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*‘Nothing for the godly to fear’: Use of Sarum
Influence on the 1549 Book of Common Prayer*

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**‘Nothing for the godly to fear’:
Use of Sarum Influence on the
1549 Book of Common Prayer**

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

Durham University

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Abstract

Katherine A. Krick – ‘Nothing for the godly to fear’: Use of Sarum Influence on the 1549 Book of Common Prayer

This thesis examines the extent to which the Use of Sarum service books provided an evolutionary basis for the form and content of the 1549 edition of the Book of Common Prayer (BCP).

This study focuses on the contributions of the Sarum books to the 1549 BCP from a book history viewpoint, addressing where necessary the religious and political issues, in order to better comprehend the ways in which such changes would have impacted Tudor people. First offering an analysis of the genres studied as the BCP’s antecedents, this thesis further surveys how governmental attitudes affected religious doctrine and practice in the service books of the English realm, during the vacillations of the 1530s and 1540s. It further contends that the transition from manuscript production to print production and the growth of the printing industry in England hardly altered how religious material was produced, despite the religious preferences of the producers. The five subsequent chapters argue that the legacy of the Sarum books in the Book of Common Prayer varies according to the selected themes. The first theme is that of marking time; we prove that although the calendars of service books were radically pruned, the methods for tracking time remained the same. The second theme looks at the use of vernacular and Biblical material, arguing that the use of English and of specific Biblical passages from Sarum services in the BCP were not radical differences. The third theme explores the rich devotional tradition of praying to the Virgin Mary and to the saints, attesting that while there is diminution, it was not strictly due to reformist ideals. The fourth theme examines the occasional offices of the Church, asserting that the considerable overlap outweighed the differences between the Sarum and BCP traditions. The final theme examines changes and continuities in the ways of preparing for death, contending that the impact of seemingly radical changes was lessened by the retention of optional practices. This thesis provides the codicological evidence that the 1549 Book of Common Prayer clearly derived from its Sarum predecessors, in ways that go beyond the simple paradigm of melding reformist and traditional interpretations.

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List of Abbreviations

BCLLR	Brasenose College Library, Latham Room, Oxford
BCP	Book of Common Prayer
BL	British Library
BLO	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BVM	Blessed Virgin Mary
CCCPL	Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, Cambridge
DCL	Durham Cathedral Library
DLB	Bracken, James K. and Joel Silver, eds. <i>The British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700. Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 170</i> . Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1996.
DUL	Durham University Library
LP	Gairdner, James and R.H. Brodie, eds. <i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII: Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Elsewhere in England. Volumes I to XXI</i> . London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898.
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
OM	Oxford Movement
PPP	Davies, C.S.L. <i>Peace, Print and Protestantism 1450-1558</i> . London: Paladin Books, 1986.
SJCUL	St John's College, Upper Library, Cambridge
SotA	Duffy, Eamon. <i>The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400 c.1580</i> . Second edition. London: Yale University Press, 2005.
STC	Pollard, A.W., G.R. Redgrave, W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer. <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland: And of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640. Volume 2: I-Z</i> . London: Bibliographical Society, 1976.
Statutes	<i>The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of his Majesty King George the Third. Volumes 1-4.1. 1810-1817</i> . Accessed via MEMSO.
TC	MacCulloch, Diarmaid. <i>Thomas Cranmer: A Life</i> . London: Yale University Press, 1996.
TCM	MacCulloch, Diarmaid. <i>Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation</i> . London: Penguin, 2001.
TRP	Hughes, Paul L. and James F. Larkin. <i>Tudor Royal Proclamations: Volume I The Early Tudors, 1485-1553</i> . London: Yale University Press, 1964.
Ushaw	Ushaw College Library, Durham

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Declaration

Some material relating to the comparison of Books of Hours with the 1549 Book of Common Prayer was originally used in the thesis submitted by the author for the degree of Master of Arts in September 2012.

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation, image, or figure from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

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As this is a thesis about books, the greatest debts are those owed to the various libraries, librarians, and library staff that have helped over the years. The most prominent debt is to the Durham University Library, especially Mr Alastair Fraser, Mr Francis Gotto, Mr Andrew Gray, Mr Michael Harkness, Dr Richard Higgins, Dr Sheila Hingley, Dr Richard Pears, and Dr Michael Stansfield. At the Durham Cathedral Library, thanks go to Lisa di Tommaso and Janet Gunning; at Ushaw College Library to Dr Jonathan Bush; at St Chad's College, Durham to Jenny Parker; at St John's College, Durham to Jane Ghosh. Thanks also to the staff of various libraries around England, especially the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the British Library; Brasenose College Library, Oxford (Liz Kay); Cambridge University Library; Corpus Christi College Parker Library, Cambridge (Dr Christopher de Hamel, Steven Archer, and Elizabeth Dumas); Exeter Cathedral Library (Peter Thomas and Ellie Jones); St John's College Library, Cambridge (Kathryn McKee and Mandy Marvin); York Minster Library (Sarah Griffin and Steven Newman). I also owe thanks to my colleagues at the Bill Bryson, Queen's Campus, and Christ's College libraries for their support and kind attention while listening to discussions of my research while at work.

The greatest debts that I will never be able to repay are to my fiancé, Greg Pridgeon, and my parents, Kelly and Kelley Krick, for their support throughout this entire process.

1. 'A failed sense of priorities':¹ An Introduction

Thus the transformation and ordering of all the individual formed and distinct things is called the world, but its matter is called heaven and earth, like the seed of heaven and earth. This heaven and earth which were confused and mixed up were suited to receive forms from God their maker.²

If under changed conditions of life a structure before useful becomes less useful, any diminution, however slight, in its development, will be seized on by natural selection, for it will profit the individual not to have its nutriment wasted in building up an useless structure.³

According to both St Augustine (354-430) and Charles Darwin (1809-1882), everything on earth develops according to the conditions in which that thing exists – whether it is called God’s wish or evolution. This thesis seeks to prove the extent to which the Sarum service books of the English Church were an evolutionary forebear of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer (BCP) by providing the book-historical evidence for this assertion, in order to better comprehend in what ways the English Reformation would have impacted Tudor people.

The doctrine and practices of medieval Christianity were prescribed by the service and prayer books used by monks, priests, and laypeople. These books were the base matter upon which evolutionary processes in England worked, out of which grew the Book of Common Prayer. This thesis seeks to determine the extent to which Sarum influence remained in the 1549 edition of that title, particularly in light of religious legislation affecting the content of service books and of the development of England’s early printing industry. More attention has been paid by modern scholars to the 1552 BCP and its influence than to the edition of 1549.⁴ But the 1552 edition would not have existed without its 1549 predecessor, and as such, this thesis provides the crucial evidence for understanding the traditional roots of the 1549 book in order to comprehend better in what ways the changes affected Tudor people and the extent to which statements claiming Sarum’s influence are

¹ Margaret Aston, *England’s Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images, Vol. I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988. p.12.

² Augustine of Hippo, *Saint Augustine: On Genesis: Two Books on Genesis Against the Manichees and On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis: An Unfinished Book*, trans. Roland J. Teske. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1991. p.151.

³ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*. Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1998. p.114.

⁴ See especially Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation*. London: Allen Lane, 2016, whose chapter ‘The Making of the Prayer Book’ devotes barely a page to the 1549 edition and Susan C. Karant-Nunn, ‘The Reformation of Liturgy’, in Ulinka Rublack, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp.420-421 where the 1549 edition is only mentioned in passing before delving into the 1552 edition.

true. This chapter introduces the concept of a religious Use, examines the historiography of the Book of Common Prayer and its antecedents (focusing on research in the field of book history and to a lesser extent in religious history), discusses where this thesis fits in the current debate, and previews the themes of the subsequent chapters.

What is the ‘Use of Sarum’?

The ‘Use of Sarum’ is a phrase that is used continually in this thesis; therefore, a definition is necessary: a Use refers to the liturgical practices and patterns of a church, cathedral, monastery, or any other building used for worship.⁵ In early Christianity, different Uses developed as the Roman Church expanded from Italy into former imperial provinces and ‘barbarian’ territories; clerics converting populations to Christianity had some licence to adapt native traditions to Christian practice.⁶ The Use of a book can be determined (to an extent) from saints present in the calendar and Litany and variation in prayers and choices of Biblical readings in the Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead.⁷ In England, a number of local variations (or Uses) developed; the most prominent of which was Sarum.

The designation of Sarum refers to the liturgical usages at Salisbury Cathedral (the community founded in 1075 at Old Sarum) that dominated England by the thirteenth century.⁸ Sarum Use disseminated widely due to several factors, such as the cathedral’s proximity to Clarendon Palace (a royal residence) and the fact that it was secular (and its usages thus more readily applicable to services attended by the laity).⁹ There was early interest in creating a unified English

⁵ Matthew Cheung Salisbury, ‘Rethinking the Uses of Sarum and York: A Historiographical Essay,’ in Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton, eds., *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2016. p.103.

⁶ D.E.W. Harrison and Michael C. Sansom, *Worship in the Church of England*. London: SPCK, 1982. p.28. Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Custom of Salisbury*. Reading: Spire Books, 2008. pp.22, 48. Francis Henry Dickinson, *Missale ad Usum Insignis et Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*. Oxford: J. Parker and Society, 1861-1883. p.v.

⁷ Though these factors are often indicative of location of intended usage rather than of production. John Plummer, “Use” and “Beyond Use”, in Roger S. Wieck, ed., *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*. New York: George Braziller, 1988. p.149. Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015. *passim*. – Salisbury has been working to develop a better framework for examining Use.

⁸ Baxter, pp.15, 18, 38. Henry Barclay Swete, *Church Services and Service-Books Before the Reformation*. London: SPCK, 1925. p.13.

⁹ Secular in this case meaning inhabited by regular priests rather than monks. Baxter, pp.44, 47. K.W. Haworth, *The Use of Sarum: The Worship and Organisation of Salisbury Cathedral in the Middle Ages*. Salisbury: Friends of Salisbury Cathedral, 1973. p.8. R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989. pp.1, 25. Salisbury, ‘Rethinking’, p.120 – quoting Edmund Bishop’s personal notebooks on Sarum Use being widespread due to the monastic domination of cathedrals throughout England. See also Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*.

Use; in the 1440s, Archbishop of Canterbury Henry Chichele (c.1364-1443) advised using Sarum texts as much as possible.¹⁰ But it was nearly another century before it was formally proposed as a standard liturgy¹¹ and only adopted by the Southern Province of the Church of England in 1543.¹² The subject of Use is important in the context of this thesis due to the ‘great diuersitie’ of Uses noted by Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) in the Preface to the 1549 Book of Common Prayer as a justification for the BCP’s creation.¹³ Use of Sarum books are almost exclusively used as the case studies upon which this thesis is based because of its prevalence in the English Church; of the printed editions known to exist, Sarum versions made up between 90 and 96% of the market for English service books.¹⁴ Throughout this thesis we will often use Sarum as the adjective denoting the traditional rites and rituals represented in the books of the Sarum Use.

Literature to Date

While scholars in various fields have surveyed facets of the connections between Sarum books and the Book of Common Prayer, there are two major strands of literature relevant to this thesis that will be discussed in this section: book history and religious history (focussing on the BCP). Traditionally, these fields have been separated; codicologically, many religious books (manuscripts, predominately) are studied as art objects rather than as ‘used’ books.¹⁵ Religious history focuses on mining the books for their content rather than form. Neither field typically studies the physical nature of books

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. p.445 – for ‘secular’ services, Durham parishes used Sarum rather than York (another secular cathedral) because of tensions between the dioceses of Durham and York.

¹⁰ Pfaff, *Liturgy*, p.440. Salisbury, *Liturgical*, p.207.

¹¹ On 3 March 1542. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. London: Yale University Press, 1996. p.290. Salisbury, *Liturgical*, p.186.

¹² Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. p.5. Baxter, p.98. Salisbury, ‘Rethinking’, p.107. Haworth, p.3. Swete, pp.9-10.

¹³ Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, introduction C.S. Gibson. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1910. p.2. D.E.W. Harrison, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Anglican Heritage of Public Worship*. London: Canterbury Press, 1946. p.38.

¹⁴ The assignment of Use is far from an exact science: Salisbury and Pfaff note that Use of Sarum or Use of York likely masks other Southern or Northern varieties of Uses; this thesis uses ‘Use of Sarum’ according to how libraries have catalogued the material up to this point. Salisbury, ‘Rethinking’, p.103. Salisbury, *Liturgical*, pp.3, 7. Richard W. Pfaff, *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. XII, p.204. A.W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave, W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland: And of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640. Volume 2: I-Z*. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976. For Breviaries, 1 Hereford, 51 Sarum, and 4 York editions are recorded. For Books of Hours, 214 Sarum and 8 York. For Manuals, 21 Sarum and 2 York. For Missals, 1 Hereford, 61 Sarum, and 5 York. For Processionals, 19 Sarum and 2 York.

¹⁵ William H. Sherman’s *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, is a good example of examining books for their use but all of his examples post-date the period covered by this thesis.

(especially ones that are lightly- or un-illustrated) in their historical context. Although the history of the book as part of material culture is now a fast-growing area, few studies thus far have focused on the books in which we are interested.¹⁶ This thesis will use the codicological study of the BCP and its antecedents to better understand how the religious changes in this period would have been experienced by large swathes of the English population.

History of Books and Reading

This thesis is predicated on a book-historical study of Use of Sarum books, a surprisingly neglected field. Extant studies tend to be confined to the production of manuscripts or the early history of the press (especially the incunable period); there is a relative dearth of studies about English printing before Elizabeth's reign.¹⁷ Only recently has there been a reintegration of examining manuscripts and printed books in the same volume.¹⁸ John N. King's book, while containing an admirable introduction by King on printing throughout the Tudor period and a prologue by Lotte Hellinga explicitly discussing Henrician printing, generally describes printing under Elizabeth.¹⁹ *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III* is a useful resource describing the interplay of manuscript and print in Britain, but does so through individual essays, none of which discusses Sarum service books.²⁰

Elizabeth Eisenstein's pivotal book, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*,²¹ re-examined the influence of print on religion as part of her radical argument that the changes facilitated by printing led to the Renaissance, Reformation, and Scientific Revolution, a theory that has been cited by many

¹⁶ For an example, cf. Beth Williamson, 'Material Culture and Medieval Christianity.' pp.60-75 in John H. Arnold, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

¹⁷ Ronald B. McKerrow's *An Introduction to Bibliography For Literary Students*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928/1965, acknowledges that much is (was) unknown about the printing process prior to the development of the Stationer's Guild and Elizabeth's reign. Lotte Hellinga, 'Prologue: The First Years of the Tudor Monarchy and the Printing Press', in John N. King, ed., *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. p.15, highlights the difficulties of studying Tudor printing as a whole.

¹⁸ For example, David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.22 and *passim*. Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006. *passim*.

¹⁹ John N. King, ed., *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

²⁰ Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Mary C. Erler's chapter, 'Devotional Literature', concentrates on Books of Hours and only mentions other Sarum books in passing.

²¹ Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

subsequent scholars.²² She highlighted the Reformation polemic that described the press as providential and miraculous.²³ Influencing this thesis was Eisenstein's argument that traditionalists also adopted the press, allowing for greater uniformity across the Catholic Church and stricter control of church functions, especially in the training of clergy.²⁴ But her wide-ranging examination did not discuss how the Sarum (or any specific 'Catholic') books were affected by the use of the press. C.S.L. Davies' *Peace, Print, and Protestantism*, though not cited by Eisenstein, also discussed the religious use of print in detail though he did not mention the impact of the press on the Sarum books either.²⁵ But he did note that the printing of large numbers of religious handbooks 'epitomizes the demand among certain of the laity' to understand and participate in their religion – a conclusion that underlies the use of Books of Hours as source material in this thesis.²⁶ The conclusions of both authors underpin Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham's collection of essays on book production, which provide valuable insight on how books were produced during the Reformation, but from a theological rather than a codicological perspective, thus illustrating why this thesis is needed.²⁷

Though copious works exist about well-documented printers like William Caxton (1415/24-1492), Wynkyn de Worde (d.1534/5), and John Day (c.1522-1584), there are few comprehensive histories of English printers in general.²⁸ For over a century, the seminal work in this respect was E. Gordon Duff's *Century of the English Book Trade*, a biographical dictionary of printers who produced material for the English market.²⁹ Duff's work was left for the most part unexamined until 2013 when Peter Blayney's two-volume opus reassessing Duff's claims was published.³⁰ Blayney cites in full the textual evidence that Duff merely collated, and clarifies and defines the relationships

²² See especially Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p.3. John L. Flood, 'The Book in Reformation Germany', in Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990. pp.21, 24.

²³ Eisenstein, *passim*. Crick and Walsham, p.1.

²⁴ Eisenstein, pp.313-314.

²⁵ London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1986. Originally published 1976.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.143.

²⁷ Crick and Walsham, *passim*. Alec Ryrie's *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, contains a chapter tantalizingly titled 'Pulpit and Printshop' but little is noted of the output of specific printers – the focus is on the content produced by evangelical authors, pp.113-156.

²⁸ By which I mean printers born in English territory, working in England, or producing works for the English market.

²⁹ *A Century of the English Book Trade: Short Notices of all Printers, Stationers, Book-Binders and Others Connected with it from the Issue of the First Dated Book in 1475 to the Incorporation of the Company of Stationers in 1557*. London: Blades, East and Blades for Bibliographical Society, 1905.

³⁰ Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557: Volume I, Chapters 1-8 (1501-1546) and Volume II, Chapters 9-12 (1547-1557)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

between printers that Duff hinted at but failed to spell out. Much of this crucial detail forms the basis of Chapter Four, examining how printers and printed output were impacted by religious evolution.

Most studies of ‘subspecies’ of liturgical books and, above all, of individual copies focus on manuscripts. A fine manuscript’s elaborate decorations make it conducive to art historical investigations,³¹ while printed books are frequently excluded from such work.³² A significant exception to this trend is Eamon Duffy’s *Marking the Hours*, in which he delves into the production of both manuscript and printed editions of Books of Hours. By investigating how manuscript and printed *Horae*, often of humble status, were used, his work broke new ground; however, Duffy does not deviate from his Primers to discuss their relationship to any other religious genre.³³ This thesis takes the story of Primers, and other ‘subspecies’ of Sarum books further, investigating the extent of their relationship to the Book of Common Prayer.

As this thesis deals in books, a logical avenue of enquiry is into reading. However, literacy in the period under consideration here is woefully undocumented.³⁴ Although today’s definition of literacy is the ability to read and write, in Tudor England, those two skills were taught separately.³⁵ Judging the ability of people to read is nearly impossible without statistics compiled at the time or without assuming that writers were also readers.³⁶ Though people like Thomas More proposed that as many as xxx people in England were literate, it is not possible to take his calculations at face value. The literature that has been produced in the past century acknowledges that the evidence does not exist to give statistics for this period in England; many sources that purport to address this time and

³¹ See Claire Donovan, *The De Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*. London: British Library, 1991. Both Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours*. London: British Library, 2003 and Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*. New York: George Braziller, 1988 exclusively discuss the images from Books of Hours.

³² William H. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969. p.2.

³³ Duffy, *Hours*, *passim*.

³⁴ Scott Black, *Of Essays and Reading in Early Modern Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Anabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984. Katharine A. Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. None of these texts refers to the period between c.1500 and 1549.

³⁵ M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Second edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1993. p.13. W.B. Stephens, ‘Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900’, in *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Winter 1990. p.567.

³⁶ Clanchy, pp.231-232, 238. See Clanchy, pp.11-16 on the role of Renaissance writers as poisoners of modern scholarship’s understanding of medieval literacy. Clanchy’s book plays a limited role in the rest of this thesis as the conclusions he draws for the High Middle Ages cannot be mapped exactly onto the Tudor period and are focused on the role of bureaucracy in fostering literacy (to the detriment of understanding religion’s role).

place, in the end do not.³⁷ Because the texts of interest in this thesis are performed rather than read as novels or even devotional handbooks, the history of reading adds little to this argument;³⁸ the lack of reliable figures means that any statements about how these texts were ‘read’ would themselves be spurious.

Church and Reformation History

Because this thesis examines the service books of the English Church, works of religious history have had to be consulted. Peter Marshall puts it succinctly and accurately when he opines that the Reformation is ‘as divisive for subsequent historians as it was for those who lived through it’.³⁹ Reformation history has been a constant field of study, from as early as John Foxe’s (1516/17-1587) *Acts and Monuments*.⁴⁰ Interpretations of the changes wrought by the Reformation have oscillated between conservative and radical according to the author, their confession, and their times. Ryrie notes that views on Henrician reform were often coloured by reliance on interpretations left by Edwardian and Elizabethan evangelicals.⁴¹ Interpretations of the Church of England and the Book of Common Prayer overwhelmingly focused on the ‘Protestant’ tradition.⁴² Rosemary O’Day provides a comprehensive examination of the secondary literature regarding the English Reformation and the trends evident from Foxe up to 1986.⁴³ Rather than repeat her excellent work, it suffices to note

³⁷ Thomas Laqueur, ‘The Cultural Origins of Popular Literacy in England 1500-1850’, in *Oxford Review of Education*. Vol. 2, No. 3. London: Taylor & Francis, 1976. pp.261-262 make the only references to the 16th century and only about legislation regarding Biblical reading. Rab Houston, ‘Literacy and Society in the West, 1500-1850’, in *Social History*. Vol. 8, No. 3. London: Taylor & Francis, October 1983. pp.269-293 only makes brief references to the 16th century and none of them are specific to England. Stephens, p.555 – one paragraph of this 27-page article is devoted to the sixteenth century.

³⁸ For example, M.B. Parkes, ‘The Literacy of the Laity’, in David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby, eds., *The Medieval World*. London: Aldus Books, 1973. p.555 notes three category of reader: professional, cultivated, and pragmatic, but under none of these definitions falls the requirement of reading religious material.

³⁹ Peter Marshall, *The Reformation: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. p.1. Peter Marshall, *Reformation England: 1480-1642*. Second edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012. pp.ix, xi.

⁴⁰ London: John Day, 1563. *STC* (2) 11222. Cf. Rosemary O’Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation*. London: Methuen, 1986. p.16.

⁴¹ Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.138.

⁴² In this thesis, the terms ‘evangelical’ and ‘reformist’ will be used for people and beliefs of the sixteenth century now considered ‘Protestant’, while ‘conservative’ and ‘traditionalist’ will be used for those now considered ‘Catholic’; as is done in most of Diarmaid MacCulloch’s works, especially *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p.5. ‘Henry VIII and the Reform of the Church,’ in his *Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1995. pp.168-169. *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*. London: Penguin Books, 1999. p.2. and *TC*, p.2. See also Alan Jacobs, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Biography*. Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013. p.12 and endnote 2 (pp.203-4).

⁴³ O’Day, *passim*.

here that the literature she discusses, despite its polemical nature, forms a substantial part of the substructure of this thesis.

Much of the secondary material cited here, including critical editions of the religious texts, was written or compiled by men who were themselves in holy orders in the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ As the spiritual convictions of these men infiltrate their work, we must examine the reasons behind the generation of such works. In the mid-nineteenth century, hints of disapproval regarding Edward VI's reforms led to a flowering of work examining the origins of the Anglican Rite and, in particular, exploring its Catholic roots.⁴⁵ The Book of Common Prayer, in its four iterations, was at the forefront of this re-examination, which was headed by a group of churchmen who banded together and became known as the Oxford Movement (OM). In order 'to get back to an original purity of vision' for the Church of England, the OM needed authoritative texts which happened to interpret the English Reformation in a light more favourable to Catholicism.⁴⁶ Oxford Movement proponents (also called Tractarians) were interested in the theological and doctrinal roots of Catholicism but their case for introducing these ideas into the mainstream Anglican Church was muddied by the presence of the Ritualist movement.⁴⁷ Ritualists, like Percy Dearmer (1867-1936), were more interested in reintroducing the aesthetics and practices of the pre-Reformation church (processions, vestments, etc.) than the theology.⁴⁸

The Oxford Movement generated a plethora of societies that edited and published materials in support of their arguments, both for and against 'Anglo-Catholicism', including the Parker Society, the Henry Bradshaw Society (HBS), and the Alcuin Club.⁴⁹ Defending the Anglican Church against hints of Sarum influence was the purpose of the Parker Society. Active between 1841 and 1853, they focused exclusively on producing editions of English reformist texts, commemorating the work of Reformation leaders like Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley (Bishop of London, c.1500-1555), and

⁴⁴ Salisbury, 'Rethinking', p.105.

