in 2005 of a new English translation of the *Decem libri* bears witness to the impact for over six hundred years of Felip Ribot’s work upon Carmelite spirituality and self-definition. To understand this, and the *Decem libri*’s place in the medieval English Carmelites’ desire to both create and curb theological conjecture, we must return to the early years of its circulation and examine the circumstances in which the first English translation by Thomas Scrope emerged.

The appeal of the *Decem libri* to a Carmelite is obvious, particularly for one so demonstrably interested in his Order’s history as Thomas Scrope. Though previous Whitefriars had written historical documents about the Order, none had been so comprehensive or ambitious as Felip Ribot in the *Decem libri* in answering the objections of its critics and setting out a mythical and mystical vision of the Carmelites’ place in salvation history and in the Church. It is pertinent to note that, as far as we know, Thomas Scrope did not translate his own historical writings into English, perhaps feeling that his translation of the more elaborate *Decem libri* would be more profitable.

How quickly Felip Ribot’s collection, compiled in Catalonia sometime between 1379 and 1390, spread across the Carmelite Order is not entirely clear, nor when knowledge of it reached the English Province. In 1420 the English Prior Provincial, Thomas Netter, wrote to the Prior General of the Carmelites in Rome, Jean Grossi, requesting a copy of *The Book of John 44th* (an alternative title for the *Decem libri*), ‘qui liber magni pretii et honoris esset apud nos, maxime si emi posset ut haberetur in vetusta scriptura’ (‘a book which would be of great value and honour to us if it could be purchased for us in ancient script’).¹⁴⁴ This implies that the English Province did not possess a copy of Ribot’s collection before 1420, but that by then its repute was such that copies were available courtesy of the Carmelite curia in Rome (just as Carmelites in England are known to have collectively diffused Netter’s own *Doctrinale*). That Netter requested a copy of the legendary history written in ‘ancient script’ (‘vetusta scriptura’) is a tantalising detail. Does it mean that he accepted the purported antiquity of the document and wanted a copy which reflected that, or did he feel that so long as the handwriting and parchment looked old it would be more convincing as a record of Carmelite history?¹⁴⁵ Alleging

¹⁴⁴ As translated by Kevin Alban, ‘The Letters of Thomas Netter of Walden’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 343-80 [362]; Keith J. Egan ‘An Essay towards a Historiography of the Origin of the Carmelite Province in England’, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), 86-119 [95].

¹⁴⁵ On the phenomenon of making manuscripts look antique, see: M. B. Parkes, ‘Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts’, in James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (eds.), *Books and Collectors 1200-1700: Essays Presented to*

antiquity was crucial to Felip Ribot's project of defending the Order against contemporary detractors.¹⁴⁶ It was also useful in England, after the prohibitions of Thomas Arundel's 1407/09 *Constitutions* against translations of theological materials from around the time of John Wyclif in the 1380s, to be able to state that although Felip Ribot's compilation was dangerously close to the cut-off date, it was written in Latin on the Continent and made up of purportedly ancient sources.

It is highly probable that, as Prior Provincial, Thomas Netter would have ensured the circulation of copies of this text of such significance and usefulness to the houses of the English Carmelite Province, most especially to the centres of higher study. Therefore, a copy of the *Decem libri* may presumably have come to Norwich perhaps a year or two after Thomas Netter's request to Rome in 1420. Thomas Scrope entered his anchorhold at Norwich Whitefriars in 1425, and seems to have translated the *Decem libri* there before his dedicatee Cyril Garland left office as prior in 1443.

The fact that Thomas Scrope dedicated an English text to Prior Garland raises the question of Scrope's motivations in translating the *Decem libri*. We have already noted that *De charge* seems more suitable for a lay audience, because it is 'vernacular' not only on the grounds that it is written in English but also in its stipulations on the acts of piety for the hermit to perform. Conversely, it is not obvious at first glance why the *Decem libri* should have been translated into the vernacular and dedicated to Cyril Garland, who as head of one of the Order's major study centres must have been an educated and Latin-literate man well able to comprehend the original text. Of course, knowledge of Latin does not preclude interest in vernacular literature, as we have already seen in relation to late medieval English Carmelite scholars, and some clerics in the Order (and indeed in the Church generally) are known to have possessed collections of books in a variety of languages. It is therefore quite possible that reading theological texts in the vernacular was commonplace in Carmelite communities such as Norwich in the middle of the fifteenth century.

A more likely explanation for Scrope's choice of Garland as dedicatee is that as prior of the Norwich Whitefriars he was the symbolic figurehead of a wider community. Scrope's translation of the *Decem libri* was surely intended to benefit primarily not its dedicatee but rather a broader illiterate audience, just as Richard Misyn dedicated his translation of Richard Rolle to Margaret Heslyngton but envisaged his work reaching a much wider readership and hearership. In the case of Scrope's *Instytucionys*, this could include as well as the general public those within the broad parameters of the Norwich Carmelite community whose social standing may not have warranted a personalised

Andrew Watson (London: The British Library, 1997), 101-41; 'Color and the Archaizing Style' in John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 73-107.

¹⁴⁶ On the Carmelites' attempt to create an ancient identity for themselves, see especially: Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*; Edden, 'The Mantle of Elijah'.

manuscript dedication, but who came under the spiritual or legal jurisdiction of the prior. This would have included the novice friars of the community, who would gradually have learnt some proficiency in Latin through their studies and their recitation of the Office as choir brothers, as well as the less formally instructed lay brothers. It is quite likely that novices would have become familiar with the *Decem libri* in either its Latin or English versions, since the Ribot collection quickly became a standard formation text for study and reflection across the Order. If the Lambeth codex is the sole surviving example of a broader practice of circulating the *Decem libri* and *De Instytucionys* side by side, then it would also have been a useful aid for student friars, and indeed clergy beyond, to improve their proficiency in Latin.¹⁴⁷ Given the fact that Lambeth Ms. 192 is not Thomas Scrope's original holograph but rather a copy of his work produced by East Anglian scribes and at one time owned by a friar located in London, there is good reason to believe that multiple copies once existed, and that *De Instytucionys* may have circulated well beyond Norwich, perhaps more widely than religious texts associated with that city which are better known today.

Besides novice friars, other possible *illiterati* living in or alongside the Whitefriars community in Norwich (and indeed elsewhere) included the fraternity's servants, recluses such as Emma Stapleton, and lay persons attached to the Carmelites by some form of bond, such as that enjoyed by 'suster' Agnes Paston.¹⁴⁸ Further lay persons would have come into contact with the friars through their ministries and apostolates, including those who sought them out for the administration of the sacraments, preaching, and spiritual guidance, as witnessed in Norwich by the visit of Margery Kempe to William Southfield. Valerie Edden suggests a possible audience among the Guild of St. George, to which a Carmelite anchorite, probably Scrope, was admitted in 1445.¹⁴⁹ Any of these people, suitably spiritually motivated, may have had an interest in reading or hearing an English translation of a document purporting to tell the history of the Carmelites and sharing its 'mystical' insights. It is even possible that Scrope undertook the translation at the request of a lay patron; we know that Richard Misyn did so in 1434, and that Margery Kempe encountered a Carmelite who 'proferyd hir to wryten frely yf sche wold'.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ 'It is possible that Garland was considering the needs of less literate members of his own order but he may have had in mind a more general clerical audience; certainly a clerical audience is a possibility since, judging from clerical miscellanies of the mid-fifteenth century ... the Latinity of fifteenth-century clergy could leave something to be desired', Edden (ed.), *De Instytucionys*, xvii.

¹⁴⁸ 'Ribot's text ... contains within the first book and elsewhere a full account of the various stages of the spiritual life and guidance about achieving them. This material was of interest to the laity as well as to religious, particularly to lay hermits.', Edden (ed.), *De Instytucionys*, xvii.

¹⁴⁹ Edden (ed.), *De Instytucionys*, xvi, xvii.

¹⁵⁰ *Book of Margery Kempe*, second (original and shorter) preface.

The *Decem libri* was a text of general spiritual teaching, as well as an account of the Carmelites' origins. It would make interesting reading/hearing to anyone desiring to grow in the spiritual life. According to Felip Ribot (writing in the name of John 44th Bishop of Jerusalem, and here translated by Scrope), his teachings show the reader 'how thow schal comyn to the hyte of prophetal perfeccyon and to the ende of the lyf of a monk-heremyte' ('how to reach prophetic perfection and to attain the goal of the monastic eremitical life').¹⁵¹ Thomas Scrope's translation renders the 'mysteries' of contemplative life available not only to monks, hermits and friars but to any English-speaking audience. Valerie Edden, citing the conclusion of Book 1, Chapter 7, argues rightly that Thomas Scrope's translation would have made 'mystical writings' and teachings on contemplation available to a wide range of lay readers:

[Latin] Quia enim propter caritatem Dei mundum et consorcia hominum relinques ut puro corde Deo inhereas, mereberis diuino habunde perfrui colloquio, ita ut occulta eciam futura interdum reuelentur tibi a Deo. *Tunc ergo super Omnipotentem deliciis inestimabilibus afflues, et eleuabis ad Deum libere contemplandum faciem mentis tue.*

[Chandler's thesis edition, 52-53]

[Middle English] For as meche as for the loue of God þou forsakyst the wor[l]d and the felachepe of men, that þou mayst drawyn to God with a clene herte and þou schal deseruyn to vsyn abundantly godly speche, so that hyd thyngys and thyngys for to comyn schal be schewyd sumtyme among fro God vnto the. Than schalt þou be plentyvows with delitys vnabyl to be gyssyd vpon almygthy God, and þou schal lyftyn vp to beheldyn frely the face of thy sowle vnto God. [Edden's edition, 19/18-24]

Translating a text that encourages its audience to engage in divine conversation, in which revelations of secret things will be received from God, is clear evidence of Thomas Scrope's desire to broaden access to the contemplative way of life, as his Order conceived of it.

In the final part of this chapter, let us consider another passage from *Pe Instytucionys* – Book 6, Chapter 7 – that could well be interpreted as extending to the general audience a participation in the contemplative vocation of the Carmelites:

¹⁵¹ Book 1, Chapter 7 (*The Ten Books*, 19). For an estimation of the *Decem libri* as a 'mystical' or 'contemplative' text, see: Edden, 'The prophetycal lyf of an heremyte'.

Middle English
translation of the Latin

Modern English
translation of the Latin¹⁵²

The vij chapter makyth mencyon that the professowrys of thys Order wern vndyr the lawe of the gospel and clepyd relygious men and also the Brethern of that blyssyd mayden Marye. Also they wern clepyd monkys heremytes and ankerys and why they wern wrcheppyd be these tytelys.

How under the law of the gospels, the members of this Order were called religious and brothers of the blessed virgin Mary and monks and hermits and anchorites, and why they were given these titles.

In the Newe Lawe they wern fyrst intytelatt and clepyd relygiowus men and bowndyn to God and allonly zoldyn to hyse worchepp, for they wythdrewyn hem vttyrly fro seculyr dedys and bowndyn hemself to God, zeldynge and confermynge alle her lyffe to Goddys worcheppe. And vndyr thys tytell blyssed Lewk hatt rememberyd of hem in the secund chapter of thys book of the Dedys of Apostellys, as yt was seyde befor in the fyfte book in the fourth chapter.

Now under the New Law, first these were given the title of and called religious, for they were bound [*relegati*] to God, and totally committed to his worship, for they separated themselves completely from secular life and bound themselves to God, dedicating the whole of their lives to divine worship. And under this title, blessed Luke makes mention of them in the second chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*, as was stated above in Book 5, Chapter 4.

Aftyward they in the secunde tyme the Brethern of that Blyssed Mayden Marye [wern] intytelyd and namyd, for in the fyrst begynnynge of thys wylful wyrgynyte they wern synglerly confermyd to that Blyssyd Virgyn Marye. For as

Then second, they were given the title of and known as the brothers of the blessed virgin Mary, for they were the first to choose voluntary virginity, uniquely identifying themselves with the blessed virgin Mary. For just as she was the first

¹⁵² Again, the Modern English here cited is Copsey's translation of the Latin text, and varies from Scrope's on certain points.

meche as sche wass fyrst of women the whiche vowyd to God euerlestyng virgynyte, so lykewyse the laate professowrys of thyse order fyrst of men han offeryd to God a perpetual vyrgynyte, as it hath be seyde befor in the thrydde chapter of the syxte book. For the whiche symylitude of wylful vyrgynyte singlerly fowndyn between hem and the Modyr of God, the professowrys of thys Order now in the tyme of apostellys clepyd Vyrgyn Marye her suster, and they named hemself the Brethern of that Blyssed Mayden Marye, as yt is specyfyed befor in the fyfte chapter of the syxte book. And for they han edyfyed a certeyn chapel in the mownt of Carmell in the zeer of owr Lord lxxxiiij^o to the worchyppe of thys holy vyrgyn, the Modyr of God, in the whiche they seruyd besyly the same vyrgyn. Therfor other of that relygion clepyd hemself fro that tyme forth Brethern of owr Lady that Blyssed Made of the Mownt of Carmell, as yt is seyde befor in the syxte book in the fyfte chapter.

among women to vow perpetual virginity to God, so the earliest members of this Order were the first among men to undertake perpetual virginity for God, as was stated above in the third chapter of this sixth book. Because of the unique similarity between them and the Mother of God from the earliest times in the choice of voluntary virginity which has been noted, the members of this Order from the time of the apostles called the Virgin Mary their sister, and they called themselves the brothers of the blessed virgin Mary, as was noted above in the fifth chapter of this sixth book. And as on Mount Carmel they built a chapel in year 83 after the incarnation, in honour of the Mother of God, the first virgin to dedicate herself to God, in which they continually gave praise to the same virgin. And so, by others who were not members of this Order, they were called from this point onwards the brothers of the blessed virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, as was stated above in Book 6, Chapter 5.

S[e]wyngly, for her conuersacyon dyscordyd fro the lyffe of seculyr persons, the whiche the[y], fleyng owt of cytees, stondyn allone specyally in mowntys and wyldernessys, weymentyng hemself and

Consequently, they grieved for the world, since their way of life was different from worldly life, for fleeing from the towns they lived mainly alone in the mountains and the solitary places, following the

the world be example of that holy man Helye. Therfor in the thrydde tyme they intytelatt and clepyd monkys, which ys meche forto seyn as soory, hevy and levynge sool, beyng allone. For thys word *monos* be Grew ys as [fo. 112^r] meche for to sey in Latyn as ‘on’ and thys word *achos* ys as meche for to sey in Latin as ‘hevy’ or ‘soory’.

And also for other of the monkys arn clepyd cenobytes, other also heremytes, and the professowrys of thys relygion and of thys Order sumtyme leddyn her lyff most in wyldyrnesse, therfor in the fourth book they wern intytelatt and clepyd heremytes, as meche for to vndyrstondyn as men remevyd fro the syth of the pepyll. For they desyreddyn a solytary lyff, enteryd and thryllyd the desert of wyldyrnesse of the mownt of Carmell and also othere wyldyrnesse.

For they that dwellyd in wyldyrnesse encresyd and moryd her hertys for God be fastynges and other dyuersse tormentryes that they mith dwellyn mor amonge the celestyall cumpanyes, as yt hath be seyde befor in the thrydde book in the eygth chapter. Therfor in the fyfte book they wern intytelatt and clepyd anchorytes, as moryng and encresyng her hertys with abstyne[n]sse and fastynges and

example of Elijah. Therefore, they are thirdly given the title of and called monks [*monachi*], that is, sad and alone, from the Greek word *monos*, which is “one” in Latin, and *achos* in Greek, which is “sad” in Latin.

And then, as some among the monks are coenobites and others hermits, and the members of this Order formerly lived mainly in solitary places, therefore fourthly they are given the title of and called hermits, as – seeking the solitary life far from human sight – they sought the solitary wildernesses of Mount Carmel and other solitary places.

Then, as was written in Book 3, Chapter 8, for God’s sake they punished themselves with fastings and various other penances in the solitude of their hearts, so that spiritually they might find a place among the celestial choirs. Therefore fifthly they were given the title of and called anchorites, for mortifying their hearts with fastings and penances and dwelling

tormentryes and dwellynge above in spiritually up above, among the celestial
mende amonge the celestyall cumpanyes. choirs.

Forsothe be the v tytelys the professowrys Thus the members of this Order were
of thys relygion and Order wern honoured with these five titles under the
worchepyd vndyr the Newe Lawe. New Law.

[Edden's edition, 100/21-101/34]

[Copsey's translation, 91]

On the face of it this passage would seem to be a text of little interest or immediate relevance to lay people: Felip Ribot, through the translation of Thomas Scrope, relates how the hermits on Mount Carmel came to be called 'relygious ... monkys hermeytes and ankers', and how these men 'wythdrewyn hem vttyrly fro seculyr dedys'. This would seem to preclude interest to lay people engaged in worldly affairs. However, by presenting the various forms of life which the Carmelites have embraced over time, Ribot effectively (though not explicitly) gives a justification for contemporary developments within the Order, especially the emergence of new expressions of the Carmelite vocation being embraced by women. Some recent observers of medieval anchoritism, such as Ann Warren, have regarded the anchoritic tradition in the late Middle Ages as an alternative to coenobitic religious life, and texts such as the *Decem libri* would give weight to the claim of innovations being faithful to the spirit of religious life. *De Instytucionys* both supports the religious life of a Carmelite friar in fourteenth-century Europe, but also presents the variety of ways in which the Carmelite vocation has been expressed in the past, and therefore could be expressed in the future. Inadvertently or not, Ribot encourages in his audience experimentation with notions of withdrawal and religious life. Writing his translation between 1425 and 1443, Thomas Scrope and his Order could use *De Instytucionys* to address and justify the new expressions of Carmelite life developing in England and across Europe at the time. Earlier in this chapter we noted that in 1426 Alice Wakeleyn, recluse at the Carmelite priory in Northampton, died and was buried in the Carmelite habit; by then a number of women had already been living under some form of Carmelite rule. In Norwich, Thomas Netter had given the veil to Emma Stapleton as an anchoress living at Whitefriars, and women such as Agnes Paston considered themselves to be sisters of the Carmelite friars though still living in their own homes. Lay people visited the Carmelites for spiritual guidance, and women such as Margery Kempe asked Whitefriars to read and write for them. In 1432 the Carmelite *Rule of Saint Albert* received a papal mitigation that relaxed various aspect of communal life, but interest in the more primitive traditions of the Order was kept alive by friars such as Richard Misyn, translating eremitic literature for anchorites around the same time as Thomas Scrope was writing in his cell. All the while,

the Carmelites – especially in East Anglia – were busy in the 1430s fighting Lollardy by disseminating Thomas Netter’s *Doctrinale* and compiling (c.1439) the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* which recorded the errors of Wyclif’s followers and the Order’s efforts against them.

At a time of great change within the Church and within the Carmelite Order, Felip Ribot and Thomas Scrope provided, through their literary activities, justification not only for the Order’s historical past, but also demonstrated the precedence for new developments and variety within religious life that kept within the bounds of orthodoxy. Intentionally or not, they encouraged the reader/hearer to reimagine religious identity within certain parameters. Those parameters, as the passage above demonstrates, were the authorities of Scripture (‘the lawe of the gospel’ and ‘thys book of the Dedys of Apostellys’), and the tradition of the Church.

The *Decem libri / De Instytucyonys* even goes so far as to regard itself as an authoritative text, with many self-references (‘as yt was seyde befor’). This self-authorisation is an important tool in Felip Ribot’s project to create in the *Decem libri* a compendium of authorities on the antiquity and specialness of the Carmelite Order. He does this by pointing out in his Prologue the succession of authorities and holy writings ‘under the Old Law and the New’ which have a bearing on his Order.¹⁵³ Without drawing attention to the fact explicitly (which could be to contravene the ensuing claim for the Order’s humility), Felip Ribot effectively imitates the prophet Elijah, as all good Carmelites should: like Elijah, Ribot’s work is intended to instruct the Carmelites ‘about the special writings and rules of the monastic life’. By translating *The Ten Books* into English, Scrope picks up this pedagogic responsibility and places himself in the lineage of Elijah and Ribot.

Conclusion

One of the objections made in the late Middle Ages to writing or translating religious texts in English was that technical and theological terminology could not be sufficiently rendered in the vernacular.¹⁵⁴ Such concerns are particularly pertinent in the case of translating Felip Ribot, who uses so many different terms for the religious life that the English lexicon could be stretched; but generally it seems to have met the challenge. Scrope’s translation technique is generally rather literal, like Richard Misyn’s, which suggests a similar concern among fifteenth-century English Carmelites about the accurate use of language over and above the benefits of a more idiomatic style. The level of

¹⁵³ See the passage quoted above in relation to n. 81.

¹⁵⁴ We noted this in the previous chapter (n. 395), citing the end of the first prologue to Book I of *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, probably written by a near-contemporary of Thomas Scrope’s English work. Similar misgivings were expressed in the early 1400s with regard to Bible translation by William Butler and Thomas Palmer [see *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 343].

Scrope's concern can be seen in the passage from Book 6, Chapter 7 above, on the various terms used for the Carmelite religious life (monk, hermit, anchorite, etc.), which he translates quite precisely.¹⁵⁵

An interesting comparison can perhaps be made between Scrope's translation and the writings of John Metham, a self-styled translator who was a contemporary in Norwich. Metham's patron was Sir Miles Stapleton who oversaw the translation of several works, and who, as we have already seen in the previous chapter, had close links with the Carmelites. In 1448-49 Metham claimed to translate the romance *Amoryus and Cleopes* from a Greek manuscript, concluding the text with a lament about the lack of tales in English about 'knyghtys dedys' and 'notabyl storyis off manhod and chyvalrye'.¹⁵⁶ Though Scrope's translation was focussed on 'the great deeds of the Carmelites' rather than those of knights, it may nevertheless have made available to an audience seemingly hungry for vernacular works a text purporting to derive from the ancient world, which offered a certain theological romance and mystery without straying into the realms of impropriety.

We noted in the previous chapter the concerns Richard Misyn articulated with regard to the very act of translation, fearing that by rendering Rolle's thought into English he might be accused of heresy. Thomas Scrope, on the other hand, exhibits no such concern, at least not in any form of prologue that has survived. The act of translation is actually sanctioned in the *Decem libri* (Book 8, Chapter 2):

[Middle English translation of the Latin] The[r] was in thoo dayes a patriarch of Antiochene in the Holy Lond, the Popys legate, a man belouyd of God and of man, qwoos name was Aymericus in [Ma]lofayda ... The qwich, taking hyd to the laudabyl conuersacion of owr forsayd antecessowrys hermytys frerys of owr Lady off the hyll of Carmele, fful specially in owre Lord he noryched hem in hys tyme, vnderstondyng that summe of hem that com owt of the west dyspysyng the byddyng off here faders thei walkyd not ryth to the trewth of the relygyous lyue off heremytys qwoos lyve was wryten in the book of Iohn. He perseyued that princypali it fell for the ignoraunz of Grekys lettrys thei cowed notz rede the boke and þerfor hee dede translate it owt of Grew into Latyn.

[Edden's edition, 121/29-122/4]

¹⁵⁵ A fuller analysis of Scrope's translation technique will be possible to scholars now that Edden's edition is published. As she points out [xxi], 'Scrope's translation varies in both accuracy and fluency ... the frequency of error and over-literal translation increases in the later books', particularly in the translation of formal Church documents. Now that Scrope's text is available to a wider readership, further questions for scholars to consider include whether, when Ribot quotes from the Bible, Scrope makes his own translation from the Vulgate. Comparison could also be made of Ribot's Latin version of the *Rule of Saint Albert* with Scrope's translation, to see whether the Englishman adapts it in any way or whether he is literal and slavish in his rendering. When manuscripts can be more easily compared, it will be worth considering whether the English version of the *Decem libri* has the same mise-en-page as the 10 surviving Latin manuscripts.

¹⁵⁶ Quoted in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 52, lines 45, 50. For the full text see: Hardin Craig (ed.), *The Works of John Metham*, Early English Text Society Original Series 132 (1916).

[Modern English translation of the Latin] In those days, the patriarch of Antioch and legate for the Apostolic See in the Holy Land was a certain man, beloved by God and men, whose name was Aymeric Malfayda ... He observed the praiseworthy way of life of our hermits, the predecessors of the brothers of the blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, and he supported them greatly during his lifetime. He realised that some of them who had come from the West ... were ignoring the admonishments of their elders and not properly following the true eremitical religious life as described in [the first chapter of] John's book [i.e. John 44th Bishop of Jerusalem]. Realising that this was mostly due to the fact that they did not understand Greek and did not know how to read this work, he arranged for this book to be translated from Greek into Latin. [Copsey's translation, 110]

This excerpt points out the perceived necessity of providing vernacular translations for the proper appreciation and application of the Carmelite life, and perhaps inclined Thomas Scrope to undertake a similar work for the benefit of his community. With the benefit of hindsight, it is ironic that when Scrope himself was sent to Rhodes as papal legate, he suffered from the same lack of comprehension as his forebears from the West. Nevertheless, Thomas Scrope seems to have agreed with Felip Ribot that deviation from the proper observance of religion was 'mostly due to the fact that they did not understand', and that providing a translation of sound – if eccentric – religious teaching in the mother tongue would remedy the situation.

Concluding remarks – The Case of John Milverton

Just as this thesis opened with a case study – that of Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn – to introduce many of the themes that would feature in subsequent chapters, I would like, in the first part of this conclusion, to highlight the extraordinary experience of Carmelite friar John Milverton which likewise combines, albeit in unexpected ways, many of the leitmotifs of Carmelite vernacular literature in late medieval England.

In the second part of this conclusion I provide a broad chronological survey of the major themes, events and individuals who impacted upon the Carmelite Order's interest in promoting and policing vernacular theology.

In the third and final section, I present a broad resumé of my findings, drawing together issues highlighted across the course of the chapters, noting salient points, and suggesting areas for further research.

1. The case of John Milverton

An episode involving the English Carmelites in the 1460s revisits many of the issues touched upon in this thesis, and seems upon first glance to turn on its head what we have come to expect of the Order in the late Middle Ages, particularly with regard to its reputation for cautious promotion and policing of vernacular theology. The episode has been dubbed 'The Quarrel between the Carmelite Friars and the Secular Clergy of London' by Francis Robin Houssemayne Du Boulay, who summarises its origins thus:

On Sunday, 16 September 1464, a young Carmelite friar called Harry Parker, the son of a skinner whose home was, like the Carmelite friary, in Fleet Street, preached a public sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in which he declared that Christ and his Apostles had no private property, that they made their living exclusively by begging for alms, and that what they were given they possessed in common. As a corollary of this, Parker said that the state of the mendicant friars was the most perfect one to be found in the Church Militant, and that all priests ought likewise to live off alms, without benefices or private property.¹

¹ F. R. H. Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel between the Carmelite Friars and the Secular Clergy of London, 1464-1468', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 6:2 (October 1955), 156-74 [158-59]. My narrative of the quarrel draws liberally upon Du Boulay, who compiled a summary from the various extant records, namely: an English narrative called *Gregory's Chronicle*, a chronicle of London by William Gregory, a skinner and mayor, and its continuation (probably by Dr. William

Harry Parker's preaching reveals that friars' claims concerning the greater spiritual merits of mendicant poverty were still alive and well long after its criticism by Archbishop Fitzralph in the 1350s, and its defence by Richard Maidstone in the 1390s. The arguments in the poverty debate put forward by Friar Parker were old ones, but after the condemnations of John Wyclif in preceding decades, calls for the removal of clerical benefices and property undoubtedly had new reformist overtones bordering on heresy, and ones that Carmelites – given their reputation for orthodoxy – might not be expected to promote. In delivering his sermon at St. Paul's Cross, a preaching cross and open-air pulpit in the precincts of the capital's cathedral, Harry Parker had chosen the most prominent place in London, indeed the most public pulpit in the whole of England, a site for debate, entertainment, and the public denunciation of heresy, attended by all strata of society from commoners to the king.²



The preaching cross at Old St. Paul's. Left panel of a diptych painted in 1616 by John Gipkyn (detail).
London, Society of Antiquaries.