⁴⁵ MacCulloch, *TCM*, p.105. G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1969. pp.212-213.

⁴⁶ Michael Chandler, *An Introduction to the Oxford Movement*. New York: Church Publishing, 2003. p.ix. Chandler's book sets out the key players and the important events of the Oxford Movement. Salisbury, 'Rethinking', pp.108, 110-111.

⁴⁷ Chandler, pp.30, 109.

⁴⁸ Chandler, p.111. Also as evident in Dearmer's *The Parson's Handbook Containing Practical Directions...According to the English Use as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer*. London: Grant Richards, 1899.

⁴⁹ Salisbury, *Liturgical*, pp.23, 25.

Hugh Latimer (Bishop of Worcester, c.1487-1555).⁵⁰ With a dominating interest in the manuscripts themselves, the Henry Bradshaw Society, founded in 1890, sought to publish rare liturgical texts of the medieval Church.⁵¹ In this HBS was followed by the Alcuin Club (founded 1897) which looked to circulate texts on liturgical scholarship.⁵² Tractarians and Ritualists alike wrote in support of the reinvestigation of Sarum influence and a number of works by these men, most notably for our purposes the critical editions of the Sarum Manual, Missal, Pontifical, etc., are used in this thesis.⁵³ Many of the works published by all three of these societies feed into this thesis because their critical editions of Sarum texts and of the reformers' tracts have not been superseded.

The legacy of the Tractarian churchmen-historians was a community of Anglicans who were unsympathetic to the 'hack-job' done by the compilers of the BCP. Anglo-Catholic authors like W.H. Frere (1863-1938) and Humphrey Whistler (1904-1980) were critical of the Edwardian Reformation.⁵⁴ Additionally, the controversy provoked authors on both sides of the confessional divide to deny the Sarum origins of the 1549 BCP. Edmund Bishop (later Catholic convert, 1846-1917) and his co-author Francis Aidan Gasquet (a Benedictine monk and Cardinal, 1846-1929) disclaimed any 'Catholic' influence as being counter to Reformation policy.⁵⁵ J.A. Froude (1818-1894), who has been described as a 'hostile commentator' on anyone involved in the Oxford Movement (including his own brother R.H. Froude, 1803-1836), wrote histories of the Reformation and England that were vehemently anti-Catholic.⁵⁶ Authors seen as sympathetic towards Catholic custom, during and after the peak of the Oxford Movement, were commonly viewed as anti-Protestant by 'traditional' Anglicans.⁵⁷ In the 1920s, OM literature and scholarship was further used during the attempted revision of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer which resulted in more polemic

⁵⁰ English in origin, not necessarily English-language. Andrew Cinnamond, 'The Reformed Treasures of the Parker Society', in *Churchman*, Church Society. 122 (3). pp.221-242. Chandler, pp.48, 134. Peter Benedict Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. p.286.

⁵¹ Salisbury, 'Rethinking', p.118. See also: henrybradshawsociety.org/.

⁵² See also: alcuinclub.org.uk/about-us/.

⁵³ See Chapter Two for the specific editions. Salisbury, 'Rethinking', p.115.

⁵⁴ Salisbury, 'Rethinking', p.116. MacCulloch, *TCM*, pp.157-159.

⁵⁵ Francis Aidan Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*. London: John Hodges, 1891. p.xx.

⁵⁶ Chandler, p.14. Nockles, p.1. James Anthony Froude, *The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon: The Story As Told By the Imperial Ambassadors Resident at the Court of Henry VIII*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1897. pp.1-11. Also evident in his biography of Luther and biography and collection of letters of Erasmus.

⁵⁷ Gordon Rupp, *Six Makers of English Religion*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957. p.x.

being published about the 1549 BCP.⁵⁸ For example, William Joynson-Hicks (1865-1932), Home Secretary during this time, believed that too much Catholic material was included in the 1928 revision and that the BCP of 1549 had been a ‘complete revolt’ against medieval religion (within the bounds of Scripture) rather than a representation of reformed medieval English Christianity, therefore any hint of ‘Catholic-ness’ was inaccurate.⁵⁹

The rise in scholarship on the Catholic influence in the early Anglican Church generated by the OM was followed by a re-evaluation of Protestant versus Catholic influence (with A.G. Dickens supporting Protestantism as successful and Christopher Haigh and J.J. Scarisbrick calling reform unpopular);⁶⁰ in the 1990s Eamon Duffy focussed exclusively on the ‘Catholic’ dimension.⁶¹ Duffy’s 1992 work, *The Stripping of the Altars*, has changed how historians of religion approach the English Reformation.⁶² Nearly all works in this field now make reference to him and frame their responses (positive or negative) in light of his narrative.⁶³ His belief that medieval Catholicism was neither a dying religion nor a rigid institution was the basis for reconsidering the influence of late medieval piety on the Reformation.⁶⁴ This was underlined in his argument that ‘the late Middle Ages saw an enormous flourishing of extra-liturgical piety’ as evidenced by the increase in the production of Primers, other devotional texts, and what he calls ‘cheap religious tat’.⁶⁵ His work is of key importance to this thesis because he discusses how proponents of traditional religion used the printing press, how books were used in church, and the roles of Primers more generally.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ The 1920s Prayer Book revision was ostensibly to settle the controversy raised by the OM and respond to social changes stemming from World War I. See also: Charles Wohlers, *The Proposed Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England (1928)*. justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/CofE1928/CofE1928.htm.

⁵⁹ *The Prayer Book Crisis*. London: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1928. pp.1-2. W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.1.

⁶⁰ A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*. London: BT Batsford, 1989. *passim*. Christopher Haigh, ‘The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation’, in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. pp.19-21. J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984. *passim*. Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.13.

⁶¹ W. Ian P. Hazlett, *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland: An Introduction*. London: T&T Clark International, 2003. p.31.

⁶² *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*. London: Yale University Press, 2005.

⁶³ See for example, Brown, *Popular*, p.247. MacCulloch, *Later*, p.105 and *TC*, p.24. Jacobs, p.18. Crick and Walsham, p.25. Annie Sutherland, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages, 1300-1450*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. pp.3-4. Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. pp.4, 8.

⁶⁴ Duffy, *SotA*, pp. xviii, xxiv.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.233.

⁶⁶ Duffy, *SotA*, pp. 77, 121, 123. Cf. Duffy, *Hours*, *passim*.

Nonetheless, because of the breadth of the field he has studied, the degree of attention he pays to the individual genres, let alone to the transition from pre- to post-Reformation service books, is limited.

Current scholarship generally concludes that England's Reformation was exceptional.⁶⁷ Characterisations of the English Reformation contend that it was intensely political, and discussions commonly consider the extent to which it can be associated with Henry VIII (1491-1547) himself.⁶⁸ Rex notes, as many now accept, that 'Henry was never a Protestant'.⁶⁹ Duffy nuances this argument by noting that Henry was 'a King who, for all his cynicism and hatred of the papacy, remained attached to much of the traditional framework of Catholicism'.⁷⁰ Davies felt that the more radical of Henry's actions should be attributed to the known evangelical attitudes of Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540), and that later, more conservative actions should be attributed to Cromwell's fall and the reinstated influence of 'the most articulate and forceful of the Catholic bishops', Stephen Gardiner (c.1483-1555).⁷¹ Other historians, like Bernard, Loades, and Scarisbrick, believe that Henry VIII was the driving force behind (or at least accepting of) the reforming acts passed by Parliament, though he remained conservative on matters such as Eucharistic theology and prayer for the dead.⁷² MacCulloch writes that Henry saw 'himself as occupying the middle ground' – in that he rejected the Papal hierarchy, but kept nearly everything else.⁷³ Marshall considers Henry to have acted as a 'cherry-picker' in order to get his own way.⁷⁴ And Conrad Russell notes that from the opening of the Reformation Parliament in 1529, 'it was an open question whether and to what extent [Protestants] enjoyed [royal] support' and for how long that support would last.⁷⁵ According to Sheils, the Reformation of the 1530s was purely a political show to eliminate Church control, with any religious

⁶⁷ Ethan H. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. p.28. Harrison and Sansom, p.40. Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. p.12. Marshall, *Reformation*, p.26.

⁶⁸ Froude, p.7. Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.209.

⁶⁹ Richard Rex, 'The Religion of Henry VIII', in *The Historical Journal*. Volume 57, No. 1, 2014. p.1.

⁷⁰ Duffy, *SotA*, p.448.

⁷¹ Davies, *PPP*, pp.212, 219.

⁷² G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*. London: Yale University Press, 2007. *passim*, esp. p.ix. David Loades, 'Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558,' in Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990. p.280.

⁷³ MacCulloch, *TCM*, p.4.

⁷⁴ Marshall, *VSI*, p.22. Marshall, *Reformation*, p.29.

⁷⁵ 'The Reformation and the Creation of the Church of England 1500-1640,' in John Morrill, ed., *The Oxford History of Tudor and Stuart Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. p.266.

change being incidental.⁷⁶ In sum, there are nearly as many ways of interpreting Henry VIII's attitudes and actions as there are historians who write about them. The author of this thesis generally concurs with Bernard, Loades, Scarisbrick, MacCulloch, and Marshall, perceiving Henry as the driving force behind reform, but in an episodic rather than a programmatic way, looking for personal advantage with little concern about how his actions affected the religious sensibilities and operations of his realm.

About the reign of Edward VI (1537-1553), it suffices to say that he was of a much more zealous reforming bent than his father, while the existence of the 1549 BCP testifies to the understanding (likely moderated by Cranmer and Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset, c.1500-1552) that an immediate conversion of all individuals to Edward's convictions was not possible.⁷⁷ Because neither Henry VIII nor Edward VI's minority government could force people to change their consciences, the English Reformation has been seen as 'a process of cultural accommodation'⁷⁸ and 'not as decisive a break as one would suppose'.⁷⁹ But crucial evidence for evaluating the scope of the evolution from the Sarum books to the BCP text has yet to receive the attention that it requires and that is where this thesis fits in.

The Junction of Codicology and Religious History

Thus far, studies of the Book of Common Prayer typically revolve around its general history or its theological development as a 'Protestant' book. Histories often only discuss the 1549 edition of the BCP in relation to the later iterations, citing 1549 as the starting point for later, more 'Protestant', editions.⁸⁰ The clearest dichotomy in recent literature is between scholars who believe that the 1549 Book of Common Prayer was an abrupt and obvious shift towards Protestantism and those who see the book as a conservative reform. On the one hand, Shagan views the Prayer Book 'as bringing

⁷⁶ W.J. Sheils, *The English Reformation, 1530-1570*. London: Longman, 1989. p.1.

⁷⁷ Shagan, *Politics*, p.3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.7.

⁷⁹ Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion*. London: Faber and Faber, 1975. p.9.

⁸⁰ The most recent history of the BCP is Jacobs who uses 1549 as a discussion of the BCP's wider influence throughout history. For 1549 as the basis of further editions, see Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. For 1549 as Protestant but not Protestant enough, see Joynson-Hicks.

radical spiritual alterations’ despite retaining conservative turns of phrase.⁸¹ On the other, Harrison and Sansom interpret the 1549 edition as still steeped in the Sarum tradition and therefore not an evangelical text.⁸² These arguments are an oversimplification of the relationship of the Sarum books to the BCP. G.J. Cuming’s *A History of Anglican Liturgy* examines the liturgical origins of the BCP, but, despite noting how revisions of both reforming and traditional bents led to the BCP’s production, focuses overwhelmingly on the influence of the German (reformed) services.⁸³ The idea of the BCP’s ‘middle-ness’ arose again in the 1980s, with Dickens noting the BCP as ‘a masterpiece of compromise’ by avoiding specific denials of Catholic doctrine.⁸⁴ Few authors (like Timothy Rosendale) offer the view that the BCP’s ‘immediate parentage was medieval Catholic material on one hand, and the various contemporary Lutheran *Kirchenordnungen* on the other’ – noting both sides of the equation.⁸⁵ However, Rosendale, no less than the others, fails to follow up the awareness of Sarum influence by examining the Sarum books themselves. Despite the long history of Reformation history, the presence of the Oxford Movement, and the scholarship of historians of the book, no one has baldly stated whether and how the 1549 BCP could be tracked back to the Sarum books. In sum, service books, their history, and their use have been discussed in a piecemeal fashion, touching on the content and purpose of each genre but never all together in a contextualized study like this.⁸⁶

The Contribution of This Thesis

This study is an analysis of non-theological aspects of the books that were the tools of religious expression in late medieval and early Reformation England.⁸⁷ Using codicology, with some acknowledgement of socio-religious history, this thesis will prove where Sarum elements were preserved in the Book of Common Prayer and how it would have affected the general churchgoing population of the realm. In part, this thesis also delves into the implications of the religious changes

⁸¹ Shagan, *Politics*, p.282.

⁸² Harrison and Sansom, p.42.

⁸³ Cuming, pp.40-47, 68.

⁸⁴ Dickens, p.243.

⁸⁵ *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. p.26.

⁸⁶ Baxter’s ‘Documents and Books’ chapter in *Sarum Use*, esp. pp.45-47. See also Kenneth Stevenson, ‘Worship by the Book’, in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp.9-20.

⁸⁷ In this thesis, I agree with Richard Pfaff’s analysis that, liturgically, the Middle Ages in England did not end until 1549. *Liturgical Calendars*, p.3.

for book producers in England and those abroad who supplied the English market, adding a different view of the English Reformation by considering the role of printers. Such analyses are particularly important in determining whether the continuous debate since the mid-Tudor period on the 'Catholic influence' in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer was (and is) warranted and provide an evidentiary basis for ecumenical discussions between the Anglican and Catholic churches in this era.⁸⁸ With the quincennial anniversaries of Reformation events having just begun, this work is a timely reminder that the origins of the English Reformation were different from that of the Continent.

Outline

This thesis will prove in what ways the Sarum influence on the 1549 Book of Common Prayer has been greater than has been previously addressed and how that affected the general churchgoer who was having the BCP imposed upon them. The rest of this work is divided into nine chapters. Chapter Two defines the five genres of service books that are fundamental to our enquiry. (The bibliographic descriptions of the thirty-six manuscripts and printed books that are our case studies can be found in Appendix 1 at the end of the volume). Chapter Three judges the extent to which nuances in government policy in the English realm affected religious doctrine and practice in the service books, during the vacillations of the 1530s and 1540s. Chapter Four further contends that the transition from manuscript production to print production and the growth of the printing industry in England hardly altered how religious material was produced though it did change the location of production. The five subsequent chapters explore themes drawn from the service books themselves. Chapter Five discusses how the philosophy of time in religious books evolved, proving that although the calendars of service books were radically pruned, the general method for counting time remained the same. Chapter Six investigates the evolving use of the vernacular and Biblical material, arguing that the use of English and of specific Biblical passages from Sarum services in the BCP was not as radical as has been implied. Chapter Seven explores the rich devotional tradition of praying to the Virgin Mary and

⁸⁸ See especially E.C. Whitaker, *Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer*. Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon for Alcuin Club, 1974. p.12: '...I found nothing in them which was not taken from the word of God, or at least upon a reasonable interpretation was not opposed to it. But there are a few small points which if they were not fairly interpreted might seem to be insufficiently consistent with the word of God.' Stephen Gardiner, according to John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, Vol. VI – Part I*. London: Seeleys, 1858. p.114: 'That book he would not have made after that form, but, as it was, he could with his conscience keep it...'. Cuming, p.225.

to the saints, attesting that while there is diminution, it was not strictly due to the religious ideals put forth by reformers. Chapter Eight examines the occasional services of the English Church, particularly in those known in the Catholic tradition as the Seven Sacraments, asserting that the overlap and differences between the Sarum and BCP traditions existed for a variety of reasons. Chapter Nine is the final thematic chapter and examines changes and continuities in the ways of preparing for death, contending that the impact of seemingly radical changes was lessened by the retention of optional practices. The conclusion, Chapter Ten, finds that the codicological evidence supports the idea that the 1549 Book of Common Prayer clearly derived from its Sarum predecessors, in ways that go beyond the traditional argument that the BCP was trying to meld reformist and traditional interpretations.

This thesis is in no way an attempt to minimise the evangelical influence present in the Book of Common Prayer. Rather, it will evaluate the BCP in the comprehensive way that it merits, in light of its context, which is as much one of Sarum origin as one of reformist change. To what extent and why were the Sarum traditions of the late medieval 'Catholic' Church maintained in the 1549 BCP? That is what the next nine chapters will determine.

2. ‘Look first of all at the books themselves’:⁸⁹ Analysis of the Source Material

*Although they all attend Mass every day, and say many Paternosters in public, (the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read taking the office of our Lady with them, and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse, in a low voice, after the manner of churchmen,) they always hear mass on Sunday in their parish church...*⁹⁰

*If we were to take from a Book of Common Prayer those leaves which contain the services for Baptism, Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, and Churcing of Women, and were to bind those leaves together, we should have a volume answering to the medieval Manual.*⁹¹

In order to understand the Reformation-era English Church, historians must, as Stanley Morison believed, ‘look first of all at the books themselves’.⁹² In the early sixteenth century, the Church in England used a multiplicity of texts for services and prayer, with the ‘whole rite [being contained] in five books: the Missal, the Breviary, the Ritual, the Processional, and the Pontifical; with supplementary and subordinate books of private devotions’ like Books of Hours (Primers).⁹³ The content and physical format of these books not only performed specific functions in the devotional lives of people in late medieval England but also influenced the development of the Book of Common Prayer. This chapter explicates the purpose of each liturgical ‘subspecies’, or genre, and outlines the content as viewed in selected examples as the groundwork for understanding the themes and arguments of the succeeding chapters.

Each parish church was required to supply at least a Breviary (for the priest’s daily office), Missal (for altar services like Mass), Manual or Ritual (for occasional services and blessings), and Processional (for processions) of their local Use.⁹⁴ The Pontifical (also incorrectly known as a

⁸⁹ Stanley Morison, *English Prayer Books: An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943. p.1.

⁹⁰ Charlotte Augusta Sneyd, *A Relation, or Rather a True Account, of the Island of England; with Sundry Particulars of the Customs of these People, and of the Royal Revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the Year 1500*. London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son for Camden Society, 1847. Cited in C.H. Williams, ed., *English Historical Documents Volume V 1485-1558*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1967. p.195. A slightly different translation is in G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1969. p.15.

⁹¹ Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*. London: Methuen and Co, 1910. p.213.

⁹² Morison, pp.1-2. See also Christopher Haigh, ‘The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation’, in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.29.

⁹³ F.E. Brightman, *The English Rite: Being A Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, Volume I*. London: Rivingtons, 1915. p.xiii.

⁹⁴ Wordsworth and Littlehales, pp.26, 68. Henry Barclay Swete, *Church Services and Service-Books Before the Reformation*. London: SPCK, 1925. pp.16-17. Cuming, p.28. F.E. Brightman and K.D. MacKenzie, ‘The History of the Book of Common Prayer Down to 1662’, in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to*

Benedictional) was for bishops to use.⁹⁵ This list forms the basis of this thesis with four differences. 1) The Breviary is not included in this study because it was primarily the text of priests, the content and format of which are generally represented by a combination of the Missal and Books of Hours. 2) The Processional is unexamined because it has almost no parallels within the BCP, as are 3) Psalters since they continued to be separate texts even after the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer. 4) Books of Hours, though not strictly 'liturgical', are included to offer a lay perspective of daily prayer and services.

The assignment of Use is far from an exact science: Salisbury and Pfaff note that Use of Sarum or Use of York likely masks other Southern or Northern varieties of Uses; this thesis uses 'Use of Sarum' according to how printers defined their printed editions and according to how librarians and historians have catalogued the material up to this point.⁹⁶ Despite the developing discussion as to whether Sarum is an accurate designation for certain English liturgical works, volumes defined as Sarum remained the most numerous and likely most used version for the English population (see Chapter One above). Therefore, multiple copies of Books of Hours, Manuals, Missals, Pontificals, and Books of Common Prayer have been consulted to ensure that a variety of price ranges, quality, and printing houses are represented for the period c.1500-1549; though it must be said that this study is not, and never was, designed to be a broad study of all versions of such texts, but a deep study of a sample. Initially two copies of each genre were selected, but such a selection did not give a representative sample. Consequently eight of each genre were decided upon as the maximum that could be examined with the depth required for this study at this time. The original idea behind constructing this sample was to only consult post-incunabula volumes (for being roughly analogous to

the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion. London: SPCK, 1932. pp.130-131. A parish could also provide any of the following books: for readings the Psalter, Diurnal, Legend, Collect-Book, Lectionary, Passional, Epistle-book, and Gospel-book; for music the Antiphonary, Hymnal, Gradual or Grayle, and Troper; and instructional books like the Ordinal and Sacramentary.

⁹⁵ Jeanne E. Krochalis and E. Ann Matter, 'Manuscripts of the Liturgy', in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. p.437. Edward C. Ratcliff, *The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England: Its Making and Revisions 1549-1661, Set Forth in Eighty Illustrations*. London: SPCK, 1949. p.10.

⁹⁶ Matthew Cheung Salisbury, 'Rethinking the Uses of Sarum and York: A Historiographical Essay,' in Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton, eds., *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2016. p.103. Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015. pp.3, 7. Richard W. Pfaff, *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. XII, p.204.

what someone of an age as Henry VIII would have had experience using); however, post-1501 or printed Manuals and Pontificals of any date prior to 1549 were rarely to be found, so the case studies of those two genres were expanded to include incunabula-period and manuscript editions.⁹⁷ Books printed in England were given preference, but texts printed in France and (to a lesser extent) in the Low Countries were also consulted, with texts printed beyond those borders considered as a last resort. The Book of Common Prayer is the end-point against which Books of Hours are examined for a lay perspective of daily prayer and prayer for the dead, Manuals for the occasional services, Missals for a priestly perspective of Mass and other services, and Pontificals for further occasional services. This chapter is divided by the specific genres and will analyse the main differences and continuities along the timeline of the sample; Appendix 1 at the end of this volume details the content of each book consulted and gives brief observations on notable copy-specific details. In the table below, the copies are identified by library, genre, date, hand or printer, location of production, and include relevant *STC* or provenance information for ‘at a glance’ guidance to the case studies, organised by date of production.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ 44 copies of 21 editions of Sarum Manuals were recorded prior to 1549, many incomplete. No copies of English printed Pontificals listed in *STC*.

⁹⁸ Appendix 1 (pp.241-272) is organised in the same way.

Table 1: Case Study Sources

Library, Shelfmark	Genre	Date	Creation	Location	STC /Provenance Info.	Appendix 1
DUL Cosin V.III.13	Pontifical	13th c.	Gothic Min.	Northern France	Owner: Thomas Cranmer	Page
DUL Cosin V.III.21	Manual	14/15th c.	Textura	England		
DUL Cosin V.V.5	Horae	beg. 15th c.	Textura	Northern France/Low Countries		
Ushaw MS 16	Horae	15th c.	Textura	England?		
BL Add MS 30506	Manual	15th c.	Textura	England	Perhaps produced in Gloucester?	
BL Stowe MS 13	Manual	15th c.	Textura	England		
BL Add MS 6157	Pontifical	c.1414-1443	Textura	England	Owner: Henry Chichele	
BL Harley MS 561	Pontifical	c.1450-1475	Textura	Winchester		
BLO Auct. 1 Q 1.26	Pontifical	20 Dec. 1485	Planck	Rome		
CUL Inc.3.B.2.26[1220]	Pontifical	20 Dec. 1485	Planck	Rome		
BLO Auct. Q sup. 2.1	Pontifical	16 Aug. 1497	Planck	Rome		
DUL Cosin SA 0142	Pontifical	16 Aug. 1497	Planck	Rome		

DUL Add MS 1650	Horae	c.1500	Textura	Rouen		
CUL F150.a.2.5	Pontifical	1503	Fracazinis	Trent		
CCCPL EP.H.10	Manual	1506	Pynson	London	<i>STC(2)</i> 16140	
DUL Bamburgh Select.15	Missal	22 Feb. 1512	Pynson	London	<i>STC(2)</i> 16190	
DUL Howard A138	Missal	1514	Morin	Rouen	<i>STC(2)</i> 16194 or 16195.5	
DUL Cosin SB+ 0059	Missal	28 Nov. 1514	Hopyl	Paris	<i>STC(2)</i> 16193	
BCLLR UB/S II 97	Missal	24 Dec. 1520	Pynson	London	<i>STC</i> 16202	
CUL Syn.7.52.25	Manual	24 Dec. 1522	Caillard	Rouen	<i>STC</i> 16144	
Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3	Missal	30 Oct. 1526	Regnault	Paris	<i>STC(2)</i> 16205 (?)	
DUL Routh SB +0084	Missal	3 Mar. 1527	Prevost	Paris	<i>STC</i> 16206	
Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1	Missal	28 Mar. 1527	Ruremond	Antwerp	<i>STC(2)</i> 16207	
Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8	Missal	27 Jul. 1527	Regnault	Paris	<i>STC(2)</i> 16208	
DUL Bamburgh Select.22	Horae	6 May 1530	Hardouyn	Paris	<i>STC(2)</i> 15965	
DUL Bamburgh Select.46	Horae	4 Nov. 1533	Regnault	Paris	<i>STC(2)</i> 15981	

DUL Bamburgh Select.20	Horae	25 May 1536	Regnault	Paris	<i>STC(2)</i> 15987	
SJCUL T.9.53	Manual	17 Oct. 1537	Regnault	Paris	<i>STC</i> 16148.6	
DUL Bamburgh Select.21	Manual	1543	Rufus	Rouen	<i>STC(2)</i> 16150	
Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3	Manual	Jan. 1543	Ruremond	Antwerp	<i>STC</i> 16149	
DUL Routh SB 2090	Horae	19 Jun. 1545	Whitchurch	London	<i>STC(2)</i> 16037	
DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37	Horae	6 Sept. 1545	Grafton	London	<i>STC(2)</i> 16040	
DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1	BCP	7 Mar. 1549	Whitchurch	London	<i>STC(2)</i> 16267	
DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56	BCP	Mar. 1549	Grafton	London	<i>STC(2)</i> 16268	
YML XI.F.26	BCP	Mar. 1549	Grafton	London	<i>STC(2)</i> 16268	
YML XI.F.21(5)	BCP	16 Jun. 1549	Whitchurch	London	<i>STC</i> 16272 (?)	