Ive, lead critic of the Carmelites in the case), printed by James Gairdner (ed.), *The Historical Collections of a citizen of London in the 15th century*, Camden Society, New Series 17 (1876), 228-32, available online at www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol17/pp210-239 [accessed July 2016]; a shorter account in a *Brief Latin Chronicle*, likewise printed by James Gairdner (ed.), *Three Fifteenth-century chronicles*, Camden Society, New Series 28 (1880), 180; London, Lambeth Palace, Ms. 22, printed in Du Boulay's article; and various comments made in the writings of John Bale. On the chronicles see: Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century, A Revolution in English Writing* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002). On William Gregory see: Elspeth Veale, 'Gregory, William (d. 1467)', *ODNB*. On Gregory's Continuator see: J. A. F. Thomson, 'The Continuation of *Gregory's Chronicle*: A Possible Author?', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 36:3/4 (Autumn 1972), 92-97.

² See: John B. Marsh, *St. Paul's Cross: the Most Famous Spot in London* (London: Raithby, Lawrence and Co. Limited, 1892, reprinted London: British Library, Historical Print Editions, 2011); Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons 1558-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Torrance Kirby, P. G. Stanwood (eds.), *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520-1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

Harry Parker's audience was divided and confused by his sermon. The Continuator of *Gregory's Chronicle* makes it clear that this was the fault of the Carmelites, stating: 'that yere be-ganne a gre cyssym by twyne fryers and prystys, but the Fryer Charmys, that ys to saye the Whyte Freers, be-ganne hyt fryste at Poules Crosse'. Describing the quarrel as a schism ('cyssym') is evocative of the language used of divisions within the Church before the Council of Constance. There may also be deliberate evocations in describing Harry Parker as the son of a London skinner, given the infamy of London skinner John Claydon who had been burned as a heretic in 1415 (as discussed in Chapter Two).³

The Continuator of *Gregory's Chronicle* is at pains to stress that the secular clergy of London responded to Parker's sermon in a restrained manner:

Next Sunday (23 September) the pulpit at Paul's Cross was taken by a very important ecclesiastic who was to be the friars' main opponent in the two or three years of debate that were to follow. This was Dr. William Ive, master of the collegiate City church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal (Whittington College). Ive had had a successful Oxford career and had been a doctor of divinity for about four years. He now preached a most moderate discourse, in which he allowed that Christ had indeed been poor, but argued that it was against the teaching of Scripture and the Church to say that he had been a beggar in the sense intended. Parker's other points he contradicted mildly and without giving scandal.⁴

William Ive's *Lectiones de mendicitate Christi*, delivered during the ensuing quarrel, survive.⁵ He is also known to have supervised an English translation of the New Testament for a devout laywoman.⁶ He has been proposed as the Continuator of *Gregory's Chronicle*.

Perhaps, with hindsight, the Carmelite Order would have wished to leave the matter there, but having one of their members accused of preaching contrary to Scripture and Church teaching:

The controversy was well started. The friars had been accused of error against the Church, and resolved to press their views through one of their own senior theologians. This was Thomas Halden, doctor of divinity and regent in theology at the Carmelite convent in

³ This evocation may have been a complete fabrication by the Continuator. John Bale says that Parker joined the Order in Doncaster c.1430, and ought to be considered fairly reliable on this, being himself the Prior of Doncaster in the 1530s. Richard Copley notes in his *Biographical Register* that Parker was sent to do further studies at the University of Cambridge, and was listed as from the Cambridge friary when ordained subdeacon in 1454 [*Reg. Gray, Ely*, fo. 201v].

⁴ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 159.

⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Lat. theol. e.25, fo. 1-26. On Ive see: Simon Walker, 'Ive, William (d. 1486)', *ODNB*.

⁶ Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. Eng. 77.

Fleet Street. On 9 December, the Second Sunday of Advent, he too came to Paul's Cross and said in public that he could not allow the views of his brother and pupil to be reprobated without coming to his defence. He then took up Parker's first theme, the begging of Christ, and attempted to prove it from the texts of 'certain holy doctors', saying that if this could be shown, all the other arguments flowed easily from it. Halden then announced that further public disputation would be held on this article in the Carmelite schools the following Thursday. When Thursday came, Halden disputed, and another friar responded to his thesis, and between them they did their best to show that the mendicancy of Christ was an article of true Catholic belief. On the Saturday (15 December) Dr. Halden determined solemnly in the Carmelite schools that Christ, in his assumed nature, until the moment of his resurrection, was neither king nor lord, but purely a beggar.⁷

The Continuator of *Gregory's Chronicle* says that the respondent to Thomas Halden was a Grey Friar, suggesting that the Carmelites sought to enlist the support of the Franciscans and other mendicants in their cause.⁸ It is interesting that the Carmelites moved the location of the disputation from St. Paul's Cross to their friary in Fleet Street. This may have been from a desire to argue on home territory, or it might have been that the Carmelites sought to move the debate from a public and popular dispute in the vernacular to a more academic and private disputation (as Richard Maidstone would have advocated).

The Carmelites had good cause to relocate the debate, and to try and share academic responsibility with fellow mendicants, because Halden's disputation led to ecclesiastical disciplinary proceedings:

Many learned doctors and clerks had forgathered in the Carmelite schools to hear Halden and his friar-respondent, and Gregory's Continuator said that Halden went so far that Master John Alcock, then commissary to the dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand, decided to cite him before the archbishop at Lambeth. To this the friar answered that all friars were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction except in cases of heresy. Alcock's citation, however, had either been originally for heresy, or was quickly changed to a charge of heresy.⁹

With the charge of heresy laid, the quarrel had now become, potentially, a matter of life and death for its protagonists. The Carmelites, once the bastions of orthodoxy, who had attended heresy trials in

⁷ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 159.

⁸ On Thomas Halden see: Richard Copsey, *Biographical Register*.

⁹ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 159-60.

London and other major cities in England, and who had compiled dossiers of heretical materials so as to counteract them by producing and circulating major texts on right faith, were now themselves besmirched by the charge of heresy.

Nothing further happened with regard to Thomas Halden for three months; Du Boulay does not account for this, but perhaps Lambeth Palace desired to let the situation calm down. Instead, however, the situation was exacerbated with another secular doctor, Master Edward Story, joining the fray:

The day after Halden's determination, that is, on Sunday, 16 December, Story preached at Paul's Cross with the object of reassuring the public that there was nothing wrong in a church and churchmen who had possessions. There is no doubt that public opinion was seriously disturbed. The wealth of some sections of the Church was obvious; the Carmelite preachers, as all witnesses testify, were eloquent and persuasive. Dr. Story told the people how the old authorities who spoke of Christ's begging ought to be interpreted. He said that Christ and his Apostles did not beg in the sense that the word 'beg' was currently used, nor indeed as the friars were wont to beg.¹⁰

The accounts of the quarrel confirm the reputation we have come to expect of the medieval English Carmelites as eloquent and persuasive preachers, engaged in public theology as well as academic debate. Unusually, however, in this instance the Whitefriars had disturbed public opinion, and despite their trying to bring the debate 'indoors' on home soil, secular clergy had brought the issue into the open again at Paul's Cross. Both the Continuator of *Gregory's Chronicle* and the account in Lambeth Palace Ms. 22 say that Edward Story's preaching had somewhat pacified the public, but the contention was far from over:

A week after Story's sermon, on Sunday, 23 December, a Dominican friar got up and, after expressing general agreement with the mendicant position, encouraged the people to go, after the midday meal, to the Carmelite friary where a sermon worth hearing would be given by a venerable doctor. During this week the friars had been busy affixing notices to the doors of all churches, warning people that Dr. Story was preaching error, and that the truth of the matter might be heard in the afternoon sermon the following Sunday,

¹⁰ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 160. Edward Story would go on to become Bishop of Chichester. See: Janet H. Stevenson (ed.), *The Register of Edward Story, Bishop of Chichester 1478-1503* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press for Canterbury and York Society, 2016); on the London quarrel see xviii.

which would be given by none other than Master John Milverton, prior of the London Carmelites and English Provincial of the Order.¹¹

It seems that by Christmas 1464 the Dominicans as well as the Franciscans had been enlisted in support of the Carmelite position, and that again the Whitefriars wanted to relocate the debate to within the relative privacy, and thus greater safety, of their own community building.

In advertising with notices the forthcoming homily by John Milverton, the Carmelites were pulling out their big gun! John Milverton had joined the Order in Bristol, and is listed as being of the Stamford Priory when ordained subdeacon in 1431, and deacon the following year.¹² He studied at the University of Oxford, and was perhaps the prior in 1446 who represented the Oxford distinction of the Province in its discussions about reform. Reform efforts seem to have been significant in Milverton's ministry, as John Bale claims that he was summoned to Paris by the Carmelite prior general Jean Soreth to help introduce the reformed observance in the English province, which would account for Milverton being appointed Provincial of England at the General Chapter of the Order held in Paris in 1456, and Commissary-General for Scotland and Ireland the following year. In his *Anglorum Heliades* (1536), John Bale wrote of John Milverton:

In scholastic disputations and sermons to the people, he scarcely had an equal in all of England. In his knowledge of a multiplicity of new ideas, he was second to none. He excelled most of the people of his time by reason of his wonderful memory and the clarity of his thought: he seemed always able to quickly grasp whatever he wanted and to hold it in his memory for ever. Also, he excelled in clear speech, discretion, as well as in quickness of mind and in singular prudence; all of which bore fruit in him in benevolence and love.¹³

As Bale says, John Milverton was no stranger to theological debate, including in defence of mendicancy. In 1458, before Parliament, he debated with Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester,

¹¹ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 160.

¹² On Milverton and references for his biography see: Richard Copley, 'Milverton, John (d. 1487)', *ODNB*; *idem*, *Biographical Register*.

¹³ 'Huic in disceptationibus scholasticis atque declamandis ad plebem sermonibus tota Anglia vix similem habuit. Multarum vero rerum scientia nulli secundus erat. Prestabat cunctis fere sue etatis hominibus memorie tenacitate et mentis illustratione, et ea que vellet, cito caperet et sempiterna memoria retineret. Prestabat etiam pronuntiatione verborum, discretione, solertia atque prudentia singulari, quibus omni in se provocavit benevolentiam et amorem.': John Bale, *Anglorum Heliades (The English Followers of Elijah)*, Book 1, Chapter 48, London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 38v. Transcribed and translated by Richard Copley, Brocard Sewell (private printing, Aylesford Priory).

after the bishop had attacked the mendicants, and later Milverton wrote to Pope Pius II in support of Pecock's condemnation by Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Bourchier.

Thus, on 23rd December 1464 the populace of London flocked to Whitefriars in Fleet Street to hear an experienced defender of orthodoxy wade into the rising tension between the capital's mendicants and the secular clergy:

Friar Milverton mounted the pulpit and began by remarking that he had heard that his brother-friar who had preached at Paul's Cross had been seriously defamed as a holder of vain and erroneous opinions and a blasphemer. He had, however, gone carefully into the problem and had concluded that his brother was quite innocent of these charges, and that his reputation ought therefore to be as good as ever. What his brother had taught was neither false nor blasphemous, and this he proposed to show by the testimony of Scripture and the holy doctors.¹⁴

John Milverton went on to preach at length, citing the Psalms and patristic quotations from 'a long English sermon'. One can only imagine what would have been made of this by Milverton's late confrere, Richard Maidstone, who half a century earlier had translated the Penitential Psalms into English but argued strongly against the discussion of theological matters in the vernacular before the general public.

John Milverton had stated his aim in preaching that day was to defend his brother from allegations of error and blasphemy. The result, however, was that he himself fell subject to charges of heresy. The only account we have of the case made by Milverton is from a letter that his opponents, the secular theologians present, sent to the pope. Though the accuracy of the account is questionable, they alleged that the Carmelite put forward scandalous, facile, and contemptible arguments which distorted his authorities' meaning. With an irony that was perhaps lost on them, but is clear at the conclusion of this thesis, John Milverton's critics accused him of spreading theological errors through declaiming to the people in the vernacular, something which English Carmelites themselves had vehemently argued against.

John Milverton's preaching – described by his opponents as fully of fiery seriousness and persuasive power – had an immediate fallout:

The sermon was followed by an uproar. Milverton had declared that to deny Christ's mendicancy was to condemn evangelical poverty and to misunderstand Christ's dual

¹⁴ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 160.

nature. As the subject-matter of the sermon was canvassed round the town, conclusions cruder and more disturbing still were drawn and voiced abroad: that if Christ had indeed been a beggar, then his followers, whatever they called themselves – prelates, bishops, cardinals, even pope – had no business to be so rich nor to demand as of right the tithes and oblations which men had to pay. Some even said that the Church had apostatised since its first endowment, and that it would be good service to God to take away property thus unjustly held. Worst of all, there were suggestions that, if Christ had been a beggar, then he ought not now to be worshipped as God.¹⁵

There can be no question that such an interpretation of the Carmelite Provincial's words would have deeply shocked and dismayed a man as highly educated in orthodox theology as John Milverton. Even his opponents concede in their letter that Milverton seemed to approve the endowment of the Church. Nevertheless, it seems – if his opponents' account is to be believed – that some members of the public left the Carmelite friary with theological ideas that resonated strongly with those of John Wyclif, Jan Huss, and their followers, and some began asking even more radical questions about the very divinity of Christ. Having fought strenuously against Lollardy, the Carmelite Order now appeared to some sections of popular opinion to be advocating its heretical attitudes, and worse.

If John Milverton had hoped that his intervention would bring the matter to a definitive close, and protect his brethren from further censure (John Bale says in his *Anglorum Heliades* that 'Milverton placed himself as a protecting wall in front of his fellow warriors'), then he was to be disappointed. After Easter 1465, Thomas Halden was brought before Archbishop Bouchier's Chancellor and Auditor of Causes. Despite Halden reiterating the protest that friars were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction except in cases of heresy, the case was remitted to the Bishop of London in whose see the quarrel had taken place, suggesting that the charge of heresy was upheld. Thomas Halden, accompanied by his Provincial John Milverton, appeared before the Bishop of London in St. Paul's Cathedral, clutching documents which they said proved that the Carmelites were outside of episcopal control. Again, it was stated by the secular authorities that this exemption did not apply in cases of heresy, and the Whitefriars were ordered to come before the bishop again that afternoon. Du Boulay explains why the Carmelites might have feared an unfair trial:

They had against them many trained and highly-placed clergy, including the Lord Chancellor, archbishop George Neville, brother of the Kingmaker who was then at the

¹⁵ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 161.

height of his power. It would not be surprising if the friars were by this time thoroughly frightened and, in fact, between the morning and the afternoon sessions of the court they seem to have slipped away and begun to make for Rome.¹⁶

It is impossible for us to know what was going through John Milverton's mind as he escaped London and made his way to the Eternal City to plead his case before the Bishop of Rome, Pope Eugene IV. Perhaps he expected a sympathetic reception from the pontiff; after all, some forty years earlier, one of his predecessors, Thomas Netter, had presented his *Doctrinale* to Pope Martin V, widely regarded as the text which gave definitive answers to heresies. No doubt Rome had heard of the reputation of the English Carmelites – as preaching friars, academic teachers, and campaigning bishops – in fighting heresy and upholding proper religious and social order. Surely John Milverton never expected to be facing charges of heresy himself; until this crisis he had been tipped as the next Bishop of St. David's (filling the shoes of another provincial predecessor, Stephen Patrington.¹⁷ The shock to John Milverton and shame to his Order must have been considerable.

Archbishop Neville, learning of Milverton and Halden's flight, excommunicated them. Meanwhile the Bishop of London imprisoned Harry Parker, whose sermon had started the whole sorry business. From prison:

Harry Parker, objuryd that he sayd, and sayde as we saye, that Cryste ys lorde of ovyr alle thyng, and he confessyd alle so that very nede causyd them to saye that Cryste beggyd, by cause that men shulde take the ordyr of fryers moste parfytyste of alle orders.

In this account, the *Gregory's Chronicle* Continuator uses language reminiscent of earlier heresy trials in England. Parker 'abjured' what he had said, and confessed 'as we [true Christians] say' that 'Christ is lord over everything'. Parker's confession tells us that there were two motives for his sermon. Firstly, 'very nede causyd them to saye that Cryste beggyd', suggesting that the friars advanced the notion of Christ's begging because they themselves were experiencing real hunger and poverty; this is borne out by the fall-off in bequests to the mendicants after the fourteenth-century heyday, and the increase in dispensations for friars to hold benefices.¹⁸ Secondly, to alleviate mendicants' suffering,

¹⁶ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 162.

¹⁷ According to John Bale: Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 197; Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 38v. Richard Copley [*Biographical Register*] points out that Bale was mistaken as there was no vacancy in St. David's at that time, but possibly Bangor was meant as that see was vacant in 1464.

¹⁸ The reality of mendicant poverty is discussed by Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 165-66, and highlighted in the studies of fraternal orders in London by Jens Röhrkasten.

Parker had taught that ‘men shulde take the ordyr of fryers moste parfytyste of alle orders’, and so the laity should be generous in their support of the fraternal orders. John Bale states that after the London episode Henry Parker retired to Doncaster for the rest of his life.¹⁹

The excommunication of Friars Milverton and Halden was pronounced at St. Paul’s Cross by Dr. William Ive, who then for over two years delivered a course of lectures in the schools of St. Paul’s, ‘and there he radde many fulle nobylle lessonys to preve that Cryste was lorde of alle and noo begger’, continuing the disputation and challenging any friars to respond to him. It would seem that the only mendicant to take up the offer was the Franciscan who had initially responded to Halden’s disputation; all others withdrew at the last minute.

Meanwhile, John Milverton, Thomas Halden, and an unnamed third Whitefriar had got to Rome within no more than a month. There they had confreres send to Fleet Street copies of a treatise on Christ’s mendicancy. At the papal court they accused the Bishop of London of violating the Carmelites’ papal privileges, but soon after a letter reached Pope Eugene from Archbishop Bourchier accusing the Whitefriars of heretical preaching. In reply the pope sent the archbishop a bull dated 4th June 1465, which summarises what had happened in Rome to date:

The pope thanked the archbishop for his letter, deplored the recrudescence in England of the Wycliffite heresy, and encouraged the archbishop to go on with his efforts to stamp it out. The pope dilated on such errors and on the many former condemnations of them which, he said, made it unnecessary to condemn them again. Turning to particular events, he said that three Carmelite friars had recently arrived, complaining that the bishop of London had excommunicated them, contrary to the papally-granted privileges of their Order, and begging him to reserve the cause to himself. But when asked about the dogmatic points involved in the case they had become reticent and evasive. The pope said his suspicions had been aroused, and he had drawn out the proceedings for a little time. Then the archbishop’s letter had arrived, and he had put Milverton straight into prison. After waiting about for a while, Milverton’s brethren had gone off somewhere, and the investigation of the Provincial had been committed to John of Turrecremata, O.P., bishop of Sabina, cardinal of St. Sixtus. To him Milverton had shown the text of his sermon, declaring that he had preached nothing that was not contained in it, and the cardinal had found no errors there. The pope now wrote that he wanted more exact details of the heresy

¹⁹ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 103. Interestingly, Parker was proposed by John Bale as the author of *Dives and Pauper*, but this has since been disproved. See: H. G. Pfander, ‘Dives et pauper’, *The Library*, New Series 14 (1933), 299-312; H. Richardson, ‘Dives et pauper’, *The Library*, New Series 15 (1934), 31-37.

which was supposed to have been taught, together with a copy of Milverton's sermon from England, copies of all relevant processes before the ecclesiastical courts in London, and the authentic statements of witnesses who had been present at the various sermons in question.²⁰

With all these happenings in Rome, one wonders if, in Rouen, Thomas Netter was spinning in his grave. That a Carmelite friar – and not just any friar, but the Provincial himself – should be accused of promoting the resurgence of the Wycliffite heresy shows that somehow, in the highest circles of Church leadership, English Whitefriars seemed to have gone from gamekeeper to poacher. The papal bull prompts many unanswerable questions: Was the text of Milverton's homily that the cardinal had examined in Latin or in English? Had the text been altered in any way? Had Milverton's sermon in England been transcribed by others, and if so who, in what language, and had the text changed over time? It is intriguing that the English Carmelites were apparently evasive on doctrinal points, and that in Rome John Milverton seems to have been abandoned by his brothers.²¹

The response to the papal bull seems to have been sent from England in the late summer or autumn of 1465:

The documents which were sent to the pope included a letter from the archbishop and some other bishops, and a letter from the king. The text of these has not come to light, but we are told that the king was much displeased at the disturbance of the peace which had taken place in London, and wanted the agitators soundly punished.²²

Again, a fanciful mind might imagine a groan emitting from Richard Maidstone's grave at Aylesford: that Carmelite friars should have caused a disturbance of the peace in London, when their forebears had decried such things in their Latin poetry.

Along with the letters to the pope from the king and bishops was a 'large and grete letter' from secular clerical theologians, preserved in Lambeth Palace Ms. 22. Almost certainly compiled by Dr. Ive, this letter outlining the theological objections to the Carmelite preaching was signed by seven bishops who happened to be in the capital when the letter was read aloud, and by five doctors of

²⁰ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 163.

²¹ Nothing more is known of Thomas Halden, except a note by John Bale that he died in Calais in 1483 and was buried there (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 39). Richard Copsey suggests in his *Biographical Register* that Halden remained on the French side of the Channel in the Calais house (part of the English Province at that period), perhaps afraid of returning to England without the support of John Milverton.

²² Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 163.

theology from the diocese of London who had been present at the sermons and disputations.²³ ‘The letter gives details carefully and only departs from what is strictly evidence on the one or two occasions when the author was anxious either to protest his own orthodoxy or to indicate the orthodox reply to the Carmelite speculations.’²⁴ Chillingly, Gregory’s Continuator (Dr. Ive?) speculates that:

yf that Docter Ivys letter hadde ben i-selyd with sum lordys sele spyrytuale, or an notarys syne there on, the freer had ben brende in shorte tyme; hit hadde non othyr sele but hys owne sygnett.

That is to say, if the ‘large and grete letter’ had borne a bishop’s seal or a notary’s sign, rather than only Ive’s signet, John Milverton would have been sent straight to the stake.

Instead of being burned as a heretic, however, John Milverton spent the next three years imprisoned in the uncomfortable Castel Sant’Angelo near the Vatican. He must have had a certain amount of contact with fellow Englishmen in the city of Rome, as in 1465 he was admitted as a member of the confraternity of St. Edmund and St. Chrysogonus which administered the Hospice of St. Edmund in Trastevere.²⁵ During his time in Rome, Milverton was re-examined by several cardinals in the light of the ‘large and grete letter’, and ‘by hys answeyng they found ix moo poyntys that he erryd on’. Convicted of a number of errors, John Milverton was suspended from the office of provincial and ‘put into the castylle of Angylle in stronge preson, and laye there yn alle moste iij yere’. Whether from a change of mind, or from a lack of money and influence (since ‘he lackyd mony and frende schyppe’), John Milverton eventually submitted:

²³ The Continuator of *Gregory’s Chronicle* reckons the numbers slightly differently: ‘And ix docters of devynyte and bachelers of devynyte subscribyd hyr namys with hyr owne hondys, and testefyde that alle was trewe that thys sayde Docter Ive hadde wretyn, for hyt was examynyd and radde by fore alle [t]e byschoppys that tyme beyng at London, and by the same docters and clerkys that subscribyd.’

²⁴ Du Boulay, ‘The Quarrel’, 164.

²⁵ Founded in 1362 as a place to welcome ‘the poor, sick, needy and distressed people coming from England to the City’, particularly pilgrims at a time when Rome was in decline and the papacy abroad, the Hospice would become, in 1579, the Venerable English College training student priests for the ‘English Mission’. ‘Johannes Miln[u?]erton sacre pagine professor et ordinis Carmelitarum in Regno Anglie provincialis’ is recorded in the 1465 supplement to the list of confraternity members: Rome, Venerable English College, Liber 272, fo. 78. See: Joseph Ibbett, ‘The Hospice of St. Edmund in Trastevere’, in *The English Hospice in Rome, The Venerabile Sexcentenary Issue*, vol 21 (May 1962), reprinted as John Allen (ed.), *The English Hospice in Rome* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2005), 82-98 [97]. On the broader context of the English in Rome at this time, see: Margaret Harvey, *England, Rome and the Papacy, 1417-1464: The Study of a Relationship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362-1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

So, in the late part of 1468, the pope appointed a committee of cardinals who went over the charges again with the friar, and at last got him to admit and retract his heresies. Milverton had to promise that he would not preach these opinions again and, further, that he would make a public retraction in those places where he had originally preached error. When these guarantees had been given, Milverton was despatched home, with instructions to repeat his promises before the archbishop and the bishop of London. These were to see that the friar kept his word, and then to restore him to his Order and to the offices which he had held in it. This last letter from the pope was dated 22 December 1468, and soon afterwards Milverton must have set off, carrying it with him. The tale that Milverton remained in Rome a while, refusing a cardinalate and other honours, and begging to be allowed to go home, comes, it seems, only from Bale who at the time he wrote this was a strong partisan of the Carmelites against their traducers.²⁶

Richard Copley points out in his *Biographical Register* that John Milverton was imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo at the same time as a number of Fraticelli from Assisi and Poli. Offshoots of the Spiritual Franciscans, these heretical sects were exponents of extreme poverty.²⁷ In 1466 they were tried by a commission who extorted confessions under torture, and some of the Fraticelli were executed.²⁸ As Copley observes, 'Doubtless the treatment of the Fraticelli influenced Milverton's decision to recant his opinions.'

We know from the records of the Carmelite General Chapter held in Orléans in May 1469 that John Milverton was reappointed English Provincial, an appointment confirmed at the English Provincial Chapter in Ludlow that August. Presumably he was accepted back in English ecclesiastical circles as he remained in office until his resignation in 1482, aged about 70. However, his second period as Provincial was not without difficulty either. Sometime before his retirement, an anonymous English Carmelite Doctor of Theology wrote a letter to the Prior General, declaring:

I swear that magister Milverton is a good priest and lives a praiseworthy life but he is incapable of working because of his old age and each day he is easily tired out by his

²⁶ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 164.

²⁷ See: Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006); 'Spirituals, Beguins and Fraticelli' in Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c.1250-c.1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, reprinted 1999), 167-255.

²⁸ Their statements are preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Cod. Vat. 4012. See: A. Dressel, 'Processus contra Haereticos de Opinione dampnata examinatos coram Dominis Deputatis ad instantiam Domini Antonio de Eugubio Procuratoris Fiscalis factus', *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 29 (1859), 436-68.

various weaknesses (which is sad), so our religious life is going to ruin. In order that the house of Israel, which has been beaten almost to the ground, should be rebuilt, through proper worship of the liturgy, attention to studies, and the living of the regular life, I do not know of anyone more capable of restoring our province than magister Thomas Gilbert, who lives a praiseworthy life and has a good reputation, etc.²⁹

This suggestion was overlooked, with John Vynde instead elected Provincial, a man whom Bale described as ‘a clearly distinguished and holy father, but not very learned.’³⁰ John Milverton died in 1487 in London, and was buried there in the Carmelite friary where he had participated in such turmoil two decades earlier.