Books of Hours

Charles C. Butterworth enumerated the varied reasons why Books of Hours were (and are) so enticing:

To the bookseller and librarian they are reckoned as scarce and valued treasures. To the educator they are of importance as manuals in the rudimentary art of learning to read; to the churchman they are significant as formative experiments in the liturgy of the Church of England; to the historian they mirror the cross-currents of religious controversy that troubled the reign of Henry VIII.⁹⁹

Their roles in reflecting religious controversy are why they are included in this thesis. As has been constantly noted, Books of Hours were ‘the bestseller of medieval devotional books’; no single item was more popular, and they offer a lay point-of-view on the Sarum services compared with the Book of Common Prayer.¹⁰⁰ This section will outline the average contents of the genre followed by two brief summaries, one of reasons for their popularity and the other of general changes that occurred to their content from the mid-1400s. We will end with an analysis of what the eight selected copies represent in terms of change over time.

The Biblical injunction for daily prayer prompted Benedict of Nursia (480-547) to codify the canonical hours of the Divine Office which are the foundation of Books of Hours.¹⁰¹ Books of Hours replaced the Psalter as the primary devotional book in the home by the fourteenth century.¹⁰² Their survival in the largest numbers for a single genre from the period, despite the intervening ravages of

⁹⁹ *The English Primers (1529-1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. p.v.

¹⁰⁰ Earliest citation found being Edwyn C. Birchenough, ‘The Prymer in English’, in *The Library*, ed. F.C. Francis. Series Four, Volume XVIII. London: Oxford University Press, 1938. p.177. Also cited by Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p.39. John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1977. p.9. Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. p.20. Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury*. Reading: Spire Books, 2008. p.48. Helen White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951. pp.8, 66. M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1993. p.111. Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.49.

¹⁰¹ Benedict of Nursia, *Saint Benedict’s Rule for Monasteries*, trans. Leonard J. Doyle ObISB. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001. David Ewing Duncan, *The Calendar: The 5000-Year Struggle to Align the Clock and the Heavens – and What Happened to the Missing Ten Days*. London: Fourth Estate, 1998. p.94.

¹⁰² L.M.J. Delaissé, ‘The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book’, in Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M.C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall, Jr., eds., *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974. p.204. Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours: A Late Fifteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript from Rouen (Victoria and Albert, 1475-1918)*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984. p.11. Roger S. Wieck, ‘The Book of Hours’, in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. p.474. Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*. London: Yale University Press, 2010. p.16. Jonathan Black, ‘The Divine Office and Private Devotion in the Latin West’, in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. p.71. Eamon Duffy, ‘Elite and Popular Religion: the Book of Hours and Lay Piety in the Later Middle Ages’, in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Elite and Popular Religion*. Studies in Church History, 42. Woodbridge: Boydell Press for EHS, 2006. p.144.

time, is indicative of their popularity.¹⁰³ These predominately Latin books were also known (from at least 1294) as Primers, being the ‘Primus liber of the medieval schoolboy’ and often the first book purchased for the household or used for learning to read.¹⁰⁴ Books of Hours commingled lay and religious education by aiding literacy, increasing the lay ownership of devotional and didactic works, and expanding engagement with religious imagery – representing both ‘official’ and ‘popular’ religious trends.¹⁰⁵ The first printed Book of Hours was produced in Paris in 1486 by Antoine Vérard (fl.1485-1513).¹⁰⁶ Prices based on size, image quality, or binding meant that booksellers could offer Books of Hours to suit most budgets.¹⁰⁷ Additional features of a Primer, whether produced on paper or parchment, using woodcuts or including illuminations, varied according to the amount that a purchaser was willing or able to expend.¹⁰⁸ Despite the evolution in production from manuscript to print, the overall form and function of Books of Hours remained the same.¹⁰⁹

Estimations concerning the quantities of editions of printed Books of Hours have varied over the years. In 1910, Wordsworth and Littlehales knew of 252 extant Sarum editions from the period between 1478 and 1559 with a further eight editions of York Books of Hours dating from 1510-1556.¹¹⁰ By 1969, Cuming noted that *STC* recorded 184 Sarum Primers and five York Primers printed between 1475 and 1549.¹¹¹ In 1986, de Hamel put the possible total number of editions of Books of Hours across Europe between 1485 and 1530 at 760 (with around 120 of Sarum Use), with

¹⁰³ White, p.8. Reinburg, *French*, p.1.

¹⁰⁴ Birchenough, p.177. Butterworth, *Primers*, p.3. Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*. London: Hambledon Press, 1984. p.125. Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1986. p.198. Christopher Wordsworth, ed., *Horae Eboracenses: the Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York*. Durham: Andrews and Co for Surtees Society, 1920. p.xlii.

¹⁰⁵ Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours*. London: British Library, 2003. p.152. Eamon Duffy, ‘Two Healing Prayers’, in Miri Rubin, ed., *Medieval Christianity in Practice*. Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2009. p.170. Duffy, ‘Elite’, p.142.

¹⁰⁶ Martha W. Driver, ‘Pictures in Print: Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century English Religious Books for Lay Readers’, in Michael G. Sargent, ed., *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*. Cambridge: DS Brewer, 1989. p.235. R. Watson, p.30. Morison, p.37.

¹⁰⁷ Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.252. Duffy, ‘Elite’, p.149.

¹⁰⁸ Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240-1570*. London: Yale University Press, 2006. pp.4, 126.

¹⁰⁹ Cuming, p.15.

¹¹⁰ Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.13. Morison, p.36. S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955. p.73.

¹¹¹ Cuming, p.31.

the possibility of a quarter of a million copies being in circulation.¹¹² In 2005, Duffy estimated that as many as 57,000 copies of Books of Hours were produced in the two generations before the Reformation.¹¹³ According to Mary Erler's calculations, between 1526 and 1538, approximately six editions of Primers per year were printed.¹¹⁴ By the time of the Reformation, Books of Hours were being printed in the thousands, 'in formats ranging from the sumptuous to the skimpy', and at all price points.¹¹⁵ This meant that inhabitants across England had access to these basic devotional handbooks.

The Church (obviously) did not regulate the content of Primers; *Horae* were valued for their 'tradition of flexibility and adaptability'.¹¹⁶ In some aspects, Books of Hours related closely to the liturgy of the Church in that they acted as 'a bridge' between Church and the household, especially when used at Mass, funerals, and Vespers.¹¹⁷ But the Primer was considered a distorted reflection of the Divine Office, illustrating rather the 'supplementary devotions' that often accompanied the Office.¹¹⁸ They provided evidence for the 'personal liturgy' of the commissioner/owner.¹¹⁹ The Primer was a staple of lay devotional participation in church and in the home before it was superseded by the Book of Common Prayer.¹²⁰

¹¹² de Hamel, *History*, p.164. Mary C. Erler, 'Devotional Literature', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.496 – quotes de Hamel. Eamon Duffy, 'Late Medieval Religion', in Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds., *Gothic: Art for England, 1400-1547*. London: V&A Publications, 2003. p.59 – cites the number of 120 editions by 1530. 37 editions between 1501 and 1520, 41 between 1521 and 1530, and 20 between 1531 and 1535 is given in Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. p.26.

¹¹³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. p.212.

¹¹⁴ Mary C. Erler, 'The *Maner to Lyve Well* and the Coming of English in François Regnault's Primers of the 1520s and 1530s', in *The Library*, Series Six, Volume 6, Number 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984 (Sept.). p.232.

¹¹⁵ Duffy, *SotA*, p.209.

¹¹⁶ Duffy, *SotA*, p.234. Butterworth, *Primers*, p.3. White, p.9.

¹¹⁷ Reinburg, *French*, p.6. Henry Littlehales, *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co, 1895. p.xii. Duffy, 'Elite', p.142. See also Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. B.A. Windeatt. London: Penguin Books, 1994. p.56. Duffy, 'Late', p.60. Aston, *Lollards*, p.122.

¹¹⁸ Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. p.213.

¹¹⁹ Wordsworth and Littlehales, pp.251-252. Paul Saenger, 'Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages', in Roger Chartier, ed., *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1989. p.155. R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215-c.1515*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. p.97. Morison, p.33.

¹²⁰ White, p.119.

Primers were present in households of kings and their mothers down to the bedchambers of wax chandlers' servants.¹²¹ Part of the popularity of *Horae* was the scope for customisation, such as binding separately painted devotional images into a book and writing on the blank backs.¹²² Aside from the typical prayers of the period, Primers also commonly included horoscopes, charms, cures, images, and self-designed prayers.¹²³ Lest such additions be considered superstitious accretions of the uneducated masses, even Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond (1443-1509), recorded prayer charms in her Book of Hours.¹²⁴ Less religiously (or superstitiously), Books of Hours were used for pen trials, doodles, legal agreements, and family records.¹²⁵

At minimum, a Book of Hours contained a calendar, a table for finding the date of Easter and other movable feasts over a period of years, Gospel passages, the Little Office or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Seven Penitential Psalms (6, 32, 38, 50, 102, 130, and 143), the Fifteen Gradual Psalms (120-134), the Psalms of the Passion (22-31), the Litany of the Saints, the Office of the Dead, and the Commendation of Souls (Psalms 119 to the end).¹²⁶ The Hours of the Virgin Mary, which highlighted the Virgin as the primary intercessor with Christ and God and mirrored the monastic practice of prayer at each canonical hour of the day, was the bedrock of Primers, joined by the Penitential Psalms and Office of the Dead.¹²⁷ The eight canonical hours had been contracted into seven services: Matins and Lauds performed together in the middle of the night, Prime at dawn, Terce, Sext, and None evenly spaced throughout daylight hours, Vespers said at sunset, while Compline marked the point of full darkness.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Aston, *Lollards*, p.124. Duffy, 'Elite', p.146. For example, the Hours of Richard III passed to Margaret Beaufort after his defeat at Bosworth – Jenny Stratford, 'Royal Books', in Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds., *Gothic: Art for England, 1400-1547*. London: V&A Publications, 2003. p.183.

¹²² Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.40. Duffy, *Hours*, p.ix. Duffy, 'Two', p.165, citing CUL MS li.6.2 as an example.

¹²³ Duffy, *Hours*, p.xii.

¹²⁴ Duffy, 'Two', p.167.

¹²⁵ Duffy, *Hours*, p.viii. Christopher N.L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. pp.35-36 for detail on Lady Margaret's entries in the calendar of her Book of Hours.

¹²⁶ Birchenough, p.178. Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.250. Littlehales, p.xxxix. Erler, 'Devotional', pp.495-496. Duffy, *SotA*, p.209.

¹²⁷ Duffy, *Hours*, p.6. Wieck, 'Book', p.473. J. Black, pp.67, 70.

¹²⁸ E.G. Richards, *Mapping Time: The Calendar and its History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. p.379. Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. pp.154-155. Duncan, p.94. Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969. pp.4-5. Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. Second edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. p.141. Swete, p.39. Pierre Battifol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, trans. Atwell M.Y. Baylay. London: Longmans,

Books of Hours could variously be in Latin, English (or other vernacular languages), or both.¹²⁹ In addition to the standard prayers, producers of printed editions introduced further material such as the ‘Manner to Live Well’ and pseudo-medical texts linking the zodiac to the functions of the body. While such accretions reflected changes in medieval religion and practice, they also allowed printers to cater to a wider demographic and an expanded market of book buyers.¹³⁰ From 1529, Primers consistently included the ‘Days of the Week Moralised’, the ‘Manner’, and the Three Verities, designed ‘to make a more accessible (hence more saleable) version of the primer’.¹³¹ The ‘Manner to Live Well’ was a short explanation of the effective use of a Book of Hours and was considered ‘doctrinally neutral’; it appeared in thirty-six editions between 1529 and 1556.¹³² The Three Verities were sentences to include in one’s prayers highlighting one’s willingness to adhere to the Commandments and to confess to sins. Due to the relative flexibility of their content, Books of Hours were ‘especially liable’ to reform tendencies – evangelicals could easily insert changes by hand according to their leanings and, given the multiplicity of editions printed, a reforming version could simply escape notice.¹³³ Revisions of Primers allowed for experimentation with vernacular (often versified) versions of texts like the Lord’s Prayer and the Apostles’ Creed that foreshadowed the Book of Common Prayer.¹³⁴ In 1538, François Regnault printed a set of Primers that, in addition to Quentin’s ‘Manner to Live Well’, included a preface calling for reform.¹³⁵ The Redman Primer of 1535 was remarkable for being completely in English, but it was ‘a translation rather than a reformation of the Sarum primers’ although it omitted indulgences.¹³⁶ Further developments were evident in Hilsey’s Primer of 1539, retaining material on the saints and the dead, but shortening the

Green and Co, 1912. p.10. Baxter, p.83. William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae. Volume III*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882. p.iv. Duffy, *Hours*, p.5.

¹²⁹ Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.249.

¹³⁰ Duffy, *Hours*, pp.139, 145. Richard Britnell, *The Closing of the Middle Ages?: England, 1471-1529*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997. p.159.

¹³¹ The ‘Days of the Week Moralised’ will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Erler, ‘*Maner*’, p.232.

¹³² Duffy, *SotA*, p.212. Wieck, ‘*Book*’, p.475. Erler, ‘*Maner*’, p.229-243. For a full summary of the tract, see White, pp.150-152.

¹³³ Francis Proctor and Walter Howard Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer: With a Rationale of its Offices*. London: MacMillan and Co, 1902. p.32. White, p.9.

¹³⁴ Kenneth Stevenson, ‘Worship by the Book’, in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.14.

¹³⁵ Birchenough, p.187.

¹³⁶ *STC* (2) 15986.3. Duffy, *SotA*, p.383.

Dirige, offering alternative Psalms, eliminating indulgences, and skipping six of the nine readings from Job in the Office of the Dead.¹³⁷

The Primer was integral to England's devotional culture and, in Henry VIII's later opinion, had to be overhauled to eliminate 'the diversity of primer books'.¹³⁸ The 1545 Authorised Primer or King Henry's Primer (KHP) can be viewed as an evolutionary intermediary between traditional Primers and the Book of Common Prayer.¹³⁹ The KHP was a blow to traditionalists as it eliminated many saints from the calendar, cut the Dirige to a third of its traditional length, did not include individual prayers to the Virgin or saints, and added a section called Prayers of the Passion which were more Scriptural and supplemented by other prayers authored by humanists such as Luis de Vives (1493-1540) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536).¹⁴⁰ Although the KHP featured previously revised readings from the Canticles (the Creed, *Pater Noster*, and Ten Commandments all derived from the versions authorised in 1541), it further standardized the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*.¹⁴¹ Despite being accused of 'promoting reform within the shell of traditional forms', this Primer remained within the bounds of traditionalism.¹⁴² However, the most devastating aspect was the demand that accompanied it – namely that it was the only Primer permitted to be sold.¹⁴³ No longer was the devotional variety that had hitherto characterised the genre allowed. Books of Hours served many functions for each user but more than anything it was a guide to prayer.¹⁴⁴ Because the BCP was not only designed as the priest's text but also as the guide for the laity, this thesis uses Books of Hours as a comparable lay text for comparison.¹⁴⁵

The eight Books of Hours studied here were produced over roughly a century-and-a-half and were chosen for specific reasons: the three earliest (manuscript) copies were chosen to represent the flourishing second-hand market where such versions could be purchased (particularly by less wealthy

¹³⁷ *STC* (2) 16011. Duffy, *SotA*, pp.444-445.

¹³⁸ *TRP* 248, pp.349-350. Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. p.245.

¹³⁹ *STC* 16034. Butterworth, *Primers*, pp.vii, 256.

¹⁴⁰ Duffy, *SotA*, pp.444, 446-447.

¹⁴¹ Cuming, p.59. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. London: Yale University Press, 1996. p.336.

¹⁴² MacCulloch, *TC*, p.335.

¹⁴³ Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. p.30.

¹⁴⁴ Reinburg, *French*, p.3.

¹⁴⁵ Swete, p.19.

families). The two last Primers were selected for their direct bearing on the development of the Book of Common Prayer. The three intervening editions of Books of Hours were chosen to examine the work of two of the most prominent *Horae* printers (Hardouyn and Regnault), with two editions by Regnault selected to examine the differences in content that one printer could introduce. Though the five printed Sarum editions here represent perhaps 3% of what was produced, they represent 1% of what has survived (fragments included).

But what is key to note in this study is the stability of the major texts, such as the Hours of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead, and the Psalms (though the separation out into Gradual or Penitential does vary), throughout the entire time covered. The three earliest, manuscript, copies number roughly the same amount of pages (between 107 and 123 folios). However, Ushaw MS 16 is a miniature format, designed to fit in the palm of the hand and likely meant more as a talisman, containing the basic prayers considered central to a Primer (and no illustrations). DUL Cosin V.V.5 and Add. MS 1650 are of a similar size (like a modern paperback) and both contain a number of full-page miniatures and vernacular prayers – despite the fact that nearly a century separates their production.

With the fourth through eighth copies, we shifted into printed Primers. The three earliest printed editions illustrate the variety of style that co-existed, including when produced by the same printer, but also indicate the changes possible following the use of printing technology. The number of folios per book increased in response to the more numerous suffrages and vernacular prayers that were included: DUL Bamburgh Select .22, .46, and .20 number 185, 250, and 175 folios respectively. All three also had numerous illustrations of various forms (miniatures, decorated initials, full-page images), even DUL Bamburgh Select .46, which is a sixteenmo (the higher folio count reflecting that the same amount of content was included but on a smaller page size). These three editions were produced in a six-year time period, which could indicate why their contents were so similar, but it is telling that the final edition of this period (DUL Bamburgh Select .20 – from 1536) contained more prayers relating to death than the two earlier editions (perhaps because it was

by a conservative printer who produced it on the heels of the executions of John Fisher and Thomas More?).

The final two Primers consulted are versions of King Henry's Primer. DUL Routh SB 2090 is the fourth edition of King Henry's Primer and DCL H.IIIB.37 is the first bilingual edition of King Henry's Primer. Numbering 134 and 175 folios, respectively, they are roughly the same size as the previous versions of Primers, despite the abandonment of images other than decorative initials (though the English version does contain a woodcut of David and Bathsheba tipped in ahead of the Seven Psalms).¹⁴⁶ The major difference between earlier Primers and King Henry's was the reduction of prayers to specific saints and the increase in the number of prayers based on circumstance (such as prayers in the morning, upon arising, at bedtime, and at the hour of death). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, but it is clear that the material in these devotional handbooks would play a role in the development of the Book of Common Prayer.

Manuals

In this section, we will examine the content of Manuals (also known as Rituals) before scrutinising what the selected case studies reveal about their existence over the period of interest here. Manuals contained texts and instructions for a range of ceremonial rites in the parish church, including baptism, matrimony, churching, visitation of the sick, the Office of the Dead, burial, and the Canon of the Mass.¹⁴⁷ Developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Manuals and their texts and rubricated instructions ensured that the celebrant would perform services correctly, indicating any adjustments necessary for the time of year.¹⁴⁸

This genre is crucial to the present study as it laid out the services for the milestone events of people's lives. These books were invaluable to the priests serving a lay community, helping them to maintain the spiritual health of their parishioners from birth through marriage until death.

¹⁴⁶ Given that Henry VIII was purchasing large numbers of material depicting the life of King David (John Guy, *Henry VIII: The Quest for Fame*. London: Penguin Books, 2014. p.94), perhaps Grafton's role as printer of the KHP had afforded him an opportunity to know about this fetish and use it to his advantage by including the David and Bathsheba image in the KHP.

¹⁴⁷ Stevenson, p.14. Morison, p.32. Cuming, p.30.

¹⁴⁸ Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.33. Texts such as the rules for separating lepers or laying out a royal corpse were more to provide extraneous reading matter than to be used regularly, if at all – A. Jeffries Collins, *Manuale ad Usum Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis*. Chichester: Moore and Tillyer for Henry Bradshaw Society, 1958. p.xx.

Unfortunately, few examples have come to down to us intact, either in manuscript or in print. One of the reasons for the scarcity of this text is that they were 'used to death'. Service books were only replaced if they became unusable; churchwardens were unlikely to authorise the purchase of a new printed text if their manuscript version was still serviceable. Those that did not succumb to over-use were liable to destruction under Edward VI's prohibition of Sarum books. Because manuscript copies were used as long as possible and could feature local peculiarities, they were not regularly printed and very few printed editions exist. The copies used in this study are occasionally incomplete because elements are missing due to general wear and tear.

Of the eight Manuals consulted for this study, five fulfilled at least some of the original selection criteria (being post-incunabula though printed in England, France, and the Low Countries). The earliest three copies of Manuals are manuscript versions, produced in the late fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. Accepting that Manuals were likely to have existed for at least each parish church, the lower number of editions printed compared to Missals (which were meant for each priest no matter whether they served a parish, a chapel, or other religious function) suggests that a large quantity of manuscript Manuals remained in active use. The use of manuscript copies is borne out in the earliest version consulted here, DUL Cosin V.III.21. Though this manuscript is incomplete, it does contain updates to the language of the marriage ceremony, implying that Manuals were dynamic works. But the minimal decoration of this manuscript and the other two studied here, BL Add MS 30506 and BL Stowe MS 13, (few decorated initials and no miniatures in any of them) underscores that these were working objects – utilitarian rather than decorative. The internal evidence of BL Add MS 30506 also supports the idea of Manuals being both utilitarian and dynamic – there is minimal decoration but a considerable engagement with legislation. References to Thomas Becket and popes were removed, but then re-added at a later date. The final manuscript example, BL Stowe MS 13, likely functioned more as an aide-mémoire than a functional text as the handwriting and poor quality of the parchment make it more difficult to read at speed.

The remaining five examples of Manuals consulted in this study span nearly 40 years. 21 editions of printed Sarum Manuals were produced in a 45 year period. Our copies cover 24% of the

editions created and 19% of the copies that are either complete or only lacking up to four pages. The earliest consulted (CCCPL EP.H.10) is the fourth recorded edition produced, and the first (and only) produced in England in the period up to 1549. The latest (DUL Bamburgh Select .21) is the final edition of a Sarum Manual produced until Mary I's reign. The content of the printed versions is remarkably similar to that found in the manuscript ones, though the printed copies have slightly expanded content, including services that might not have been used regularly or at all in certain parishes. Printed editions presumably were meant to prepare priests for every eventuality, however unlikely, hence why SJCUL T.9.53 (the third printed edition consulted here) included the service for separating lepers. The print copies also contain little illustration (generally relegated to decorative initials, though Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3 and DUL Bamburgh Select .21 contain sporadic full-page miniatures), again underlining their importance as functional texts rather than decorative or contemplative ones. Despite the different producers, the content of the Manuals was consistent across a century and a half, though emendations were made where necessary.¹⁴⁹

Missals

Moving on to Missals, we examine the service books that every priest needed to perform the Mass at least once a day before highlighting what the case studies revealed about change over time in the period of our interest. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Missals had achieved the form that they would keep into the Tudor period.¹⁵⁰ They contained the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, the Temporal services for Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and days of special feasts, the Sanctoral services for saints' days, and votive Masses (for saints, church events, and other life events such as against the plague or thunderstorms).¹⁵¹ Each service was provided with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels used in the Mass.¹⁵² Because of their widespread and daily use (needing to be used at least by the priests of the 9000 parishes), Missals were frequently printed – 66 impressions of Sarum editions

¹⁴⁹ This is most obvious in the marriage services, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

¹⁵⁰ Stevenson, pp.10, 19. Swete, p.105. Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998. p.24. William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae. Volume I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882. p.lxviii. Morison, p.25. Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.170. Krochalis and Matter, pp.449, 451, 455, 457.

¹⁵¹ Cuming, p.29. Palazzo, p.58. Francis Henry Dickinson, *Missale ad Usum Insignis et Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*. Oxford: J. Parker and Society, 1861-1883. p.iv.

¹⁵² Dickinson, p.iii.

were known to have been published between 1486 and 1557.¹⁵³ The market was dominated by Continental presses: up to 1534, 54 editions were printed on the Continent, a mere six in England.¹⁵⁴ Despite the opportunities that printing provided, there was not yet complete uniformity to Missals, even of Sarum Use.¹⁵⁵

The Canon of the Mass was the invariable centre of the Missal.¹⁵⁶ Following the approach pioneered by German printers Fust and Schoeffer in 1457, the Canon was often printed separately on parchment, thereby making the most frequently used part of the book more durable. Such printed parchment Canons were even used to replace outworn Canons of manuscript Missals.¹⁵⁷ To emphasise its importance (and to make using it easier), the Canon was headed by an image of the Crucifixion and commonly set in a font of a larger size from that of the rest of the book, as is seen in each example cited here. Integral to the service of the Mass and the spiritual health of all medieval people, Missals are key to perceiving the relationship of priests with the laity, the public understanding of religion, and how the Church addressed the relationship with the saints and communal events like deaths and natural phenomena.

Missals were the only genre to which the criteria of post-incunabula could be strictly adhered; all eight copies date from 1501 onwards. However, the variety produced did result in examining copies printed on the Continent in addition to printed in England. Though only 13% of printed Sarum Missal editions are represented by the eight case studies chosen, the six printers represented produced 28% of the editions (Morison, Regnault, and Birckman were the top three producers and their work is represented here). Pynson and Regnault are each represented twice; Pynson due to his influence as King's Printer, and Regnault due to his considerable experience in

¹⁵³ The first Sarum Missal was printed in 1486 by Wennsler of Basel. Morison, p.38. Henry R. Plomer, *Wynkyn de Worde and His Contemporaries: From the Death of Caxton to 1535*. London: Grafton and Co, 1925. p.28. Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.174. Stevenson, p.10. No Sarum Missals were printed between 1534 and the beginning of Mary I's reign. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, 'Introduction', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.26. David Loades, 'Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558,' in Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990. p.278. Heath, p.27.

¹⁵⁴ Loades, 'Books', pp.277-278.

¹⁵⁵ Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. p.418.

¹⁵⁶ Swete, p.106.

¹⁵⁷ David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. pp.42-43. Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.268. Morison, pp.34-35.

printing ecclesiastical material for the English market in general. The first English-printed Missal appeared in 1498. By 1502, the content followed the same format of temporal, sanctoral, and additional services as exhibited in the case studies examined here.¹⁵⁸ The content of the Missals hardly varied despite the different printers. The most distinguishing difference between editions was the number of images chosen, which affected how many pages the volumes ran to and to a lesser extent the page size. Five of the eight editions are folio size, best suited to sitting on an altar; the remaining three are quarto sizes, which made it possible for them to be carried around (perhaps by priests serving more than one church or chapel). But despite the size differences, the content remained the consistent with only minor changes in the order of votive Masses distinguishing the works of the different printers.

Pontificals

In this section, we examine the content of Pontificals and analyse what the selected copies represent in terms of content and changes thereto. Pontificals were specifically designed for use by bishops and archbishops, as the only ministers of certain sacraments (namely confirmation and ordination), and evidence what bishops would have used and how specific services should have been conducted. A Pontifical contained three general parts: the first covered the ceremonies only bishops could perform such as ordination, confirmation, and installation of an abbot; the second covered blessings given by bishops such as the consecration of a church or cemetery; the final part dealt with ceremonies that required a bishop's presence such as the degradation of heretic or excommunication.¹⁵⁹ The section called the Benedictional was composed of blessings used at Mass between the fraction of Host and the *Agnus Dei*.¹⁶⁰ The Pontifical also contained exceptional services such as coronation.¹⁶¹ Pontificals are difficult to contextualise fully as they were in essence a bishop's personal property and not church property as Missals and Manuals were.¹⁶² The inclusion of services from Pontificals in the Book of

¹⁵⁸ The author has recently had the chance to examine another printed Sarum Missal – produced by Jean du Pré in Paris in 1502 (STC 16175), Christ's College Old Library CC.2.12 – which supports this conclusion; though this particularly copy lacks its calendar and the Order of Matrimony has been excised.

¹⁵⁹ Krochalis and Matter, p.454. Cuming, p.30. Stevenson, p.16.

¹⁶⁰ Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.225.

¹⁶¹ Stevenson, p.16.

¹⁶² Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.219.

Common Prayer illustrated some of the differences that the Reformation brought; however, the Sarum Pontifical was still used for the consecration of bishops and ordination of priests for the first year following the introduction of the BCP.¹⁶³

Bishops were far fewer in number than regular clergy, thus fewer Pontificals remain. Because of the paucity of these books in general, there are minimal numbers of printed versions available for study. There were no printed English editions, which left consulting Roman Use editions as the only option for printed investigation (five were used). Manuscript copies made up the remaining portion of study, with a focus on English Use – hence the copy owned by Archbishop of Canterbury Henry Chichele. Bishops may have preferred to use manuscript copies that contained the quirks of custom and habits of their diocese. The earliest of the manuscript Pontificals, DUL Cosin V.III.13, is incomplete and technically described as Use of Reims, but given its ownership by Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, it was considered acceptable to use in comparison given that it might have informed Cranmer’s thinking when revising English services. The second manuscript example (BL Add MS 6157) is also incomplete, but emphasises the importance of services of consecration and ordination in its contents as does the copy owned by Cranmer; it is generally ascribed to Sarum Use based on the known owner of the manuscript (Archbishop of Canterbury Henry Chichele). The final manuscript example (BL Harley MS 561) is also considered incomplete. Utilitarian in style, the remaining content further underscores the importance of orders of services (such as confirmation) and consecrations (of churches and altars). The manuscript copies are the only ones believed to have English links and thus are required for our understanding of what the English bishops, and Thomas Cranmer in particular, would have been using for episcopal services.

Because more regions subscribed to the Roman Use, a larger market of bishops meant that a print run was feasible, unlike for the small population of bishops adhering to the Use of Sarum. But given the similarity of Use of Sarum to Use of Rome, the outline of the contents is allowed here for comparison. The five printed editions consulted for this study are all Use of Rome, but they illustrate

¹⁶³ Arthur Stapylton Barnes, *The Popes and the Ordinal: A Collection of Documents Bearing on the Question of Anglican Orders*. London: Robert Browning, 1896. p.5.

what areas of religious observance bishops were responsible for. The earliest four copies, covering the 1485 and 1497 editions, were extensive works that covered dozens of services and occasions at which a bishop could expect to be present. These included the various ordination rites for the various levels of service in a church (deacons, acolytes, priests, bishops, etc.) and the services for consecrating holy places (churches, altars, cemeteries). BLO Auct. 1 Q 1.26 and BLO Auct. Q sup. 2.1 both exhibit a certain amount of personalisation, particularly in the provision of decorative initials (though these schemes have not been linked to any particular user). CUL Inc.3.B.2.26[1220] exhibited a few annotations, but these can only be generically dated to the sixteenth century while the marginalia of DUL Cosin SA 0142 are labelled as being made in response to the Council of Trent's final decisions in 1596. The last copy (CUL F150.a.2.5) was likely a pirated version, hence the use of Collibus vallis Trompie as the place of production rather than Trento or Tridentum. The manuscript copies give us a clearer idea of what was required of English bishops while the printed ones help us understand the near-universality of formatting of religious texts.

Book of Common Prayer

Despite efforts to impose the Sarum Use throughout the realm and Cranmer's (unpublished) attempts at a revised Breviary, the Book of Common Prayer was the culmination of attempts to standardise English service books.¹⁶⁴ In this section, we will examine the content of the BCP then observe what the different copies indicate about the book's development. The BCP is argued to be a 'simplification of complex forms, and a purging of malpractices and superstitions, along with excesses of decorative literature' – it was supposed to be the opposite to everything traditional.¹⁶⁵ However, while the BCP reduced the number of requisite liturgical books for the church (only part of the Pontificals remained separate at this point) and changed the dominant language to English, it extensively used Sarum material.¹⁶⁶ From the Missal, the BCP received the Supper of the Lord,

¹⁶⁴ John N. Wall, Jr., 'The Reformation in England and the Typographical Revolution: "By this printing...the doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all nations",' in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim, eds., *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*. London: Associated University Press, 1986. p.212.

¹⁶⁵ Baxter, p.100.

¹⁶⁶ British Museum, *Catalogue of an Exhibition Commemorating the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Introduction of the Book of Common Prayer*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1949. p.5. Ratcliff, p.10. Stella Brook, *The Language of the Book*

Introits/ Collects/ Epistles/ Gospels, and part of Ash Wednesday; from the Processional and Primer – the Litany and Suffrages; from the Manual – the five occasional offices; from the Pontifical – confirmation.¹⁶⁷ Above all, the BCP took over the function of the ‘script’ for the act of worship.¹⁶⁸

Two key questions on the origin of the Book of Common Prayer are: 1) who wrote the text and 2) what inspired their work? In response to the latter question, the authors could only have used what they knew: their traditional services and the evangelical revisions. In response to the former, there are two main authorial possibilities – either a committee of clergymen or the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer.¹⁶⁹ Rather than undertaking a literary analysis to determine authorship, this study accepts MacCulloch’s assertion that the bulk of the text was written (or simply translated in many cases) by Thomas Cranmer himself with aid from his secretary Ralph Morice (b.c.1500) with additions and amendments taken into account after the work was presented to what is commonly referred to as the Windsor Committee.¹⁷⁰ Cranmer used such tools as previous Sarum books, his revision of the breviary, and his other liturgical undertakings to form the basis of the text, but these reflected his evangelical beliefs.¹⁷¹ The committee, which included more conservative clergymen than would have been the case later in Edward VI’s reign, probably requested certain amendments to make the text seem less reformist.¹⁷² Such a contention would explain why the 1549 Book of Common Prayer ‘retained many traditional practices in order not to offend the conservative inclinations of the bulk of churchgoers’.¹⁷³

Because study of the Book of Common Prayer was relegated to those of the first year of production (1549), selecting two copies each from the two printers, encompassing the first three

of Common Prayer. London: Andre Deutsch, 1965. p.17. Swete, p.120. Percy Dearmer, *Everyman’s History of the Prayer Book*. London: A.R. Mowbray and Co, 1912. p.37. Cuming, p.68. Wall, p.212. Morison, p.46.

¹⁶⁷ Ratcliff, p.14. Swete, p.123. A full description of the contents and the influence of reform ideas on particularly communion prayers can be found in Cuming, pp.69-95.

¹⁶⁸ Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.1.

¹⁶⁹ For committee authorship, cf. Rosendale, p.32. For Cranmer, cf. Gordon Jeanes, ‘Cranmer and Common Prayer’, in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.21. Though Jeanes’ statement that ‘The Book of Common Prayer owes its character above all to one man’ does beg the clarification of which BCP he believes upholds his words – 1549 or 1552 or both.

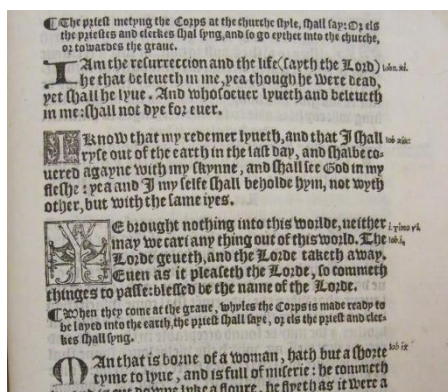
¹⁷⁰ MacCulloch, *TC*, p.396.

¹⁷¹ Wordsworth and Littlehales, p.8.

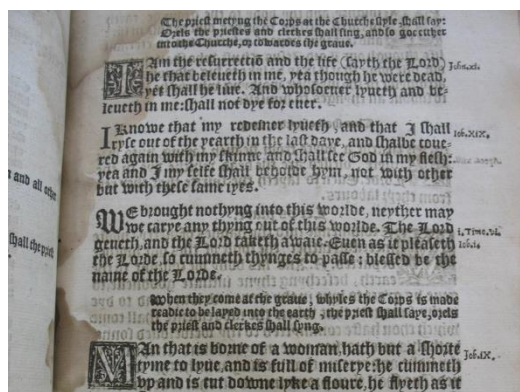
¹⁷² When conciliation would be phased out and the views of the government would be known to support more Calvinist views and doctrine.

¹⁷³ Philip Benedict, *Christ’s Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. London: Yale University Press, 2002. p.237.

issues, was considered sufficient to determine the consistency of content across the editions of that year.¹⁷⁴ The 1549 BCP was printed by Richard Grafton (c.1511-1573) and Edward Whitchurch (d.1562) per the terms of their 1547 license to print service books in English or Latin; Whitchurch's first edition was dated 7 March, while Grafton's first edition was dated 8 March.¹⁷⁵ The Book of Common Prayer, as opposed to the other service book genres, used a combination of black-letter and roman fonts. According to Evenden and Freeman, it was the responsibility of the printer to work out which types and page layouts to use, so the style of the BCP was likely the decision of Grafton and Whitchurch – perhaps to integrate the old traditions with the new.¹⁷⁶ The four examples used in this thesis illustrate the consistency of the text but also highlight the minor differences that can occur between printings. The most obvious difference between editions printed by Grafton and those printed by Whitchurch was the style of the accompanying images. Grafton's decorated initials were overwhelmingly figural (sirens, King David, reaching couples in the majority – see Image 1) while Whitchurch's were decorative only (various forms of foliage – see Image 2) and were often too small for the allotted space and accompanied by a decorative line.



1. DCL F.IV.56, fol.173r



2. DUL SB+ 0851/1, fol. 176r

¹⁷⁴ 12 editions and issues for 1549.

¹⁷⁵ TRP 353, pp.485-486. Grafton's name is affixed to four editions of the BCP and Whitchurch's to five. H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475 to 1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952. p.208. Colin Clair, *A Chronology of Printing*. London: Cassell, 1969. p.52. Fredrick Seaton Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965. p.33. Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books, 1473-1557*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.190. Henry Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing 1476-1898*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co, 1900. p.73. Henry Lemoine, *Typographical Antiquities: History, Origins, and Progress of the Art of Printing*. London: S. Fisher, No. 10, St John's Lane, Clerkenwell, 1797. <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=duruni&tabID=T001&docId=CW108362679&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. p.64.

¹⁷⁶ Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. p.16.

The most obvious physical difference between the Book of Common Prayer and the Sarum books was the blank space on the page. This was created by shift in navigational technology – Grafton and Whitchurch used both blackletter and Roman fonts to navigate the text. This reduced the amount of justification of the text and increased ‘white space’ on the page, which could be argued was to make reading easier. But it is telling that blackletter was used for the religious text while roman was only used for the rubrics; this kept the BCP closer in style to the Sarum editions. Exchanging colour for font style was possibly due to one of three reasons. Either the printers had less access to red ink, they had their own interest in experimenting with fonts, or this was a request by Cranmer or Morice as part of a pedagogical experiment to increase numbers of laity using the text. Despite this change in appearance, though, and given the need for this book to represent a unified liturgy, the case study examples support that the liturgy did not vary between editions.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the Reformation, estimates of many as 250,000 copies of various service books in England.¹⁷⁷ What proportion of Sarum liturgical materials do these case studies represent? This is a two-fold question – first is to know whether we mean manuscript and/or print, then there is the proportion of what remains versus proportion of what was produced. What was produced in manuscript form is unknowable, but we can guess that the numbers of Books of Hours were high given that so many manuscript editions could still be found for sale in the 16th century. A certain number of copies of Manuals, Missals, and Pontificals can be determined given an estimate of how many clerics existed in England. Of what was originally produced in print is more difficult to determine. Give 250 copies as a typical print-run, we can approximate based on the known editions recorded in *STC*. For Missals, this means that roughly 28,000 copies were in existence between 1487 and 1549. For Manuals and Pontificals, the needs of local usages mean that counts of printed copies would be severely underestimating what existed. What remains of the original numbers of printed and manuscript texts today can be almost impossible to determine. While *ISTC* and *ESTC* can help to gather a general idea of the numbers of surviving printed editions, no such tool exists for collating

¹⁷⁷ Maskell, *Vol. I*, p.cci.

numbers of ecclesiastical manuscripts. Additionally, many private collections are not included in such counts, plus there are still institutions which have their item records only on card catalogues (which are often forgotten) or the material still remains completely uncatalogued (as was the case until recently of Christ's College Old Library, CC.2.12).

Concurrent with the growth of the Reformation on the Continent in the early 1500s, printing revolutionized the dissemination of religious texts. In England, reforming impulses reduced the multiplicity of books required for any given service into two – the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. What is interesting to note from the texts studied is that Pontificals, Missals, and Manuals had been limited in their production by 1543; only the market for Books of Hours seemed to continue. Six years later, with the introduction of the notionally reformist 1549 Book of Common Prayer, to what extent were the lessons and functions of the earlier Use of Sarum books retained? The following chapters will argue the various ways in which Sarum influence remained in the books and how it affected English churchgoers.

3. 'What Squire Harry will':¹⁷⁸ Tudor Religious Policy

*Das juncker Heintze wil Gott sein und thun was in gelüsted. (Squire Harry wants to be God and do what he lusts to do.)*¹⁷⁹

*Most obviously, the English Reformation, like many German territorial reformations, was first and foremost an act of state.*¹⁸⁰

As Philip Benedict notes (second epigraph above), the English Reformation, especially as viewed from the service books, was predominately based upon the actions of the state, resulting in change to liturgy and ritual.¹⁸¹ This chapter will argue that the governmental religious policy that developed under Henry VIII and Edward VI is the explanation for certain Sarum holdovers into the Book of Common Prayer, especially from a legal point-of-view.¹⁸² Because the English Reformation was an act of state, the emphasis on royal policy of this chapter underscores (as will be noted throughout this thesis) how and why certain themes in the Sarum books were changed over longer periods than others, ultimately resulting in the transition into the BCP.

Before Henry VIII (pre-1509)

Discussion of the legal framework behind England's Reformation of the service books is incomplete without at least a short note on the influence of Lollardy. In brief, the Lollards (supposed followers of John Wycliffe, c.1320-1384) were deniers of transubstantiation, opponents of the use of images, desirous of the Holy Scripture in English, preferring of money being given to the poor rather than to the Church, and believers that the laity would benefit from being more aware of the Bible and less reliant on priests.¹⁸³ Such reforming ideas affronted the established Church, including the clerics who

¹⁷⁸ C.S.L. Davies, *Peace, Print, and Protestantism*, London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1986. p.237.

¹⁷⁹ Letter from Martin Luther to Robert Barnes, LP XVI 106. My translation. Frequently abbreviated and translated as the chapter title indicates, as in Maurice Powicke, *The Reformation in England*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. p.73.

¹⁸⁰ Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. London: Yale University Press, 2002. p.230.

¹⁸¹ See also John N. Wall, Jr. 'The Reformation in England and the Typographical Revolution: "By this printing...the doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all nations"', in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim, eds., *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*. London: Associated University Press, 1986. p.208. Christopher Haigh, 'The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp.26-27. Powicke, pp.1, 38-39. Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. Second edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. p.xiv. J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984. p.vii.

¹⁸² Certain policies and their impact will be discussed in more detail in the thematic chapters. The policies referred to here are from two main sources: the royal proclamations of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI (known as *TRP*) and the acts of Henry and Edward's Parliaments (abbreviated as *Statutes*).

¹⁸³ Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images, Vol. I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988. pp.106, 124. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. p.xxvi.

occupied high offices in England and the king, Henry IV (1367-1413). Thus in 1401, an act of Parliament was passed, entitled *De Heretico Comburendo* and tellingly subtitled ‘Against the Lollards’.¹⁸⁴ The crux of the act was the conviction that heresy was being taught by a sect of dissenters, therefore, anything preached, taught, or written contrary to Church doctrine was illegal. The English Church’s response to the Lollard ‘crisis’ was organised by Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel (1353-1414) in 1407 as the Oxford Council.¹⁸⁵ The outcome of the Council was the Constitutions of Oxford (or Arundel’s Constitutions); these were concerned with ensuring that doctrine was preserved, the realm united in faith, and children properly taught the tenets of faith, with the added result of Wycliffe’s tracts and English Scripture being declared suspect and eligible for destruction.¹⁸⁶ Ratified by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1409, the Constitutions formalised the prosecution of heresy that remained in force into Henry VIII’s reign, namely that the Church identified and found guilty any heretics who were then passed to the State for execution.¹⁸⁷ This was the background against which thirteen of our case studies were produced (36% of our sample).¹⁸⁸ In part, these Constitutions helped form the nascent uniformity that the wide acceptance of the Use of Sarum encouraged. ‘Uniformity’ of the kind that Sarum illustrated was a potent tool against heresy and likely led to Archbishop Chichele’s recommendation of the adoption of Sarum services throughout the Southern Province. However, the use of English in the Church and much doctrinal or

William Joynton-Hicks, *The Prayer Book Crisis*. London: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1928. p.5. Peter Marshall, *Reformation England: 1480-1642*. Second edition. London: Hodder Arnold, 2003. p.18.

¹⁸⁴ *Statutes*, 2 Henry IV, c.15. pp.125-128. Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557: Volume I. Chapters 1-8 (1501-1546)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. p.174.

¹⁸⁵ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.174.

¹⁸⁶ David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a synodo verolamiensi A.D. CCCCLXVI. ad londinensem A.D. MDCCXVII. Accedunt constitutiones et alia ad historiam Ecclesiae Anglicanae spectantia*. London: R. Gosling, F. Gyles, T. Woodward, C. Davis, 1737. pp.314-319. A further constitution required monthly investigations at Oxford to ensure that heretical ideas were not spreading – this could partly explain why reform in Henry VIII’s time seemed to emanate from Cambridge.

¹⁸⁷ *Statutes*, 2 Henry IV, c.15. pp.127-128. Brian Moynahan, *Book of Fire: William Tyndale, Thomas More and the Bloody Birth of the English Bible*. London: Abacus, 2002. pp.ix-xii. Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Christianity in England from Roman Times to the Reformation: Volume III: 1384-1558*. London: SCM Press, 2001. p.28. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.174. Convocation always ran concurrent with Parliament – Stanford E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation Parliament, 1529-1536*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. p.ix. The Convocation of York typically rubber-stamped any decisions made in the Canterbury sessions – Lehmborg, p.74. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. London: Yale University Press, 1996. p.88 and note 33.

¹⁸⁸ Two case studies likely pre-date the Wycliffite controversy – DUL Cosin V.III.13 and DUL Cosin V.III.21.

ritual innovation were forestalled as being tainted by the Lollard heresy.¹⁸⁹ Such fear lasted through the century and into the reign of Henry VIII.