It is hard to know how much weight to give to an anonymous letter, but its call for the restoration of proper worship, dedication to studies, and recommitment to the life of the *Rule* is not the only contemporary evidence of decline in Carmelite observance to the point of being ‘beaten almost to the ground’, as Du Boulay notes:

A more or less casual view of the evidence suggests that the Order was in an unhealthy state during at least the later part of the fifteenth century. In 1472 pope Sixtus IV described the Order in Italy as *pene collapsus* [almost collapsed]. The English province was the largest in the order, and made relatively large contributions at General Chapters to the Order’s expenses. But to read the *Anglorum Heliades*, that amalgam of Carmelite reminiscence and biography, even allowing for Bale’s personal interpretations, is to become sure that all was not well among the Carmelites, especially after the 1470’s. This is not to suggest that the mitigation of the Rule, though it occasioned divisions, was in itself bad or unreasonable. There was a strong case for allowing the friar to eat meat sometimes, to fast less rigorously, to move about outside their cells more often. Nor ought too much to be made out of a few recorded apostasies from the Order, or the fairly frequent practice of dispensing friars to serve cures. A graver picture of indiscipline is given in Henry VI’s letter of 1441 to the General of the Carmelites, complaining that

²⁹ John Bale, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 109. Translated by Richard Copley in *Biographical Register*.

³⁰ John Bale, *Anglorum Heliades*, London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 40. Translated by Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*.

appeals made over the head of the English Provincial meant that scandalous crimes went unpunished.³¹

What conclusions can be drawn from the rather sad story of John Milverton, as regards our enquiry into the Carmelite Order's desire to carefully widen participation in religious matters through the use of the vernacular, where appropriate?

On the face of it, it would seem that John Milverton overplayed his hand, arguing too far in the defence of his Carmelite brethren, perhaps caring more about the reputation of his Order for right thinking than the actual topic of contention. Milverton had successfully taken on Bishop Pecock in front of Parliament, but it seems that Dr. William Ive and his secular clerical supporters were a more formidable match.

It is certainly astonishing, given the Order's preeminent role in fighting heresy for the better part of a century, that by the 1460s an English Carmelite Provincial should have been accused of stirring up Wycliffite errors. It seems that moving the debate from St. Paul's Cross to the Carmelite Friary schools was not enough to prevent the issue from becoming a cause of public scandal. Instead of carefully controlling access to contentious theological issues, as was their usual practice, during the London quarrel the Carmelites preached in the vernacular, in public, to large numbers of the public as well as before scholars. The fear that the theologically less-educated would go away with false ideas proved to come true.

Henry Parker's confession – 'that very nede causyd them to saye that Cryste beggyd, by cause that men shulde take the ordyr of fryers moste parfytyste of alle orders' – is evidence that even in the second half of the fifteenth century the mendicant orders were still trying to assert their identity and precedence, long after the first uprisings of antifraternality.

John Milverton's flight to Rome is surely evidence that the Provincial believed his cause was just, and that he expected to receive a favourable reception because of the Carmelite Order's reputation for supporting the papacy. His supplications in Rome suggest a Carmelite provincial who was faithful to the pope, but unwittingly caught up in a conflict with the English king and bishops.³²

³¹ Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 165. For a broader view see: 'Decline and Renewal of the Religious Orders in the Late Middle Ages: Current Research and Research Agendas' in Kasper Elm, *Religious Life between Jerusalem, the Desert, and the World: Selected Essays by Kaspar Elm* (trans.) James D. Mixson, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 180 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

³² John Bale, in *Anglorum Heliades*, Book 1 Chapter 48, comments that: 'King Edward IV of England and his barons were artfully persuaded by the bishop of London and others like him so that he [Milverton] was greatly abused by one who had so previously held him dear.' Bale presents the image of Milverton as a man of good faith who patiently suffered injustices. An intriguing phrase that appears in an early printed edition of *Gregory's Chronicle* but not in the manuscript (London, British Library, Ms. Egerton 1995) describes Milverton's time in Rome in more sceptical terms: 'And evyr hys frendys

What is clear from the London quarrel is that the people of England still listened attentively to the Carmelites in the second half of the fifteenth century, and were persuaded (if also confused) by the Order's preaching abilities. *Gregory's Chronicle* paints a picture of large crowds coming to hear the Whitefriars preach, and the Continuor remarks that whilst Milverton was in Rome Londoners placed bets on what would happen ('men layde grete wagers the Provynycyalle wolde come home and doo many thyngys'). All the Carmelites mentioned in the episode come across as vivid and engaging preachers, committed to their cause, and powerful in their rhetoric, even if misguided.³³

It is possible that the scandal of the London quarrel prompted Carmelites to redouble their efforts to assert their orthodoxy. Certainly, from 1468 until his death in 1474, the Bishop of Hereford, Carmelite friar John Stanbury, devoted considerable time to the suppression of Lollardy in his diocese.³⁴

2. Chronological summary

A broad chronological summary will help us recall the major events, movements, and individuals which significantly influenced and reflected the late medieval Carmelite Order in England's attitudes towards the use of vernacular literature in both the promotion and restriction of religious thought and devotional practice, both amongst its own brethren and the wider public they sought to serve.

Having arrived in England in 1242, by the middle of the fourteenth century the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel had developed into the largest province of the Order. Though never as large a religious presence as the Dominicans or Franciscans, in important respects the Whitefriars were equally (and perhaps even more) influential in late medieval English society, on both local and national scales. Embracing the mendicant movement of begging brothers from 1247 onwards, the erstwhile hermits from Mount Carmel now vowed a life of voluntary poverty, ministering from the very lowest to very highest ranks of English society. Their evangelical impulse to share God's Word and the fruits of their contemplative lifestyle with those around them, prompted the Carmelites to become skilled preachers and scholars, occupying pulpits as well as universities and

and the fryers lokyd aftyr hys comyng home, but he may not, for he hathe bund hym sylfe unto the Pope by an yryn oblyacyn faste i-selyd a-boute hys ij helys.' This interpolation suggests that Milverton was kept in Rome not by fidelity to the pope, but by iron shackles.

³³ On the enduring reputation of the London Carmelites as famous preachers, right into the sixteenth century, see: Du Boulay, 'The Quarrel', 166.

³⁴ J. H. Parry, A. T. Bannister (eds.), *Registrum Ricardi Beauchamp, episcopi Herefordensis, 1449-1450; registrum Reginaldi Boulers, episcopi Herefordensis 114 [1450]-1452; registrum Johannis Stanbury, episcopi Herefordensis, 1453-1474*, Canterbury and York Society, 25 (Hereford: Cantilupe Society publications, 1919), especially 118-121, 123-25, 125-131, available online at: www.melocki.org.uk/registers/1453_Stanbury.html [accessed June 2016]. On Stanbury see: Richard Copley, *Biographical Register*; Ann Rhydderch, 'Stanbury, John (d. 1474)', *ODNB*; Ann Elizabeth Rhydderch, *Robert Mascall and John Stanbury: King's Confessors and Bishops of Hereford*, Masters Thesis (Swansea: University of Wales – University College of Swansea, 1974).

mendicant *studia* across a number of towns. In these places, and in the face of some anti-fraternal complaints, the Carmelites continued the mendicant tradition of opposing heretical beliefs and unorthodox practices within the Church. Partly thanks to their renown in this apostolate, a good number of English Whitefriars rose to the rank of royal confessor and/or bishop.

The Black Death of 1348-49 was a watershed moment in European society. By killing a third of the population, this plague sowed the seed for major shifts in the ways people thought that Church and Society should be governed. Shortly after the Black Death, in 1356 the Carmelites established in Northallerton what was to be their final new foundation in England (excepting the accession of Caen in 1417); thus, the 1350s marks the Order's peak in terms of numerical expansion. Probably in the same decade, Richard Maidstone and Richard Lavenham were born, presumably entering the Carmelite Order as young novices in the 1360s or 70s.

Though the Order probably did not realise its import at the time, the year 1363 marked the beginning of English Carmelite involvement in a debate that would embroil it for the next century, indelibly influencing the brotherhood's very identity. That year the prior provincial, John Kynyngham, criticised the Master of Balliol College, Oxford, John Wyclif, for using the vernacular language to discuss contentious theological ideas, the Whitefriar believing that the laity were not sufficiently equipped to deal with such weighty intellectual matters. In 1372, in the more 'proper' forum of Latin scholarly debate, Kynyngham challenged Wyclif on his increasingly heterodox views regarding the interpretation of Scripture, and the role of the theologian.

Broadly speaking, the mendicant orders were initially supportive of John Wyclif; perhaps it was in part the Carmelites' opposition to him that prompted the Dominican friar, John Stokes, to attack the Whitefriars at the University of Cambridge in 1374. Stokes challenged the Carmelites' claims to have been founded by the prophet Elijah and to enjoy a special relationship with the Blessed Virgin Mary as their patron and sister. When Carmelite friar John Hornby successfully defended in academic debate the privileges of his Order, the decree of Cambridge University's Chancellor was copied and circulated across the Order's houses, with Hornby preaching related material 'ad populum' (to the people).

Thanks to such preaching, the people of England at large were becoming increasingly aware of the theological debates taking place between the mendicants and the followers of John Wyclif, who attacked Church wealth and papal authority in the mid-1370s. The contention is witnessed to by the so-called *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* produced around that time for the Whitefriars in London, among whose exquisite miniatures is a painting that seems to satirise Wycliffite/Lollard views on the Eucharist.

The late 1370s witnessed increasing challenges to established authority. In 1377 and 1378, John Wyclif wrote *De civili dominio* and *De veritate sacrae scripturae*, texts that he had to defend before the Bishop of London, and which provoked condemnation from Pope Gregory XI. When that pontiff returned from Avignon to Rome in 1378, a schism arose that split the Latin Church (including the Carmelite Order) for the next four decades.

No doubt conscious of the rift within the broader Church, the Carmelite Order in England sought to bolster the authority of the established national prelature. Indeed, some Whitefriars joined its ranks, with John Swafham and Richard Wye being appointed bishops. Another Carmelite who came to prominence beyond the Order was Thomas Fishlake, who was invited by the Bishop of Ely, Thomas Arundel, to preach at the diocesan synod in 1377.

The close of the 1370s saw the deaths of prophetic figures widely regarded as both contentious and saintly: John of Bridlington (d. 1379), and Catherine of Siena (d. 1380). A number of English Carmelites were intrigued by these contemporary religious figures, including Birgitta of Sweden (d. 1373).

Carmelite academics had long commented on the spiritual and political issues of the day. As early as the 1330s, Whitefriars such as Gui Terreni – prior general and first Carmelite to be made a bishop – had become involved in debating current problems. At an official level, such debate had always been in Latin, and therefore restricted to an educated elite. From the 1380s, however, a desire to engage with the day's pastoral issues prompted some English Whitefriars to begin writing in the vernacular. It was probably at some point in this decade that Richard Maidstone composed *The Penitential Psalms*, and perhaps also *The Lamentation of Mary*. Studying in Oxford, Richard Maidstone was a direct contemporary of fellow Carmelite Richard Lavenham, who wrote *The Litol Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* probably sometime in the last two decades of the fourteenth century.

Both Richards would no doubt have been shocked by the turmoil which shook English Church and Society in 1381. During the Peasants' Revolt, the Carmelite friary in Cambridge was raided, and in London the Archbishop of Canterbury was killed. No doubt perceiving a link between political sedition and religious heterodoxy, that year the Chancellor of Oxford University declared some of John Wyclif's doctrines to be heretical, and the Carmelite Stephen Patrington presented a letter against Wycliffites to John of Gaunt, the boy-King Richard's uncle and the most influential man in England.

In 1382 Stephen Patrington was among the considerable number of Whitefriars who attended the so-called 'Earthquake Council' at Blackfriars in London. Carmelite scholar John Kynnyngham preached the closing sermon, and co-religionist Peter Stokes was entrusted with publishing the Council's condemnation of Wycliffite ideas at Oxford. Earlier that year, in Oxford, Stokes had had

Nicholas Hereford's sermon against the friars recorded and notarised, contributing to a growing dossier of anti-Wycliffite documents that the Carmelite Order was amassing.

The death of John Wyclif in 1384 did not mark the end of the Wycliffite controversy, nor the Carmelite Order's interest in contemporary concerns. That year Whitefriar Thomas Ashburne in Northampton seems to have written a now-lost vernacular poem, *De Contemptu Mundi*, and possibly another English poem, *Foure Doughters*. Involvement in socio-religious matters became increasingly a matter of life or death, and in a bizarre incident Carmelite friar John Latimer was tortured to death after warning King Richard II of an alleged plot against him by John of Gaunt.

Around this time, in faraway Catalonia, the Carmelite prior provincial Felip Ribot addressed contemporary issues about his Order's identity by looking to the past, compiling his *Decem Libri* or *Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites*, a collection of purportedly ancient texts on Carmelite history and spirituality. This work would impact upon the character of the whole Order, eventually making its way to England. In England, meanwhile, more cosmic concerns were the focus of Carmelite friar Nicholas Lynn, who wrote a *Kalendarium* that he dedicated to John of Gaunt.

As well as being close to the Carmelites, Gaunt offered the followers of John Wyclif some protection, so they continued to be active after the heresiarch's death. In 1387 a group of Wycliffite scholars wrote a General Prologue to the vernacular Bible they had translated. Carmelites continued to oppose Wyclif's disciples, with Richard Lavenham perhaps reporting on the preaching activities of the Lollard priest John Purvey in Bristol in 1387-88. Lavenham's confrere in Oxford, Richard Maidstone, engaged in a series of debates c.1390-92 with the priest John Ashwardby, whom he criticised for preaching theological complexities before a laity unequal (in the Carmelite's reckoning) to understanding the matter properly.

1392 was to prove an important year in the Carmelite Order's efforts to promote and police religious thought. In May, an ecclesiastical council including many bishops and Whitefriars convened at the Carmelite friary in Stamford to try the Cistercian Henry Crumpe for heresy. In August, the 'Metropolitan Crisis' in London saw the falling-out and then reconciliation between King Richard II and the capital's citizens. Richard Maidstone's *Concordia* poem provided a Latin recounting and interpretation of this event's pageantry, promoting a hierarchical vision of a properly-ordered and mutually-supporting State and Church. Maidstone preached before the English nobility around this time, and acted as confessor to John of Gaunt, hence was in a good position socially to write an elegiac poem, *Nobis natura florem*, on the death of Anne of Bohemia in 1394. Other Carmelites formed an inner core at the heart of Gaunt's household in this period, including William Badby, Walter Diss, and John Kynnyngham.

Early portions of the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, a Carmelite compilation of Lollard heresies, date from around 1392-94, evidence that a member of the Order, perhaps Stephen Patrinton, was starting to amass such materials. It is worth bearing in mind, however, that whilst the majority of Carmelites opposed Lollardy, in 1393 a Whitefriar in Northampton, Nicholas Weston, was accused of Lollardy and inciting sedition amongst the townsfolk.

1399 was a year of changing leadership in the English State, the English Church, and the Carmelite Order in England. John of Gaunt's death left a power vacuum, leading the weak King Richard II to be deposed by Gaunt's son, Henry Bolingbroke. Henry reinstated Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury (he had been exiled to France two years earlier). In the Carmelite Order, the death of John Kynningham led to the election of Stephen Patrinton as prior provincial.

With such major changes of leadership, the turn of the century must have felt like the dawn of a new era for the English Nation, Church, and Carmelite Order. For the Carmelites, the start of the fifteenth century was marked by intellectual and cultural achievements. In Cambridge, c.1400, Carmelite scholar Thomas Fishlake translated Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* from Latin into English. In Lincoln, a new library was built at the Carmelite priory. In Lynn, the Carmelites Alan of Lynn and John Beston were indexing theological texts and preaching on the Bible. In Stamford, perhaps around this time, Carmelite friar Richard Spalding composed in English *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn*. And in London, the Carmelite friar Roger Alban began taking holy orders; he would go on to copy and perhaps compose himself various texts, possibly including a vernacular treatise on the Seven Capital Sins.

The cultural and intellectual flourishing of the Carmelite Order in England in the early years of the fifteenth century might seem to stand in stark contrast to the national picture. Intellectual debate flourished in the two universities, with orthodox, heterodox, and reformist elements sat side by side. For a while the use of a vernacular Bible was uncontentious, Richard Maidstone probably having access to such a resource when writing his *Penitential Psalms*. Debate about the appropriateness or otherwise of translating the Bible into the vernacular came under particular scholarly scrutiny at Oxford from 1401. Outside the universities, however, religious speculation was clamped down upon harder with the passing of the 1401 act of parliament *De haeretico comburendo*. This led to the burning of William Sawtre(y), Rector of St. Margaret's Church in Lynn, and the trial in London of fellow priest John Purvey who recanted his Lollard beliefs at St. Paul's Cross.

No doubt, in part, as recognition of the Carmelite Order's preeminent role in combatting heresy, a number of Whitefriars were given prominent roles in the early fifteenth-century English Church. In 1402, the Carmelite Stephen Brown was appointed Bishop of Ross, and that Christmas, Provincial Stephen Patrinton preached before King Henry IV. In 1404, Carmelite Robert Mascall was

consecrated Bishop of Hereford. Mascall went on to lead efforts in his diocese against dissent and unorthodox forms of worship.

In 1409 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, promulgated *Constitutions* for the English Church that sought to stamp out unorthodoxy by a series of forceful measures, including prohibiting the translation of the Bible, the composition of new religious texts, or the translation of texts written after the era of John Wyclif.

A new champion of orthodoxy came to prominence from the ranks of the Carmelite Order in the first decade of the fifteenth century. Thomas Netter challenged the Wycliffite Peter Payne to debate with him in Oxford, and probably corresponded with a committee of Oxford scholars charged with listing Wyclif's errors. In 1410 Netter attended the trial of Wycliffite John Badby, who was convicted and burned on the orders of the Bishop of Worcester, Carmelite friar Thomas Peverel. Peverel's anti-Lollard reputation was so widespread that Margery Kempe's references to dining with him are probably part of the strategy in her *Book* to assert her orthodox connections.

As recent scholarship has argued, the religious crackdown typified by Arundel's *Constitutions* did not mark the end of intellectual innovation and cultural creativity within the English Church. Around the year 1411, Archbishop Arundel approved the publication of the *Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, a pseudo-Bonaventuran *Vita Christi* translated into English by the Carthusian Nicholas Love as a means of promoting orthodox faith.

Around the same time, the Carmelite Order also resurrected (or perhaps innovated) a historic text, Nicholas the Frenchman's *Ignea Sagitta*. Supposedly written by a prior general in 1270/71, the *Ignea Sagitta* began to (re-)circulate within the Order from c.1411, promoting amongst active friars a more eremitic and socially-isolated vision of Carmelite life. Concurrently, both the English Church and the Carmelite Order revisited texts that looked back to faith in an imagined 'purer' past, and which offered literature as an antidote to present problems.

Overcoming the traumas of Schism and heresy, in the 1410s the Church and the Carmelite Order, nationally and internationally, began to enjoy a period of healing (albeit sometimes by cauterisation). In 1411 a General Chapter of the Carmelite Order held in Bologna reunited the Avignon and Roman Observances. The friar elected as prior general of the whole Order, Jean Grossi, visited England in 1413, perhaps as part of efforts at Carmelite reunification and reform. That same year a movement within the Order, known as the Reform of Mantua, began at Le Selve in Italy, aiming to restore the simplicity of primitive religious life and fidelity to the *Rule of Saint Albert*.

In England, the death of Henry IV that same year of 1413 led his successor, Henry V, to instigate a series of projects that can likewise be interpreted as gestures towards healing and reconciliation after a period of religious and political division. In expiation for his father's usurpation of the throne, Henry

V began ‘the King’s great work’, founding twin Carthusian and Bridgettine communities at Sheen and Syon that would become national symbols of unity and orthodoxy. Henry appointed as his confessor the Carmelite provincial Stephen Patrington, who would go on to chair a commission looking at additions to the Bridgettine Rule at Syon Abbey. Joining the royal household, and being charged by the monarch with a commission ‘to proceed against the Lollards in Oxford’, Patrington stepped down as provincial, and was consecrated Bishop of St. David’s a short while later.

The post of English Carmelite prior provincial was taken up by Thomas Netter in 1414, the same year as Henry Chichele succeeded Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury. New leadership offered both the Carmelite Order and wider Church in England fresh prospects for reform. This was encouraged by the spirit of renewal ushered in by the Council of Constance, which gathered that year to end the Western Schism. Eventually reunited under a single pope (Martin V would be elected in 1417), the Council Fathers called for the expurgation of Wycliffite ideas and the execution of Bohemian priest Jan Hus, who had been influenced by John Wyclif and his followers. The Council was an opportunity for the English Church to broaden its vision, and to redeem its reputation from the taint of dissent.

It is possible that Thomas Netter briefly attended the Council of Constance in 1414. Certainly, he was caught up in the reformist zeitgeist of Chichele’s Church. Netter added to the notes on Lollardy previously gathered by Stephen Patrington, recording events such as the arrest and book confiscation of John Purvey. Presumably Netter approved of the capture of the Lollard Sir John Oldcastle in 1417.

Part of Thomas Netter’s scheme to reform and renew the life of the Carmelites in England was to support expressions of the Order’s charism that were innovative yet somehow harked back to the brotherhood’s eremitic origins on Mount Carmel. As provincial, Netter incorporated a number of women, both solitary anchorites (such as Emma Stapleton) and small communities, into some form of membership or partnership with Carmel. It is telling that some of the friars Netter appointed to support and supervise these women were also attenders at heresy trials. Developing new expressions of Carmelite life, and clamping down on heresy, were symbiotic expressions of Netter’s desire to reform the Order and Church.

The 1420s was a decade of continuing crusades and reform efforts, in which writing played a strategic role. In 1420, Thomas Netter wrote to the Carmelite prior general in Rome requesting a copy of Felip Ribot’s *Decem libri*, a text that was promoting a renewed sense of identity and spirituality among the Whitefriars (as evidenced by the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel in Florence, which depict Carmelites faithfully attending to the preaching of Saint Peter). We do not know how the *Decem Libri* was circulated in England, but we are aware of the scribal activities of Carmelites such as Roger Alban in the 1420s. Carmelite scribes in England were skilled and well organised, producing

several copies of Thomas Netter's masterwork against heresy, the *Doctrinale*, which he wrote during the decade. Apparently refusing a bishopric, Netter nevertheless played a prominent role in the national life of the Church in England, preaching at the funeral of King Henry V in 1422, and attending heresy trials in London the following year.

It was probably after the English Carmelite provincial chapter at Lynn in 1424 that Thomas Netter reproached friar Alan of Lynn for his discussion of the Bible with the laywoman Margery Kempe, whose voracious appetite for hearing spiritual texts closely reflects books known to have been owned, copied, or translated by Whitefriars. Around the same time, Netter also censured his brother in Carmel, Thomas Scrope, for preaching in an eccentric and alarmist fashion in Norfolk. In 1425, Scrope entered one of the anchorholds or hermitages at the Norwich Whitefriars, where over subsequent years he composed or copied a number of works on the history of the Carmelite Order, and translated Felip Ribot's *Decem Libri* into English as *Pe Instytucyonys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys*.

This text – a copy of which Scrope dedicated to his prior – promoted an eremitic vision of early Carmelite life, and the second half of the 1420s witnessed growing Carmelite interest in desert spirituality. Whitefriar Richard Misyn may have spent some of this period as a hermit.

The late 1420s were particularly formative in developing a culture of religious orthodoxy in England. In 1427 the Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Fleming, founded Lincoln College in Oxford specifically to train conformist theologians. Fleming's brother bishop, William Alnwick of Norwich, conducted infamous heresy trials in Norfolk from 1428, the year when John Wyclif's body was exhumed, put on trial, and burned with his books (an act depicted in one of the *Doctrinale* manuscripts). As we have come to expect, the Carmelites are known to have attended the trials in both Norfolk and London.

By 1430 it seems that the Carmelite Order had become somewhat overstretched in terms of manpower and energy. Thomas Netter died, and the prior general, Jean Grossi, resigned from office due to infirm old age. That year a general chapter of the Order in Nantes resolved to petition the Holy See for a mitigation of some of the stricter demands of the *Rule of Saint Albert*. This request was granted in 1432, the same year that Margery Kempe's friend and defender (and possible book narrator and amanuensis), Alan of Lynn, died.

England's association with Lollardy still plagued the national Church into the 1430s. In 1433, at the Council of Basel, the English Carmelite provincial, John Keninghale, accused the Wycliffite/Hussite Peter Payne of both heresy and treason (demonstrating again the perceived link between religious and social order). Perhaps it was the perceived seditious link between heretical ideas and the use of the vernacular that prompted the Carmelite Richard Misyn, writing a prologue to

his English translation of Richard Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* in 1435, to state very explicitly, that he had no intention of disloyalty to the Church by writing in his mother tongue for the benefit of the anchorite Margaret Heslyngton.

It was probably in the years between 1436 and 1439 that a Carmelite (possibly Roger Alban) compiled, in the form we know today, the dossier of Wycliffite/Hussite beliefs dubbed the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*. The Carmelite Order sought not only to identify errors externally, but also to address heterodox dissent within its own ranks. In 1446 a provincial gathering was held to discuss reform of the Order in England. This would have been a topic of particular interest to Richard Misyn, who sometime during the period 1446-56 acted as inquisitor and prosecutor for apostate (runaway) friars. It was probably also in about 1446 that Thomas Scrope emerged from the anchorhold in Norwich.

1450 was a good year for the Norwich Carmelite community. Thomas Scrope was ordained bishop, and the Provincial, John Keninghale, had a new library constructed.

The following year Jean Soreth was elected Prior General of the Carmelite Order. A popular preacher whose vernacular sermons have survived, Soreth encouraged as part of his reform of the Order the development of communities of Carmelite women in the Low Countries and Italy, an initiative which obtained formal papal approval in the bull *Cum Nulla* in 1452.

Carmelite interest in vernacular theology in the 1450s and 60s is perhaps indicated by two manuscripts. The single scribe of University of Leeds, Ms. Brotherton 501, has left indications that he produced the codex in 1456. The linguistic profile locates the manuscript to Stamford, and being a compilation of religious literature in the vernacular, modern scholars suggest that it might have been produced by a mendicant (and thus possibly a Carmelite). Several demonstrably Carmelite hands were responsible for the commonplace book that is London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211. It contains a copy of Richard Lavenham's *Litil Tretys*, alongside other religious texts. It is possible, judging from scribal markings, that a German friar studying in London in 1466-67, Aegidius Fleeber de Arluno, may have copied the *Litil Tretys* portion of the manuscript, and might have been the link allowing for several copies of Thomas Scrope's Latin texts to end up in German libraries.

3. General concluding remarks

The aim of this thesis has been to highlight the role played by Carmelite friars in late medieval England in the composition and circulation of religious texts in the vernacular. We have seen that the Order was committed to promoting the spiritual education of its own members, as well as the laity whom they served, and Whitefriars often undertook to write and preach with great energy. Yet the fraught social and religious climate of the period under consideration (roughly around 1375 to 1450) effectively meant that the English Carmelites policed religious thought and spiritual speculation as

much as they promoted them. Carmelites recognised the ‘vulgar tongue’ as a tool which could be employed to great effect by both ‘orthodox’ and ‘heterodox’ forces alike, though the nuances of calls for Church reform encountered within this thesis have demonstrated that the debates of the period should not be thought of in overly simplistic or dualistic terms. The medieval Carmelite writers of ‘vernacular theology’ trod a fine line, balancing their Order’s reputation for promoting spirituality (ideas such as contemplation, mysticism, popular piety, asceticism, prayer, and eremitism) against the mission of rooting out heresy and suppressing theological speculation among those they deemed unequal to the task.

Chapter One demonstrated this Carmelite quandary over language by considering the case of Margery Kempe, whose discussions of the Bible with Alan of Lynn were prohibited, for a while, by the prior provincial Thomas Netter. Anne Hudson makes an illuminating comment about this ‘Hammer of Heretics’:

Though Netter was present at many of the celebrated trials between 1410 and 1428, and uses details from his experience especially in book 6 [of his *Doctrinale*], he shows no sign of apprehending the appeal of aspects of the Lollard movement’s beliefs to ordinary lay people. Equally his anxiety to refute the doctrinal errors of Wyclif in every minute particular means that he never confronts the defects in the contemporary church to which, at least in some regards, those errors relate. The demands of polemic, and the rigidity of his method of argument, prove a strait-jacket; Netter’s own positive ideas emerge only rarely.³⁵

Certainly, the Carmelite Order in England’s dedication to opposing Wycliffism – at times bordering on obsession – meant that the Whitefriars could come across to their contemporaries and to us as apologists for a flawed Church, a Church which the Carmelites themselves acknowledged was in need of reform. Ironically, ‘Netter’s purpose could backfire: Andreas Gałka, a Hussite sympathizer in Poland, commented that much could be learned of Wyclif’s ideas by reading Netter.’³⁶ Nevertheless, it would be wrong to regard the literary achievements of the pre-Reformation English Carmelites solely as a negative reaction to questions of heresy. In the case of Thomas Netter, we know that he sought reform and renewal of the Church and Order in positive ways, encouraging the

³⁵ Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*.

³⁶ Anne Hudson, ‘Netter [Walden], Thomas (c.1370-1430)’, *ODNB*.

‘democratisation of contemplation’ among a number of women who had some form of affiliation with Carmel.

Richard Maidstone, the subject of Chapter Three, is – like Netter – an example of a Carmelite who promoted submission to the legitimate authority of Church and State, as revealed in his Latin poetry. Maidstone also appreciated the value of writing texts of vernacular theology to meet the growing and genuine appetite among the spiritually ambitious bourgeoisie for access to the Scriptures. His Middle English text *The Penitential Psalms* provided a wide range of readers/hearers with means of accessing the Holy Scriptures in a mediated form. If Maidstone was the author of *The Lamentations of Mary* poem, this too would have provided its audience with an interpretation of Scripture. Appreciating the medieval notion of the theologian as an authority figure with real responsibilities for the well-being of the wider Church is essential for understanding the attempts of Whitefriars such as Maidstone to both promote and police religious speculation. We know from Maidstone’s Latin academic writings that he not only condemned the generality of antifraternal tenets but specifically the forum and manner in which they were propounded. In his *Determinatio*, Richard Maidstone objected not only to the message (John Ashwardby’s general criticism of the mendicant lifestyle), but also the medium (the fact that the vicar had expressed his doubts to lay listeners in English, rather than to a clerical audience in Latin). Perceiving a real pastoral need, Maidstone sought to minister to the laity through a medium he deemed appropriate, namely vernacular poetry. Drawing on the popularity of the ‘Alliterative Revival’, in Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms* the Carmelite encouraged guided participation in vernacular theology; the words ‘guided’ and ‘participation’ being equally important. Adapting the university classroom’s hermeneutic of the fourfold interpretation of Scripture, Maidstone generated a sophisticated blend of images and ideas to create a highly ambitious form of vernacular theology that could be read privately or aloud, from manuscript or from memory, by cleric, religious, or lay person. So popular was the resulting poetry that – textual changes within a group of *Penitential Psalms* manuscripts suggest – Maidstone’s text was interpolated by Lollard sympathisers. This demonstrates that even highly-educated Carmelites could not guarantee the untarnished success of their literary efforts to promote orthodox thinking. Nevertheless, by the time of his death in 1396, Richard Maidstone could be confident that he had both endorsed and subtly controlled the theological development of others, supporting a traditionalist vision of the proper ordering of the secular and spiritual realms.

Reflections of this vision can be seen in contemporary Carmelite art (such as the painting of *La Vierge au Manteau du Puy-en-Velay*), as well as in the prose of Richard Lavenham, who was the subject of Chapter Four. Lavenham’s *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* afforded us important insights into how the Whitefriars in late medieval England both sponsored and regulated theological

speculation through vernacular religious literature. It is possible that fellow Carmelites John Upton and Roger Alban also contributed to the genre of vices and virtues. Lavenham's text encouraged the sacramental examination of self and other, by offering basic Christian catechesis through a clearly structured prose form, simultaneously stipulating the limits of intellectual enquiry by providing penitents and pastors with definitive answers to simple theological questions. Like Maidstone, Lavenham expressed some doubt in his Latin writings about the intellectual abilities of the laity. He too was active in combating Wycliffite beliefs through his sermons, and by recording the heresies of John Purvey.

Although some texts may have been lost in the passage of time, we do not know of any English Carmelites writing in the vernacular before the 1380s. It seems to me too much of a coincidence not to link the vernacular exertions of Richards Maidstone and Lavenham with the emergence of Wycliffism, Lollardy, and social revolt. One might well argue that without John Wyclif and his followers as catalyst, some of the vernacular Carmelite writings considered in this thesis might never have come to be.

Chapter Five considered Carmelite literary activity in the English East Midlands, namely the poetry of Thomas Ashburne and Richard Spalding, as well as the author of the poem *Sancta Maria*, and a scribe who may also have been a Whitefriar. As the alleged composer of a now lost poem, *De contemptu mundi*, and perhaps a poem on the *Foure Doughters*, Thomas Ashburne may have translated the works of recognised authorities (Pope Innocent III and Bishop Robert Grosseteste) to present basic Christian doctrine in engaging ways. In *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn*, Richard Spalding employed an innovative verse form to retell a well-known hagiographic tale with obvious contemporary resonances. If the author of *Sancta Maria* and the compiler of Ms. Brotherton 501 were Stamford Carmelites, they too helped their audiences to engage with vernacular theology.

In Chapter Six's consideration of Richard Misyn's translations of two works by the fourteenth-century Yorkshire hermit Richard Rolle, we saw a Whitefriar engage in vernacular religious writing with mixed enthusiasm and apprehension. Misyn is the first Carmelite known to have been writing in English after the *Constitutions* promulgated by Archbishop Thomas Arundel, and the international condemnation of John Wyclif and Jan Hus at the Council of Constance. In his prologue to *þe fyre of lufe*, Misyn explicitly excused himself for writing in the vernacular, articulating more clearly than any other pre-Reformation member of his Order the tension inherent in both sponsoring and monitoring religious thought. Like Alan of Lynn with Margery Kempe, Richard Misyn sought to provide a female reader/hearer, Margaret Heslyngton, with spiritual edification, but was all too aware of how this might be misinterpreted. The chapter also considered the work of Thomas Fishlake, who translated an English text, Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, into Latin, again illuminating for us the Carmelite

Order's cautiously enthusiastic engagement with vernacular theology. Fishlake's translation of Hilton's *Scale* may represent a Carmelite's desire to test and engage with vernacular theological ideas in the language of international scholarship. Fishlake demonstrates, in post-Ricardian England, a real Carmelite interest and influence in contemporary theological developments, a regard for anchoritic literature, and a desire to promote native English spirituality amongst educated readers at home or abroad. Fishlake highlights a Carmelite desire for 'mixed life' literature that blended the seemingly disparate ideals of mendicancy and eremitism, through which the scope was broadened of those who could legitimately embark on the road of divine contemplation.

Chapter Seven considered the eccentric and engaging character of Thomas Scrope(-Bradley), author of a number of Carmelite histories in Latin, a few brief texts preserved in his commonplace book (Ms. Harley 211), and a translation of Felip Ribot's *Decem libri* into Middle English as *De Instytucyonys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys*. Scrope was possibly also the writer, user, or promoter of *Pe charge*. Like other Carmelite producers of vernacular theology, Thomas Scrope used the English language to push back yet also delineate the bounds of religious thought and pious practice, prompting reflection on theological subjects such as salvation history, whilst asserting the patrimony of the Carmelite Order as a bulwark of orthodoxy.

Looking broadly at these half a dozen or more Carmelite writers of vernacular literature, what general remarks can be made, or common trends identified?

Simply because the Carmelites writing in Middle English were all members of the same Order does not mean that we can extrapolate – from various texts written by different men for diverse audiences over a span of about seventy-five years – a sustained 'Carmelite project' or corporate policy as regards vernacular theology. So far, my research has not uncovered, for instance, any resolution by the Order in England at provincial level to privilege sermons in the mother tongue (other than the *Constitutions*' requirement for the *Rule of Saint Albert* to be expounded to the brothers in the vernacular four times a year), or any chapter decree stipulating a common resolve to circulate materials in English. The Carmelites in medieval England were centrifugal in their vernacular writing, rather than contributing to a corporate scheme. Yet, Carmelite vernacular writings are comparatively close in terms of timescale, sites of origin, and theological concerns, hence studying them collectively has been enlightening. My research has confirmed that the Carmelites in late medieval England constituted a network of literate individuals and communities in which literature played a particular part in developing a corporate sense of identity and reputation. The Order in England, and internationally, was bound together by shared projects, concerns, resources, legislation, educational formation, spiritual patrimony, and liturgy. This has made it legitimate to study the Order as a corporate entity, whilst not denying the significance of particular individuals within the community.

In other respects, each of the authors considered in this thesis stands alone. Apart from Richard Maidstone possibly dedicating a copy of his *Concordia* to Richard Lavenham, we have no evidence of Carmelite vernacular writers consciously engaging with each other as authors, or referring to each other's work. The bibliographic efforts of visiting foreign Carmelites, such as Jean Grossi, to note the pre-eminent writers in the English province may have helped spread the reputation of individual Whitefriars across the Order, but otherwise they were not formally bound together as authors.

This is not to say that the Order did not have common literary projects. The corporate copying of Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale*, and the passing on from provincial to provincial the materials that made up the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, demonstrate that documents played an important role in building common attitudes and interests across Carmel.³⁷

We should not be surprised to find these common attitudes and interests expressed in various ways by the Carmelite composers and translators of vernacular theology. All shared a broadly common formation process, and were exposed to a distinctly Carmelite culture of liturgy, preaching, academic study, book collection and circulation. We know that Richards Lavenham, Maidstone, and Misyn, as well as Thomas Fishlake, were all university-educated. Probably entering the Order in Stamford, both Richard Spalding and Thomas Scrope received instruction in a convent of academic renown, the former also known to have been in London during his priestly formation, and the latter in Norwich, both major Carmelite study centres in their own right. It seems obvious to state, regarding a society with low literacy rates, that medieval writers were well educated in comparison with most of their peers. However, some persons without formal education, such as Margery Kempe, still managed to find ways of accessing literary resources, and of setting down their thoughts. We can presume that all the known Carmelite writers of medieval England were well educated. However, given the restrictions that even they encountered in disseminating theological knowledge (Misyn, Lynn, and Scrope in particular), it seems that the Order's culture and England's ecclesiastical climate in the fifteenth century only reluctantly permitted the most trusted scholars to write.

When we locate the vernacular writers of the medieval Carmelite Order in England, the eastern half of the country dominates: Kent, London, East Anglia (including Cambridge, Lynn, Ipswich, and Norwich), the East Midlands (including Stamford), and Yorkshire. These were the loci best connected to one another, and to the European mainland. With the possible exception of Richard Lavenham serving as Prior of Bristol, the location of significant Carmelite vernacular literary activity furthest

³⁷ 'The Carmelite Order was exceptional [among religious orders in England] in that its members copied texts as part of an organised campaign against prevailing heresies'. Malcolm B. Parkes, '1100-1540 Religious Orders in England', in *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes – The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 15-31 [28].

west is Oxford. The culture of Oxford's University and religious houses was highly influential on the vernacular literature produced by medieval Whitefriars. As the place where John Wyclif came to notorious prominence, Oxford was England's preeminent site for academic theological enquiry, including the Bible translation debate of 1401, and the work of the commission drawing up Provincial *Constitutions* in 1407/09. Maidstone, Lavenham, Netter, and (we assume) Misyn, all studied and/or taught in Oxford, and each was engaged, to varying degrees, in opposing the spread of Wycliffism. All the Carmelite priors provincial of England from Robert Ivory's election in 1379 to the resignation of John Keninghale in 1444 were Oxford-educated.³⁸ As leaders of the Order in England, the provincials were highly influential in setting the collective cultural mood, academic agenda, and pastoral priorities of the Whitefriars under them.

In terms of subject matter, the vernacular Carmelite texts which survive from late medieval England are all concerned with devotional material of various sorts: Maidstone composed Biblical paraphrase; Lavenham wrote a treatise on sin; Ashburne and Spalding penned poems on the saints and moral matters; Misyn and Fishlake translated mystical texts on prayer and contemplation; Scrope translated a mythical history of the Order that interpreted its spiritual charism. When we compare these writings to the broader corpus of texts across the medieval Order, in other vernaculars or in Latin, it seems that English was used exclusively for the devotional genre. Broadly and internationally speaking, Carmelite writers of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries can be subdivided into three groups as regards their fundamental concerns and choice of subject matter: writings on the history and nature of the Order; devotional writings on the spiritual life; and scholastic writings on philosophy, theology, and sacred scripture. English Carmelite vernacular authors dealt solely with the devotional (though Scrope's translation of the *Decem libri* blurs the boundary between historical and spiritual matters). Several of these English authors also composed texts in other genres, but solely in Latin. Maidstone and Lavenham both wrote philosophical and theological tracts in Latin. Scrope wrote historical treatises in Latin. Clearly the Whitefriars of late medieval England did not think it appropriate to write about scholastic matters in the vernacular, though I have argued that Maidstone's biblical translation does present scriptural theology in quite a sophisticated way reminiscent of the schools.

Several members of religious orders in late medieval England wrote vernacular hagiographies, such as Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, John Lydgate's *Lyf of Our Lady*, and John Capgrave's *Life of St. Katherine*. Carmelite equivalents are Richard Spalding's *Hymn to St. Katherine*,

³⁸ The exact leadership role and education of Robert Whiteved is unclear. Robert Ivory was prior of Cambridge as well as being Oxford educated.

and the material relating to Elijah in Scrope's *Instytucionys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys*. These aside, the Carmelite Order in England seems to have preferred the production of vernacular texts that imparted basic doctrine and nurtured the life of prayer: *The Penitential Psalms*, the *Litil Tretys*, the *Mendynge of lyfe* and *þe fyer of lufe*, as well as the bulk of the material in *þe Instytucionys*.

Carmelite writers' interest in their Order's desert roots and the spirituality of isolation (such as the anchorhold) did not come to prominence until the fifteenth century. Eremitism plays no demonstrable part in the vernacular writings of Maidstone, Lavenham, Spalding, or Ashburne, but it does become significant in the writings of Fishlake, Misyn, and Scrope. The further away the Order progressed from its origins on Mount Carmel – not only in terms of the passage of time but also the increasing apostolic focus on expanding urban areas – the more Carmelite writers seem to have been fascinated by the concept of solitary withdrawal.³⁹ We see, for example, in Misyn's translation of Rolle, an educated Carmelite's turning away from 'docturs writynge' towards a more private and sensory spirituality; an embrace of not only the vernacular language but also vernacular piety. This call to return to the mystical space of the desert – which ironically coincided with the cell becoming a less significant place after the 1432 mitigation of the Carmelite *Rule* – strangely brought Whitefriars and the laity into greater contact with each other, as seen in the case of Margery Kempe and her visits to Alan of Lynn and William Southfield.

In the course of this thesis it has become clear that language itself was a point of interest for medieval Carmelite writers. Manuscript evidence suggests that most Carmelite texts dealing with the vernacular presented Latin headings or quotations alongside English words. This not only allowed the *literati* to check the veracity of the English translation, but conversely was also a useful device for improving the *illiterati*'s knowledge of Latin. However, with the exceptions of Richard Maidstone and Richard Misyn, Carmelites writing in English did not draw overt attention to their choice of language. Seen in the cultural context in which Carmelite vernacular writers were working, their silence speaks volumes.

We have encountered evidence of Carmelite friars using, as well as producing, vernacular texts. Indeed, interest in vernacular theology was a hallmark of some of the Order's most skilled Latinate scholars. The Carmelite desire to promote as well as control vernacular theology is seen from the 1430s onwards in the relationships enjoyed with the laity by Alan of Lynn and Richard Misyn. By

³⁹ Valerie Edden likewise identifies Carmelite interest in the Order's eremitic and Elijan roots as a predominantly fifteenth- rather than fourteenth-century phenomenon: Valerie Edden, 'A Fresh Look at the Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: London, British Library, Ms. Additional 29704-05', in Stephen Kelly, John J. Thompson (eds.), *Imagining the Book, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 7* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 111-26 [118].

c.1450 the Order seems to have embraced the vernacular as an appropriate language for internal theological matters, with Scrope producing *De Instytucionys* for the benefit of his prior.

By the end of the fifteenth century in England, the vernacular's appeal as a distinctive language for literature had grown, as had an authorial canon. Writers such as George Ashby (d. 1475) could praise 'Maisters Gower, Chaucer and Lydgate' in his prologue to *Active Policy of a Prince*, celebrating their invention of 'fresshe, douce Englysshe'.⁴⁰ Some vernacular writers within other religious orders, exhibited themselves (albeit sometimes with comic self-deprecation) in an authorial role, such as the Benedictine John Lydgate, and the Augustinians John Capgrave and Osbern Bokenham.⁴¹ Carmelite authors of English texts did not overtly promote themselves as innovative 'auctores' in such a literary tradition, seeking rather to demonstrate their conformity to long-established conventions of religious literature. Though sometimes innovative in form, Carmelite vernacular writing does not exhibit much authorial self-awareness or rhetorical flair, making no reference as Bokenham does to both contemporary and ancient theorists of literature, or seeking to flatter patrons.⁴² Maidstone's authorship of *The Penitential Psalms* is recorded in only two of the surviving manuscripts; Lavenham's authorship of *The Litol Tretys* in only one. Maidstone is named at the start of *The Penitential Psalms*; by contrast, all the Carmelite writers of vernacular prose are named in colophons, suggesting perhaps a more self-conscious artistic role in the writing of verse. This is seen in Richard Spalding's unusually overt drawing of attention to himself by spelling out his name in an acrostic at the end of *The Alliterative Katherine Hymn*. The works of Misyn, Fishlake, and Scrope are all attributed, perhaps reflecting greater concern in the fifteenth century than in the late fourteenth that religious vernacular texts should be attributable (Misyn, in particular, demonstrating in his prologue fear of the personal consequences of this).

Preoccupation with religious orthodoxy might also account for why later Carmelite vernacular writings are in prose rather than verse. Maidstone and Ashburne wrote their poetry in the late fourteenth century, and Spalding's verse was probably not composed later than the early years of the fifteenth. However, the later compositions of Misyn and Scrope in the 1430s and 40s are in prose. We have seen how Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms* were interpolated to give a Lollard-leaning rendition of a particular verse, and concern that poetry is potentially more open to speculative reinterpretation perhaps accounts for its seeming abandonment by later Carmelites. On the other hand, the choice for prose over poetry may simply reflect changing literary fashions, or pastoral needs.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 59, lines 28, 32.

⁴¹ See, for instance, the prologue to *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, quoted in Wogan-Browne, *et al* (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 66.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 67.

Comparing later texts (such as Misyn's and Scrope's) with earlier ones (such as Maidstone's and Lavenham's), it is striking that today there are fewer surviving copies of the later compositions. This may be down to the vagaries of history (though surely we might expect it to be the other way around), or it may indicate that the form and subject matter of the earlier texts attracted a broader audience, necessitating a larger number of copies. In addressing eremitical topics, the later texts were arguably of less direct relevance to the general Christian public at large, compared with a paraphrase of the psalms or a handbook on the branches of sin.

This prompts us to ask how widely English Carmelite vernacular theology extended, and whether it impacted on the life of the Order beyond England. The efforts of the Carmelites in England to promote and police religious thought and pious practice in the period 1375-1450 certainly did have broader consequences for the Order internationally. The translation by Thomas Fishlake of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* from English into Latin ensured the spread of English orthodox theology to the broader Church. This cultural sharing was also carried by friars from Continental Europe who received some of their education in England, especially at London and Oxford, such as Aegidius Fleeber de Arluno. Another example is the Portuguese Carmelite João Consobrino, who received dispensation for a Doctorate in Theology at the University of Oxford in 1449. He is known to have been in Oxford at various dates in the 1450s and 60s, as well as the University of Bologna, despite being elected Provincial of Portugal in 1456. When he finally returned to Lisbon, he became tutor and confessor of King Alfonso V, and when he preached the crowds were so vast that the pulpit had to be placed at the doorway of the church. Dubbed 'the terror of heresy' by fellow Carmelite Laurent Bureau, Consobrino preached, debated, and wrote against unorthodoxy in both Latin and the vernacular, first in England and then in Portugal, as well as championing the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁴³

No doubt Consobrino's time in England was influenced by the intellectual timbre of the Carmelite Order in the wake of the Wycliffite heresy, which endured a long time in various forms. We have seen that a very significant moment in tackling Wycliffism/Lollardy was the formulation and promulgation of the *Provincial Constitutions* introduced by Archbishop Thomas Arundel in 1407/09. A major question we have been considering, looking at the broad range of Carmelite vernacular writings produced in late medieval England, is whether we notice in them any change marked by those *Constitutions*.

⁴³ On Consobrino and his *Contra Lusitanos quosdam hereticos* see: Copsey, *Biographical Register*; Balbino Velasco Bayón, *História da Ordem do Carmo em Portugal* (Lisbon: Paulinas, 2001), 44, 90-92, 112; Timothy Graham, Andrew G. Watson (eds.), *The Recovery of the Past in Elizabethan England: Documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the Circle of Matthew Parker*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library for the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1998), 22, 39 n. 76.

Bearing in mind that not all Middle English Carmelite texts can be definitively dated, we must concede that, after Arundel's *Constitutions*, Carmelite writers in England do seem to have produced only translations, rather than more innovative original work. Undoubtedly aware of the dangers of being associated with heresy, Carmelite literary inventiveness – so vibrant until c.1400 – seems to have been somewhat stifled by Arundel's *Constitutions*. Even two decades later, discussion of the Bible between Friar Alan of Lynn and Margery Kempe was deemed contentious.

In the wake of Nicholas Watson's influential articles in the mid-1990s, much recent scholarship has focussed on 'literature of dissent', with Arundel's *Constitutions* widely regarded as a watershed moment in English history which constituted an attack on religious and intellectual liberty, and caused the originality and vitality of spiritual writing to slump. There is much mileage in this argument, but in the last decade or so, scholars have reassessed the impact of Arundel's *Constitutions*, coming to a more nuanced appreciation of the complexities of the 'orthodox' literature produced in its wake that represented and influenced the mainstream bulk of English audiences. Texts which have hitherto received attention mostly because of their role in the dramatic conflict between ecclesiastical orthodoxy and Wycliffite dissent are now attracting greater scholarly attention in their own right, appreciated as part of a flourishing literary and theological culture in fifteenth-century England.⁴⁴ There is no doubt that, in the Carmelites texts we have considered, the *Provincial Constitutions* of 1407/09 exerted an influence. Compared with the more innovative subject matter and experimental forms seen in Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*, Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*, and to a lesser degree Lavenham's *Litil Tretys*, the translation work of Richard Misyn and Thomas Scrope seems less artistically original and theologically daring. But that does not mean they are without merit, bringing into English – and in the case of Fishlake bringing out of English – significant works of eremitic spirituality, part of what Vincent Gillespie calls:

a broad European spectrum of traditional re-assertions of orthodox teaching, and a local reflection of the English church's subtly nuanced but radical self-appraisal in the wake of Wyclif. Chichele's church was to be a very different animal from Thomas Arundel's: certainly more European, perhaps more confident, more flamboyantly liturgical, passionately interested in orthodox reform, and in the exploitation of the vernacular as a

⁴⁴ For example, this is the aim of David J. Falls, *Nicholas Love's Mirror and Late Medieval Devotio-Literary Culture: Theological Politics and Devotional Practice in Fifteenth-Century England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016). The vibrancy of literature written in England in the late Middle Ages – for a long time dismissed as dull and uncreative – has been highlighted in recent studies such as: James Simpson, *The Oxford English Literary History – Volume 2: Reform and Cultural Revolution 1350-1547* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Douglas Gray, *Later Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

medium of orthodox, but still imaginative and inventive, texts suitable for the growing lay audience for vernacular books of religion.⁴⁵

It is true that some of the surviving vernacular theological texts written by medieval English Carmelites are more ‘original’ and imaginative than others in their subject matter and style; compare, for example, Misyn’s ‘slavish’ translation of prose against Spalding’s showy verse *cauda* or wheel. But when thinking of their novelty, we must again bear in mind an astute observation by Gillespie that in medieval religious vernacular texts:

innovative writing is rafted on the assumptions, ideologies, and even idiolects of Latin theological writing, with which it is in constant and creative dialogue. And if the bulk of surviving vernacular translation and compilation is of texts aimed at catechetical or devotional audiences, that emphasis partly reflects the breadth of the available market for such texts, and the number of environments in which they might be used ... vernacular theology is not simply about intellectual innovation ... The strength and resourcefulness of vernacular theology emerges precisely from its ability to recombine a wide spectrum of cognate theological discourses robustly and flexibly available in the mother tongue.⁴⁶

We must also credit Richard Misyn and Thomas Scrope with some innovation, both men adding new Latinate words to the English lexicon.

It has become clear in the course of this thesis how unwise it can be to speak in overly strict binary terms of ‘vernacular literature’ versus ‘Latin literature’, ‘orthodoxy’ against ‘heterodoxy’, or to oppose ‘scholastic writing’ against ‘popular writing’, as if an unbridgeable chasm divided polar opposites. Certainly, Thomas Netter passionately opposed John Wyclif, and English Carmelites in general were zealous in their fight against the Lollards, but each side shared an ideological common ground on the need for reform.⁴⁷ Each side sought to use vernacular theology to simultaneously nurture and influence religious thought.

In this thesis I have looked at Carmelite engagement in vernacular theology through the particular prism of how members of the Order trod a fine line between promotion of religious thought and pious practice on the one hand, and on the other the suppression of Wycliffism and other unorthodoxies. I

⁴⁵ Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 42.

⁴⁶ Vincent Gillespie, ‘Vernacular Theology’, in Paul Strohm (ed.), *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 401-20 [403].

⁴⁷ Gillespie, *Chichele’s Church*, 14.

do not presume, by any means, to claim that the topic has been dealt with exhaustively; the surviving texts invite further exploration, including their theological approaches to devotion, their comparison with vernacular texts by Carmelites on the Continent, and so on.

Fertile areas for further research include the material culture of books in medieval Carmelite communities in England and beyond, including manuscripts, scriptoria, and library collections.