Henry's Early Reign (1509-1529)

The fifteenth-century Church in which Henry was raised comprised monastic foundations, mendicant friaries, secular clergy, and devout laity. As the philosophy behind the Renaissance changed the nature of artistic principles, it also led to the rise of Christian humanism and Church reform in the late 1400s and early 1500s.¹⁹⁰ According to humanists, reform required an improvement in the standards of the Church. The premier reforming humanist, Desiderius Erasmus, believed that identifying and ingesting the earliest possible religious texts would help clerics achieve perfection, which would subsequently trickle down into the laity.¹⁹¹ Humanists sought to eliminate ritualistic superstition in certain practices (particularly indulgences), emphasising that true Christian feeling was promoted by knowledge and faith rather than outward actions.¹⁹² The lack of positive reform of such practices prompted Martin Luther's departure from traditional practice.¹⁹³ But Luther's vociferous denial of many of the basic tenets of orthodoxy pushed him outside the accepted bounds of humanist reform. From 1517 onwards, religious turmoil provided the background to diplomatic and bellicose relationships between England and the Continent.¹⁹⁴ Humanistic approaches to reform could be compatible with the traditions laid out in the Use of Sarum; the focus on Scripture and Church Fathers that defined humanism was the basis for the texts of Sarum offices from daily services like Matins and Mass to occasional ones like baptism. The division and entrenchment into personal preferences that followed the 1520 declaration of Luther as a heretic resulted in cautious humanistic

¹⁸⁹ More on the use of English will be discussed in Chapter Six.

¹⁹⁰ Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964. p.11. For more on humanism as the basis of university education and the ways in which such an education was applied, see Richard Rex, 'The Role of English Humanists in the Reformation up to 1559', in N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree, and Henk van Nierop, eds., *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. pp.21-23.

¹⁹¹ Though some scholars have viewed humanism as the 'high road to the Reformation', this was persuasively disproved by Rex, 'Role', pp.19-40.

¹⁹² Erasmus' concentration on knowledge was underscored by his Greek New Testament translation and *Paraphrases* while his position on the irrelevance of rituals can be seen in his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani: An English Version*, ed. Anne M. O'Donnell. Early English Text Society Vol.282. London: Oxford University Press, 1981. pp.83-85.

¹⁹³ Aston, *Iconoclasts*, p.12.

¹⁹⁴ Bernard argues that Henry's style of reform was more Erasmian than anything else – G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. Esp. p.225. This is countered in Richard Rex, 'The Religion of Henry VIII', in *The Historical Journal*. Volume 57, No. 1, 2014. *passim*.

reform by bishops and continued support for using Sarum services but little other action in this period.

As a younger son, Henry had initially been educated with the expectation of joining the Church. The early death of his brother Arthur (1486-1502) resulted in Henry's re-education to become king (the position to which he succeeded on 21 April 1509).¹⁹⁵ As king, Henry maintained an interest in theological matters that underpinned much of his reign, including in his dealings with France, the Lutherans, and the Pope.¹⁹⁶ Of a similar age to the King of France, Francis I (1494-1547), Henry competed with him and not just in bellicose ways. Francis was titled the 'Most Christian King', a designation much envied by Henry; as Martin Luther's 'heresy' began to spread, an opportunity for Henry to prove himself to the Pope arose. Henry's authorship of the *Assertio Septem Sacramentum* netted him the satisfactory title of 'Defender of the Faith'.¹⁹⁷ But by the end of the 1520s, the lack of a male heir with his wife Katherine of Aragon (1485-1536) was of utmost importance to him. While Henry's diplomats were focused on obtaining a papally-sanctioned divorce, English reformers like William Tyndale (1494-1536) began expressing their unhappiness with the established Church (and to an extent with Henry) in writing.¹⁹⁸ The combined pressures of attacks on his authority and his need (at that moment) to have the Pope on his side led to Henry's first policy steps against 'heretics'.

The royal proclamation of 6 March 1529 sought to enforce statutes against heresy more consistently and prohibited both unlicensed preaching and heretical (or 'Lollard') books.¹⁹⁹ Previous

¹⁹⁵ Rex, *Henry*, p.2. David Starkey, *Henry: Virtuous Prince*. London: Harper Perennial, 2008. See Chapter 11 'Re-Education', pp.172-183. Though Henry never seemed to have lost his interest in theology – Rex, 'Religion', p.5.

¹⁹⁶ John Guy, *The Tudors: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. p.22. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1995. p.4. Richard Hoyle, 'War and Public Finance', in Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1995. p.74. Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p.46. See also *LP IV* 2 4920.

¹⁹⁷ London: Richard Pynson, 1521. *STC* (2) 13078. Cf. Preserved Smith, 'Luther and Henry VIII', in *The English Historical Review*. Vol. 25, No. 100 (October) 1910. p.658.

¹⁹⁸ Conrad Russell, 'The Reformation and the Creation of the Church of England 1500-1640', in John Morrill, ed., *The Oxford History of Tudor and Stuart Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. p.271. Christopher N.L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. p.125 posits that Henry and Cranmer were hopeful of a papal divorce as had been granted to many French kings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See especially Tyndale's 1528 works *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (*STC* [2] 24454) and *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (*STC* [2] 24446). Hylson-Smith, p.132.

¹⁹⁹ *TRP* 122, pp.181-186. Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.326-329. Blayney makes note of an issue in dating this proclamation: *TRP* includes a list of prohibited books that Blayney agrees should be dated to the 1570s. But as the proclamation rather than added list is of concern here and is undisputedly dated to before 6 March 1529, it is fair to consider it here. J.B. Trapp,

statutes for the defence of the faith against heretics and Lollards were reinstated in an attempt to forestall trouble of the sort that had occurred in Germany after the printing of Martin Luther's 'heretical and blasphemous' books. Henry was particularly concerned by 'erroneous books copied, printed, and written as well in the English tongue as in Latin and other languages, replete with most venomous heresies, blasphemies, and slanders'. As Sarum books were not considered heretical, there was little in this proclamation to concern them – a further nine of our case studies (25%) had been produced between 1509 and the date of this proclamation. Indeed if 'heretical' material were to seep into them, the designation of Sarum could protect the book for a time as no authority was closely checking every variation of a Sarum text for its orthodoxy, making the assumption that no printer would stray too far from an exemplar.²⁰⁰ In an atmosphere steeped in the century-old influence of the *De Heretico Comburendo*, this proclamation explains the (relative) consistency found in Sarum books at this time.

The Reformation Parliament (1529-1535)

The next period of Henry's reign was dominated by the seven sessions of what is known as the Reformation Parliament, in which papal authority was of utmost concern.²⁰¹ The recognition of Henry's piety in the title of 'Defender of the Faith' had encouraged Henry's belief that he was equipped to dispute about religious matters with authority. That the Pope had not accepted Henry's theological arguments for divorce encouraged Henry's perception that the Pope was not qualified to be the final arbiter of his divorce. As part of this argument, a royal proclamation of 12 September 1530 forbade the purchase of bulls from the 'court of Rome' as damaging to royal authority and Henry's ability to reform the Church in England.²⁰² Couched as helping to reform 'divers abuses by the clergy maintained to the noyance of his said subjects', this proclamation also asserted Henry's dominance in the hierarchy of power. While pre-Reformation limits on papal power in England were present in the Statutes of Provisors (1351, 1364, and 1390) and of *Praemunire* (1353 and 1393), these

'Literacy, Books and Readers', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.37. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.329. Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and early printing in England*. London: British Library, 2010. p.170.

²⁰⁰ None of our case studies dating up to this point seem to have been considered 'heretical'.

²⁰¹ Lehmberg, p.vii.

²⁰² *TRP* 130, pp.197-198.

were not consistently enforced until December 1530 when, disgusted with what he saw as papal intransigence concerning his annulment, Henry charged all of the clergy in England with *Praemunire*.²⁰³ Though the clergy were pardoned following the payment of a hefty fine, the Convocation of Canterbury was pressed into accepting Henry as the ‘protector and only supreme head of the English Church’.²⁰⁴ The overthrow of papal authority in England was completed by a series of parliamentary acts: the 1533 Act of Appeals, the 1534 Act of Succession, and the 1534 Act of Supremacy.²⁰⁵ By 7 April 1533, the Act in Restraint of Appeals had made Henry the *de facto* head of the English Church.²⁰⁶ Swiftly following the English annulment of Henry and Katherine’s marriage on 23 May 1533 was the Act of Submission – meaning any constitutions or ordinances arising from Convocation had to be approved by the king.²⁰⁷ These changes to authority meant that Sarum material could now be changed according to Henry’s preferences, ostensibly to ensure that Church ordinance did not conflict with the laws of the realm. While authoritative changes were not immediately apparent in the Sarum books (either in the ones produced prior to 1529 or in the three produced in this period), Henry now had the scope to make changes to England’s religion by himself.

Henry’s power was evident in the Dispensations Act of 12 March 1534 that abolished all payments to Rome but emphasised the retention of orthodox beliefs.²⁰⁸ Dispensations, such as for marrying within prohibited degrees, for going on pilgrimage, or for taking holy orders though a bastard, were now to be dispensed by Canterbury.²⁰⁹ Despite the changes implied in this act, all other forms of dispensation by bishops were retained and all licences and dispensations obtained at Rome prior to the act would remain valid. For the Sarum services this meant little beyond who was the final

²⁰³ *Statutes*, 25 Edward III, S.6 c.4, p.325. *Statutes*, 27 Edward III, S.1 c.1, p.329. *Statutes*, 38 Edward III, S.2 c.1, pp.385-386. *Statutes*, 13 Richard II, S.2 c.2, pp.69-74. *Statutes*, 16 Richard II, c.5, pp.84-86. Hylson-Smith, pp.16-17, 210. Davies, *PPP*, p.137, 177.

²⁰⁴ *Statutes*, 22 Henry VIII, c.15, pp.93-94. *Statutes*, 22 Henry VIII, c.16, p.94. *Statutes*, 23 Henry VIII, c.19, p.125. Though they acquiesced ‘by silence’ on 11 February 1531, Convocation managed to include the *proviso* ‘as far as the law of Christ allows’; the formal assent to Henry’s jurisdictional headship occurred in May 1532. Stanley Morison, *English Prayer Books: An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943. p.39. Davies, *PPP*, p.177. Hylson-Smith, p.210. Chadwick, p.101.

²⁰⁵ W.J. Sheils, *The English Reformation, 1530-1570*. London: Longman, 1989. pp.13-14. Guy, *Tudors*, p.30.

²⁰⁶ *Statutes*, 24 Henry VIII, c.12, pp.134-139. MacCulloch, *TC*, p.90. Lehmborg, pp.174-175. Davies, *PPP*, p.179.

²⁰⁷ *Statutes*, 25 Henry VIII, c.19, pp.162-165. Hylson-Smith, p.213. Guy, *Tudors*, p.34. MacCulloch, *TC*, pp.79, 93. Sheils, p.22.

²⁰⁸ *Statutes*, 25 Henry VIII, c.21, pp.170-182. Lehmborg, p.192. Geoffrey Moorhouse, *The Last Office: 1539 and the Dissolution of a Monastery*. London: Phoenix, 2008. p.107.

²⁰⁹ Hylson-Smith, p.213. Henry Gee and William John Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1896. p.213.

authority for dispensations for participation in the aforementioned services. While the act seemingly eliminated papal control, a final clause gave Henry the right to change or cancel the act as a means of showing the Pope that everything could return to the way it had been if he would recognise Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn (c.1501-1536), emphasising that doctrine was not the issue (and explaining why the Sarum books had not been changed). But papal intransigence resulted in the Act of Supremacy (passed by the end of the 1534 Parliamentary session) confirming Henry's right to be Supreme Head of the Church of England.²¹⁰ This gave Henry the permanent power to make religious change, though for now Sarum services had only been changed by the substitution of either the king or the Archbishop of Canterbury for roles previously held by the Pope.²¹¹

Concerns about whether the people of England were correctly acknowledging the king as the head of the Church prompted the 9 June 1535 proclamation enforcing Parliamentary acts that eliminated papal authority.²¹² This affected the Sarum books in a very specific way as now:

all manner prayers, orisons, rubrics, canons in mass books, and all other books used in the churches, wherein the said Bishop of Rome is named or his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicated, and erased out, and his name and memory to be nevermore (except to his contumely and reproach) remembered, but perpetually suppressed and obscured.²¹³

Henry VIII used loyalty to the Crown to undermine religious loyalty to Rome. The Mass, the hierarchy of clergy, and the devotional traditions that formed the 'pillars of the Catholic system' were maintained, though another 'pillar', the Pope, was replaced with the king.²¹⁴ While this change had a minimal immediate effect on the Sarum books and was a political change (exchanging one leader for another), it paved the way for further changes to them to be made by the king in the future.

End of an Era (1536-1540)

The period from 1536 to 1540 was characterised by mixed messages from Henry regarding the direction of the English Church and this probably helps to account for the diminished numbers of

²¹⁰ *Statutes*, 26 Henry VIII, c.1, pp.187-188. Hylson-Smith, p.215. Sheils, p.23. Gee and Hardy, p.243. Lehmborg, p.202. Rex, *Henry*, p.14. MacCulloch, *TC*, p.119.

²¹¹ Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.31.

²¹² *TRP* 158, pp.229-232.

²¹³ Examples of this will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

²¹⁴ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p.5.

Sarum books produced in this period (only one of our case studies dates from this time). On 1 January 1536, a proclamation concerning the erroneous writings of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (1469-1535), also targeted indulgences.²¹⁵ As indulgences did not encourage good behaviour, the proclamation forbade anyone ‘to publish any such pardon or indulgence, nor declare, publish, use, or practice any such pardon or indulgence in any monasteries, churches, or places’. With this statement, some Sarum books began to change – any text or image that had an indulgence attached was now to have that indulgence removed.²¹⁶

Later that January, speculation ran in the court that evangelicals might lose out as Katherine of Aragon’s death was shortly followed by Anne Boleyn’s miscarriage of an infant boy.²¹⁷ But such conjecture was seemingly halted by the 1536 Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries, proposed on 11 March and passed by 4 April.²¹⁸ While the dissolution of religious institutions had occurred even in strictly orthodox times, this act demanded the transfer of members of any monastery with twelve or fewer professed monks or nuns into larger monasteries.²¹⁹ By the end of 1536, 244 monastic houses had been confiscated, with buildings demolished, lands transferred, portable goods moved, and occupants scattered, and the proceeds given to the Crown.²²⁰ While this did not yet directly impact the Sarum books, it was clear that Henry would not retain traditions if they did not suit his desires. Though the religious principles underpinning monastic foundations had not yet been eliminated, reformers rejoiced at what they saw as the pruning of inefficient practices.

But further events confused the direction in which the English Church was heading.²²¹ Good relations with Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) following Katherine’s death and the execution of Anne Boleyn on 19 May, and Henry’s marriage to Jane Seymour (c.1508-1537) on 30 May meant

²¹⁵ TRP 161, pp.235-237. Rex, *Henry*, p.71.

²¹⁶ See Chapter Nine for more on the removal of indulgences.

²¹⁷ MacCulloch, *TC*, p.147. Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.10.

²¹⁸ *Statutes*, 27 Henry VIII, c.28, pp.256-259. Moorhouse, pp.127-128.

²¹⁹ Gee and Hardy, pp.258, 263. Lehmborg, pp.225, 228. Moorhouse, p.129.

²²⁰ Moorhouse, p.136. Consequences of this policy will be discussed in Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine.

²²¹ Russell, pp.276-277.

that neither traditional nor reformist factions were certain as to whose star was in the ascendant.²²² Some clarity was produced by Convocation which, by 11 July, had drafted the Ten Articles on faith. Though neither statute nor proclamation, these articles were pivotal for subsequent religious change, particularly in the treatment of the saints and of the dead.²²³ The Articles supported certain doctrines and practices found in the Sarum books. One article emphasised the presence of baptism in the Bible and the custom of baptising infants because they were tainted by Original Sin. This adherence to tradition meant that the service in Sarum Manuals remained unchanged. Another article noted the acceptance of the bread and wine of the Eucharist as the corporal body and blood of Christ – this negated the Eucharistic controversy raging in Continental reformist circles and confirmed that no changes to the Sarum Mass were immediately forthcoming. Images were of concern in that they were to be kept in churches as reminders to lead a pious life but that censing, kneeling before, or giving of offerings to them was not allowed. This meant that images could be kept in the Sarum books, since they were not recipients of the sorts of devotions that concerned Convocation, despite concerns about images in general raised by reformers. The subject of similar abuses, saints were noted to be honoured as the elect of Christ and reminders to live a virtuous life but with the caveat that they were useful only to ‘pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God’. This justified their continued presence in the Sarum books at this time. Finally, the Ten Articles treated prayer for the dead. The articles confirmed that, as indicated by Maccabees and the ancient doctors, prayer for the dead was beneficial, but the idea of Purgatory and pardons/ indulgences/ masses for the dead was void.²²⁴ Though this was not yet law, the elimination of Purgatory and the associated ceremonies and practices would eventually result in the removal of related texts in the Sarum books.²²⁵ This heralded a significant shift in how the Sarum service books treated the dead in the future. If the treatment of images and saints was comparatively mild – a removal of superstition that even the most devout

²²² MacCulloch, *TC*, p.159. Though the extent to which the blow to evangelicals was mitigated by Henry’s marriage to Jane is unknown as only hearsay evidence remains of Jane’s religious affiliations – see ODNB (Jane Seymour) for a summary of views on Jane’s traditional or evangelical preferences.

²²³ Rex, *Henry*, p.117. See further Chapter Seven on the saints and Chapter Nine on death.

²²⁴ Thomas Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain: From the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year MDCXLVIII*. London: John Williams, 1655. pp.213-225. Bernard, p.285.

²²⁵ See Chapter Nine.

traditionalist should, in principal, endorse – the abandonment of Purgatory and masses for the dead was a more severe shift.²²⁶ Such changes were practical in returning the Church to an orthodoxy that any traditionalist could appreciate, though the abandonment of Purgatory was creeping into reformist territory.

The royal injunctions of 1536 reflected many of these foregoing events. Of particular concern was the continued teaching of the *Pater Noster*, Creed, and Ten Commandments in English and the new expectation that both Latin and English Bibles be purchased for churches. In the Sarum books, these injunctions encouraged further vernacularisation.²²⁷ In addition, papal authority was to continue to be denigrated (Sarum books were to have references to the pope culled), abrogated holidays were to be worked as normal (while this reduced the celebrations on certain dates, it did not yet extend to the removal of such feasts from the Sarum books), and the miraculous power of images, relics, and pilgrimages was to be denied (the removal of images and relics had not impacted the Sarum books, but the curtailing of pilgrimage rendered the relevant blessings in Pontificals and Missals moot).²²⁸ These first dabblings of doctrinal evolution in the English Church were neither fully traditional nor fully reformist; little in the Sarum books was changed.²²⁹

The Dissolution Act of 1536 had not always been met with acceptance, particularly in the North, to whose economy the monasteries were crucial.²³⁰ Rumours of charges for christenings, marriages, and burials and of the confiscation of church plate coincided with the despatch of royal commissioners to abbeys and monasteries, prompting groups in Lincolnshire to rebel and by 11 October 1536, much of the North, particularly Yorkshire, had joined what came to be called the

²²⁶ Hylson-Smith, p.224. Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Henry VIII and the Reform of the Church', in Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1995. p.176.

²²⁷ See Chapter Six.

²²⁸ W.H. Frere and William McClure Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation: Volume II, 1536-1558*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1910. pp.1-11.

²²⁹ Davies, *PPP*, pp.179-182. Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. p.26.

²³⁰ Bernard, pp. 293, 332. MacCulloch claims that this rebellion could have been avoided if Henry had ever done a Northern progress – *Reign*, p.5. Alec Ryrie notes that even reformers disapproved of this, especially when the money was not subsequently invested in the communities. *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.155.

Pilgrimage of Grace.²³¹ The security of the realm rattled, in February 1537, a vice-gerential synod was called with bishops and hand-picked members of Lower Houses of Convocations in attendance but no monks or friars.²³² The confusion that reigned, due to the retention of most traditional doctrine with simultaneous removal of papal authority and adoption of some reforms such as of the monastic communities, required clarification by this synod; the synod also dealt with the status of sacraments.²³³ Four sacraments had not been mentioned in the Ten Articles and clerical fears of Lutheran-style reform resulted in all seven medieval sacraments being retained as salvific.²³⁴ This meant that the services of the Sarum books remained intact for the time being. The issue of sacraments was revisited later in the year in *The Institution of a Christian Man*, otherwise known as the *Bishops' Book*.²³⁵ A distinction was drawn between the three sacraments mentioned in the Ten Articles (as those 'instituted by Christ') and the other four of medieval tradition (as those 'necessary for Christian men to have for one godly purpose or other').²³⁶ This began to call into question the relevance of some of the sacramental Sarum services from a reformist point-of-view, though no further changes were yet instituted.

In 1538, Henry presided over the heresy trial of the Sacramentarian John Lambert (d.1538). This event likely informed the extensive 1538 royal proclamation particularly known for removing the influence of St Thomas Becket (1118-1170) but also for further injunctions against heresy, such as Anabaptism and Sacramentarianism.²³⁷ The proclamation had a wide ranging effect on the Sarum books, more fully illustrated in Chapter Seven, focusing mainly on the political disavowal of the papacy and of Becket, but also the practicality of limiting a number of other saintly celebrations. That year saw the creation of a new set of royal injunctions. Two points in those injunctions emphasised

²³¹ LP XII 1, 70. Anthony Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*. London: Longman, 1983. pp.17, 20. D.M. Palliser, 'Popular Reactions to the Reformation during the Years of Uncertainty 1530-70', in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.96.

²³² MacCulloch, *TC*, p.186.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p.134.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.187-188.

²³⁵ MacCulloch, *TC*, p.185. Bernard, pp.475-476. For a list of those presumed to have participated in the making of the book, see John Strype, *Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer in Three Volumes. Volume I*. Oxford: T. Combe for EHS, 1848. pp.115-116.

²³⁶ Given the nature of the rest of the writing, it is likely (as MacCulloch indicates) that this one paragraph at the end of the section on sacraments was a last-minute inclusion that implied an evangelical success. MacCulloch, *TC*, p.189. See Chapter Eight for more.

²³⁷ Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.34.

the vernacularisation that could be seen in the Sarum books: the requirements to purchase an English Bible (though only men were allowed to read it) and to continue teaching the *Pater Noster*, Creed, and Ten Commandments in English. The Sarum books were further altered by the injunctions' requirements to denigrate pilgrimages and other devotional activities surrounding images and to not make any changes to feasts or fasts other than those approved by royal authority – these eliminated a number of the rubrics and services required in service books.²³⁸

Henry's 'orthodoxy of the moment' was crystallised from mid-1539 in the Act of Six Articles.²³⁹ Certain articles involved the content of the Sarum books: the first two confirmed the traditional interpretation and practice of the Mass, once again indicating no change despite some Continental reforms of the Mass. Article five also declared private Masses agreeable to God's Law, ensuring their maintenance in the Sarum Missals.²⁴⁰ Erroneous books (presumably including Sarum books with reformist material) were to be handed in.²⁴¹ Standard for the rest of Henry VIII's reign, despite the final phase of the Dissolution of the Monasteries,²⁴² the Act of Six Articles exemplified the evolution of the English church into a form of Romanism without the pope.²⁴³ In a four-year period, the Sarum books went from being virtually untouched to theoretically having lost a number of services and rubrics. While our case studies do not show any drastic contraction or expansion of content in this period, the control over the church exerted by Henry meant that he was free to make changes as he saw fit, though mainly for his political reasons.

1540 to Henry VIII's Death

While the period from 1540 until Henry's death on 28 January 1547 saw limited change to the religious situation defined by the Act of Six Articles, Henry did introduce some measures specifically relating to service books.²⁴⁴ In Parliament, the 1540 Act Concerning True Opinions and Declarations

²³⁸ Frere and Kennedy, pp.34-43.

²³⁹ *Statutes*, 31 Henry VIII, c.14, pp.287-289. Sheils, p.35. MacCulloch, *TC*, p.237. Glyn Redworth, 'A Study in the Formulation of Policy: The Genesis and Evolution of the Act of Six Articles', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. Volume 37, No. 1, (January) 1986. pp.46-47 – emphasises that this act was not a sudden shift but the culmination of six months of increasing conservatism and embrace of orthodoxy in the face of potential invasion by a French-Hapsburg coalition.

²⁴⁰ Gee and Hardy, p.317. Redworth, p.42.

²⁴¹ Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.15. Though the heart of the matter was a defense of the real presence, p.35.

²⁴² *Statutes*, 31 Henry VIII, c.13, pp.280-287. Gee and Hardy, p.281. Ryrie, *Gospel*, pp.16, 38.

²⁴³ Davies, *PPP*, p.195. Joynson-Hicks, p.18. Moorhouse, p.169. Bernard, p.498. Redworth, p.45.