It is my hope that further Carmelite vernacular writings and authorial attributions to English Whitefriars may yet come to light. After all, the *Book of Margery Kempe* was only discovered in its full form in the 1930s, casting much new light on the medieval English Carmelites' interest in vernacular theology. In the 1990s a poem in Middle English, Spalding's *Alliterative Katherine Hymn*, was convincingly ascribed to a member of the Carmelite Order. In the last few years another copy of Netter's *Doctrinale* was identified in the Carmelite Order's archives in Rome. Even during the (admittedly very protracted) writing of this thesis, additional copies of Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* have come to public view. Who know what authors may yet be uncovered, or what anonymous texts shown to have a Carmelite connection?

I have tried, where relevant, to compare Carmelite literary activities and intellectual interests with other religious orders and movements, especially fellow mendicants. All fraternal orders, in various ways, shared a common mission to promote and police religious speculation. To what extent Carmelite approaches to vernacular theology were unique to the Order will require closer analysis against other mendicant and monastic orders. Until comparable studies are done for them, it will not be clear how unique the Carmelites were in the communal promotion and policing of vernacular religious literature. Compared with the Carthusians, who seem to have had a corporate interest in the amassing and copying of vernacular theological texts, Carmelite interest in this area was more idiosyncratic. Nevertheless, the Carmelites were conscious of having a particular reputation for upholding orthodoxy in later medieval England, and this makes their interest in vernacular theology stand out.

Languishing in the shadows of other religious orders for too long, within recent years the Carmelites have gained a much higher scholarly profile, particularly in the field of Medieval Studies. Pioneering research now affords researchers access to previously obscure source materials. Valerie Edden's edition of Scrope's *Instytucionys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys* arrived from the publishers on the day this thesis was submitted. The forthcoming publication of scholarship by Richard Copsey – an English translation of medieval Latin Carmelite documents, chronologies of medieval Carmelite houses in Britain, and his imminent *Biographical Register of Carmelites in England and Wales 1240-1540* – will surely bring to the attention of academics further resources for

constructing a more detailed and nuanced literary history of the Carmelites than this thesis can hope to be as an initial foray into the topic.

It is my humble hope, however, that this exploration of the general terrain of medieval Carmelite vernacular literature in England has established some guideposts which will allow future scholars to better recognise the characteristics of the Order's cultural interests, and thus attribute hitherto anonymous works to the possibility of Carmelite provenance with greater certainty. Those characteristics include an interest in Scripture, penitential material, hagiography, desert spirituality, and the contemplative experience.

An enduring tightrope walk

In the very first chapter (page 61), we considered the symbolic significance of a miniature in the *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*. This image captures perfectly the position of Carmelite friars in late medieval England as gatekeepers of religious thought and pious practice, forming both a barrier and a bridge between the laity and the divine, symbolised by Saint Ambrose. The Whitefriars hold open books that the lay man and women behind them may see or hear, but do not possess themselves, not because they lack the ambition or resources (the persons depicted may well be the donors of the *Missal* to the Carmelites), but because they lack the necessary learning and literacy. The friars are simultaneously potential barriers to, and conduits for, religious engagement.

In medieval Christian culture 'the measuring of the boundaries between inquiry and faith was a complex process, in which the balance of human and divine powers was constantly challenged.'⁴⁸ In late medieval England, social, political, intellectual, and religious developments prompted both clergy and laity to increasingly insist on their rights to challenge existing systems of belief and governance.⁴⁹ During the poverty debate in 1460s London, Carmelites and their opponents would accuse each other of inciting heresy, with arguments from a century earlier resounding again about the citation of the Bible, legitimate spiritual authority, and irresponsible preaching. Eventually, the 'Premature Reformation' of Lollardy would be followed by the English Reformation of the 1530s, and the suppression of the Carmelite Order in England.

The dilemma facing the Whitefriars in late medieval England – how to promote spiritual development without straying into the realms of heresy – has proved to be an enduring tightrope that

⁴⁸ Michael Stolz, 'Faith and the intellectuals II', in Miri Rubin, Walter Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 394-404 [404].

⁴⁹ See: Claire Cross, *Church and People 1450-1660: Triumph of the Laity in the English Church* (Glasgow: Collins, 1976), reprinted several times, and in a revised Second Edition as *Church and People: England 1450-1660*, Blackwell Classic Histories of England (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1999).

the Carmelite Order walks with caution but determination. It is a challenge that Carmelites have encountered in every time and culture.

A century after the main period of activity of English Carmelite vernacular writers, and hundreds of miles away in the Spanish town of Avila, a Carmelite nun, Saint Teresa of Jesús (1515-82), would encounter the same dilemma: how to promote in every soul the spiritual imperative of an enriching relationship with God, whilst remaining within the strict boundaries set by Church authorities upon lay people (especially women) in the context of the Counter Reformation, the heresies of the *alumbrados*, and the scrutiny of the Inquisition.⁵⁰

In the twenty-first century, the Carmelite Family in Britain and around the world continues to walk the tightrope, balancing the Order's vocation to be both what Saint Thérèse of Lisieux (1873-97) called 'love in the heart of the Church', and encountering Jesus Christ at the – sometimes unrespectable – margins of Society. We Carmelites have always moved forwards by looking back to our roots, reimagining our identity and ideals in a process of 'creative fidelity',⁵¹ and there is much to be learned from the successes and failures, the light and the dark, of our medieval forebears.

⁵⁰ On the theological and political issues facing Teresa, so similar to her English forebears in many ways, see: Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

⁵¹ A popular term in Catholic religious life since the 1960s, particularly in the wake of the Second Vatican Council's call for orders to engage in *ressourcement* (a return to the roots and authoritative sources of their charisms). See: Gabriel Marcel, *Creative Fidelity* (New York: Farrer, Straus, 1964); R. Scott Appleby, Patricia Byrne, William L. Portier (eds.), *Creative Fidelity: American Catholic Intellectual Traditions*, *American Catholic Identities: A Documentary History* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2004); Joseph Chalmers, 'Carmelites and the Future: Creative Fidelity': available online at <http://ocarm.org/en/content/ocarm/carmelites-and-future-creative-fidelity> [accessed December 2016].

Chronology of Carmelite Vernacular Writers

<i>Date</i>	<i>Maidstone</i>	<i>Lavenham</i>	<i>Ashburne and Spalding</i>	<i>Misyn and Fishlake</i>	<i>Scrope</i>	<i>Carmelite Order</i>	<i>Wider Church and Society</i>
1347						Ralph O'Ceallaigh, O.Carm., Archbishop of Cashel, conducts heresy enquiry into Archbishop of Dublin.	
1348						Alan of Lynn born c.1348. Walter Kellaw serves as Provincial (1348-53).	Black Death plague kills 1/3 of Europe's population 1348-49.
1349							Richard Rolle dies.
1350	Born c.1350 presumably near Maidstone, Kent.	Lavenham probably born in 1350s, presumably in or near Lavenham, Suffolk.	Ashburne licensed to hear confessions in Lincoln Diocese.				
1351						Carmelite friary established at Doncaster.	
1353						William Lubbenham serves as Provincial (1353-54)	
1354						Walter Kellaw serves as Provincial a second time (1354-58)	
1356						Carmelite priory at Northallerton established (the last in the English Province, excepting Caen in 1417).	
1357						Jean de Venette, O.Carm., writes <i>L'Histoire des Trois Maries</i> .	
1358						John Cowton serves as Provincial (1358-62).	
1360s						Alan of Lynn enters Order at Lynn.	
1361						John Pascal, O.Carm., finishes service as Bishop of Llandaff (1344-61).	John Wyclif becomes Master of Balliol College, Oxford.
1362						Thomas Brome serves as Provincial (1362-79).	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Maidstone</i>	<i>Lavenham</i>	<i>Ashburne and Spalding</i>	<i>Misyn and Fishlake</i>	<i>Scrope</i>	<i>Carmelite Order</i>	<i>Wider Church and Society</i>
1363						John Kynyngham, O.Carm., criticises Wyclif's use of the vernacular to discuss theology. John Swafham, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Cloyne (1363-76).	
c.1365-70	Enters Carmelite Order, presumably at Aylesford, possibly after studies in Oxford. Studies in London following novitiate.						
1370s		Probably enters Carmelite Order at Ipswich.					
1372						John Kynyngham, O.Carm., engaged in debate (1372-74) with John Wyclif at Oxford over the interpretation of scripture and the role of the theologian. Thomas Netter born c.1372.	
1373							Birgitta of Sweden dies. John Thoresby, Archbishop of York, dies.
1374						John Stokes, O.P., attacks Carmelite Order. In 1375 John Hornby, O.Carm., successfully defends Carmelites and the decree of Cambridge University's Chancellor is copied around the Order's houses. Hornby preaches related material <i>ad populum</i> (to the people).	Wyclif moves to Lutterworth.

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
						<p>Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester, preaches at Aylesford, probably in the vernacular.</p> <p>Saint Andrew Corsini, O.Carm., Bishop of Fiesole, dies.</p>	
1375				<p>Thomas Fishlake gets B.Th. at Cambridge c.1375.</p>		<p>The <i>Reconstructed Carmelite Missal</i> is produced for the Whitefriars in London c.1375.</p> <p>Bernard Oller elected Prior General.</p>	<p>Wyclif attacks Church wealth and papal authority.</p>
1376	<p>Ordained priest in London.</p>					<p>Bishop John Swafham, O.Carm., transferred from Cloyne to Bangor (1376-98).</p> <p>Richard Wye, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Cloyne (1376-94).</p> <p>Bernard Oller, Prior General of the Order, visits England.</p>	
1377				<p>Thomas Fishlake invited to preach at Diocesan Synod by Bishop of Ely Thomas Arundel.</p>		<p>Carmelites of Lynn grant corrody to lay couples.</p> <p>Carmelite Nicholas Durham writes against Wyclif c.1377.</p>	<p>Edward III dies and is succeeded by 10-year old Richard II.</p> <p>John Wyclif writes (1377) <i>De civili dominio</i> and (1377-78) <i>De veritate sacrae scripturae</i> (<i>On the Truth of Holy Scripture</i>). Summoned by William Courtenay, Bishop of London, and defended by friars. 18 theses condemned by Pope Gregory XI.</p>
1378							<p>Pope Gregory XI returns to Rome; Western Schism splits the Latin Church.</p>

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
							Wyclif summoned before Archbishop of Canterbury.
1379			Bateson suggests Ashburne may have studied at Cambridge during 1379-89.			Robert Ivory serves as Provincial (1379-90). Robert Hyntlesham, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Sebastopol (1379-89+).	John of Bridlington dies. Wyclif writes <i>De eucharistia</i> 1379-80.
1380s	Probably at some point in this decade Maidstone composes <i>The Penitential Psalms</i> , and perhaps also <i>The Lamentations of Mary</i> Maidstone studies in Oxford, living alongside Richard Lavenham, and at some point gains his B.Th.	Lavenham writes the <i>Litil Tretys on the Deadly Sins</i> probably in the next two decades, but potentially anytime until his death. Lives alongside the Richard Maidstone in Oxford.					Walter Hilton writes <i>On Mixed Life</i> .
1380						Carmelite John Loney is part of a commission of 12 theologians convened by Oxford's Chancellor to examine Wyclif's ideas. Michele Aiguani, O.Carm., writes <i>Planctus Marie</i> sermon (Virgin's lamentation) c.1380. Carmelites of Ipswich offer sanctuary to the Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, ousted by his own monks. William Badby, O.Carm., popular preacher, dies 1380/81.	Catherine of Siena dies.
1381						Cambridge friary raided during Peasants' Revolt.	The Peasants' Revolt; Archbishop Sudbury killed.

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
						<p>Stephen Patrington, O.Carm. (writes? and) presents letter against Wycliffites to John of Gaunt.</p> <p>Aylesford Priory cartulary records substantial book collection.</p>	<p>Chancellor of Oxford University declares some of Wyclif's doctrines heretical.</p>
1382						<p>Carmelites such as Stephen Patrington attend the 'Earthquake Council'. John Kynyngham, O.Carm., preaches the closing sermon.</p>	<p>Nicholas Hereford preaches in English in Oxford against the friars; Carmelite Peter Stokes records and notarises his sermon.</p> <p>'Earthquake Council' at Blackfriars, London, condemns as heretical or erroneous some of the teachings propounded by John Wyclif. John Kynyngham, O.Carm., preached the closing sermon; Peter Stokes, O.Carm., entrusted with publishing the condemnation of Wycliffite ideas at Oxford.</p>
1384		<p>Lavenham becomes Doctor of Theology by this date. As an Oxford theologian he writes and lectures on logic, grammar, Birgitta of Sweden, etc.</p>	<p>Ashburne writes <i>De Contemptu Mundi</i> whilst at Northampton. Possibly also writes <i>Four Doughters</i>.</p>			<p>John Latimer, O.Carm., warns Richard II of plot by John of Gaunt, and is tortured to death.</p> <p>Order split between Avignon and Rome observances; contested leadership between Bernard Oller and Michele Aiguani.</p> <p>Michele Aiguani visits England.</p>	<p>John Wyclif dies.</p> <p>Geert Grote, 'father' of the <i>Devotio Moderna</i>, dies.</p>

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
1385						<p>The Catalanian Carmelite friar Felip Ribot compiles the <i>Decem Libri (Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites)</i> collection of texts on Carmelite history and spirituality (c.1385). Also the author of treatises on the four senses of Scripture, and on heresy.</p> <p>Bernardo Aiguani, vicar general, visits England.</p>	
1386						<p>Nicholas of Lynn, O.Carm., writes his <i>Kalendarium</i>, and dedicates it to John of Gaunt (c.1386).</p>	
1387		<p>Lavenham, as possible prior of Bristol, perhaps hears Lollard priest John Purvey preaching (1387-88).</p>				<p>Richard Northalis, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Ossory (1387-95).</p>	<p>General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible (Early Version) written.</p> <p>‘Merciless Parliament’ and Lords Appellant place restrictions on Richard II.</p>
1388						<p>Anonymous Latin antifraternal poem c.1388 criticises Carmelites as ‘confessors to lords and ladies both, and seducers of their souls’.</p>	<p>Thomas Arundel is appointed Archbishop of York, bringing to the city a circle of scholarly clerics from Cambridge and Ely who influenced book-ownership and spirituality in the north for a long period.</p>
1390	<p>Licensed to preach and hear confessions in Rochester Diocese in 1390.</p> <p>Becomes Doctor of Theology c.1390.</p>		<p>Richard Spalding enters the Carmelite Order at Stamford in 1390s.</p>			<p>John Upton, O.Carm., perhaps copies <i>La Somme le Roi</i> for Duke of Gloucester in 1390s.</p>	

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
	<p>Maidstone engages in debates (c.1390-92) at Oxford with John Ashwardby, preaching first his <i>Protectorium pauperis</i> defending evangelical poverty, then his <i>Determinatio</i> criticising Ashwardby's Lollard sympathies and his preaching theological complexities before the laity.</p>					<p>Robert Whiteved serves as Vicar Provincial? (1390-93)</p>	
1391							<p>Canonisation of Birgitta of Sweden.</p>
1392	<p>Probably in contact with court circles in London c.1392-96.</p>	<p>Lavenham possibly attends 'Reconciliation' between Richard II and City of London.</p>				<p>In May a Council is convened at the Carmelite friary in Stamford to try the Cistercian Henry Crumpe for heresy. Many bishops and Carmelites take part.</p> <p>Early portions of the <i>Fasciculi Zizaniorum</i> compilation of Lollard heresies are dated c.1392-94; a Carmelite (Stephen Patrinton?) perhaps starts compiling materials.</p> <p>Giovanni da Rhò (John de Raude), prior general, visits England.</p>	<p>In August the 'Metropolitan Crisis' in London sees fall-out then reconciliation between Richard II and citizens.</p>
1393	<p>Maidstone writes <i>Concordia</i> recounting/interpreting the 'Reconciliation' between Richard II and City of London, and probably dedicates it to Lavenham.</p> <p>Around this time Maidstone preaches before nobility, and acts as confessor to John of Gaunt.</p>					<p>John Kynyngham serves as Provincial (1393-99).</p> <p>Carmelites (William Badby, Walter Diss, John Kynyngham) form 'inner core' at heart of Gaunt's household.</p>	

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
						Nicholas Weston, a Carmelite friar in Northampton, is accused of being a Lollard and of inciting sedition amongst the townspeople.	
1394	Writes <i>Nobis natura florem</i> elegiac poem on death of Anne of Bohemia. Perhaps writes commentary on John Avon, O.Carm.'s <i>Annulus philosophicus</i> Church almanac.						Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II, dies of plague.
1395						Richard Northalis, O.Carm., Bishop of Ossory, translated as Archbishop of Dublin (1395-97). Thomas Peverel, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Ossory (1395-98).	
mid-1390s				Richard Misyn probably born around this time.	Thomas Scrope probably born around this time, perhaps the illegitimate grandson of Sir Richard Scrope, first Baron Scrope of Bolton.		Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible produced. Walter Hilton writes Book II of <i>The Scale of Perfection</i> c.1394-96.
1396	Richard Maidstone, O.Carm., dies and is buried at Aylesford.					Thomas Netter, O.Carm., ordained priest.	Walter Hilton perhaps dies at Thurgarton. Thomas Arundel translated to Canterbury.
1397							Thomas Arundel exiled to France, shortly followed by Henry Bolingbroke.
1398						Bishop Thomas Peverel, O.Carm., translated from Ossory to Llandaff (1398-1407).	

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
1399		Lavenham is recorded as prior of London when presenting three friars for ordination. This is the last definite date for him.	Richard Spalding is ordained acolyte in Stamford.			Carmelite Provincial John Kynyngham dies in York with posthumous reputation as 'venerable'. Stephen Patrington serves as Provincial (1399-1414) Order institutes feast of the Prophet Elisha.	John of Gaunt dies leaving power vacuum. Richard II deposed by Bolingbroke who becomes Henry IV. Thomas Arundel reinstated to Canterbury.
1400				Thomas Fishlake translates Walter Hilton's <i>Scale of Perfection</i> from Latin into English c.1400.		Bertram Fitzalan builds a new library at the Carmelite priory in Lincoln c.1400. John Leycestre, O.Carm., serves as Archbishop of Smyrna (1400-24). Testamentary records in York suggest that Carmelites are the most popular mendicant order in the 15 th Century. Carmelites in Lynn (Alan of Lynn and John Beston) write and preach on the Bible through the notion of 'the four senses' c.1400-25.	Richard II dies in Pontefract Castle.
1401			Richard Spalding is ordained priest in London. Perhaps sometime after this composes <i>The Alliterative Katherine Hymn</i> .			Roger Alban, O.Carm., begins to take holy orders in the London friary; goes on to copy and perhaps write various texts, possibly including a vernacular treatise on the Seven Capital Sins.	Oxford Bible translation debate. Parliament passes <i>De haeretico comburendo</i> . William Sawtre(y), Rector of St. Margaret's in Lynn, is burned. Canonisation of John Thweng of Bridlington.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Maidstone</i>	<i>Lavenham</i>	<i>Ashburne and Spalding</i>	<i>Misyn and Fishlake</i>	<i>Scrope</i>	<i>Carmelite Order</i>	<i>Wider Church and Society</i>
							John Purvey, priest, examined by Archbishop Thomas Arundel in London, and recants Lollard beliefs at St. Paul's Cross.
1402						Stephen Patrington, O.Carm., preaches before Henry IV on Christmas Day. Stephen Brown, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Ross (1402+-20+).	
1404						Robert Mascall, O.Carm., consecrated Bishop of Hereford (1404-16).	
1405							Henry IV orders execution of Archbishop Richard Scrope of York. <i>Dives and Pauper</i> written c.1405-10.
1406						Thomas Netter and fellow Carmelite arrange (before 1414 and probably 1406-09, or 1410-11) to debate with Peter Payne in Oxford but he does not appear.	
1407						Alan of Lynn is Lector at Norwich Whitefriars. Bishop Thomas Peverel, O.Carm., translated from Llandaff to Worcester (1407-1419).	Provincial <i>Constitutions</i> compiled by Archbishop Thomas Arundel.
1409						Thomas Netter probably corresponds with committee of Oxford scholars charged to list Wyclif's errors. John Geese, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1409-14, 1422-25)	Provincial <i>Constitutions</i> promulgated by Archbishop Thomas Arundel. Council of Pisa.

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
1410		<p><i>Lollard Disendowment Bill</i> composed c.1410 closely matches content of Lavenham's record of <i>Purvey's Errors</i> later compiled in the <i>Fasciculi Zizaniorum</i>, perhaps suggesting Lavenham survived to this point.</p>		<p>Richard Misyn probably enters Carmelite Order around the time 1410-15.</p>		<p>Thomas Peveler, O.Carm., Bishop of Worcester, convicts and burns John Badby in London after trial attended by Netter.</p>	
1411						<p>Nicholas the Frenchman's <i>Ignea Sagitta</i>, supposedly written 1270/71, begins to (re?)circulate from c.1411.</p> <p>Thomas Netter writes (between 1411-17) to Thomas Rudborne about his Latin handbook <i>De Divinatione ad Principes</i>.</p> <p>Reunion of Carmelite Order following Schism division: General Chapter at Bologna elects Jean Grossi Prior General.</p> <p>Carmelite William Ufford serves on Oxford committee that draws up list of 267 errors in Wyclif's writings.</p>	<p>Archbishop Arundel approves c.1411 the publication of Nicholas Love's <i>Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ</i> as a means of combatting heresy and promoting faith.</p>
1413	<p>Jean Grossi, Prior General, visits England and records in catalogue of Carmelite writers (later noted by Bale) that Maidstone was a renowned preacher.</p>	<p>Jean Grossi, Prior General, visits England and lists Lavenham in his survey of Carmelite writers.</p>				<p>Carmelite Reform of Mantua begins at Le Selve.</p> <p>Margery Kempe visits the renowned divine William Southfield at the Carmelite friary in Norwich.</p> <p>Henry V appoints Carmelite Provincial Stephen Patrington as his confessor.</p>	<p>Henry IV dies and is succeeded by Henry V.</p> <p>Sir John Oldcastle put on trial for heresy.</p> <p>Work begins on 'the King's great work' at Sheen and Syon</p>

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
						Jean Grossi, Prior General, visits England.	
1414				Misyn probably studying in Carmelite studium in York around this time.		<p>William Southfield dies in Norwich Whitefriars.</p> <p>Thomas Netter serves as Carmelite Provincial (1414-30) following resignation of Patrington; possibly inherits <i>Fasciculi Zizaniorum</i> notes from him. In office Netter receives professions of anchoritic women under Carmelite supervision. He possibly briefly attends Council of Constance in 1414.</p> <p>Thomas Colby, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore (1414-22).</p> <p>Carmelites Adam Hemlyngton, William Thorpe, and Thomas Watlyngton attend enquiry into the spread of heresy at the University of Oxford.</p>	<p>Oldcastle Rebellion.</p> <p>Thomas Arundel dies and is replaced as Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry Chichele.</p> <p>Council of Constance (1414-18) ends Western Schism, expurgates Wyclif and Hus, and calls for Church reforms.</p> <p>John Purvey arrested and books (later referred to by Thomas Netter) confiscated; dies in Newgate.</p>
1415					Scrope enters the Carmelite Order c.1415-20, probably at Stamford, before proceeding to studies in Norwich.	<p>Stephen Patrington, O.Carm., consecrated Bishop of St. David's.</p> <p>Trial of John Claydon in London attended by Patrington and Netter.</p>	<p>Henry V wins Battle of Agincourt.</p> <p>Council of Constance executes Jan Huss and declares the late John Wyclif heretical.</p> <p>A Carthusian at Sheen c.1415-25 writes the <i>Speculum Devotorum</i> or <i>Myrowre to Devout Peple</i>.</p>

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
1416						<p>Bishop Stephen Patrington, O.Carm., chairs commission on Bridgettine Rule at Syon Abbey.</p> <p>Death of Robert Mascal, O.Carm., Bishop of Hereford.</p>	
1417						<p>Death of Stephen Patrington, O.Carm., Bishop of St. David's / Chichester.</p> <p>House at Caen in France under the English Province (1417-51?)</p>	<p>Council of Constance elects Pope Martin V, ending Western Schism.</p> <p>Oldcastle captured and executed.</p>
1418							Council of Constance ends.
1419				Misyn receives minor orders in York.		Thomas Peverel, O.Carm., Bishop of Worcester, dies.	
1420						<p>Thomas Netter writes to the Carmelite Prior General in Rome requesting a copy of Felip Ribot's <i>Decem libri</i>.</p> <p>Plague kills 24 Whitefriars in London.</p> <p>John Balsham, O.Carm., finishes servoce as Bishop of Argyll (-1420?).</p> <p>Roger Alban, O.Carm., active as a scribe in this decade.</p>	Pope Martin V declares crusade against Hussites.
1421				Misyn ordained deacon. Proceeds to university, possibly Oxford.		Thomas Netter probably begins <i>Doctrinale</i> at request of Henry V.	

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
						<p>Emma Stapleton lives (1421-42) as an anchorite attached to Norwich Whitefriars receiving supervision from five Carmelites. Communities of pious women are associated with the Order in East Anglia at this time.</p>	
1422						<p>Thomas Netter reputedly at death of Henry V; preaches funeral homily in London some weeks later.</p>	<p>King Henry V dies and is succeeded by infant Henry VI.</p>
1423						<p>Thomas Netter, Andrew Canterbury and Thomas Ashwell attend heresy trials in London; William Taylor burned for denying intercession of saints.</p>	<p>Council of Pavia-Siena opens, attended by Henry Percy as envoy, restates condemnation of Hus and Wyclif's followers and calls for vigilance against heresy.</p>
1424						<p>Death of Bertram Fitzalan, O.Carm.</p> <p>Probably after the Carmelite Provincial Chapter in Lynn, Thomas Netter reproaches Alan of Lynn for his Bible discussions with Margery Kempe.</p>	
1425				<p>Misyn probably completes his Bachelor of Theology degree around this time, and probably returns to York to teach in Carmelite <i>studium</i>, perhaps also spending some time as a hermit.</p>	<p>Thomas Scrope enters the anchorhold or hermitage at the Norwich Whitefriars, his prior being told to restrain him by the Provincial, Thomas Netter, because of his eccentric preaching.</p>	<p>Thomas Netter dedicates the first volume of his anti-heretical <i>Doctrinale</i> to Pope Martin V. John Keninghale presents a copy to Archbishop Chichele.</p>	

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
					Sometime between now and 1443 Scrope translates the <i>Decem libri</i> into English as <i>Pe Instytucionys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys</i> , and writes <i>Tractatus de fundatione ... monte Carmeli</i> which shares very similar themes. In the anchorhold Scrope also composes <i>Libellus de institucione fratrum Carmelitarum ordinis</i> and dedicates it to John Blakeney, a Norwich Benedictine.	Sassetta paints 'The burning at the stake of the heretic Nicolaus' for Italian Carmelites.	
1426						Alice Wakeleyn, recluse at the Carmelite priory in Northampton, buried in the Carmelite habit. Cardinal Henry Beaufort appoints Carmelite Thomas Ashwell as his secretary and confessor.	John Audelay writes <i>The Counsel of Conscience</i> .
1427						Thomas Netter presents first part of <i>Doctrinale</i> to Pope Martin V.	Cardinal Henry Beaufort leads 'fourth crusade' against Hussites in Bohemia. Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, founds Lincoln College, Oxford, for the training of orthodox theologians to fight heresy.
1428						Carmelites attend Norwich heresy trials. Carmelite Andrew Canterbury attends London heresy trial.	William Alnwick, Bishop of Norwich, conducts heresy trials (1428-31). Wyclif's body exhumed and burned with his books.