²⁴⁴ This period has also been less attended to by scholars than Henry VIII's earlier reign – Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.14.

of Christ's Religion reiterated Henry's role in dictating any changes to faith and ceremonies.²⁴⁵ Accordingly, the content of the Sarum books was legally in his control. Furthermore, in 1542, the Convocation of Canterbury was reminded that 'the Bishop of Rome's name, from apocrypha, legends, orations, collects, versicles and responses' was to be removed, as were non-Scriptural saints or 'non-authentic' doctors.²⁴⁶ The campaign of deletion that had begun in 1535 was continued even at this date – but as our case studies attest, not every text was changed, so there was likely some measure of non-cooperation. Only two further case studies were produced between 1540 and 1543, with no papal references included. Convocation also recommended the universal use of the Sarum Breviary in the 1542 session; by 1543 a measure of liturgical uniformity was obtained in the confirmation of the Use of Sarum as standard throughout the Southern province.²⁴⁷ This established the Sarum Use as the basis for all further liturgical reform in England.

Continued doctrinal uniformity came in the *King's Book* of 1543, the delayed theological justification for the Act of Six Articles.²⁴⁸ The content mirrored that of the *Bishops' Book* but 'robustly rejected...faith alone', underscored the importance of all seven sacraments, and concluded with Henry's opinions on subjects such as prayer for the dead.²⁴⁹ Specifically, the *King's Book* allowed masses such as Sarum Requiem Masses for the dead to continue.²⁵⁰ The *King's Book* was followed on 10 May by the Act for the Advancement of True Religion, a key element of which only allowed men of the nobility and gentry to read the English Bible aloud, with merchants and noble- and gentle-women allowed to read it privately.²⁵¹ The same act outlawed any books with doctrines contrary to any act or proclamation that had been declared from 1540 onwards. This limited the availability of

²⁴⁵ *Statutes*, 32 Henry VIII, c.26, p.323.

²⁴⁶ Morison, p.42.

²⁴⁷ Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*. London: Methuen and Co, 1910. p.8. Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. p.8. William Page, 'The First Book of Common Prayer and the Windsor Commission', in *Church Quarterly Review*, Volume XCVIII. London: SPCK, 1924. p.51.

²⁴⁸ Davies, *PPP*, p.220.

²⁴⁹ Ryrie, *Gospel*, pp.15, 45.

²⁵⁰ Charles Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith Put Forth by Authority During the Reign of Henry VIII.: Viz. Articles About Religion, 1536. the Institution of a Christian Man, 1537. a Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man, 1543*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1856. pp.375-376. Sheils, p.36. Hylson-Smith, p.230.

²⁵¹ *Statutes*, 34/35 Henry VIII, c.1, p.388. Duffy, *SotA*, p.433. S.A. Syme, 'The Regulation of the English Book Trade 1484 to 1547', in *The Journal of Library History*, Vol. 3, No. 1. Austin: University of Texas Press, (January) 1968. p.36. Hylson-Smith, p.230. Ryrie, *Gospel*, pp.15, 29 (a draft in April 1539 had considered limiting Bible reading) – see Chapter Six for more.

works by Tyndale, various books against the sacrament, and texts on or by Anabaptists – any Sarum Primers that had included reformist material were subject to destruction. In the modified Sarum tradition that existed at this point, the balance between tradition and reform resulted in no annotations or prefaces in English in the Bible, but also limited devotions to the saints and none to the Pope.²⁵² In 1544, Cranmer introduced a modified Litany. While the Sarum version emphasised the identities of individual saints, the modified Litany emphasised events requesting divine intervention. This reformist Litany would be found in Sarum books henceforth.

Ostensibly, concern for the education of the youth, particularly the correct learning of the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, Creed, and Ten Commandments, prompted a royal proclamation dated 6 May 1545.²⁵³ This proclamation was ‘for the avoiding of the diversity of primer books that are now abroad’. Henry wanted a uniform order beyond the imposition of Sarum Use throughout the Canterbury province, especially one in English.²⁵⁴ Though the English version of the King Henry’s Primer (KHP) that resulted from this proclamation was preferable, a bilingual (Latin and English) edition was allowed, ‘the Latin being in all points correspondent to the English’ (one of each are used as case studies). Booksellers, teachers, and English subjects were allowed to sell, buy, or use only this Authorised Primer. Devotional variety, the cornerstone of the Sarum Book of Hours tradition (and its print market), was thus outlawed – a practical move in limiting religious disgruntlement and a political move by Henry asserting control over the books. The KHP retained traditional Marian devotion with the *Ave* while embracing a reformist emphasis on teaching the Ten Commandments. However, while a ‘roll back’ of previous reforms did not occur after this point, neither did any further reform happen in Henry’s reign – the putative 1545 Chancies Act (which would have resulted in further changes to the Sarum death rituals) was never implemented, despite its (for Henry) financially expedient provisions.²⁵⁵

²⁵² G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1969. p.54.

²⁵³ TRP 248, pp.349-350. Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.556-558. Blayney argues that this was never formally a proclamation given that the wording is more like a Letter Patent. Because it resulted in the production of the King’s Primer, it is given consideration here. Sheils, p.37.

²⁵⁴ Cuming, p.59. See Chapters Three and Four for more.

²⁵⁵ Ryrie, *Gospel*, pp.31, 51. *Statutes*, 37 Henry VIII, c.4, p.456. Details given in *Statutes*, 1 Edward VI, c.14, pp.499-501 as part of the larger act (pp.499-517).

From Edward VI's Accession to the 1549 BCP

Edward VI's reign, though short, was replete with religious change. Edward's maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was named Protector on 1 February 1547 and given power to rule semi-independently on 12 March.²⁵⁶ With his 'promotion' to Protector, Somerset's support of certain evangelical positions become known – England's reform turned closer to that of the Continent regarding the power of bishops, the need for vernacular Scripture, and iconoclasm.²⁵⁷ Legally, control of religion was still in the hands of the monarch – with the Protector in charge, the Sarum books were at *his* mercy. A royal proclamation of 24 May 1547 claimed that no religious changes had been or were to be made.²⁵⁸ But this only lasted until 31 July when a set of thirty-six religious injunctions were promulgated.²⁵⁹ These reminded the country of their religious obligations as the new regime saw them: to prevent heresy and abuse, with ecclesiastical figures required to deny the power of the Pope, as had been evident in revisions to the Sarum books and in King Henry's Primer. As in Henry's reign, parishioners were not to 'set forth or extoll any images, relics, or miracles' or go on pilgrimages, with the possible removals of such services from the Sarum books (likely to occur as there would be no point in retaining the service in the books if it was no longer practiced). Images that had previously been regarded as miraculous and/or were pilgrimage destinations were to be destroyed – something Henry had never explicitly called for – and put all images at risk of destruction even if they had not been thought of as miraculous. As previously, the *Pater Noster*, Creed, and Ten Commandments were to be taught in English (with an examination at Lenten confession) and each church was to provide an English Bible in its entirety (within three months); newly, Erasmus' *Paraphrases* was also supposed to be provided in each church (within a year).²⁶⁰ Further Anglicization of the Sarum services was introduced (capitalising on having an English

²⁵⁶ ODNB (Edward Seymour).

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ TRP 281, pp.387-389. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*. London: Penguin Books, 1999. p.66.

²⁵⁹ TRP 287, pp.393-403. Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557: Volume II. Chapters 9-12 (1547-1557)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. p.601. Cuming, p.60. Moorhouse, p.216.

²⁶⁰ Pamela Neville-Sington, 'Press, Politics, and Religion', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume III 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.600. The *Paraphrases* were summaries of the Gospels as Erasmus had translated and interpreted them. There are few references in contemporary or current literature about their influence and because they are not service or prayer books, they are not studied in greater

translation of the Bible) with the reading in English of the Epistle and Gospel at Mass, of a New Testament chapter at Matins, and of an Old Testament chapter at Evensong.²⁶¹ The elimination of the term Purgatory had not removed most Sarum traditions surrounding death, but according to these injunctions, those on their deathbed, ‘often times put in despair by the craft and subtlety of the devil’ who tempted them away from their faith, were only to have the comfort of Scripture – all former traditions were regarded as unnecessary for spiritual health. Superstitious abuses like ‘casting holy water upon his bed, upon images, and other dead things; or bearing about him holy bread, or Saint John’s Gospel’ were not to be tolerated. Everything associated with miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, or superstition was to be removed so that ‘there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere within their churches or houses’. Such instructions put images and rituals from the Sarum books at further risk; changes to Sarum traditions were taking on more reformist tones. But as at the end of Henry’s reign, Edward’s subjects were instructed to use the KHP.

Edward’s first Parliament underscored the importance of religious reform with the abolishing of the heresy law and the Act of Six Articles.²⁶² This was shortly followed by a proclamation which attempted to quash discontent with the translation of the Scripture and to unify doctrine.²⁶³ This was the first harbinger in Edward’s reign of a uniform order of service. In the same year, a further Parliamentary act fulfilled the dissolution of the chantries that had been mooted (but not implemented) under Henry VIII.²⁶⁴ This was two-fold, preventing the creation of new chantries and requiring the closure of old ones; the death rituals of Sarum books such as Requiem Masses and the Office of the Dead were at further risk as their frequency of use was considerably diminished.

A proclamation dated 6 February 1548 referred to a ‘diversity of opinions’ leading to disquiet because ‘certain private curates, preachers, and other laymen, ... bringeth in new and strange orders...according to their fantasies’ – a political move to consolidate religious power in

detail here. See esp. E.J. Devereux, ‘The Publication of the English *Paraphrases* of Erasmus’, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*. Vol. 52, No. 2. Manchester: John Rylands University Library, 1969. pp.348-367.

²⁶¹ Henry Barclay Swete, *Church Services and Service-Books Before the Reformation*. London: SPCK, 1925. p.113.

²⁶² *Statutes*, 1 Edward VI, c.1, pp.478-481. MacCulloch, *TCM*, p.76. Sheils, p.40.

²⁶³ 27 December 1547, *TRP* 296, pp.410-412.

²⁶⁴ *Statutes*, 1 Edward VI, c.14, pp.499-517. See Chapter Nine for more.

what the monarch dictated but also reformist in origin.²⁶⁵ This led to the 8 March 1548 Order of Communion, which reiterated the principles of communion in both kinds and the use of English during the distribution of the sacrament.²⁶⁶ The multiple readings dictated to be in English combined with this new English Mass resulted in a nearly completely English set of services; the Sarum books were being Anglicised, though, with the exception of pilgrimages and death rituals, the content remained virtually unchanged. The Order also required the destruction of ‘all images in any church or chapel’ – images in the Sarum books were being put at further risk (did this ruling extend to images in books used in churches?).²⁶⁷

According to the First Act of Uniformity of 21 January 1549, the Uses of Sarum, York, Bangor, and Lincoln, and the ‘much more divers and sundry Forms and Fashions’ to be found in the country were offensive and the king, Protector Somerset, and Privy Council were dismayed by unauthorised innovations and rites.²⁶⁸ The Archbishop and bishops had made ‘one convenient and meet Order, Rite and Fashion of common and open Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments’. This was ‘The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the Use of the Church of England’ (the BCP).²⁶⁹ The Sarum books were to be replaced by this new book; copies were to be purchased by each church’s parishioners by the feast of Pentecost and there was a three-week grace period to start using the services. Edward’s government, intent both on preserving the realm and instituting their own reformed beliefs, imposed this uniform service on the populace in order to eliminate the Sarum tradition.

Despite the Act of Uniformity, the BCP was not consistently used in England, being refused above all in the counties of Cornwall and Devon. Though the Western Rebellion of 1549 against the

²⁶⁵ TRP 299, pp.416-417.

²⁶⁶ TRP 300, pp.417-418.

²⁶⁷ Morison, p.43. Cuming, p.61.

²⁶⁸ *Statutes*, 2&3 Edward VI, c.1, pp.517-522. Morison, p.44. Kenneth Stevenson, ‘Worship by the Book’, in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.9. Stella Brook, *The Language of the Book of Common Prayer*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1965. p.25. Gee and Hardy, p.358.

²⁶⁹ Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.2. Guy, *Tudors*, p.49. Gee and Hardy, p.359.

BCP was not particularly long-lived, was ultimately unsuccessful, and only resulted in the downfall of the Duke of Somerset, it also begat the true elimination of the Sarum books. On Christmas Day 1549, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland (1504-1553) and the Council issued the ‘Ordering Bishops to Destroy Old Service Books’ proclamation.²⁷⁰ The BCP was the religious basis for the realm, ‘grounded upon Holy Scripture agreeable to the order of the primitive church’; as such ‘all antiphonaries, missals, grails, processions, manuals, legends, pyes, porcastes, tournals, and ordinals’ of any Use were to be ‘deface[d] and abolish[ed], that they never hereafter may serve either to any such use as they were first provided for...’. The destruction of older service books was meant to prevent relapse into former modes of worship.²⁷¹ The proclamation by the king’s minority government was confirmed by the Parliamentary ‘Act for abolishing and putting away of divers Books and Images’ of 1 February 1550.²⁷² The BCP had been meant to counter the (perceived) superstitions found in old service books and Latin and English Primers. Only books ‘set forth by the King’s Majesty’ were allowed and all others ‘utterly abolished, extinguished and forbidden for ever to be used or kept in this realm’. Possession of such books was forbidden – Sarum books were ‘finished’ despite the fact that so much of those books had been included in the BCP. A final note made clear that ‘the Sentences of Invocation or Prayer to Saints in the same Primers be blotted or clearly put out of’ the Primers in English or Latin authorised by Henry VIII.

These acts and proclamations requiring changes in authority or in accepted practice wended their influence into the Sarum books as the religious culture of England evolved. A summary such as this cannot do justice to the nuances of this complex field; however this chronological basis has given us the legal and social framework against which we can now understand why certain elements of the Sarum books were changed at particular times and in such specific ways. We will now examine in thematic detail why and in what ways the Sarum books, despite their ‘destruction’ in 1549 and 1550, undergirded the content of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, beginning with their production and producers.

²⁷⁰ *TRP* 353, pp.485-486. Neville-Sington, p.601.

²⁷¹ Morison, p.45.

²⁷² *Statutes*, 3&4 Edward VI, c.10, pp.565-567. MacCulloch, *TCM*, p.96. Blayney, *Vol. II*, p.738. See Chapters Three and Seven for more on this.

4. 'Treasured private possessions':²⁷³ Book Production in the Early Tudor Age

*Let your first care be to write well; next, to write rapidly.*²⁷⁴

*...so we find books have increased to such uncountable numbers. Some writers publish what they themselves have written; others limit themselves to compilations from other writers. So much is this so, that, now, a man's life would not suffice, I do not say for the reading what has been written on many arts and sciences, but on any one of them – let alone the time for understanding them.*²⁷⁵

In this chapter, we will argue that the transition from manuscript to print production and the growth of the printing industry in England resulted in minimal change between how Sarum material and the BCP were produced, with the exception of the location of manufacture. The finer distinctions between the types of liturgical and devotional books used in this thesis were presented in Chapter Two; in this chapter we will examine the general process of book production (with an emphasis on Sarum material). We will concentrate on how the production of our service books occurred, what materials were used (with a subsection concerning images), the influence of location on content, the printers involved in England's book trade and how their relationships impacted the construction of Sarum books and associated materials, and how certain government policies affected the industry, to understand how religious change could have such little impact on the form of religious books.

Producing (Liturgical) Books

In London in 1403 a guild was formed of the various trades associated with book production – textwriting, limning, binding, and bookselling.²⁷⁶ Textwriters produced all sorts of written material for sale, including Primers, Psalters, and other devotional works.²⁷⁷ By the late fifteenth century, textwriters were using 'production-line methods' to create manuscripts, employing versions of the French *pecia* system that allowed exemplars to be farmed out in sections to multiple textwriters (and

²⁷³ Margaret Aston, 'Epilogue', in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p.281.

²⁷⁴ 'Off to School'. Desiderius Erasmus, *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, trans. Craig R. Thompson. London: University of Chicago Press, 1965. p.45.

²⁷⁵ Foster Watson, *Vives: On Education: A Translation of the De Tradendis Disciplinis of Juan Luis Vives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913. pp.44-45.

²⁷⁶ Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company before the Charter, 1403-1557*. Cambridge: Worshipful Company of Stationers & Newspapermakers, 2003. pp.5, 13. J.J.G. Alexander, 'Foreign Illuminators and Illuminated Manuscripts,' in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.50.

²⁷⁷ Blayney, *Stationers'*, p.9. Scriveners produced legal documents.

linners if desired) for swifter copying and illustrating and wider availability to the public.²⁷⁸ Printing with moveable type offered new possibilities for, and eventually reduced the cost of, producing books.²⁷⁹ Reflecting the shift in physicality of book production, the guild of textwriters, etc. evolved into the Stationers' Guild and, by the early 1500s, was beginning to add printers to its ranks.

Materiality of Production

Books are by definition physical objects, so something must be said here about the materials that went into their production, beginning with the base materials of parchment and paper. Parchment was created from the skins of animals (most frequently sheep in England) by a process of dehairing, stretching, and drying. Though paper was used in manuscript production as early as 1300, parchment remained the primary writing surface in fifteenth-century England.²⁸⁰ But as paper became cheaper to produce than parchment, it turned into the ideal medium for 'popular' (manuscript) books by 1400.²⁸¹ Following the development of printing, parchment was typically used for deluxe or presentation copies of printed texts because printing ink took longer to dry on parchment than on paper.²⁸² Given the costs and difficulty of printing on parchment, paper became the preferred medium for printing, despite the fact that it was the greatest expense for each individual printing project (generally half of a book's cost).²⁸³ This was most especially true for English printers as there were no paper mills or production centres of any kind in Britain, even by the late 1500s.²⁸⁴ Paper used in England came from the Italian Piedmont, Normandy, and northeast France, generally

²⁷⁸ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. p.211. Christopher de Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators*. London: British Museum Press, 1992. p.35.

²⁷⁹ In our period, the line between printer and publisher was blurred. Blayney differentiates between the two, but we will follow Hellinga's convention using the term 'printer' for all parties named in the colophon even if not all actually did presswork. Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557: Volume I. Chapters 1-8 (1501-1546)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. p.30. Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England*. London: British Library, 2010. p.32.

²⁸⁰ Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*, eds. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.95.

²⁸¹ de Hamel, *Craftsmen*, pp.16-17.

²⁸² Hellinga, 'Printing', p.93. Parchment use signalled 'pretensions to grandeur' according to James P. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and His Wives*. London: British Library, 2004. p.29.

²⁸³ Jean-François Gilmont, 'Printing at the Dawn of the Sixteenth Century,' in Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990. p.18. Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman. *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. p.9. Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*. London: Yale University Press, 2010. p.72.

²⁸⁴ Evenden and Freeman, p.2. Although a paper mill was established at the end of the fifteenth century near Hertford by a mercer named John Tate (its paper, comparable to that produced on the Continent, is found in works printed by de Worde), it did not survive Tate's death in 1507. Hellinga, 'Printing', pp.96-97.

brought via northeast France by dry goods importers.²⁸⁵ The paper shortage in England not only forced industry reliance on imports but also prevented clandestine presses from operating, leading to further reliance on foreign presses for controversial material.²⁸⁶ The expense of importing paper also likely supported the trend for importing completed books – it was easier to pay for one shipment than to pay for a shipment plus the entire costs of production and then risk failure to achieve a return on investment.

Moving on to what went onto the page: many features of medieval manuscripts were retained in early printed books – the look of the text block, using decoration for navigation, and using varying colours of ink (particularly in liturgical books) to name a few.²⁸⁷ Ink was relatively cheap as its manufacture came from local sources.²⁸⁸ Manuscript ink was based on oak galls and printing ink on a combination of linseed oil and lampblack. Our Sarum manuscripts utilised coloured inks as textual navigation tools, delineating different sections of a book with the use of decorated letters and rubrication.²⁸⁹ The Renaissance had resulted in the rediscovery of supposedly ancient modes of writing; Carolingian hands that had preserved Greek and Roman texts were adapted into a humanistic minuscule script. Only the most formal or conservative of books (including our liturgical materials) continued to be written using the textualis script that modern society associates with medieval works.²⁹⁰ For the typeface, letter cutters naturally reproduced what they knew – the textualis and humanistic hands of their exemplars (becoming blackletter and roman types, respectively).²⁹¹ From c.1518 up to the reign of Elizabeth I (r.1558-1603), English patterns of font usage mimicked those of the Low Countries and German states: humanist books were generally

²⁸⁵ Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.4. Hellinga, 'Printing', p.96. Blayney, *Stationers*, p.17. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.12.

²⁸⁶ Evenden and Freeman, pp.29, 67-68.

²⁸⁷ Alexandra Walsham and Julia Crick. 'Introduction: Script, Print, and History,' in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p.12. Gilmont, p.11. Diane E. Booton, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. p.97. Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney, 'Introduction', in Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney, eds. *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*. York: York Medieval Press, 2008. p.2. John L. Flood, "'Volentes sibi comparare infrascriptos libros impressos...'" Printed Books as Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth Century', in Kristian Jensen, ed., *Incunabula and their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*. London: British Library, 2003. p.142.

²⁸⁸ Evenden and Freeman, p.11.

²⁸⁹ de Hamel, *Craftsmen*, p.34.

²⁹⁰ Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts: From Antiquity to 1600*. London: British Library, 1990. p.81.

²⁹¹ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972. p.17.

produced in roman type, while vernacular and liturgical texts were produced in blackletter.²⁹² Early in the sixteenth century, many English works were printed abroad: humanist works for the preferred roman types and English liturgies as no English printer could produce a two-colour liturgical book at the same speed or price at which one could be imported.²⁹³ In sum, an early printed Sarum book looked much the same as a contemporary Sarum manuscript but with better justification of text blocks and possibly less colourful pages. The Book of Common Prayer was created with the two-colour process endemic to liturgical books but also utilised both roman and blackletter fonts, reducing the role of colour in the delineation of discrete sections of text.

The potentially prohibitive costs of starting a (successful) printing venture meant that early printed books were at least as expensive as many manuscripts; manuscripts on the second-hand market were often for sale at lower prices than a newly printed book.²⁹⁴ The choice to produce a book by hand or by press depended on the subject: popular texts were good items to print, but obscure ones (perhaps only used by a select group of scholars) would remain in manuscript.²⁹⁵ In terms of Sarum titles, Books of Hours were good popular texts to print but Pontificals, with their more specialised audience of bishops, remained in manuscript. In some cases, the printing press and a scribe were both required to produce a book (like Manuals); this was especially true before certain

²⁹² Andrew G. Johnston, 'Printing and the Reformation in the Low Countries, 1520-1535', in Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990. p.162. John L. Flood, 'The Book in Reformation Germany', in Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990. p.48. J.B. Trapp, 'The Humanist Book', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.290. Pamela Neville-Sington, 'Press, Politics, and Religion', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. pp.576, 585. Pamela Ayers Neville, *Richard Pynson, King's Printer (1506-1529): Printing and Propaganda in Early Tudor England*. London: University of London, Warburg Institute, 1990. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis). p.135.

²⁹³ Trapp, 'Humanist', p.290. E. Gordon Duff, *Early Printed Books*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co, 1893. p.172. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.90. Michael Twyman, *The British Library Guide to Printing: History and Techniques*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998. p.31. Pettegree, *Book*, p.126. City of Antwerp, Historical Museums. *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre: The Role of Antwerp Printers in the Religious Conflicts in England (16th Century)*. Antwerp: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1994. p.31. James G. Clark, 'Print and Pre-Reformation Religion: The Benedictines and the Press, c.1470-c.1550', in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p.85.

²⁹⁴ Clark, p.72. Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. p.21. Eamon Duffy, 'Elite and Popular Religion: the Book of Hours and Lay Piety in the Later Middle Ages', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Elite and Popular Religion*. Studies in Church History, 42. Woodbridge: Boydell Press for EHS, 2006. pp.146-147.

²⁹⁵ David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.31.

aspects of manuscripts, such as musical notation, could be reproduced on a press.²⁹⁶ Manuscript pages also made up shortfalls of sheets in a print run; employing a scribe to produce a missing section of text could be a more expedient option than resetting a type block.²⁹⁷ But general printing expenses in England were higher than on the Continent because of the increased cost of importing basic materials like type and paper.²⁹⁸ This explains why so few printers, such as Richard Pynson who produced CCCPL EP.H.10, DUL Bamburgh Select .15, and BCLLR UB/S II 97, managed to open (and maintain) operations in London in the early sixteenth century. Despite the many similarities between manuscripts and printed books, printed books would eventually supplant manuscripts as the dominant form of textual appearance and circulation.²⁹⁹

Images in Liturgical Books

One form of difference between manuscript and printed Sarum books was in the nature of illustration. As stated above, many Sarum works used decorated initials, line endings, and various-sized miniatures as ways to navigate the text. Miniatures functioned as representations of textual content and as further dividers of that content, particularly in Sarum Primers and Missals. Limners were responsible for such illustrations in many books, but especially in devotional manuals (manuscript and printed).³⁰⁰ Woodcuts were increasingly used with printed books, though limners were still called in to over-paint the resulting images.³⁰¹ While the retention of images could have been, as McKitterick says, because printers simply did not know any other way of producing a book, I believe that decoration and certain navigational devices from manuscripts could easily have been dropped in print production for simplicity but were not in response to tradition and market expectation.³⁰² The production of highly illustrated titles was dominated by larger printing houses because of the expense and time required to build woodblock collections; even Books of Hours

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p.33.

²⁹⁷ McKitterick, p.107. Reinburg, *French*, p.32.

²⁹⁸ Hellinga, 'Printing', pp.71-73. Evenden and Freeman, pp.27-28.

²⁹⁹ Note that some Sarum books were more frequently retained in manuscript form, especially Manuals and Pontificals – see Chapter Two.

³⁰⁰ Blayney, *Stationers'*, p.9.

³⁰¹ Twyman, p.15. Pettegree, *Book*, p.34.

³⁰² McKitterick, p.37.

printed in England relied upon Continental woodcuts sold to English printers.³⁰³ By the end of the fifteenth century, decorative woodcuts were used in any genre, being passed down and around between different printers until they were copied or fell apart.³⁰⁴ For instance, decorated initials borrowed from Robert Copland (fl.1508-1547) by Edward Whitchurch were later lent to Thomas Gaultier.³⁰⁵ Richard Pynson purchased woodcuts that had belonged to Jean du Pré (fl.1481-?) in addition to using at least 144 of William Caxton's woodcuts.³⁰⁶ Pynson's *Castle of Labor* illustrations were also copied from ones used by Simon Vostre (fl. fifteenth century) and Philippe Pigouchet (fl.1488-1515).³⁰⁷ However, partners producing the same text could still do so with variations (aside from spelling and spacing). Differences between the woodcuts used in Grafton's versus Whitchurch's editions of King Henry's Primer (DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37 versus DUL Routh SB 2090) and of the Book of Common Prayer (DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56 and YML XI.F.26 versus DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1 and YML XI.F.21(5)) have been noted: Grafton's were more figural while Whitchurch's were more elemental.³⁰⁸ Perhaps these differences were due to personal preferences as evangelicals regarding images, but equally, they could have been due to the collections each one bought or obtained. Grafton's woodcuts possibly came from France, where the tradition was for highly decorative images (such as those used by Regnault and Hopyl). Whitchurch's woodcuts could have come from the Low Countries where more evangelical texts were printed and figural images were not approved. Despite the differences implied by the religious change from Sarum services to the BCP, the continued use of decorated initials as textual dividers implied that the physicality of the text did not much change.

³⁰³ Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation: the English Exception,' in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie, eds., *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. pp.160, 178.

³⁰⁴ Pettegree, *Book*, p.35.

³⁰⁵ Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557: Volume II. Chapters 9-12 (1547-1557)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. p.626.

³⁰⁶ Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.122. Stanley Howard Johnston Jr., *A Study of the Career and Literary Publications of Richard Pynson*. London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1977. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis). p.6.

³⁰⁷ *STC* (2) 12380. Johnston, *Pynson*, p.60. Henry R. Plomer, *Wynkyn de Worde and His Contemporaries: From the Death of Caxton to 1535*. London: Grafton and Co, 1925. p.75.

³⁰⁸ DUL Routh SB 2090, DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.27, DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, YML XI.F.26, and YML XI.F.21(5).

Location, Location, Location

The location of production of Sarum books was scattered in a few cities on the Continent and others in England. London was the most important centre of English manuscript production (with minor centres elsewhere, particularly in the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge), but English manuscripts in general were considered second to Continental ones in quality.³⁰⁹ The rise in the English consumption of reading matter in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was focused on devotional works (like Primers) and Latin scholarly texts (as more investment was made in the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge); Continental producers were preferred as readers were confident that they were receiving the most accurate or the most elaborate versions.³¹⁰ Early copies of Manuals and Pontificals consulted for this study (DUL Cosin V.III.21, BL Add MS 30506, BL Stowe MS 13, BL Add MS 6157, and BL Harley MS 561) were likely only produced in England because of their intrinsic nature of providing for peculiarly English services.³¹¹ The talismanic Book of Hours, Ushaw MS 16, was likely produced in England, but it bears out the opinion that English manuscripts were second-rate; it uses lower-quality parchment and the ink is of inconsistent quality. A major, geographically convenient to England, manuscript production centre on the Continent was Rouen, ‘the Port of Paris’, the city through which passed by boat all Parisian goods travelling north.³¹² England governed Rouen from 1415 until the end of the Hundred Years’ War (1453), and commercial connections continued thereafter; consequently many Rouennais books like DUL Add MS 1650 and possibly DUL Cosin V.V.5 were transported to England via that route.³¹³ English merchants had also built up links with cities in the Low Countries, making it easier to trade in high-

³⁰⁹ C. Paul Christianson, ‘The Rise of London’s Book-Trade’, in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. pp.130, 135. Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800*. London: NLB, 1976. p.324. Andrew Pettegree, ‘Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands’, in N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree, and Henk van Nierop, eds., *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. p.2.

³¹⁰ Walsham and Crick, p.11. Pettegree, ‘Humanism’, p.4. Pettegree, ‘Printing’, p.161.

³¹¹ DUL Cosin V.III.13 is an exception – it is earlier than most of our case studies, but because of its known ownership by Thomas Cranmer, it was studied as a likely comparative text in his liturgical experiments, including the Book of Common Prayer.

³¹² J.A. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton: Citizen and Grocer of London*. London: Rixon and Arnold, 1901. pp.9-10.

³¹³ Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours: A Late Fifteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript from Rouen (Victoria and Albert, 1475-1918)*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984. p.13. L.M.J. Delaissé, ‘The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book’, in Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M.C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall, Jr., eds., *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974. p.205.

quality Flemish manuscripts, for which the main centres of production were Gent and Bruges.³¹⁴ Numerous Sarum manuscripts, especially lavish ones, were produced in these centres and elsewhere on the Continent.

Johannes Gutenberg (d.1468) began his printing business in Mainz in 1454; the technology spread to other German cities by 1460, Italy by 1465, France and Switzerland by 1470, the Low Countries by 1473, and Spain by 1474, before finally reaching England in 1476.³¹⁵ Cities with successful printing ventures were usually located along trade routes, with access to fairs, but printing was a very expensive industry in which to begin a new enterprise.³¹⁶ Having direct access to a supply of exemplars for printing editions helped maintain feasibility for a time: Subiaco, Italy was home to the Benedictine abbey that opened the first printing press outside of Germany.³¹⁷ In England, St Alban's monastery had a printing press associated with it in the 1480s.³¹⁸ But the inability of a printer to recoup a large proportion of the initial outlay with the first few texts could doom an enterprise.³¹⁹ Estimates put average print-runs at around 250 copies; therefore a text had to appeal to at least that many buyers.³²⁰ In Rome, papal authority helped subsidize the production of Use of Rome Pontificals (BLO Auct. 1 Q 1.26, CUL Inc.3.B.2.26[1220], BLO Auct. Q sup. 2.1, and DUL Cosin SA 0142). Printers who were not innovative or able to corner a market were swiftly driven out; beginning a venture with a large amount of available capital helped to ensure long-term success.³²¹ Enterprises 'going bust' partially explains the large number of printers involved in printing Sarum texts. Cornering particular markets also explains why a number of Sarum printers were based in

³¹⁴ J.J.G. Alexander, p.52.

³¹⁵ Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography For Literary Students*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928/1965. pp.268, 270-272. Margaret Lane Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland,' in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.182. Stephan Füssel, *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing*, trans. Douglas Martin. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. p.70.

³¹⁶ Gilmont, 'Printing', p.13.

³¹⁷ Especially German Benedictine communities. Stanley Morison, *English Prayer Books: An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943. pp.33-34. Clark, pp.73, 75. Flood, 'Printed', p.140. S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955. p.40.

³¹⁸ Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.33-34.

³¹⁹ Flood, 'Printed', p.144.

³²⁰ Victor Scholderer, *Printers and Readers in Italy in the Fifteenth Century*. London: Geoffrey Cumberledge Amen House, 1949. p.6. Though as W.B. Stephens, 'Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900', in *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Winter 1990. p.548 notes, such figures 'are neither comprehensive nor usually reliable enough'.

³²¹ Petegree, *Book*, p.44. Evenden and Freeman, p.13. Flood, 'Printed', p.145.

Continental locations. For example, François Regnault of Paris cornered the Sarum ecclesiastical printing market, producing numerous editions of Missals, Books of Hours, and Manuals such as Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, DUL Bamburgh Select .46, DUL Bamburgh Select .20, and SJCUL T.9.53. A large proportion of imported religious material in England was made up of Primers and devotional works.³²² As England had imported Rouennais manuscripts, so Rouennais printed books were also shipped into the country.³²³ This included case studies such as DUL Howard A138, CUL Syn.7.52.25, and DUL Bamburgh Select .21. Paris was another key centre for the production of printed prayer books, with partnerships like that of Simon Vostre and Phillippe Pigouchet cornering the market, successfully recouping their high start-up costs by capitalising on a market voracious for devotional material.³²⁴

England's early book market was heavily reliant on international trade – the skills, fonts, woodcuts, and paper used in English book manufacture were foreign imports, even some of the printers were 'imported'.³²⁵ Richard Pynson, a prolific Sarum printer, was from Normandy. Though likely an English subject as he seems to have been born during the English occupation and legally would not have been subject to trade restrictions, he would not have been considered 'native' by Londoners.³²⁶ Wynkyn de Worde became a denizen of England before taking over Caxton's shop, printing a number of Sarum books.³²⁷ Printers in Paris, Rouen, and Antwerp produced English and Latin works while others in Venice, Strasbourg, Cologne, Basel, Paris, and Lyons printed Latin texts in demand in England.³²⁸ According to customs rolls, more than 150 merchants were known to have brought printed books to England between the 1460s and the end of Mary I's reign.³²⁹ English

³²² Pettegree, 'Printing', p.163. Duffy, 'Elite', p.149.

³²³ R. Watson, pp.14, 23.

³²⁴ Duff, *EPB*, p.85. Pettegree, p.70.

³²⁵ Evenden and Freeman, p.2. Richard Britnell, *The Closing of the Middle Ages?: England, 1471-1529*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997. pp.139-140. *Antwerp*, p.7.

³²⁶ There are indications that he was an apprentice of Rouen printer Guillaume Le Talleur. Johnston, *Pynson*, pp.1, 9. Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.114. Blayney, *Stationers'*, p.24.

³²⁷ James K. Bracken and Joel Silver, eds. *The British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700. Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 170*. London: Gale Research, 1996. p.56. Duff, *EPB*, p.137. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.44.

³²⁸ Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.174. *Antwerp*, p.33.

³²⁹ Paul Needham, 'The Customs Rolls as Documents for the Printed-Book Trade in England,' in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.153.

printers produced titles (generally in English) that were not found on the Continent, in addition to importing books printed especially for them.³³⁰

As English demand for reading material grew, some Continental publishers established London offices to sell works they printed for the English market.³³¹ Importers gathered in St Paul's Churchyard – Francis Birckman (fl.1504-1529) and Simon Vostre had shops there from which they sold the books that they financed and imported.³³² Frederick de Egmont and Morin also visited London on occasion to check on the sales of books in their respective shops.³³³ For the Birckmans, playing major roles in the book markets of Antwerp and Cologne and operating in Oxford and Cambridge, having a base in London allowed them more easily to move stock from their Continental centres to other parts of England.³³⁴ 'Foreigners' like François Regnault had print shops or sales offices in London. By 1535, nearly two-thirds of book traders in England were aliens or denizens.³³⁵

In England, a new printer had to lease a property suitable for heavy machinery (generally in the most expensive city in the realm), purchase presses and type, and make an outlay on paper, ink, and labour before any profit would be seen.³³⁶ When Caxton returned to England by Michaelmas 1476, he had chosen to open his print shop in Westminster rather than the City of London because he was banking on court patronage.³³⁷ Pynson joined Caxton in Westminster in 1491 with a print shop in St Clement Danes.³³⁸ But in 1500, de Worde and Pynson both moved to premises on Fleet Street in the City of London.³³⁹ A Fleet Street address took advantage of the nearness to St Paul's Cathedral and the book market in its churchyard, soon becoming a hub for other printers like Julian

³³⁰ Hellinga, *Caxton*, pp.3-4, 194. Elisabeth Leedham-Green, 'University Libraries and Book-Sellers', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. pp.347-348.

³³¹ Pettegree, *Book*, p.124.

³³² Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.24.

³³³ Christianson, p.141.

³³⁴ Christianson, p.140. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.32. Leedham-Green, pp.347-348. Ford, p.182.

³³⁵ Syme, p.33.

³³⁶ Evenden and Freeman, p.10. Booton, p.115.

³³⁷ Davies, *PPP*, p.132. British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition in the King's Library. Illustrating the History of Printing, Music Printing and Bookbinding*. London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1939. p.53. Steinberg, p.71. Hellinga, 'Printing', p.67.

³³⁸ Blayney, *Stationers'*, p.23.

³³⁹ Blayney, *Stationers'*, p.24. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.127. A detailed account of the xenophobic attack that supposedly drove Pynson to premises on Fleet Street is found in Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.56-59.

Notary (1455-1523), William Rastell (1508-1565), and John Byddell (d.1545).³⁴⁰ Grafton lived and printed at Greyfriars (off Newgate Street), but his partner Whitchurch moved around the corner into de Worde's former Fleet Street premises after then-occupant John Byddell's death in 1545.³⁴¹

Printing Locales and the Law

While much remained the same about how printing was done across this period, the shift in printing location forced by legislation on imports and content was one of the biggest changes in Sarum and BCP production. The printing press was integrated into the political regime of England following royal support for the press under Richard III (1452-1485) with the dissemination of printed parliamentary statutes.³⁴² Henry VII (1457-1509) continued this practice and subsequently created the office of King's Printer.³⁴³ Henry VIII embraced printing, going so far as to state in 1515 in a private act of Parliament about his revenue that the act would be printed so that the people have 'sure and p(er)fite knowlege and understandinge' of his doings.³⁴⁴ English legislation regarding printing was first put forward as an addendum to an act concerning the merchants of Italy in January 1484.³⁴⁵ The act was primarily concerned with money being taken out of England and work being taken away from Englishmen, but an addendum gave freedom to printers, binders, and scribes to work in England.³⁴⁶ In reality, this mainly exempted alien book traders from the import restrictions that other trades faced in retail sales.³⁴⁷ But it was also clear that contemporary English printers (i.e.

³⁴⁰ *DLB*, pp.214, 334. Duff, *EPB*, p.141. James Moran, *Wynkyn de Worde: Father of Fleet Street*. London: Wynkyn de Worde Society, 1976. pp.9, 17. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.61, pp.202-203. Steinberg, p.72. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.262. J. Christopher Warner, *Henry VIII's Divorce: Literature and the Politics of the Printing Press*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998. p.134. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, 'Introduction,' in Lotte Hellinga, and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.24.

³⁴¹ The Dissolution had resulted in the space at Greyfriars being available to be transformed into a print house. Hugh William Davies, *Devices of the Early Printers, 1457-1560: Their History and Development*. London: Grafton and Co, 1935. p.666. Kingdon, *Grafton*, pp.8, 13. Charles T. Sisson, 'Grafton and the London Grey Friars,' in *The Library*, Volume XI, Series 4, ed. A.W. Pollard. London: Oxford University Press, 1931. p.130. ODNB (Grafton) and (Whitchurch). Moran, pp.42, 45. E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade: Short Notices of all Printers, Stationers, Book-Binders and Others Connected with it from the Issue of the First Dated Book in 1475 to the Incorporation of the Company of Stationers in 1557*. London: Blades, East and Blades for Bibliographical Society, 1905. p.169. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.546. Hellinga and Trapp, p.11. *DLB*, p.338. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, pp.98, 99. BM, *King's*, p.61.

³⁴² Douglas A. Brooks, "'This heavenly boke, more precyous than golde': Legitimizing Print in Early Tudor England', in John N. King, ed., *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. p.98. Neville, p.42.

³⁴³ Neville, pp.34, 47. Neville-Sington, p.580.

³⁴⁴ *Statutes*, 7 Henry VIII, c.7, p.191. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.165.

³⁴⁵ 1 Richard III, c.9. Rosemary Horrox, *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504: Volume 15: Richard III 1484-1485/ Henry VII 1485-1487*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press/National Archives, 2005. pp.71-74, 27[31.].

³⁴⁶ H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1475 to 1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952. p.30.

³⁴⁷ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.41.

Caxton and a handful of others) were not meeting the increasing demand.³⁴⁸ As there was ‘so little to regulate or protect’ of England’s print industry, the encouragement given in this act prompted the migration of Continental printers, including many printers of Sarum texts, substantially increasing the numbers of printers and stationers in the following fifteen years.³⁴⁹ By 1500 over 360 editions of various titles had been printed in England, including many editions of the books required by the Sarum tradition.³⁵⁰

Native printers did not emerge as a dominant group in the industry until 1513.³⁵¹ John Rastell (c.1475-1536), brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), was originally a barrister until c.1510, when he became the first native English printer since Caxton.³⁵² By 1529, the welcome to foreign printers offered by the 1484 act was under threat. A Star Council decree on 15 February, later ratified by an act of Parliament, declared that ‘strangers’ who wished to remain in business in England had to swear the requisite oaths to their craft, and faith and obedience to the king and his laws.³⁵³ The fifth clause of the Parliamentary act was key – it forbade new business ventures by foreigners, effectively cutting off foreign printers from setting up new shops in England.³⁵⁴ The 1534 Act for Printers and Binders of Books directly affected the economics of England’s book trade by forbidding the importation of bound books and limiting retail prices.³⁵⁵ Likely originally presented by the stationers (who were predominately responsible for binding), the act’s wording extolling the virtues of the English print industry probably came from MP and sometime printer John Rastell.³⁵⁶ While acknowledging the previous need for the 1484 proviso encouraging foreign printers, this act repealed it to protect the future growth of native printers.³⁵⁷ A further clause prevented English booksellers from inflating their prices to be ‘too high and unreasonable’ in the face of reduced foreign

³⁴⁸ Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.22.

³⁴⁹ Syme, p.33. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.23.

³⁵⁰ Davies, *PPP*, p.133.

³⁵¹ Syme, p.33.

³⁵² ODNB (John Rastell). Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.194. Blayney, *Stationers’*, p.24. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.121.

³⁵³ *Statutes*, 21 Henry VIII, c.16, pp.78-80. Syme, p.34.

³⁵⁴ Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.37. Bennett, p.31. Hellinga and Trapp, p.14.

³⁵⁵ *Statutes*, 25 Henry VIII, c.15, pp.158-160. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.37.

³⁵⁶ Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.331, 336.

³⁵⁷ Though the main thrust of the act was against the importation of bound books for resale. Bennett, p.31. Hellinga and Trapp, p.14. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.333. Syme, p.35.

competition.³⁵⁸ The act of 1534 was responding to changes in the print trade as a whole but was also the beginning of the diminishing role of foreign publishers producing books for the English market – the result most relevant to our subject being that bound Sarum books could not be imported from this point in time.³⁵⁹ The protectionist strategy was in some senses unneeded as an increasing number of English printers were already producing material that had previously been supplied by foreign printers. Native sons Thomas Berthelet and John Day both benefitted from it, not as printers but as binders, for their market share of books to bind was increased by this act.³⁶⁰ Limits on ‘strangers’ beginning business ventures in London enacted in 1529 and 1534 meant importation was a less expedient option for obtaining Sarum texts. Firms in Rouen, Paris, and Antwerp were losing their market share due to these policies. Parisian printers like Hopyl, Prevost, and Hardouyn were unable to maintain control of the Sarum market like when they had produced DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, DUL Routh SB+ 0084, and DUL Bamburgh Select .22. The rise of domestic protections in England at a time when religious reform changed the content of liturgical books specifically fuelled François Regnault’s concerns for his business.³⁶¹ Regnault was one of the largest importers of books into London, where he resided between 1475 and 1496, before running the business from Paris.³⁶² He continuously produced texts for the English market from 1519 to 1535, including the bulk of English service books, a number of which are among our case studies.³⁶³ Policies such as Henry’s proclamation against Becket meant Regnault’s last Sarum Book of Hours, printed in 1538, was ‘corrected in press to remove references to Thomas à Becket’.³⁶⁴ Regnault pleaded with Cromwell to be exempted from the 1534 Act limiting imports because of his extensive trade history.³⁶⁵ Despite English printers Grafton and Whitchurch writing to Cromwell on Regnault’s behalf to request that

³⁵⁸ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.334.

³⁵⁹ Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.171. *Antwerp*, p.14. Steinberg, p.74.

³⁶⁰ Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.39.

³⁶¹ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.166.

³⁶² Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.33. Harry G. Aldis, *The Printed Book*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941. p.34. E. Gordon Duff, *The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906. p.207. Louis L. Martz and Richard S. Sylvester, *Thomas More’s Prayer Book: A Facsimile Reproduction of the Annotated Pages*. London: Yale University Press, 1969. p.xxi. Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs Parisiens: Libraires, Fondateurs de Caractères, et Correcteurs d’Imprimerie depuis l’Introduction de l’Imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu’à la fin du Seizième siècle*. Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1965. p.362.

³⁶³ Duff, *Westminster*, p.207. Martz and Sylvester, p.xxi.

³⁶⁴ Martz and Sylvester, p.xxi.

³⁶⁵ Bennett, p.32. Duff, *Westminster*, p.208.

he at least be able to sell his remaining stock in England, Regnault was relegated to producing French and Latin texts for an oversaturated Continental market.³⁶⁶ Regnault was not alone in his loss of business providing Sarum books, but his relationship with Grafton, Whitchurch, and Cromwell meant that his loss is the best documented.

The assurance of a steady market for Sarum liturgical material was ended by England's Reformation. Protectionist legislation, a political (and one could argue practical from the viewpoint of economics) move resulted in this dramatic shift in printing locale of Sarum books from all over Europe to England (and specifically London). The example of Regnault shows that printers' output was not based solely on market forces – despite the continued popular demand for English devotional material, printers were relegated to producing material of the Crown's desire. In addition, between 1542 and 1546, there was a sharp decline in (legal) book imports from France and an increase in those (often illegal ones) from Antwerp, especially of books without a declared publisher, due to a combination of growth in native skill and less royal support for reform.³⁶⁷ Early English printers, even if they personally wished to produce Lutheran works, were limited by the illegality of such works and their reliance on official approbation to remain in business.³⁶⁸ The legal restraints in England on material that the Crown deemed to be heretical meant that opposition prints were generally smuggled in from the Continent.³⁶⁹ Much of this smuggled material was printed in Antwerp, particularly between 1517 and 1537 when there was little official support for reform in England.³⁷⁰ At the same time as they produced Sarum volumes, the Ruremond brothers smuggled at least eight reformist titles into England, including a number of copies of Tyndale's New Testament.³⁷¹ Hans was arrested for smuggling illegal books in 1527 while Christoffel was arrested in 1530 for the same crime, both falling foul of royal proclamations against Lutheran and heretical

³⁶⁶ Bennett, p.32. Colin Clair, *A History of European Printing*. London: Academic Press, 1976. pp.256-257. Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*. London: Cassell, 1965. p.62-63. Colin Clair, *A Chronology of Printing*. London: Cassell, 1969. p.47.

³⁶⁷ Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.537, 539.

³⁶⁸ Pettegree, *Book*, p.126.

³⁶⁹ Gilmont, p.11. Syme, p.37.

³⁷⁰ Pettegree, *Book*, p.126. *Antwerp*, p.13. Andrew G. Johnston and Jean-François Gilmont, 'Printing and the Reformation in Antwerp,' in Jean-François Gilmont, ed. *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990. p.190.