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyng and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
1429						<p>John Bate, Carmelite Prior of York, patristic scholar and writer, dies.</p> <p>Four Carmelite Doctors of Theology assist at the heresy trial of John Skyllly in Norwich.</p>	<p>Jean Gerson dies.</p> <p>‘Dom. Isab. Heslyngton, reclusa’ listed as a member of York’s Corpus Christi Guild (1429/30).</p>
1430						<p>Thomas Netter dies and is succeeded as Provincial by John Kenninghale (1430-44) who presents unfinished <i>Doctrinale</i> to the pope.</p> <p>Notes of <i>Fasciculi Zizaniorum</i> possibly passed from Netter to other Carmelite(s).</p> <p>Carmelite General Chapter at Nantes seeks to heal divisions after Schism and calls for mitigation of the <i>Rule of Saint Albert</i>. Carmelite Prior General Jean Grossi resigns due to age and infirmity.</p> <p>David de Montferrand, O.Carm., Archbishop of Bordeaux, visits England.</p>	
Early 1430s							<p>Margery Kempe employs a scribe to record her spiritual autobiography but he dies before it is completed. Kempe refers to hearing Rolle’s <i>Incendium Amoris</i> and Hilton’s <i>Scale of Perfection</i>.</p>
1431						<p>David Chirbury, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Dromore (1431-51).</p>	<p>Pope Martin V dies and is succeeded in March by Eugene IV.</p>

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							Council of Basle opens July and dissolved by Pope Eugene IV in December, prompting debate on conciliarism. Beaufort presides at trial of Joan of Arc.
1432						Pope Eugene IV grants second mitigation of the <i>Rule of Saint Albert</i> resulting in relaxation of friars' lifestyle. Alan of Lynn dies. John Haynton, O.Carm., preaches in Oxford.	
1433						At the Council of Basel, English Carmelite Provincial John Keninghale accuses Wycliffite/Hussite Peter Payne of heresy and treason.	
1434				Misyn is Carmelite Prior of Lincoln and translates Rolle's <i>Emendatio Vitae</i> into English.		Mantuan Reform houses grouped into their own congregation.	
1435				Misyn translates Rolle's <i>Incendium Amoris</i> into English.		John Bloxwych, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Holar, Iceland (1435-41). Jean Grossi, retired Prior General, dies.	
1436							Margery Kempe persuades a priest to begin rewriting her spiritual autobiography.
1437							Council of Ferrara continues Council of Basle.
1438						Death of Blessed Angelus Mazzinghi, first Carmelite to	Margery Kempe's priest scribe adds a section to her <i>Book</i> covering the years 1431-34.

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						make profession in the Reform of Mantua.	She dies sometime after 1438.
1439	Carmelite compiler of <i>Fasciculi Zizaniorum</i> includes Maidstone's <i>Protectorium pauperis</i> .	Carmelite compiler of <i>Fasciculi Zizaniorum</i> includes Lavenham's list of John Purvey's errors.				Carmelite (possibly Roger Alban) compiles (after 1436 and probably in 1439) the <i>Fasciculi Zizaniorum</i> recording errors of Wyclif's followers and the Order's counter-efforts.	Council of Florence continues Councils of Basle/Ferrara.
1440s-50s				Three extant copies of Misyn's translations of Rolle are copied and circulated, probably by Carthusians.			
1441				Misyn is identified in a papal letter as chaplain to Henry Percy, second Earl of Northumberland, and receives permission to hold a benefice.	Thomas Scrope, 'an anchorite of the Carmelite house of Norwich', receives a papal indult allowing him to choose his own confessor. In December Scrope writes <i>Informatio et Supplicatio</i> , a defence of the Carmelite Order, apparently at his family's suggestion and addressed to Pope Eugene IV.		Henry Percy serves on commission of inquiry into charges of sorcery against the Duchess of Gloucester.
1442						Jean Facy, prior general, visits England.	
1443				Misyn admitted as Rector of Edlaston.	Cyril Garland leaves office as Carmelite Prior of Norwich, giving a <i>terminus ad quem</i> for Scrope's translation of the <i>Decem libri</i> .		Archbishop of Canterbury Henry Chichele dies; succeeded by John Stafford
1444						Nicholas Kenton serves as Provincial (1444-56).	Reginald Pecock appointed Bishop of St. Asaph.
1446				Misyn admitted as perpetual Rector of Colwich.	Probably about this time Thomas Scrope leaves the anchorhold in Norwich.	Provincial gathering to discuss reform of the Order in England.	

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				Sometime during this period (1446-56) Misyn is inquisitor and prosecutor for apostate friars.			
1447							Pope Eugene IV dies and is succeeded by Nicholas V. Cardinal Henry Beaufort dies.
1448						John Stanbury, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Bangor (1448-53) Giacomo Pellegato, vicar general and procurator of the Order, visits England c.1448.	
1450s						Robert Hardby is Carmelite Prior of Lincoln.	
1450					Thomas Scrope ordained Bishop of Dromore in Rome on 1 st February. Possibly visits his diocese, but from September officiates as a suffragan in Norwich Diocese.	The Provincial, John Keninghale, has a new library constructed at Norwich Whitefriars. Edmund Ouldhall, O.Carm., serves as Bishop of Meath (1450-59)	Reginald Pecock transferred as Bishop of Chichester.
1451						Jean Soreth becomes Carmelite Prior General; preaches in the vernacular in Liège.	
1452						Carmelite nuns and laity receive formal approval from papacy in bull <i>Cum Nulla</i> .	John Kempe becomes Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry Percy's fifth son, William, appointed Bishop of Carlisle, and William Booth appointed Archbishop of York.
1453						Bishop John Stanbury, O.Carm., translated from Bangor to Hereford (1453-74).	

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1454							Thomas Bouchier becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.
							Pope Nicholas V dies and is succeeded by Callixtus III.
1456						Nicholas Kenton resigns as Carmelite Provincial, and is succeeded by John Milverton (1456-65). The scribe of Ms. Brotherton 501, possibly a Whitefriar or other religious in Stamford, compiles a codex of religious literature in the vernacular.	
1457				Richard Misyn made Bishop of Dromore and consecrated in Rome; Scrope continues as an active suffragan in Norwich.		Canonisation of Saint Albert of Sicily by verbal consent of Pope Callixtus III prompts Nicholas Kenton to compose a Latin poem in the saint's honour.	Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, accused of heresy by Oxford theologians, and books burned.
1458				Misyn appointed suffragan bishop in York, with subsequent appointments (benefices) in East Leake, Ripon, and Birstall.		John Milverton, Carmelite Provincial, debates with Bishop Reginald Pecock before Parliament. A Carmelite friar in Loughrea produces the Kilcormac missal, demonstrating scribal skills of the Order in Ireland.	Pope Callixtus III dies and is succeeded by Pius II.
1460						Carmelite John Green, Bishop of Kilfenora, also acts as assistant to Archbishop Booth in York in 1460 and 62.	Reginald Pecock dies.

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1461				Misyn admitted to the Guild of Corpus Christi in York 1461-62.			Battle of Towton on 29 March displaces the Lancastrian King Henry VI, with the Yorkist victor becoming King Edward IV
1462				Bishop Richard Misyn, O.Carm., dies in York.		Constitutions revised by Jean Soreth.	Pope Pius II dies and is succeeded by Paul II. Bishop William Percy dies.
1464						Carmelites and secular clergy in London debate apostolic poverty.	John Capgrave, Augustinian friar and writer, dies.
1465						Carmelite Provincial John Milverton preaches in the London quarrel, is excommunicated, flees to Rome, and is replaced in office by John Sutton (1465-69)	
1466					Thomas Scrope admitted rector of Trowse, near Norwich. Scrope acts as Papal Legate to Rhodes (1466-68).	Scrope's commonplace book, Ms. Harley 211, may have had Richard Lavenham's <i>Litil Tretyz</i> inserted by a German Carmelite studying in London in 1466-67; Aegidius Fleeber de Arluno may have been the link allowing for several copies of Scrope's texts to end up in German libraries.	
1468						John Stanbury, O.Carm., Bishop of Hereford, targets Lollards in his diocese (1468-74).	
1469					Scrope conducts suffragan episcopal ministry in Kent.	John Milverton returns from Rome and resumes office as provincial (1469-82).	

Date	Maidstone	Lavenham	Ashburne and Spalding	Misyn and Fishlake	Scrope	Carmelite Order	Wider Church and Society
					<p>Scrope sees a text in Boxley, Kent, which he refers to in his <i>Chronicon de institutione ... monte Carmel</i>, which he dedicates to the Archdeacon of Dromore.</p> <p>Perhaps around this time Scrope takes possession of Ms. Harley 211, in which he inscribes various prayers and episcopal rites.</p>		
1470					Scrope returns to Norwich Diocese and resumes suffragan ministry.		Henry VI briefly reinstated to throne.
1471							<p>Pope Paul II dies and is succeeded by Sixtus IV.</p> <p>Thomas à Kempis dies.</p>
1474						Ghent Carmelites make pilgrimage to Bury St Edmunds	
c.1475	Printings of <i>Dormi secure</i> attribute these 'sleep-well' sermons to Maidstone indicating his enduring reputation for preaching and assisting the clergy.						
1476						Papal bull <i>Dum Attentis</i> gives formal recognition to the Carmelite Third Order Secular.	
1477					Scrope consecrates new Carmelite church in Ipswich.		
1478					Scrope seemingly retires from episcopal ministry to become Rector of St. Margaret's Church, Lowestoft.		

<i>Date</i>	<i>Maidstone</i>	<i>Lavenham</i>	<i>Ashburne and Spalding</i>	<i>Misyn and Fishlake</i>	<i>Scrope</i>	<i>Carmelite Order</i>	<i>Wider Church and Society</i>
c.1478-92					Scrope reputedly preaches and ministers to the poor in the East Anglian countryside.		
1480						Reform of Albi begins.	
1482						John Vynde serves as Provincial (1482-1505)	
1484							Pope Sixtus IV dies and is succeeded by Innocent VIII.
1486							John Morton becomes Archbishop of Canterbury
1492					Thomas Scrope dies aged nearly 100, and is buried in St. Margaret's, Lowestoft.		Pope Innocent III dies and is succeeded by Alexander VI.
1495						John Bale born. Laurent Bureau, vicar general of the Order, provincial of France, visits England (1494-95)	
1498						General Chapter prescribes daily commemoration of St. Angelus, Carmelite martyr.	
1503							Pope Alexander VI dies and is succeeded by Pius III; Pius dies a month later and is succeeded by Julius II.
1505						Robert Love serves as Provincial (1505-13)	
1513						Richard Feris serves as Provincial (1513-16)	
1516						John Bird serves as Provincial (1516-19)	
1519						Robert Lesbury serves as Provincial (1519-22)	
1522						John Bird serves as Provincial a second time (1522-)	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Maidstone</i>	<i>Lavenham</i>	<i>Ashburne and Spalding</i>	<i>Misyn and Fishlake</i>	<i>Scrope</i>	<i>Carmelite Order</i>	<i>Wider Church and Society</i>
1526					John Bale records an epitaph of Thomas Scrope.		
1536						John Bale writes <i>Anglorum Heliades</i> (<i>English Followers of Elijah</i>).	

Appendix 1: The Surviving, Lost, Doubtful, and Rejected Writings of Vernacular Carmelite Writers in Medieval England

This Appendix lists the texts, both English and Latin, known to have been written by those Carmelites focussed upon in this thesis.

It is largely based upon the lists made by Fr. Richard Copsey, O.Carm., supplemented by my own additions.¹ The list incorporates extant works and fragments of works as well as writings now lost. Queried or doubtfully-attributed Carmelite writings in the vernacular, such as Roger Alban's possible composition of a text on the Seven Capital Sins, have been excluded.

¹ Copsey's list includes Latin and vernacular writings, and first appeared as 'The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings', *Carmelus*, 43 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996), 175-224. A supplement of 'Additions and Corrections 1' followed in *Carmelus*, 44 (1997), 188-202. The most up to date version is printed in Richard Copsey, *Carmel in Britain 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press and Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2004), 341-429. The list I have compiled is supplemented with additional information, including details from Copsey's *Biographical Register* (some details Copsey has noted as requiring verification). Copsey's list also provides the foundation for many of the Carmelite texts recorded in Richard Sharpe's *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1 (Brepols, 1997), additions and corrections to which are available online at: <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/sharpe/lw.pdf>.

Thomas Ashburne (fl. 1384)**Lost Works**

- (1) *De contemptu mundi* (*On despising the world*)

A poem in English written whilst Ashburne was in the Carmelite friary at Northampton in 1384. The manuscript in which it occurred (Ms. Cotton Vitellius F. xiii. 1) was part of the library of Huntingdonshire antiquary Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631).

Doubtful attribution

- (2) *Lystyns all gret and smale, I shall yow tell a lytell tale*

A short (192 line) allegorical poem in English, attributed to Ashburne by Mary Bateson. Dubbed *Foure Doughters* by Kari Sajavaara, it is a paraphrase of one section of Robert Grosseteste's French poem *Chateau d'Amour*. *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* 3089, *Index of Middle English Verse* 1879, *New Index of Middle English Verse* 1879.

Ms.

- i. London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Appendix VII, fo. 1-2v.

Edited

- i. Karl Brunner, 'Der Streit der vier Himmelstöchter', *Englische Studien*, 68 (1933-34), 188-94.
- ii. Kari Sajavaara, *The Middle English Translations of Robert Grosseteste's Chateau d'Amour*, *Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki*, XXXII (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1967), 366-71.

Thomas Fishlake (fl. 1377)**Surviving Writings**

- (1) A translation of Walter Hilton's *The Scale of Perfection* from English into Latin.

Ms.:

- i. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 330, art. 3 (Book II only: given to Reading Abbey in 1495 by one of the monks, William Wargrave, value 6s. 8d).
- ii. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 6576, fo. 1-252v(?).
- iii. Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 729 (finished 8 Oct 1498 'in carthusia Vallisbenedictionis secus Avionem', i.e. Villeneuve-les-Avignon)
- iv. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. VII G.31.
- v. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 584 (S.C. 2356) fo. 71 ff. (Book II only)
- vi. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. lat. theol. e. 26, fo. 4-(120): (from Charterhouse of Sheen, copied by the monk, John Feriby, d. 1444).
- vii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson C. 397, fo. 8v-77 (s. xv).
- viii. Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. lat 141 (Book I only: 'confectus ad quandam Anachoritam', annotated by John Dygon, recluse at Sheen in 1435).
- ix. Oxford, St. John's College Ms. 77 (Book II, chaps. 22, 23, 28: copied in part by John Dygon (see viii. above) who, with 'Johanne Anachorite sancti Botulphi', gave the book to Exeter College, Oxford).
- x. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 3610, fo. 1-177v (copied in Carthusian monastery, Villeneuve-les-Avignon in 1529).
- xi. Taunton, Somerset Archive and Record Service, Ms. DD\WHb/3083 (in possession of John Heneage, Dean of Lincoln, d.1549).
- xii. Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Ms. C. 159 (copied by Clement Maydestone, deacon of Syon, d. 1456, and presented by him to Vadstena, Bridgettine mother house).
- xiii. Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Ms. C. 618 (Book I; Book II, chaps 34-41: ends: 'Explicit libellus Magistri Walteri hilton' canonici de thurgarton. qui obiit anno domini Mo. CCCo. lxxxx.v. In vigilia annunciacionis quem libellum transtulit de anglico in latinum Magister et frater thomas fislake ordinis beate Marie genetricis dei de monte carmeli et constat Magistro fratri Iohanni Pole eiusdem

ordinis quem fecerat scribi ex elemosinis amicorum suorum quorum omnium animabus propicietur deus amen.' Note: Copied on or after 1395, when Pole was prior in Coventry and hence was probably left to the library of the Coventry house, not to Cambridge as in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (Royal Historical Society, second edition 1964), 24.

- xiv. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 5 F 34.
- xv. York, Minster Library, Ms. XVI, K.5, fo. 1-95v (s. xiv/xv).

Richard Lavenham (d. 1399+)**Surviving Writings**

- (1) *Excerptiones a libro Tulli 'De Natura Deorum', "Tullius in libro primo 'De Natura Deorum'. Quid liber sic incipit: 'Cum multe res.'"*

A collection of extracts from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.

Ms. i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus 94 (S.C. 3631), fo. 11v-12 [s. xiv/xv: fragments].

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work, presumably in more than fragmentary form. [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 40v].

- (2) *Hereses et errores Domini Johannis Purvey, sacerdotis, extracti de libello suo heretico, "De sacramento eucharistie dicit, quod illud capitulum de penitencijs et remissionibus"*

A collection of the errors of the Wycliffite, John Purvey, perhaps written between 1400-1403 (?).

On the dating of the text, see: Anne Hudson, 'John Purvey: A Reconsideration of the Evidence for his Life and Writings', in *Lollards and their Books* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985), 85-110; *idem*, entry on Purvey in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

Ms. i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 86 (S.C. 3629), fo. 88 ff. [s. xv].

- Edited** i. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, (ed.) W. W. Shirley (London: Rolls Series, 1858), 383-99.
 ii. [English translation] John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments*, fourth edition of 1583, (ed.) Josiah Pratt, 8 vols (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1877), vol 3, 286-92.

Lost Recorded by Bale [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 196v].

- (3) *Tractatus de eventu futurorum, Lib. 1: "In materia de eventu futurorum quattuor sunt opiniones."*

Wilson attributes this work and the *Parvus textus de propositione* to William Heytesbury [C. Wilson, *William Heytesbury: medieval logic and the rise of mathematical physics* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956), 207]. However, Spade points out that it is clear from the Sloane Ms. that the work is by Lavenham. See: P. Spade, 'Notes on some manuscripts of logical and physical works by Richard Lavenham', *Manuscripta*, 19 (1975), 139-46 [144]. Lavenham's ideas are discussed in Peter Øhrstrøm, 'The Contingency of the Future. A discussion of a medieval analysis', in Mogens Wegener (ed.), *Time, Creation and World-Order*, Acta Jutlandica 74:1, Humanities Series 72 (Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1999), 160-70.

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 67v-68 [s. xiv].
 - ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 78v-79 [s. xiv].

- Edited**
- i. Peter Øhrstrøm, 'Richard Lavenham on future contingents', *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen âge*, 44 (Copenhagen, 1983), 180-86.
 - ii. [English translation] Dale Tuggy, 'A short text of Lavenham', in Mogens Wegener (ed.), *Time, Creation and World-Order*, Acta Jutlandica 74:1, Humanities Series 72 (Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1999), 260-64.

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

- (4) *Summulae logicales, Lib. 1: "Iuxta processum Aristotelis in principio Permenias, tres sunt species terminorum."*

- Ms.**
- i. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 1-7v [incomplete, s. xiv].

- Edited** i. cc. 1-9, 12 in Paul Vincent Spade in ‘Notes on Richard Lavenham’s so-called *Summulae logicales*, with a partial edition of the text’, *Franciscan Studies*, 40, (1980), 370-407.
cc. 10-11 in Paul Vincent Spade, ‘The treatises on Modal Propositions and On Hypothetical Propositions by Richard Lavenham’, *Medieval Studies*, 35 (Toronto, 1973), 49-59.

Spade suggests the following three manuscripts (5-7) were also part of *Summulae logicales*.

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(5) *De propositionibus modalibus*, “*De propositionibus modalibus parum jam restat tractare*”

- Ms.** i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 2v-3 [s. xiv].
ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 7v-8 [s. xiv].

Edited i. Paul Vincent Spade, ‘The treatises on Modal Propositions and On Hypothetical Propositions by Richard Lavenham’, *Medieval Studies*, 35 (Toronto, 1973), 55-56.

(6) *De propositionibus hypotheticis*, “*Propositio hypothetica est illa quae plures.*”

- Ms.** i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 3-3v [s. xiv: incomplete].
ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 8r-8v [s. xiv].

Edited i. Paul Vincent Spade, ‘The treatises on Modal Propositions and On Hypothetical Propositions by Richard Lavenham’, *Medieval Studies*, 35 (Toronto, 1973), 57-59, and ‘Notes on some manuscripts of logical and physical works by Richard Lavenham’, *Manuscripta*, 19 (1975), 139-46 [140-41].

(7) *De argumentis*, “*Argumentum est ratio rei dubie faciens fidem et certitudinem de re dubia, ut dicit Boethius.*”

Ms. i. Venice, Biblio Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 9r-9v [s. xiv].

Lost Recorded by Bale without incipit [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81].

(8) *Tractatus insolubilia, Lib. 1: "Sicut nexus amore quandoque insolubilis dicitur."*

Ms. i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 73-78 [s. xiv].
ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 38-43v [s. xiv].

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(9) *De fallaciis, Lib. 1: "Fallacia est deceptio sive assensus erroneus."*

Ms. i. Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. lat 92, fo. 164-167v [s. xv].
ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 43v-48v [s. xiv].

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(10) *De causis naturalibus, Lib. 1: "Deus et natura nihil frustra operantur."* Also entitled *Solutiones XVI questionum.*

Ms. i. London, British Library, Ms. Royal 12 E. xvi, fo. 5-(9v) [s. xv].
ii. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 59v-64 [s. xiv].
iii. Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Hh.iv.13, fo. 55-58 [s. xiv].
iv. Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 605, 439-445 [s. xv].
v. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Lyell 36, fo. 20-21v [s. xv].
vi. Oxford, All Souls College, Ms. 81, fo. 26-38v [s. xv].
vii. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 132, fo. 84v-88 [s. xv].
viii. Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. lat. 38, fo. 9-10v [s. xv].
ix. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 59v-63 [s. xiv].

Edited i. Rondo Keele, 'Richard Lavenham's *De causis naturalibus*: A Critical Edition', *Traditio*, 56 (2001), 113-47.

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(11) *Tractatus terminorum naturalium, Lib. I: "Tria sunt principia operationis."*

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 79-90v [s. xiv: lacking beginning].
 - ii. Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 605, 446-449 [s. xv].
 - iii. Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. lat 92, fo. 156-161 [s. xv].
 - iv. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 48v-57v [s. xiv].

(12) *Tractatus de potentiis activis et passivis abbreviatus, Lib. I, "Cum potentia cujuscumque rei citra potentiam primae causae est solum finita."*

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 68v-72v [s. xiv].
 - ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 69-71v [s. xiv].

Lost Bale records this work [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81].

(13) *Tractatus de primo instanti, Lib. I: "Ad cognoscendum quando est dare primum instans."*

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 72v, 65v-67 [s. xiv].
 - ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 71v-73 [s. xiv].

Edited i. Peter Øhrstrøm, 'Richard Lavenham on temporal instants', *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen âge*, 49 (Copenhagen, 1985), 7-23.

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(14) *De natura instantium, Lib. I: "Instans, vel nunc, quod idem est."*

- Ms.** i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 65r-v [s. xiv].
 ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 63v-64 [s. xiv].

Edited i. Peter Øhrstrøm, 'Richard Lavenham on temporal instants', *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen âge*, 49 (Copenhagen, 1985), 7-23.

Lost Bale records this work [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81].

(15) *Tractatus de decem generibus, Lib. I: "Tractatus de decem generibus."*

- Ms.** i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 41-45v [s. xiv].
 ii. in two parts: Oxford, Merton College, Ms. 251, fo. 150-97 + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 77, fo. 191v-93v [s. xv: incomplete].
 iii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 25-28v [s. xiv, contains omissions].

(16) *Parvus tractatus de anima, Lib I: "Anima est actus corporis organici."*

- Ms.** i. London, British Library, Ms. Royal 12 B. xix, fo. 1-1v [s. xv].
 ii. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 64-65 [s. xiv].
 iii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 63-63v [s. xiv].

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v]. The *Parvus tractatus* is possibly the same as the *De anima compendium* which Bale saw in the library of Thomas Godsalve c.1550 [*Index*, 354].

(17) *Speculum naturale super viii libros phisicorum: "Ne tediosum sit studentibus, presens opus."*

- Ms.** i. Basle, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. F.vii.11, fo. 121-53. [It contains the inscription: 'Et sic est finis horum collectorum fratris N. Laniham ordinis

- Carmelitarum de Monte Carmelo super VIII libros Physicorum Aristotelis ... per mee Johannem Heynlin 1452 in universitate Lypczensi‘] See: C. H. Lohr, ‘Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries. Authors: Narcissus-Wilgelmus’, *Traditio*, 28 (1972), 281-396 [394].
- ii. Durham Cathedral Library, Ms. C.iv.22, fo. 89-139. [It contains the inscription: ‘Explicit et octavus et consequenter ultimus liber Speculi naturalis super VII libris Physicorum Aristotelis per excellentissimum et eximium doctorem Lavenham ordinis fratrum Carmelitarum ... Wiennensi A.D. 1459’] See : C. H. Lohr, ‘Medieval Latin Commentaries. Authors: Narcissus-Wilgelmus’, *Traditio*, 28 (1972), 281-396 [394].
 - iii. Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 685, fo. 181-238 [s. xv]. See : Maarten J. F. L. Hoenen, *Speculum philosophiae medii aevi. Die Handschriftensammlung des Dominikaners Georg Schwartz (fl. 1484)* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Gruner, 1994).
 - iv. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Ms. 1273 (H.IV.30), art. 2 [s. xv].
 - v. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. lat. 4878, fo. 2-29 [dated 1459].

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

A second title recorded by Bale is probably part of this work, *Questiones super viij libros phisicorum, incipit: “Utrum material de se aliquem habeat actum”* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(18) *Tractatus de incipit et desinit, Lib 1: “Omnis propositio affirmativa vel negativa in qua ponitum hoc verbum ‘incipit’ vel ‘desinit’.”*

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 30-40 [s. xiv].
 - ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 73-78v [s. xiv].

Lost Bale saw a work entitled *De regulis consequenciarum* with the same incipit [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(19) *De arte obligatoria, Lib I: "Obligatio est oratio mediante qua aliquis tenetur."*

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 17v-21 [s. xiv].
 - ii. Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. lat 92, fo. 163-64 [s. xv: incomplete].
 - iii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 22-24 [s. xiv]. [Colophon: 'Expliciunt obligationes compendiose extractae ab obligationibus Suysheffde' indicates the author was thought to be Roger Swyneshed. However, the other copies place it among other works by Lavenham].
- Edited**
- i. Paul Vincent Spade, 'Richard Lavenham's *Obligationes*: Edition and Comments', *Rivista Critica de Storia della Filosofia*, 33 (1978), 225-42.
 - ii. A. d'Ors, 'Sobre las *Obligationes* de Richard Lavenham', *Archives de l'histoire doctrinale et litteraire du moyen âge*, 58 (1991), 253-78.
- Lost** Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(20) *Tractatus qui vocatur 'Scire', Lib I: "Scire tribus modis accipitur."*

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 52-59v [s. xiv].
 - ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 28v-33v [s. xiv].
- Edited**
- i. G. A. Wilson, P. V. Spade, 'Richard Lavenham's treatise *Scire*', *Medieval Studies*, 46 (1984), 1-30.
- Lost** Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(21) *Consequentias: de probatione propositionum, Lib. I: "Consequentia est antecedens et consequens ad idem foraliter vel materialiter."*

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 6v-12v [s. xiv].
 - ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 11v-16 [s. xiv].

Edited i. Paul Vincent Spade, ‘Five Logical Tracts by Richard Lavenham’, in J. Reginald O’Donnell (ed.), *Essays in honour of Anton Charles Pegis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 99-112.

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(22) *Tractatus exclusivarum*, “*Dictio exclusiva aliquando sumitur.*”

Bale records this work without incipit [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 39v].

Ms. i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 12v-14 [s. xiv].
 ii. Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. lat 92, fo. 161v-162 [s. xv].
 iii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 16-17 [s. xiv].

Edited i. Paul Vincent Spade, ‘Five Logical Tracts by Richard Lavenham’, in J. Reginald O’Donnell (ed.), *Essays in honour of Anton Charles Pegis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 112-15.

(23) *Exceptivae*, “*Dictiones exceptivae sunt istae.*”

Bale records this work without incipit [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 39v].

Ms. i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 14-15v [s. xiv].
 ii. Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. lat 92, fo. 162-163 [s. xv].
 iii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 17-18 [s. xiv].

Edited i. Paul Vincent Spade, ‘Five Logical Tracts by Richard Lavenham’, in J. Reginald O’Donnell (ed.), *Essays in honour of Anton Charles Pegis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 115-18.

- (24) *Terminos ampliativos privativos finitos et infinitos, Lib.1: "Terminorum quidam sunt ampliativi quidam vero privativi."*

Bale records this work without incipit [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 39v].

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 21-22v [s. xiv].
 - ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 18-19 [s. xiv].

- (25) *Tractatus qui differt et aliud nuncupatur, "Notandum quod differt et aliud eodem modo."*

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 15v-17v [s. xiv].
 - ii. Worcester Cathedral Library, Ms. F. 118, fo. 11-12v. [On the Worcester ms. see L. M. de Rijk, 'Logica Oxoniensis: An Attempt to Reconstruct a Fifteenth-Century Oxford Manual of Logic', *Medioevo - Rivista di storia della filosofia medievale*, 3 (1977), 121-164.

- Edited**
- i. Paul Vincent Spade, 'Five Logical Tracts by Richard Lavenham', in J. Reginald O'Donnell (ed.), *Essays in honour of Anton Charles Pegis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 118-25.

- (26) *Tractatus de syncategorematis, "De syncategorematis jam tractandum est."*

Discussed in Paul Spade, 'Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic', *Historiographia Linguistica*, 7 (1980), 241-47.

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 22v-25 [s. xiv: lacks first few lines].
 - ii. Cambridge, Gonville and Gaius College, Ms. 182/215, 149-152 [s. xv: incomplete].
 - iii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 64-66 [s. xiv].

(27) *Tractatus de terminis modalibus et propositionibus modalibus, “Omnis propositio categorica vel hypothetica est de inesse vel modalis.”*

- Ms.** i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 25-29 [s. xiv].
 ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 19-22 [s. xiv].

(28) *Tractatus de probationibus propositionum et expositionibus earum, “Propositio potest probari quadrupliciter.”*

Bale records this work without incipit [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 39v].

- Ms.** i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 29-30 [s. xiv].
 ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 24-25 [s. xiv].

(29) *Tractatus relativorum: [Preliminary opinions] “Prima opinio relativorum ‘Animal est homo et illud est asinus’, id est, animal est asinus et animal est homo. [Text] “In terminis relativis multa sophismata occurrunt.”*

- Ms.** i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 46-52 [s. xiv: lacks beginning].
 ii. Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. lat 92, fo. 167v-168 [s. xv].
 iii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 33v-38 [s. xiv].

(30) *Parvus textus de propositione, “Propositio universalis est propositio.”*

- Ms.** i. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 78v [s. xiv].

- (31) *(Sophisma) “Aliqualiter Thomas est, et tamen nec taliter aliqua res est nec taliter nulla res est.”*

Spade comments that this short text appears to be quite disconnected from the other Lavenham works which surround it. See: P. Spade, ‘Notes on some manuscripts of logical and physical works by Richard Lavenham’, *Manuscripta*, 19 (1975), 139-46 [143].

Ms. i. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 48v [s. xiv].

- (32) *Tractatus terminorum logicalium, “Notitia terminorum logicalium.”*

Ms. i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 78v [s. xiv: fragment].

- (33) *Textus brevis contra Kilmington, “Quattuor sunt complexiones hominum.”*

Ms. i. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 58-59v [s. xiv].

- (34) *(Sophismata), “Omnis homo est omnis homo.”*

Ms. i. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 60-69v [s. xiv].

- (35) *Suppositiones: “Suppositio est stacio termini pro aliquo in proposicione”*

Ms. i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 4-6v [s. xiv].

ii. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z lat. 300 (1872), fo. 10-11v [s. xiv].

Edited i. Paul Vincent Spade, ‘Five Logical Tracts by Richard Lavenham’, in J. Reginald O’Donnell (ed.), *Essays in honour of Anton Charles Pegis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 93-99.

Lost Bale saw a copy of this work [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(36) *De tribus principiis.*

In the Sloane ms. this work is attributed to 'Hensy...' and in the Vienna catalogue to 'Nicholas de Lavenham' (a name which does not occur in the text). However, as it follows the previous work (35) in the Vienna ms. it seems probable that it is by Richard Lavenham. See: Paul Vincent Spade, 'Notes on some manuscripts of logical and physical works by Richard Lavenham', *Manuscripta*, 19 (1975), 139-46 [145].

- Ms.**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3899, fo. 91-95 [s. xiv: part only].
 - ii. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 4878, fo. 38ra-40rb [dated 1459].

(37) *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*²

- Ms.**
- i. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Ms. Ff. 6.31, fo. 11-60v
 - ii. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. B.14.19, fo. 243-258
 - iii. Leeds, Leeds University, Brotherton Library, Ms. Brotherton 501, fo. 68-74 (incomplete). Viewable online: <http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk/luna/servlet>
 - iv. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211, fo. 35-46v
 - v. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1197, fo. 9-29
 - vi. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1288, fo. 64-75 (incomplete)
 - vii. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2383, fo. 65-78
 - viii. London, British Library, Ms. Royal 8. C. i, fo. 144-156v
 - ix. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 3160, fo. 4-23 (incomplete) *
 - x. London, British Library, Ms. Additional 82934, fo. 12v-29 *
 - xi. London, Dr. Williams's Library, Ms. Ancient 3, fo. 133v-145v
 - xii. London, Society of Antiquaries of London, Ms. 687, 383-411 *
 - xiii. Norwich, Norwich Castle Museum, Ms. 158.926/4g.5, fo. 31-58v

² Statements of incompleteness are according to J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (ed.), *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956), page l.c. and elsewhere. I have listed here the foliation given by van Zutphen, but note some small variations in Copsey's publications [v. fo. 9-28v; vi. fo. 64-75v; vii. fo. 65-78v]. Asterisks denote manuscripts not known to van Zutphen. Two of these (British Library, Ms. Sloane 3160; and Society of Antiquaries, Ms. 687) were listed in Lewis, Blake, Edwards (eds.), *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (1985) and in A. I. Doyle, 'Publication by Members of the Religious Orders', in Jeremy Griffiths, Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 109-23 [114, 121 n. 24]. The third manuscript (British Library, Ms. Add. 82934) was pointed out to me by Prof. Tony Edwards, to whom I am most grateful.

- xiv. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ashmole 750, fo. 89-96 (incomplete)
- xv. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 60, fo. 193-213
- xvi. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 23, fo. 23-39v
- xvii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson C. 288, fo. 1-13v. (incomplete)

Edited i. J. P. W. M. van Zutphen, *A Littel Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956).

Lost Writings

Jean Grossi, c.1413, records a number of lost works by Lavenham:

- (38) *Determinaciones per questionibus in libro sancte Brigide, Lib. 1: “Derelinquetur filia Syon ut umbraculum in vinea e sicut Tugurium in cucumerario etc. quia secundum Gregorium scriptura sacre in uno et eodem sermone dum narrat temptum prodit misterium.”*³

Grossi claims this series of lectures was given at the Carmelite studia in Oxford and London. [Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*, 49]. Bale saw a copy, probably in Oxford [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 205v]. However, in his printed work, Bale gave the title as *Lecturas Scripturarum*. [*Catalogus*, vol 1, 508-09]. See also rejected work below.

- (39) *Determinaciones contra lollardos, Lib. 1.*

Grossi states that these lectures were given by Lavenham at Oxford. Bale alters the title to *Contra hereticos* [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81], and in his published work Bale adds a second title, *Lectiones Oxonienses*, which is clearly a double [*Catalogus*, vol 1, 508-09].

³ This quote is based on *Isaiah* 1:8 and, according to Roger Ellis, does not occur in Book I of the *Liber Celestis* of St. Birgitta of Sweden. Cf. rejected work (75).

(40) *De fundatione sui ordinis, Lib. 1.*

Described by Grossi as a major work on the history and spread of the Order but left unfinished when Lavenham died [Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*, 49]. Bale appears not to have seen the work personally.

Bale has notes on further lost works⁴

(41) *De syntagmatibus, Lib. 1*: “*De syntagmatibus est sciendum, quod quedam confundunt terminum.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(42) *De terminis theologie, Lib. 1*: “*Cum difficultas verbalis, multum impedit.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v]. Later entitled, *Vocabularium theologiae* [Catalogus, vol 1, 508-09].

(43) *De celo et mundo, Lib 2*: “*Summa cognicionis nature et sciencie.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(44) *De distantia planetarum, Lib. 1*: “*Nota quod secundum astronomos inter terram et lunam.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(45) *De determinancia singularium et universalium* (or *De sciencia et sensu*), *Lib. 1*: “*Circa consideracionem, quare sensus sit singularium et sciencia universalium.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v]. The two titles are by Bale.

(46) *De distinctione et identitate, Lib. 1*: “*Distinctiones sunt septem enunciate a doctoribus.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(47) *De conversione propositioinum, Lib. 1*: “*Circa conversiones aliquarum propositioinum.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 1v].

(48) *Excerpciones quedam a libro magistri Walteri reclusi, Lib. 1*: “*In primo capitulo libri, quem edidit.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2v].

⁴ It is not clear whether the ‘excerpciones’ (48-52) are original works, or compilations by Lavenham. The title of 48, for example, could be a reference to Book One of Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection*. The attribution of *The History of the Three Kings* (52) is discussed in Chapter Four.

- (49) *Excerpciones a libro Aristotelis 'De proprietatibus elementorum', Lib. 1: "Premissus est sermo a nobis in coelo et mundo, et determinavimus id."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2v].
- (50) *Excerpciones a libro Tobie, Lib. 1: "Primo capitulo notatur, quomodo Tobias."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2v].
- (51) *Excerpciones a Beda 'De Gestis Anglorum', Lib. 1: "Britannia, cui quondam Albion nomen fuit."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2v].
- (52) *Excerpciones ab 'Historia Trium Regum', Lib. 1: "Capitulo primo dicitur, quod sicut oriens."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2v].
- The History of the Three Kings* was probably written by the Carmelite, John of Hildesheim.
- (53) *Questiones super terminos suos naturales: "Queritur utrum diffinicio nature sit bene data"* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 4].
- (54) *De inventionibus rerum, Lib. 1: "Quoniam de rerum inventione."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 13: Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81].
- (55) *Super Ysayam, Lib. 1: "Spiritus Domini evangelizare pauperibus misit me. Reverendi ad singulare preconium tam prophetice dignitatis."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 40v].
- (56) *Super Epistolam ad Titum, Lib. 1: "Apparuit gracia Salvatoris nostri. Reverendi magistri et patres, influencia spiritualis hominibus."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 40v].
- (57) *Abbreviatio epistolarum Jeronimi, Lib. 1: "In hac epistola respondet Hieronymus Damasc."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 40v].
- (58) *In libros Ethicorum Aristotelis, Lib 10: "Sicut in dictis Pythagorae legitur arbor philosophie ramo triplici decoratur; primus ramus Greco vocabulo logica, .2us. phisica, .3us. ethica nominatur."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 197v].

- (59) *De laude philosophie moralis, Lib. 1*: “*Virtutem laudamus, primo Ethicorum cao. vjo. fratres charissimi non est commendabilis eminencia principantis, magnificencia triumphantis aut sapiencia philosophantis nisi virtutis comitetur effigiem.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 197v].
- (60) *Sermones de tempore, Lib. 1*: “*Solutum est vinculum lingue, Marci .vijo. Karissimi Pictagoras narrat in preceptis suis quod quidam ab eo querebat quomodo inter discipulos sapientes.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 205].
- (61) *In materia paupertatis determinaciones .3es.*: “*Pauperes fiducialiter requiescent, Ysaie .4o. Reverendi etc. secundum cuiusdam doctoris summam tria sunt que voluntarie pauperes faciunt.*” [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 205v]. Later entitled *Protectorium pauperum* or *Clypeum Paupertatis* [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 80v: *Catalogus*, vol 1, 508-09]. This work was cited by William Byntrey, c.1450-60. [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 68v].

The following three works, 62-64, are later additions by Bale, before 1536:

- (62) *Sententiarum questiones, Lib. 4*: “*Queritur, utrum finis per se.*” [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 80v].
- (63) *Dictionarium Scripturae, Lib. 1*: “*Cassiodorus super Psalmo.*” [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 80v].
- (64) *Sophismatum canones, Lib 12*: “*Conversio est transpositio ter.*” [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81].

Doubtful attribution

The remaining titles are lacking incipits and must be considered doubtful:

- (65) *De proportionibus, Lib. 1*. [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 13].
- (66) *Excerpta ab Augustino ‘De Civitate Dei’, Lib. 1*. [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 39v].
- (67) *Excerpta a dictis Senecae, Lib. 1*. [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 39v].
- (68) *Questiones vesperiales, Lib. 1*. [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 40v].

- (69) *Sermones de sanctis, Lib. 1.* [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81].
- (70) *Questiones ordinarias, Lib. 1.* [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81].
- (71) *De potentiis animae, Lib. 1.* [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81].

Probably a double of either 12 or 16.

- (72) *Compendium meteororum, Lib. 4.* [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81].
- (73) *Orationes ad clericum, Lib. 1.* [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 81v].
- (74) *De finito et infinito, Lib. 1.* [Catalogus, vol 1, 508-09].

Rejected Works

- (75) *Determinationes notabiles Oxonii et Londini publice lecte pro revelationibus S. Brigitte, Lib. 7, "Stupor et mirabilia audita sunt in terra nostra. Jer. 5o."*

This work, found in London, British Library, Ms. Royal 7 C ix, was wrongly thought by John Theyer to be Richard Lavenham's series of lectures. However, the incipit (which differs from 38 above) is the beginning of the *Prologue to the Revelations* written by Matthias, the confessor of St. Birgitta, and these 'notable lectures' are merely the seven books of *The Revelations of St. Brigid* with the usual Prologue. Another copy of the *Revelations of St. Brigid*, Bodleian Library Ms. 169 (S.C. 2030), is described in the catalogue as 'This is a Latin translation by Richard Lavenham of the first four books ... of the Revelations of St. Brigitta' [*Summary catalogue*, II, i, 176], however, this is equally erroneous. See comments by Carl-Gustaf Undhagen (ed.), *Sancta Birgitta Revelaciones Lib. 1* (Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1977), 149-50.

Richard Maidstone (d. 1396)**Surviving Writings**

- (1) *Protectorium pauperis*, “*Constituit eum super excelsam terram ut comederet fructus agrorum. Deuteronomij .32^o. Quia secundum Gregorium .2^o. moralium capitulo primo scriptura sacra in uno et eodem.*”

Work ‘In defence of the poor man / pauper’ written in reply to the anti-mendicant Wycliffite views of John Ashwardby, vicar of St. Mary’s Church, Oxford, dated c.1392-94.

- Ms** i. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. e Mus. 86 (S.C. 3629), fo. 160-175v.
 ii. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. e Mus. 94 (S.C. 3631), fo. 1-5 (new pagination)
 [incomplete, only the last third]

Edited i. Arnold Williams, “Protectorium Pauperis”, *Carmelus*, 5 (1958), 132-180.

- (2) *Determinatio contra magistrum Johannem, vicarium ecclesie sancte Marie, Oxoniensis*, “*Utrum Christus in Evangelio, enumerans pauperes.*”

Sermon preached in reply to John Ashwardby, dated c.1392-4.

- Ms** i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 94 (S.C. 3631), fo. 5-8v (new pagination).

Edited i. Valerie Edden, ‘The Debate between Richard Maidstone and the Lollard Ashwardby’, *Carmelus*, 34 (1987), 113-34.

- (3) *Canones in Annulum Philosophicum*, “*Quamvis celi terreque conditor, syderum rector, etc.; In ecclesiasticum.*”

A commentary on the *Annulus Philosophicum* of John Avon (of Northampton), O.Carm. (d. 1349), which was an astronomical ring or perpetual calendar of Church feasts, originally

designed in 1328 or 1348. The treatise on Avon's work, which not all agree was by Richard Maidstone, was composed in 1394.

- Ms**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Royal 12 E XVIII (a representation of Avon's ring can be found on fo. 39).
 - ii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 68 (S.C. 2142), fo. 1-12.
 - iii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 98, fo. 41-48 [incomplete].

Lost Bale saw a copy in the house of Robert Recorde c. 1550 [*Index*, 234].

(4) *De Concordia facta inter regem et cives, metricè, "Tullius in laudem tantam sustollit amicos."*

A Latin poem on the 'reconciliation' between King Richard II and citizens of London in 1392.

- Ms**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1819, fo. 183-191 (copy by John Bale 1527)
 - ii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 94 (S.C. 3631), fo. 8v-11v (old fo. 128-131).

- Edited**
- i. Thomas Wright (ed.), *Alliterative Poem on the Deposition of King Richard II. Ricardi Maydiston de Concordia inter Ric. II et Civitatem London*, Camden Society 3 (1838), 31-51.
 - ii. Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History* Rolls Series (1859-61), i, 282-300.
 - iii. Charles Roger Smith, *Concordia Facta inter regem Riccardum II et civitatem Londonie per fratrum Riccardum Maydiston, Carmelitam, sacre theologie doctorem, anno domine 1393*, Doctoral Thesis (Princeton: Princeton University, March 1972), 162-227.
 - iv. David R. Carlson (ed.), A. G. Rigg (trans.), *Richard Maidstone – Concordia (The Reconciliation of Richard II with London)*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), available online at: <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/maidfrm.htm> [accessed July 2007].

English translations:

- v. Edith Rickert in *Chaucer's World*, (eds.) Clair C. Olson, Martin M. Crow (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 35-39. (first 182 lines)
- vi. Glynne Wickham in *Early English Stages, 1300-1660*, vol 1 (1300-1576) (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), 64-70. (First 290 lines).
- vii. Smith, Charles Roger *op. cit.* (complete translation in prose)
- viii. David R. Carlson (ed.), A. G. Rigg (trans.), *Richard Maidstone – Concordia (The Reconciliation of Richard II with London)*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), available online at:
<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/maidfrm.htm>
[accessed July 2007].

(5) *Nobis natura florem*

A Latin verse eulogy on the death of Anne of Bohemia (1394).

Ms i. Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly, Ms. H.15, fo. 90v-92.

Edited i. Michael van Dussen, 'Three Verse Eulogies of Anne of Bohemia', *Medium Ævum*, 78:2 (2009), 231-60 [234]

(6) *The seven penitential psalms, "To Goddes worshepe that dere us boughte."*

Maidstone's version of the seven penitential psalms in English verse. The manuscripts are described in Valerie Edden's critical edition (see below).

- Ms** i. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Ms. Porkington 20, fo. 96-106v (one leaf and final stanza missing).
- ii. London, British Library, Ms. Addit. 10036, fo. 96v-100v (Psalm 50 only).
- iii. London, British Library, Ms. Addit. 11306, fo. 1-40 (missing stanza 15).
- iv. London, British Library, Ms. Addit. 36523, fo. 71v-87v.
- v. London, British Library, Ms. Addit. 39574, fo. 15v-45 (Wheatley Manuscript).

- vi. London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3810, Part I, fo. 17-34 (2 leaves missing).
- vii. London, British Library, Ms. Royal 17 C. xvii, fo. 83-90 (missing 8 lines).
- viii. Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd. 12.39, final flyleaf (stanza 21 only).
- ix. Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd. 1.1, fo. 226-228 (psalm 50 only).
- x. Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 156, fo. 136-141v (initial part only).
- xi. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates Library, Ms. 19.3.1, fo. 97, 87-88 (Heege Manuscript – Psalm 50 only).
- xii. Bath, Longleat House Ms. 30 (Marquess of Bath), fo. 26-45v (missing stanza 102).
- xiii. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Ms. Eng. 51 [not 5 as listed by Edden], fo. 117-134v (lacks stanza 34).
Viewable online: <http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk/luna/servlet>
- xiv. New York, Pierpont Morgan, Ms. 99 fo. 92-132.
- xv. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ashmole 61 (S.C. 6922), fo. 108-119v (many lines missing).
- xvi. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 18 (S.C. 1619), fo. 38-64v (missing 4 stanzas).
- xvii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 102 (S.C. 1703) fo. 128-136 (missing stanzas 101-103).
- xviii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 141 (S.C. 21715) fo. 145v-148 (Psalm 50 only).
- xix. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 232 (S.C. 21806) fo. 1-28.
- xx. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. poet. e. 17 (S.C. 32690) fo. 9-12v (selection of fragments).
- xxi. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. poet. a. 1 (Vernon Manuscript: S.C. 3938) fo. 114, 407-544.
- xxii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 174 (S.C. 668), fo. 1-24v.
- xxiii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson A. 389 (S.C. 11272) fo. 13-20.
- xxiv. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson C. 891 (S.C. 12725) fo. 127v, 385-424 (incomplete).
- xxv. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Ms. Codex 196 (formerly Ms. Eng. 1), fo. 1-12v (beginning of text missing).
Viewable online: <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/1551782>

xxvi. San Marino, Huntington Library, Ms. HM 142, fo. 22v-41v (missing stanza 102).

Viewable online: <http://hdl.huntington.org/>

xxvii. Windsor, St. George's Chapel, Ms. E 1.1, fo. 32v-52v.

- Edited**
- i. M. Adler, M. Kaluza, 'Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole, III', *Englische Studien*, 10 (1887), 215-55. Based on xvi above: corrected by comparison with two other Oxford versions, xv and xxiii above. The work is wrongly ascribed to Richard Rolle.
 - ii. Carl Horstmann, (ed.) *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript – Part 1*, Early English Text Society Original Series 98 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1892), 12-16. Based on xxi above.
 - iii. F. S. Ellis, (ed.) *Psalmi Penitentiales*, (London: Kelmscott Press, 1894). Based on xxv above. See also Curt Bühler, 'The Kelmscott Edition of the *Psalmi Penitentiales* and Morgan Manuscript', *Modern Language Notes*, 60 (1945), 16-22.
 - iv. Mabel Day, (ed.) *The Wheatley Manuscript*, Early English Text Society Original Series 155 (London: Oxford University Press, 1921). Based on v above.
 - v. Valerie Edden, (ed.) *Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms*, Middle English Texts 22 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1990). Based mainly on xxiii above, this is the most complete edition and takes account of other variant readings.
 - vi. George Shuffelton (ed.), *Codex Ashmole 61: A Compilation of Popular Middle English Verse*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), 279-310.

Facsimiles

- i. Phillipa Hardman, *The Heege Manuscript: A Facsimile of National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.3.1*, Leeds Texts and Monographs New Series 16 (Leeds: University of Leeds, 2000).

Lost works

- (6) *Determinationes contra lollardos, Lib. 1: “Fluat ut ros eloquium meum ostenso superius quomodo iuxta metaphoricum modum loquendi.”*

Listed by Jean Grossi, c.1400, as lectures given at Oxford. Bale, who probably saw a copy at Oxford, dates the lectures to 1394. [Xiberta, *De Scriptoribus*, 48: Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 205v]. Bale gives various titles: ‘Contra hereticos’ in 1536; and ‘Contra Wicklevistas’ in a later printed work. [Harley 3838, fo. 84v: *Summarium*, fo. 172v]

- (7) *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis, Lib. 1: “Refulsit sol in clypeos aureos.”*

Also noted by Grossi c.1400 as sermons preached at Oxford and before the king and nobles of the realm. In his later notes, Bale separates these into two works: ‘Sermones de tempore’ and ‘Sermones de sanctis’, but only the first has an incipit.

- (8) *Opusculum super Summa, Lib. 4: “Dux virginitatis tu es, Hieremias.”* [Bodley 73, fo. 39v]

- (9) *Determinationes, Lib. 1: “Utrum quilibet constitutus in ordine sacerdocij teneatur ex vi ordinis ad officium predicandi.”* [Bodley 73, fo. 40v]

Later entitled *De sacerdotali functione*. [Catalogus, 498]

- (10) *Flores Augustini, “De Civitate Dei”, Lib. 1: “Flores ex beato Augustino ‘De civitate Dei’ sic colliguntur per veritates.”* [Bodley 73, fo. 40v]

Also entitled *Notabilia quedam seu extracta ex Augustino ‘De Civitate Dei’*. [Bodley 73, fo. 39v] In later works, referred to as *Compendium D. Augustini*. [Harley 3838, 84v.]

- (11) *Sermones Oxonienses, Lib. 1: “Fili recordare, quia recepisti bona.”* [Catalogus, 499] Bale saw this work in Queen’s College, Oxford, c.1550. [Index, 355]

(12) *Sermones xvj ad clerum, Lib. 1*: “*Pulcherrimam feminarum eligitur ei. Iudicium .5o. Reverendi magistri, patres et domini, cum secundum Rabanum in De naturis rerum.*” [Bodley 73, fo. 197v]

(13) *Letaniam ad sanctos, Lib. 1*: “*Kyrie eleyson, miserere, pater pie.*” [Harley 3838, fo. 84v].

Later entitled *Precationes metricas*. [Bale, *Summarium*, 172v].

(14) *In Cantica canticorum, Lib. 1*: “*Exhauriri nequit divina miseratio.*” [Harley 3838, fo. 84v].

Uncertain attribution

(15) *The Lamentations of Mary to St. Bernard*

A Middle English verse adaptation of a Latin meditation by pseudo-Bernard known as the *Quis dabit*.

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| Ms | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. poet. a. 1 (Vernon Manuscript), fo. 287^{rc2}-288^{vc} ii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud misc. 463 (SC 1596), fo. 160^{ra}-164^{rb} iii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 126 (SC 21700), fo. 84v-90 iv. Oxford, Trinity College, Ms. 57, fo. 167 (ends imperfectly) v. Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Dd.1.1, fo. 21-29v vi. London, British Library, Ms. Additional 11307, fo. 97v-117v |
| Edited | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. G. Kribel, ‘Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole’, <i>Englische Studien</i>, 8 (1895), 67-114 [85]. ii. Carl Horstmann (ed.), <i>The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript</i>, Early English Text Society Original Series 98 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1892), 297-328. |

Doubtful attribution

- (16) *Lecturam cum determinationibus, Lib. 1*; “*Audite celi quem loquar etc. Vir mitissimus prophetaque precipitous Moyses cuius hec sunt ultima verba.*” [Bodley 73, fo. 40v].

Later entitled *In canticum Moysi*. [Catalogus, vol 1, 498-99]. Elsewhere Bale attributes this work to William Stapilherst. [Bodley 73, fo. 40v].

Two late additions by Bale are probably inventions:

- (17) *Lecturas scholasticas, Lib. 1*. [Summarium, 172v].
- (18) *Questiones ordinarias, Lib. 1*. [Harley 3838, fo. 84v].

Misattributed works

- (19) At the end of the fifteenth century, a collection of *Sermones Dominicales et de Sanctis*, ‘*Dormi secure*’ *nuncupati* were frequently printed. There are fourteen editions in the British Library, dating from c.1475 to 1530, briefly listed in Charles Letherbridge Kingsford, entry on Maidstone in the *DNB*. The sermons have been ascribed to various authors, including Richard Maidstone (a link is made by Mabel Day in *The Wheatley Manuscript*, xvii), but are generally accepted to be by John of Verdun.
- (20) *Sermones Oxonienses*, “*Filia recordare quia recepisti bona.*”

A set of sermons survive in Princeton University, Scheide Library, Ms. 135 which Charles Roger Smith attributed to Richard Maidstone: *Concordia Facta inter regem Riccardum II et civitatem Londonie per fratrum Riccardum Maydiston, Carmelitam, sacre theologie doctorem, anno domine 1393*, Doctoral Thesis (Princeton: Princeton University, March 1972), 162-227. However, Dr. Valerie Edden has observed that the *incipit* does not correspond with that given by John Bale, and Dr. Ian Doyle has identified the manuscript as being early fourteenth century from Germany: Valerie Edden, ‘Richard Maidstone’s *Penitential Psalms*’, *Leeds Studies in English*, 17 (1986), 77-94 [11].

Richard Misyn (d. 1462)**Surviving Writings**(1) *De Mendynge of Lyfe*,

A translation of Richard Rolle's *De Emendatione Vitae* made in 1434.

- Ms**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Additional 37790, fo. 1-18.
 - ii. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 236, fo. 1-44v.
 - iii. Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ms. 331, 137-167.

- Edited**
- i. Richard Misyn, *The Fire of Love and The Mending of Life or The Rule of Living* (ed.) Ralph Harvey, Early English Texts Society Original Series 106 (London: Kegan Paul, 1896).
 - ii. Frances M. M. Comper, (ed. and trans.), *The Fire of Love or Melody of Love and the Mending of Life or Rule of Living – Translated by Richard Misyn from the 'Incendium Amoris' and the 'De Emendatione Vitae' of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (London: Methuen and Co., 1914).
Available online at: <http://www.ccel.org/r/rolle/fire/fire.html>

(2) *De Fyer of Lufe*, “At the reuerence of oure Lorde Jhesu Criste. To ye askynge of thi desyre Systre Margarete covetynge a sethe to make for encrece also of gostely comforth”

Translation of Richard Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*, 4 July 1435.

- Ms**
- i. London, British Library, Ms. Additional 37790, fo. 18v-
 - ii. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 236, fo. 45-56.
 - iii. Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ms. 331, 1-134.

Edited As for (1) above.

Thomas Scrope (d. 1492)**Surviving Writings**

- (1) *Informatio et supplicatio ad summum pontificem Eugenium IV, Lib. 1: “Quare ad pedes sanctitatis vestre humiliter, et devote supplico.”*

Dedicated to Pope Eugene IV with the explicit ‘Scriptum in cella anachoretæ Norwici anno Domini 1441 tertia die mensis Decembris’.

Ms No surviving ms.

- Lost copies**
- i. Copies were in the Carmelite libraries in Mechelen and Cologne [Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols (Orléans, 1752, reprinted (ed.) Gabriel Wessels, Rome: Collegio S. Alberto, 1927), vol 2, 830]
 - ii. Bale records the work on a number of occasions, probably from the copy in Mechelen [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2, 120v, 186].

- Edited**
- i. Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680), vol 1, 186-89 (selected parts only).

- (2) *Libellus de institutione fratrum Carmelitarum ordinis*, “[Dedication] *Frater Thomas Bradley, monachus et anachorita, carissimo fratri suo Johanni Blakeney, nigro monacho, salutem in eo qui iudicat fines terre.*” [Continuation] “*Invidie proprium est laudem alterius suam reputare iniuriam.* [Book] *In diebus illis fuit vir de tribu Aaron,*”

Written whilst Scrope was still a recluse, i.e. before 1450, and probably between 1441-46.

Ms Cambridge University Library, Ms. Ff. 6.11.

- Lost copy** A copy of the catalogue of saints in this work was formerly in Brussels, Ms. lat. 3477 (formerly from the Carmelite house in Frankfurt).

- (3) *Tractatus de fundatione, intitulatione, antiquitate, regula, et confirmatione ordinis beate Marie de monte Carmeli, Lib. I, “Quia Ysayas propheta, cum de Christi Incarnatione prophetaret, promiss, quod sola Virgo Deum qui est heres Carmeli, ut dicit Ieremie 3, foret paritura ... Ideo ego Thomas Bradley anachorita Domini heredem Carmeli et matrem eius gloriosam Mariam possessorem et habitatorem Carmeli in suis gregibus, id est Carmelitis, et hereditate ac possessione, laudare et magnificare non per fabulas set per res gestas disposui me per 7 capitula procedere.”*

This appears to have been written whilst Scrope was still a recluse, i.e. before 1450.

- Ms**
- i. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 5615, fo. 92-106 (copy belonged to John Bale).
 - ii. Frankfurt, Stadtarchiv, Carmeliterbücher Ms. C 46, fo. 70-86.
 - iii. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Latinus Monacensis, 8180, fo. 117-40v, 192-220v.
 - iv. Cologne, Stadtarchiv, W 203, fo. 303-41 (copied by Wigand de Giessen, 1485).
- Lost**
- A copy by John Oudewater, dated 1484 (fo. 129 ff.) was in the Carmelite library in Mechelen. See: Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols (Orléans, 1752, reprinted (ed.) Gabriel Wessels, Rome: Collegio S. Alberto, 1927), vol 2, 830; Victor Roefs, ‘De celebri codice Mechliniensi quo usus est Daniel a Virgine Maria in edendis *Vinea Carmeli* et *Speculo Carmelitanum*’, *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 13 (1948), 299-301.
- Edited**
- Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680), vol 1, 190-94 (very truncated).

- (4) *Chronicon de institutione, successione, intitulatione, et propagatione ordinis fratrum beatae virginis Dei genitricis Mariae de monte Carmel, [Dedication] “Thomas, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Dromorensis Episcopus, ac Legatus Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, dilecto Filio Cyrillo Archidiacono Ecclesiae nostrae Dromorensis salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. [Text] Psalmographus Divinus ait psalmo centesimo trigesimo secundo: ‘Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundam habitare fratres in unum.’”*

This was written probably after 1469 as Scrope writes as a bishop and it mentions a book which he saw in Boxley, near Maidstone, probably on his visit there in 1469.

Ms No surviving ms.

Edited Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680), vol 1, 172-86. This text was derived from a manuscript in the Carmelite library, Chalon-sur-Saone, copied by Louis Jacob and afterwards given to Daniel a Virgine Maria. [Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols (Orléans, 1752, reprinted (ed.) Gabriel Wessels, Rome: Collegio S. Alberto, 1927), vol 2, 829]

(5) *Pe Instytucyonys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys*

A translation of Felip Ribot's *Institutione Primi Monachorum*. The initial lines are missing but Bale preserves the fact that the work was undertaken for Cyril Garland, prior of the Carmelite house in Norwich [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 108].

Ms Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 192.

Edited Philip Kenny, O.Carm., *An Edition of Thomas Scrope's Fifteenth Century English Translation of 'The Book of the Institution and Proper Deeds of Religious Carmelites (Book I)'*, Masters Thesis (New York: St. Bonaventure University, 1965). [Book 1, Chapters 1-8 only].

Valerie Edden (ed.), *Pe Instytucyonys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys: Edited from London, Lambeth Palace, MS 192*, Middle English Texts 54 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016).

(6) *Vita S. Brocardi, secundi Prioris Generalis: ex Oratione Paraenetica Thomae Bradley episcopi Dromorensis, Legati Apostolici, cap. 2: "S. Brocardis fuit Prioris Generalis"*

Ms No known ms.

Edited Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680) vol 2, 662-64.

(7) *Prayer to the saints Thomas, 'Salve Thoma Didime pars apostolorum'.*

Poem found in a book of prayers, etc. which belonged to Thomas Scrope, O.Carm. Consists of six verses followed by versicle and prayer; each verse is addressed to a (reputed) saint named Thomas, i.e. Thomas the apostle, Thomas à Becket, Thomas of Dover, Thomas, duke of Lancaster, Thomas Cantilupe, and Thomas Aquinas. It would seem to be a personal composition by Thomas Scrope.

Ms London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211, fo. 176.

Lost works

Bale also lists

(8) *Compendium historiarum, Lib. 9, "Fili prophetarum sunt fratres de Carmel."* [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 108].

This is possibly a duplicate of the *Chronicon* (4) above.

(9) *De sectarum introitu ad Angliam, Lib. 1.*

Probably Chapter VII of the *Chronicon* (4) above which is entitled: *De Provinciis Ordinis Carmelitarum: et de introitu illorum in Angliam.*

(10) *Privilegiorum papalium, Lib. 1: "Dum praeclsa meritorum insignia."*

[Bale, *Summarium*, 214].

(11) *De sua profectioe ad Rhodios, Lib. 1.*

Mentioned by Bale in the *Catalogus*, vol 1, 630; a typical Bale 'creation'.

(12) *Sermones de decem preceptis*

Bale listed this as one of Scrope's works [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 120v; Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 108]. G. R. Owst has claimed to identify this work with an anonymous composition on the Ten Commandments in London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2398, fo. 73-106. [*Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 118-121], though Copsey is doubtful.

Possible attribution(13) *De charge of an hermyztis lyffe.*

Scrope possibly translated into English a way of life for hermits preserved between the Latin text of Felip Ribot's *Decem libri* and Scrope's English translation *De Instytucyonys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys*.

Ms Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 192, fo. 46.

Edited A transcript is included in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

(14) *Gaude gemma prophetarum.*

Given's Scrope probable composition of the prayer to saints called Thomas listed above, it is possible that he is the author of a similarly structured poem-prayer to St. Elijah in the same manuscript.

Ms London, British Library, Ms. Harley 211, fo. 85.

Doubtful attribution(15) *De sanctis patribus ordinis Carmeli ad (Johannem Blakeney), Lib. 1: "Eo enim quod Deus in sanctis suis laudatur."* [Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 2]. Later, entitled *De sanctioribus viris* or *Catalogum sanctorum eiusdem*. [Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 108; Bale, *Summarium*, 213v].

This is part of the *Libellus* (2) above, but was copied by Scrope, with some alterations, from Jean Grossi's edition of the catalogue of Carmelite saints. [cf. Xiberta, *De visione S. Simonis Stock* (Rome: Curiam Generalitiam Ord. Carm., 1950), 84-93, text 285-307]

Richard Spalding (fl. 1401)

Surviving Writings

- (1) *Katereyn, þe curteys of alle þat I know*

Alliterative hymn to Saint Katherine, dated to c.1399.

Ms i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley Rolls 22.

Edited i. Ruth Kennedy (ed.), *Three Alliterative Saints' Hymns: Late Middle English Stanzaic Poems*, Early English Text Society Original Series 321 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Possible attribution

- (2) *Sancta Maria*

A forty-seven line English verse appended to (1) above.

Ms i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley Rolls 22, footer.

Edited i. Ruth Kennedy, 'Pipwel's Saint Mary', *Notes and Queries*, 51:2 (June 2004), 106-09.

Appendix 2: The Carmelite Rule of Saint Albert

The *Rule of Saint Albert* (in its so-called ‘mitigated form’) is here given in Latin and a Modern English translation.¹ Thomas Scrope’s Middle English translation of Felip Ribot’s version of the *Rule* in the *Decem libri* (Book 8 Chapter 3) is not printed here, since the texts do not tally precisely.²

Latin**Modern English
translation of the Latin**

Albertus, Dei gratia Ierosolimitane ecclesie vocatus patriarcha, dilectis in Christo filiis B. et ceteris heremitis qui sub euis obedientia juxta Fontem in monte Carmeli morantur, in Domino salutem et Sancti Spiritus benedictionem.

[1] Albert by the grace of God called to be Patriarch of the Church of Jerusalem, to his beloved sons in Christ, B. and the other hermits who are living under obedience to him at the spring on Mount Carmel: salvation in the Lord and the blessing of the Holy Spirit.

Multipharie multisque modis sancti patres instituerunt qualiter quisque in quocumque ordine fuerit, vel quemcumque modum religiose vite elegerit, in obsequio Ihesu Christi vivere debeat, et eidem fideliter de corde puro et bona conscientia deservire.

[2] In many and various ways the holy fathers have laid down how everyone, whatever their state of life or whatever kind of religious life he has chosen, should live in allegiance to Jesus Christ and serve him faithfully from a pure heart and a good conscience.

¹ The Latin text is that printed in Kees Waaijman, *The Mystical Space of Carmel: A Commentary on the Carmelite Rule* (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 20-29. The additions added by Pope Innocent in 1247 to Albert’s original *formula vitae* (dated sometime between 1206 and 1214) are in italics. The Modern English text is that published by the Superior Generals of the Carmelite and Discalced Carmelite Orders in 1999, and following their agreed division and numbering of chapters which are noted in square brackets to indicate that they are not part of the original *Rule*. Waaijman’s Latin text was published before the publication of the agreed numbering, and has been updated accordingly. On the agreed text see: John Malley, Camilo Maccise, Joseph Chalmers, *In obsequio Jesu Christi: The Letters of the Superiors General OCarm and OCD 1992-2002* (Rome: Edizioni OCD, 2003).

² Valerie Edden (ed.), *Pe Instytucyonys and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys: Edited from London, Lambeth Palace, MS 192*, Middle English Texts 54 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016), 124-27.

Verum, quia requiritis a nobis, ut iuxta propositum vestrum tradamus vobis vite formulam, quam tenere in posterum debeatis:

Illud in primis statuimus, ut unum ex vobis habeatis Priorem, qui ex unanimi omnium assensu, vel maioris et sanioris partis, ad hoc officium eligatur; cui obedientiam promittat quilibet aliorum, et promissam studeat operis veritate servare *cum castitate et abdicatione proprietatis*.

Loca autem habere poteritis in heremis, vel ubi vobis donate fuerint, ad vestre religionis observantiam apta et commoda, secundum quod Priori et fratribus videbitur expedire.

Preterea, iuxta situm loci quem inhabitare proposueritis, singuli vestrum singulas habeant cellulas separatas, sicut per dispositionem Prioris ipsius, et de assensu aliorum fratrum vel sanioris partis, eedem cellule cuique fuerint assignate.

Ita tamen ut, in communi refectorio ea que vobis erogata fuerint, communiter aliquam lectionem sacre scripture audiendo, ubi commode poterit observari, sumatis.

[3] However, because you desire us to give you a formula of life in keeping with your purpose, to which you may hold fast in the future:

[4] We establish first of all that you shall have one of you as prior, to be chosen for that office by the unanimous assent of all, or of the greater and wiser part, to whom each of the others shall promise obedience and strive to fulfil his promise by the reality of his deeds, *along with chastity and the renunciation of property*.

[5] *You may have places in solitary areas, or where you are given a site that is suitable and convenient for the observance of your religious life, as the prior and the brothers see fit.*

[6] Next, according to the site of the place where you propose to dwell, each of you shall have a separate cell of his own, to be assigned to him by the disposition of the prior himself, with the assent of the other brothers or the wiser part of them.

[7] *However, you shall eat whatever may have been given you in a common refectory, listening together to some reading from Sacred Scripture, where this can be done conveniently.*

Nec liceat alicui fratrum, nisi de licentia Prioris, qui pro tempore fuerit, deputatum sibi mutare locum, vel cum alio permutare.

[8] None of the brothers may change the place assigned to him, or exchange it with another, except with the permission of whoever is prior at the time.

Cellula Prioris sit iuxta introitum loci, ut venientibus ad eundem locum primus occurrat; et de arbitrio et de dispositione ipsius postmodum que agenda sunt cuncta procedant.

[9] The prior's cell shall be near the entrance to the place, so that he may be the first to meet those who come to this place, and so that whatever needs to be done subsequently may all be carried out according to his judgement and disposition.

Maneant singuli in cellulis suis, vel iuxta eas, die ac nocte, in lege Domini meditantes, et in orationibus vigilantes, nisi aliis iustis occasionibus occupentur.

[10] Let each remain in his cell or near it, meditating day and night on the Word of the Lord and keeping vigil in prayer, unless he is occupied with other lawful activities.

Hii, qui *horas canonicas cum clericis dicere* norunt, *eas* dicant *secundum constitutionem sacrorum patrum et Ecclesie approbatam consuetudinem*. Qui *eas* non noverunt, viginti quinque vicibus Pater noster dicant in nocturnis vigiliis, exceptis dominicis et sollempnibus diebus, in quorum vigiliis predictum numerum statuimus duplicari, ut dicatur Pater noster vicibus quinquaginta. Septies autem eadem dicatur oratio in laudibus matutinis. In aliis quoque horis septies similiter eadem sigillatim dicatur oratio, preter officia vespertina, in quibus ipsam quindecies dicere debeatis.

[11] Those who know *how to say the canonical hours with the clerics* shall say *them according to the institution of the Holy Fathers and the approved custom of the Church*. Those who do not know their letters shall say twenty-five Our Fathers for the night vigil, except on Sundays and feastdays, for the vigils of which we establish that the stated number be doubled, so that the Our Father is said fifty times. The same prayer is to be said seven times for the morning lauds. For the other hours the same prayer is to be said seven times, except for the evening office, for which you shall say it fifteen times.

Nullus fratrum aliquid esse sibi proprium dicat, set sint vobis omnia communia et distribuatur unicuique per manum Prioris, id est per *fratrem* ab eodem ad idem officium deputatum, prout cuique opus erit, inspectis etatibus et necessitatibus singulorum. [12] Let none of the brothers say that anything is his property, but let everything be held in common among you; to each one shall be distributed what he needs from the hand of the prior - that is from the brother he appoints to this task - taking into account the age and needs of each one.

Asinos autem sive mulos, prout vestra expostulaverit necessitas, vobis habere liceat, et aliquod animalium sive volatilium nutrimentum. [13] *You may, moreover, have asses or mules as your needs require, and some livestock or poultry for your nourishment.*

Oratorium, prout comodius fieri poterit, construatur in medio cellularum, ubi mane per singulos dies ad audienda missarum sollempnia convenire debeatis, ubi hoc comode fieri potest. [14] An oratory, as far as it can be done conveniently, shall be built in the midst of the cells, where you shall come together every day early in the morning to hear Mass, where this can be done conveniently.

Dominicis quoque diebus vel aliis, ubi opus fuerit, de custodia ordinis et animarum salute tractetis; ubi etiam excessus et culpe fratrum, si que in aliquo deprehense fuerint, caritate media corrigantur. [15] On Sundays too, or on other days when necessary, you shall discuss the preservation of order and the salvation of your souls. At this time also the excesses and faults of the brothers, if such should be found in anyone, should be corrected in the midst of love.

Ieiunium singulis diebus, exceptis dominicis, observetis a festo Exaltationis sancte Crucis usque ad diem dominice Resurrectionis, nisi infirmitas vel debilitas corporis aut alia iusta [16] You shall observe the fast every day except Sunday from the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross until Easter Sunday, unless sickness or bodily weakness or some other good reason

causa ieiunium solvi suadeat, quia necessitas non habet legem.

shall make it advisable to break the fast; for necessity knows no law.

Ab esu carniū semper absteineatis, nisi pro infirmitatis *vel* debilitates remedio *sumantur*. *Et quia vos oportet frequentius mendicare itinerantes, ne sitis hospitibus onerosi, extra domos vestras sumere poteritis pulmenta cocta cum carnibus; sed et carnibus supra mare vesci licebit.*

[17] You shall abstain from meat, unless it be taken as a remedy for sickness or weakness. *And since you may have to beg more frequently while travelling, outside your own houses you may eat food cooked with meat, so as not to be a burden to your hosts. But meat may even be eaten at sea.*

Quia vero temptatio est vita hominis super terram, et omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo persecutionem patiuntur, adversarius quoque vester diabolus, tamquam leo rugiens, circuit querens quem devoret, omni sollicitudine studeatis indui armatura Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias inimici.

[18] However, because human life on earth is a trial, and all who wish to live devotedly in Christ must suffer persecution, and moreover since your adversary the devil, prowls around like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, you shall use every care and diligence to put on the armour of God, so that you may be able to withstand the deceits of the enemy.

Accingendi sunt lumbi cingulo castitatis; muniendum est pectus cogitationibus sanctis, scriptum est enim: cogitatio sancta servabit te. Induenda est lorica iustitiae, ut Dominum Deum vestrum ex toto corde et ex tota anima et ex tota virtute diligatis, et proximum vestrum tanquam vos ipsos. Sumendum est in omnibus scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere: sine fide enim, impossibile est placare Deo. Galea quoque salutis capiti imponenda est, ut de solo Salvatore speretis

[19] *The* loins are to be girt with the cincture of chastity. Your breast is to be fortified with holy ponderings, for it is written: Holy ponderings will save you. The breastplate of justice is to be put on, that you may love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your soul and all your strength, and your neighbour as yourself. In all things is to be taken up the shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the flaming arrows of the wicked one, for without faith it is impossible to please God. On your head is to be put the helmet

salutem, qui saluum facit populum suum a peccatis eorum. Gladius autem spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, habundanter habitet in ore et in cordibus vestris; et quecumque vobis agenda sunt, in verbo Domini fiant.

of salvation, that you may hope for salvation from the only Saviour who saves his people from their sins. And the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, should dwell abundantly in your mouth and in your hearts. And whatever you have to do, let it all be done in the Word of the Lord.

Faciendum est vobis aliquid operis, et semper vos diabolus inueniat occupatos, ne ex ociositate vestra aliquem intrandi adytum ad animas vestras valeat inuenire. Habetis in hoc beati Pauli apostoli magisterium pariter et exemplum, in cuius ore Christus loquebatur, qui positus est et datus a Deo predicator et doctor gentium in fide et veritate, quem si secuti fueritis, non poteritis aberrare. In labore, inquit, et fatigatione fuimus inter vos nocte ac die operantes, ne quem vestrum gravaremus; non quasi nos non habeamus potestatem, sed ut nosmetipsos formam daremus vobis ad imitandum nos. Nam, cum essemus apud vos, hoc denuntiabamus vobis: quoniam si quis non vult operari non manducet. Audiuimus enim inter vos quosdam ambulantes inquiete, nichil operantes. Hiis autem, qui *eiusmodi* sunt, denuntiamus et obsecramus in Domino Ihesu Christo, ut cum silentio operantes suum panem manducet: *hec via sancta est et bona; ambulate in ea.*

[20] Some work has to be done by you, so that the devil may always find you occupied, lest on account of your idleness he manage to find some opportunity to enter into your souls. In this matter you have both the teaching and example of the blessed apostle Paul, in whose mouth Christ spoke, who was appointed and given by God as preacher and teacher of the nations in faith and truth; if you follow him you cannot go astray. Labouring and weary we lived among you, he says, working night and day so as not to be a burden to any of you; not that we had no right to do otherwise, but so as to give you ourselves as an example, that you might imitate us. For when we were with you we used to tell you, if someone is unwilling to work, let him not eat. For we have heard that there are certain people among you going about restlessly and doing no work. We urge people of this kind and beseech them in the Lord Jesus Christ to earn their bread, working in silence. *This way is holy and good: follow it.*

Commendat autem Apostolus silentium, cum in eo precipit operandum et quemadmodum propheta testatur: cultus iustitie silentium est; et

[21] The apostle recommends silence, when he tells us to work in it. As the prophet also testifies, Silence is the cultivation of justice; and again, in

rursus: in silentio et spe erit fortitudo vestra. Ideoque statuimus, ut *dicto completorio* silentium teneatis *usque ad primam dictam sequentis diei*. Alio vero tempore, licet silentii non habeatur observatio tanta, diligentius tamen a multiloquio caveatur, quoniam sicut scriptum est, et non minus experientia docet, in multiloquio peccatum non deerit, et qui inconsideratus est ad loquendum sentiet mala. Item, qui multis verbis utitur, ledit animam suam. Et Dominus in evangelio: de omni verbo otioso, quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii. Faciat ergo unusquisque stateram verbis suis, et frenos rectos ori sui, ne forte labatur et cadat in lingua, et insanabilis sit casus eius ad mortem. Custodiens cum propheta vias suas, ut non delinquat in lingua sua, et silentium in quo cultus iustitiae est, diligenter et caute studeat observare.

Tu autem, frater *B.*, et quicumque post te institutus fuerit Prior, illud semper habeatis in mente, et servetis in opere, quod Dominus ait in evangelio: Quicumque voluerit inter vos maior fieri, erit minister vester, et quicumque voluerit inter vos primus esse, erit vester servus.

Vos quoque, ceteri fratres, Priorem vestrum honorate humiliter, Christum potius cogitantes quam ipsum, qui posuit illum super capita vestra, et ecclesiarum prepositis ait: Qui vos

silence and hope will be your strength. Therefore we direct that you keep silence from after *compline* until *prime* of the following day. At other times, however, although you need not observe silence so strictly, you should nevertheless be all the more careful to avoid much talking, for as it is written-and experience teaches no less- where there is much talk sin will not be lacking; and, he who is careless in speech will come to harm; and elsewhere, he who uses many words injures his soul. And the Lord says in the gospel: For every idle word that people speak they will render account on judgement day. Let each one, therefore, measure his words and keep a tight rein on his mouth, lest he stumble and fall by his talking and his fall be irreparable and prove fatal. With the prophet let him watch his ways lest he sin with his tongue; let him try attentively and carefully to practice the silence in which is the cultivation of justice.

[22] And you, brother *B.*, and whoever may be appointed prior after you, should always have in mind and observe in practice what the Lord says in the gospel: Whoever wishes to be the greatest among you will be your servant, and whoever wishes to be the first will be your slave.

[23] You other brothers too, hold your prior humbly in honour, thinking not so much of him as of Christ who placed him over you, and who said to the leaders of the churches, Who hears you

audit, me audit, qui vos spernit, me spernit, ut non veniatis in iudicium de contemptu, sed de obedientia mereamini eterne vite mercedem. hears me; who rejects you rejects me. In this way you will not come into judgement for contempt, but through obedience will merit the reward of eternal life.

Hec breviter scripsimus vobis, conversationis vestre formulam statuentes, secundum quam vivere debeatis. Si quis autem supererogaverit, ipse *Dominus*, cum redierit, reddet ei; utatur tamen discretione, que virtutum est moderatrix. [24] We have written these things briefly for you, thus establishing a formula for your way of life, according to which you are to live. If anyone will have spent more, the Lord himself will reward him, when he returns. Use discernment, however, the guide of the virtues.

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‘People have fallen into a foolish habit of speaking of orthodoxy as something heavy, humdrum, and safe. There never was anything so perilous or so exciting as orthodoxy.’

Chapter 6: The Paradoxes of Christianity

Gilbert K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*,
(London: William Clowes and Sons, 1908).

‘And this is the evil that heresy inflicts on the Christian people, obfuscating ideas and inciting all to become inquisitors to their personal benefit ... often inquisitors create heretics. And not only in the sense that they imagine heretics where these do not exist, but also that inquisitors repress the heretical putrefaction so vehemently that many are driven to share in it, in their hatred for the judges. Truly, a circle conceived by the Devil. God preserve us.’

First Day, Sext

Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*,
(trans.) William Weaver,
(New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1983).