³⁷¹ *STC* (2) 2823 (first edition). Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.228-230. Johnston and Gilmont, p.191.

books.³⁷² Though the evangelical Ruremond did not literally survive the changes in legislation that increased more Antwerpen imports, punitive action against printers tried (but failed) to stop the production of reformist works. On 8 April 1543 Bishop Gardiner and the Privy Council rounded up ‘unlawful’ printers, with a second round of arrests taking place on the 25th.³⁷³ The censorship campaign against reformers was continued by Parliament. The 1543 ‘Act for the Advancement of True Religion’ instructed that copies of English Scripture be submitted to a bishop for burning so their previous owners could be pardoned.³⁷⁴ The act also dictated that no printer could print an English book, ballad, or play without putting his name, the name of the author, and the date of the print in it, and reiterated that no religious books in English were to be imported from abroad unless licensed by the king. Following arrests of evangelicals (primarily those who denied transubstantiation) in early 1546, another royal proclamation was made against evangelical books.³⁷⁵ The proclamation, dated 8 July, emphasised that printers were required to put their names, the name of the author, and date of production in every book.³⁷⁶ Because ‘divers lewd and evil-disposed persons’ wrote books in English with ‘sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God’s law and his word’, further titles were outlawed including Scripture translated by Tyndale or Coverdale, except for what had been permitted by the 1543 Act, i.e. the Great Bible. Books by Frith, Tyndale, Wycliffe, Coverdale, and other reformers were also forbidden, as were books ‘containing matter contrary’ to the *King’s Book* of 1543. This was Henry VIII’s last interference in the printing industry, retaining the Sarum-esque tradition that was embodied in the 1545 Authorised Primer.³⁷⁷

Royal favour and royal business particularly concerned printers: royal authority could ensure survival in the market and adherence to royal policy concerning printing was expected. In January 1506, Richard Pynson took over as King’s Printer from Henry VII’s first officer, William Faques.³⁷⁸

³⁷² Johnston and Gilmont, p.193.

³⁷³ Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.548-549.

³⁷⁴ *Statutes*, 34/35 Henry VIII, c.1, p.388. Syme, p.37.

³⁷⁵ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. London: Yale University Press, 1996. p.354.

³⁷⁶ TRP 272, p.375. Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.54.

³⁷⁷ Syme, p.38.

³⁷⁸ BM, *King’s*, p.45. Hellinga and Trapp, p.7. Johnston, *Pynson*, pp.60, 71. Steinberg, p.72. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.115.

Pynson remained King's Printer upon Henry VIII's accession in 1509, printing according to Henry's wishes, including the *Assertio septem sacramentorum* of 1521.³⁷⁹ Pynson's death at some point between 1 and 17 December 1529 resulted in Thomas Berthelet taking up the formal responsibilities of King's Printer, holding the post until Henry VIII's death.³⁸⁰ In the meantime, on 23 January 1543, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch were given letters patent (renewed on 22 April 1547) to produce all church service books.³⁸¹ This partnership radically shifted who was allowed to manufacture the Sarum books and where this could be done (and explaining why there seemed to be an abrupt end to the production of Sarum books in 1543) – this was a mostly political shift endorsed by Henry to prevent circumvention of his desires regarding elimination of references to the Pope and Thomas Becket. The monopoly placed on this type of printing also made possible the liturgical uniformity of Sarum (dictated by Convocation, as noted in Chapter Three).³⁸² However, Whitchurch and Grafton were granted the monopoly above the King's Printer, perhaps allowing Henry to maintain the option of disowning any service books they produced of which he disapproved.³⁸³ By the end of 1544 an additional royal printing role had been created: Grafton was given letters patent as Prince Edward's Printer (which directly resulted in his elevation to King's Printer at Edward's accession in 1547, displacing Berthelet).³⁸⁴ On 28 May 1545, a proclamation further confirmed that Grafton and Whitchurch had the patent for printing King Henry's Primer, once again limiting not only where this Sarum-based text was printed, but by whom.³⁸⁵

³⁷⁹ *STC* (2) 13078. Steinberg, p.73.

³⁸⁰ ODNB (Richard Pynson) and (Thomas Berthelet). Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.255. BM, *King's*, pp.65, 78. Steinberg, p.73. Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.185. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.224. Colin Clair, 'Thomas Berthelet, Royal Printer', in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 16 *Jahrhundert*, 1966. pp.177, 179.

³⁸¹ *LP XXXIII* 100 (31). Neville-Sington, p.595. ODNB (Grafton) and (Whitchurch). *DLB*, p.127, lists the date as 1544. William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae. Volume I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882. p.xxi. Gillespie, p.190. Morison, p.41. Henry R. Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing, 1476-1898*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co, 1900. p.73. Steinberg, p.74. Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529-1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. p.246.

³⁸² Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*. London: Methuen and Co, 1910. p.11. John N. Wall, Jr, 'The Reformation in England and the Typographical Revolution: "By this printing...the doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all nations"', in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim, eds., *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*. London: Associated University Press, 1986. p.209.

³⁸³ Neville-Sington, p.594.

³⁸⁴ ODNB (Grafton). *DLB*, p.127. Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books, 1473- 1557*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.190. Kingdon, *Grafton*, p.23. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.557. Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.19.

³⁸⁵ *TRP* 251, p.353.

The Printers and their Relationships

In the period from 1477 to 1549, 102 individuals are identified in the *Short-Title Catalogue* as producing Sarum, York, and Hereford Books of Hours, Manuals, and Missals, and the Book of Common Prayer.³⁸⁶ The diagram on page 83 illustrates the social network of 163 individuals: the 102 listed in *STC* combined with 53 additional printer-publishers known both from colophons of non-English printed works consulted for this thesis and from work by Duff, Renouard, Rouzet, and Blayney, plus a further eight individuals who were not printers themselves but had varied links with multiple printers.³⁸⁷ 163 individuals may seem like a high number of participants for an industry in its early stages, but it must be remembered that most enterprises did not last beyond the life of their founder and the data cover a 75-year period, embracing printers operating not only in England (London and York specifically) but in Paris, Rouen, Rome, Venice, Trent, and Antwerp. The network is certainly a simplification of the types and strength of relationships between the various printers, but it serves to indicate the interconnected nature of the industry.³⁸⁸

The diagram was produced in an open-source software product by the name of Gephi, designed for creating network analyses and visualisations. Its open-source nature is the leading reason why it was selected. On lists of top visualisation softwares to use, Gephi often appears; it was also more user-friendly for beginners than many other software programmes. To produce this visualisation, I created a spreadsheet: Column A (defined 'Source' for Gephi's functionality) contained the printer's name, column B (defined 'Target') contained the name of a second printer with whom the first interacted, and column C contained a 'Weight' (numbers 1-3) representing the sort of interaction the printers were adjudged to have had. For example, printers who were regular partners (such as Grafton and Whitchurch) were weighted at 3 for having ties that likely brought

³⁸⁶ A.W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave, W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland: And of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640. Volume 2: I-Z*. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976. While Sarum content is the basis of this thesis, the producers of York and Hereford Uses would have faced many of the same issues in production, therefore they were included in the examination of printers.

³⁸⁷ *STC*. Duff, *Century*. Renouard, *Repertoire*. Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des Imprimeurs, Libraires et Éditeurs des XV^e et XVI^e Siècles dans les Limites Géographiques de la Belgique Actuelle*. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1975. Blayney, *Vols. I and II*. The eight individuals are as follow: Miles Coverdale, Thomas Cranmer, Thomas Cromwell, Desiderius Erasmus, Thomas More, John and William Tyndale, (who all had various dealings with printers, most especially as authors) and an unnamed supplier who is believed to have produced typefaces for numerous printers.

³⁸⁸ This could also begin to indicate the interconnected nature of all medieval industries on a scale that remains unexplored.

them into regular contact with each other. Relationships were weighted at 2 in the event of family ties combined with occasional working partnerships (such as Pynson and Rastell whose children married). If two printers were connected by use of the same facility (one directly following the other, such as Redman following Rastell) or legal proceedings (such as that between Nicolas and Jean Le Roux), that relationship was weighted at 1.

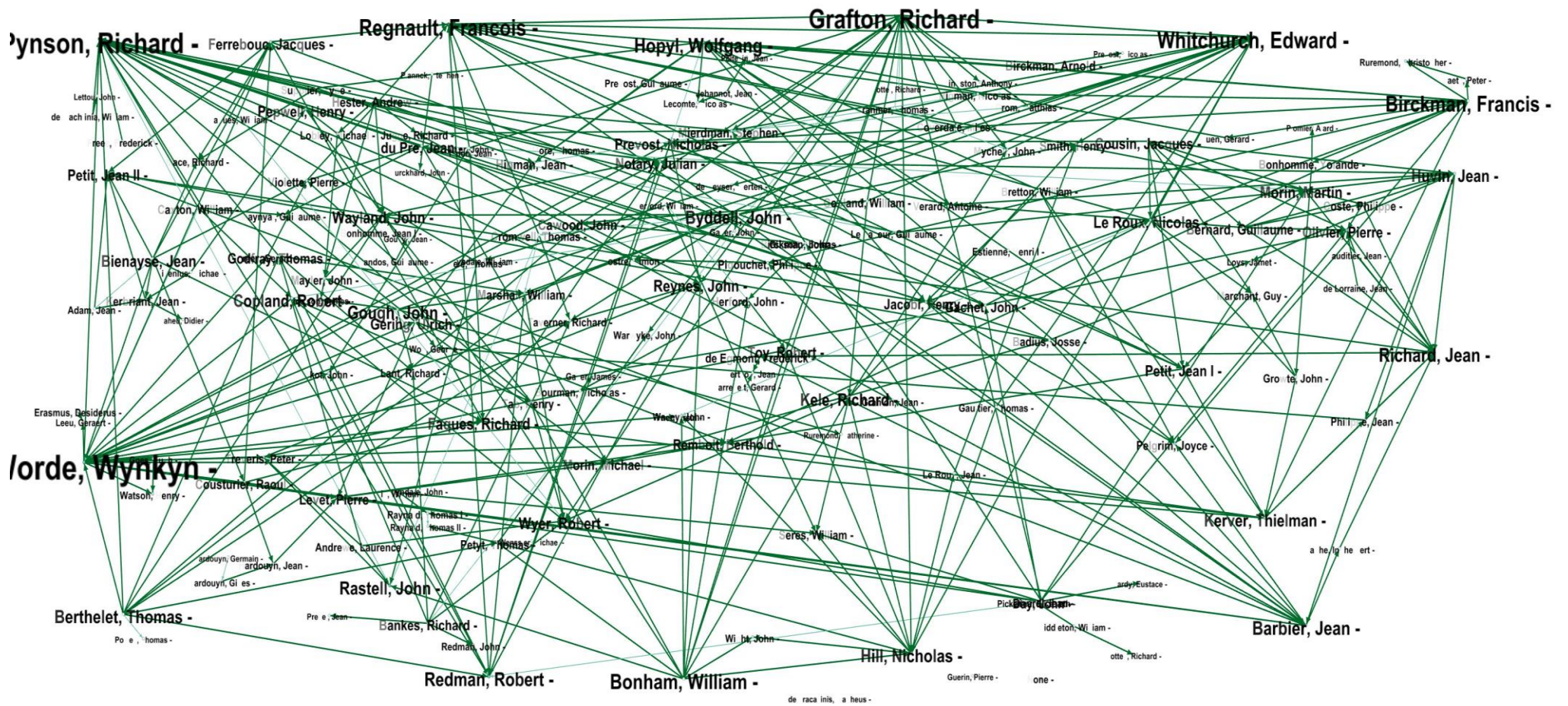


Figure 1: Social Network of English Printers

What is immediately clear from this figure, the likes of which has never been published, is that some printers are hubs of activity while others are isolated. Some of the men (and women) named here were only ever the funding behind a project, while others were prolific producers of books, and still others were the means by which books were sold in various locations. While certain printers (like Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson) were known to have dominated English printing on either side of the turn of the sixteenth century and to have had considerable links with other printers, other 'middling' printers like François Regnault (d.1540), Jean Barbier, and Jean Richard are now shown to have surprisingly numerous ties with other printing houses. Additionally, printers like Martin Morin (fl.1490-1518) whose names are not paired with any others in colophons or title-pages are shown to have more links than previously known – indicating that historians in this subject need to examine more closely the remaining documentary evidence for how the printing industry in this period functioned and weaved intricate webs between participants. Yet a few printers named in *STC* and in the case studies do not have clear links to other printers; whether this is because they were truly alone in their enterprises or because they had connections to other printers that have not so far been uncovered and noted is a subject for further research.

Obviously, the software and the operator are imperfect, but the figure serves as a general overview of the fact that English printing was not as isolated as might be assumed. Future lines of enquiry using this sort of software would include setting locations as the hubs and seeing the printers splinter off according to that setting. Additionally, being able to watch the shift of relationships over time would be an interesting variant that would give greater depth to the understanding of the shift in primary printing location over time. This sort of visualisation is only a first step in beginning to analyse the ways in which relations were occurring in this nascent industry.

Part of what underpins the variety of relationships between printers represented above was the fact that many printers had non-textwriting trades before turning to printing. Mercers, haberdashers, and grocers, many of whom had imported books and paper amongst their other goods,

sometimes shifted their careers to printing.³⁸⁹ For example, William Caxton, the father of English printing, originally apprenticed as a mercer in England and Bruges in the 1430s and '40s, before becoming a governor of the Merchant Adventurers in the 1460s and continuing his trade (likely including manuscripts) in the Low Countries.³⁹⁰ During a trade suspension between England and the Burgundians, Caxton started translating texts and, discovering that printing was faster and easier for wider distribution than manuscript copying, decided to learn the art of printing.³⁹¹ Producing his first book in Westminster in November 1477, Caxton went on to produce a number of Sarum texts, from his own press and in partnership with other presses on the Continent.³⁹² Similarly, Richard Grafton was a grocer before becoming involved in printing in the 1530s and 1540s, later going on to be an MP for London.³⁹³ As a grocer, Grafton worked for both Cranmer and Cromwell, while also having access to the Merchant Adventurers (of which Caxton had been a governor) where he developed ties to Antwerp, likely leading to his relationships with Continental printers.³⁹⁴ As for Grafton's partner, Edward Whitchurch was first recorded as a haberdasher before being named as a printer.³⁹⁵

Though most of England's printing enterprises were started by individuals, printing houses in England and on the Continent were defined by their relationships with each other. Caxton was a prolific printer, but his early employment of de Worde meant that he likely never operated the

³⁸⁹ Clark, p.72. Flood, 'Printed', pp.146-147. Printers were not required to become stationers until the guild edited their rules and received their charter in 1557 – Blayney, *Vol. II*, pp.936-937. Needham, pp.159, 161. Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.95-96. Reinburg, *French*, p.44.

³⁹⁰ BM, *King's*, p.52. Steinberg, p.70. McKerrow, p.273. Füssel, p.67. *DLB*, p.48. Derek S. Brewer, *Publisher, Printer, and Book*. London: Wynkyn de Worde Society, 1976. p.2.

³⁹¹ *DLB*, p.51. Precisely where Caxton learned the printing process is unclear, but his successor, Wynkyn de Worde, claimed it was in Cologne. The comment is in the prologue of de Worde's edition of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (1472; *STC* 1536). Duff, *EPB*, p.127. Steinberg, p.70. Moran, p.11. Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.66.

³⁹² ODNB (William Caxton). Füssel, p.68. Duff, *EPB*, p.128. McKerrow, p.273.

³⁹³ Gillespie, p.189. W. Roberts, *Printers' Marks: A Chapter in the History of Typography*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1893. pp.74, 76. Davies, *Devices*, pp.664, 666. ODNB (Grafton). Henry Lemoine, *Typographical Antiquities: History, Origins, and Progress of the Art of Printing*. London: S. Fisher, No. 10, St John's Lane, Clerkenwell, 1797. <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=duruni&tabID=T001&docId=CW108362679&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. p.66. Bennett, pp.37, 196. Clair, *Britain*, p.65. Sisson, pp.121-149. E.G. Duff, et al. *Hand-Lists of Books Printed by London Printers, 1501-1556*. London: Blades, East, and Blades, 1913. pp.2-7. J.A. Kingdon, *Incidents in the Lives of Thomas Poyntz and Richard Grafton, Two Citizens and Grocers of London, who suffered loss and incurred danger in common with Tyndal, Coverdale, and Rogers, in bringing out the Bible in the vulgar tongue; collected and confused by J.A. Kingdon, a Past Master of the Guild; dutifully dedicated to the Worshipful the Master and Wardens of the Company*. London: Rixon and Arnold, 1895. pp.1, 18. *DLB*, p.124. Kingdon, *Grafton*, p.3.

³⁹⁴ Gillespie, p.189. ODNB (Caxton).

³⁹⁵ Clair, *Britain*, p.61.

presses himself after that point.³⁹⁶ Cooperation with other printers also helped Caxton survive. During the period when it seemed Caxton was the only printer operating in England, he funded a number of texts printed in Paris (including some Sarum volumes).³⁹⁷ While other firms had failed, for reasons unknown, Caxton remained solvent – proving the maxim that starting with wealth helped a firm to survive, but perhaps his imports shielded him in uncertain times.

At Caxton's death in 1492, de Worde and Pynson were the only operational printers in England, beginning a relationship of rivalry and cooperation that endured for nearly forty years.³⁹⁸ Between 1500 and 1510, de Worde and Pynson together accounted for roughly 70% of the output of London's presses, though they did not print as many Sarum texts as were imported.³⁹⁹ Their proportion of output rose slightly between 1511 and 1520 (to 73%) but sharply dropped between 1521 and 1530 (to 55%) as an increasing number of enterprises joined London's printing industry.⁴⁰⁰ Yet the presence of other businesses could benefit an established printing house. A sudden glut of business occurring for one printer could lead to partnerships with others in order to fulfil all orders placed; de Worde's prominence and ensuing surplus of work resulted in partnerships with many of his Fleet Street neighbours.⁴⁰¹ Partnership also spread the initial cost of production and improved the prospects of recouping money from sales. From 1505-1515, Wolfgang Hopyl (fl.1489-1522), a Sarum printer based in Paris, took advantage of partnerships with Henry Jacobi (fl.1505-1547?), Joyce Pelgrim (fl.1506-1526), and William Bretton (fl.1506-1508), all in London, to expand his business beyond a French audience.⁴⁰² John Day's printing of some sheets for Grafton's share of the Book of Common Prayer helped to establish Day's credentials as a printer, while also ensuring that Grafton completed his commissioned work in time for the Whitsunday deadline.⁴⁰³ But named producers of printed books were not always the physical manufacturers; often they were funders, importers, and sales arrangers. Francis Birckman, whose name is known from many colophons

³⁹⁶ ODNB (Caxton). Brewer, p.3.

³⁹⁷ Duff, *EPB*, p.171.

³⁹⁸ Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.113. Neville, p.166.

³⁹⁹ Moran, p.39. Pettegree, *Book*, pp.49, 126.

⁴⁰⁰ Moran, p.40.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.35.

⁴⁰² E. Gordon Duff, 'The Stationers at the Sign of the Trinity in St. Paul's Churchyard. Part I – 1506-1515', in *Bibliographica*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co, 1895. p.100.

⁴⁰³ Blayney, *Vol. II*, pp.641, 667.

(including in several of our case studies), was recorded as a financier between 1531 and 1539; he was clearly a Pynson backer as most books printed with his name between 1518 and 1523 were made with Pynson's types.⁴⁰⁴ In addition to their printing and funding activities, de Worde and Birckman dominated book importation between 1503 and 1521; after 1521 Birckman retained his market share, but de Worde dropped out and François Regnault (another of our case study printers) became Birckman's main import competitor.⁴⁰⁵ Works printed by the Ruremonds in Antwerp were sold in London by Peter Kaetz and Birckman.⁴⁰⁶ Philippe Pigouchet and Thielman Kerver (fl.1497-1522) vied with Vérard to corner the devotional material market, all three producing numerous Books of Hours (including examples of Sarum Use) of varying style and elaboration.⁴⁰⁷ Competition benefitted the reading public who now had choice of design and style for the texts they wished to purchase. Financing, importing/exporting, and printing Sarum books could be lucrative. Despite the growth of the English printing industry, the production of Sarum books and of the BCP were nevertheless reliant on partnerships both between English and Continental printers and within England for their production.

De Worde, seeking as large a market as possible, capitalized on Lady Margaret Beaufort's support (pseudo-monarchical) for English devotional material, the use of woodcuts, and Caxton's development of a 'standard' English to produce upwards of 829 editions of various texts, many of them short devotional works and Sarum Primers that could be offered in an economical format.⁴⁰⁸ Pynson produced at least 400 titles, among which were Sarum texts that were 'technically and typographically the best of the English incunabula'.⁴⁰⁹ While he maintained a virtual monopoly on the production of law texts and printed many humanist Latin textbooks, Pynson was the only printer of Sarum Missals in England.⁴¹⁰ His work included the 'finest' English Missal, that of 1501 financed by

⁴⁰⁴ E. Gordon Duff, 'The Stationers at the Sign of the Trinity in St. Paul's Churchyard. Part II – 1518-1539', in *Bibliographica*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co, 1896. p.177.

⁴⁰⁵ Perhaps this was part of a trade deal as Regnault was producing many more Books of Hours as de Worde was scaling back production of his own. Christianson, p.140. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.475.

⁴⁰⁶ *Antwerp*, p.33.

⁴⁰⁷ Steinberg, p.60.

⁴⁰⁸ John N. King, ed., *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. p.5. *DLB*, pp.336-337. Duff, *EPB*, p.142. Moran, p.14. Steinberg, p.72.

⁴⁰⁹ Steinberg, p.73.

⁴¹⁰ Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.121.

Cardinal John Morton (c.1420-1500), Archbishop of Canterbury, and additional, though less ornate, Missals of 1504 and 1512.⁴¹¹ His 1512 edition was the last Missal printed in England until 1555 and is consequently one of our case studies.

Service and prayer books formed the financial bedrock of the printing industry.⁴¹² Printed ephemera such as indulgences, prayers, and pilgrimage tokens were produced in quantity.⁴¹³ Some printers like Berthelet (responsible for 562 discrete items according to *STC*) produced a wide range of liturgical, devotional, educational, and literary works.⁴¹⁴ Du Pré and Hopyl were known for their liturgical printing.⁴¹⁵ Du Pré and Vérard printed deluxe liturgical material while others sold to the middling market.⁴¹⁶ Martin Morin produced at least six known liturgical items for English markets, including an early Sarum Missal with a large number of woodcuts following in the tradition pioneered by Vérard and Pigouchet.⁴¹⁷ Vérard, Hardouyn, and Regnault were all renowned for printing Books of Hours, though Pigouchet was the most prolific.⁴¹⁸ ‘For elegance at a good price...’, one purchased books by the Vostre and Pigouchet partnership.⁴¹⁹ Birckman was listed as the sole publisher for 21 books of various genres between 1510 and 1520, while publishing on average one Sarum Primer of varying size and quality per year between 1511 and 1527.⁴²⁰ Often printers would print the same content but in different forms to appeal to disparate audiences; this is evident in our

⁴¹¹ Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. pp.548-549. Morison, p.39.

⁴¹² Pettegree, *Book*, p.xv. Virginia Reinburg, ‘Books of Hours’, in Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, and Philip Connor, eds., *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001. p.73.

⁴¹³ As Gutenberg had done, Caxton also printed indulgences as a side-line to keep the shop afloat while producing a larger, more complex text. Richard Pynson (c.1449-1529/30) was known to have produced several series of indulgences, from upwards of 2000 per run. Füssel, p.68. Pettegree, *Book*, p.131. R.N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. pp.172-173. Flood, ‘Printed’, p.140.

⁴¹⁴ *DLB*, p.29.

⁴¹⁵ BM, *King’s*, p.48. Pettegree, *Book*, p.47.

⁴¹⁶ Steinberg, p.60.

⁴¹⁷ BM, *King’s*, p.82. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.29. Duff, *EPB*, p.92. Morison, p.39.

⁴¹⁸ Duff, *EPB*, p.85.

⁴¹⁹ Though Vostre/Pigouchet prints vary in Use, no Sarum Use editions were consulted in the case studies, though a Use of Paris edition has been used for comparison purposes (University of Iowa, BX 2080.A2 1502). Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.28. Reinburg, *French*, p.33.

⁴²⁰ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.157. Mary C. Erler, ‘Devotional Literature,’ in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.503.

Missals and Books of Hours.⁴²¹ These printers were all counting on liturgical material having a steady market.

Printed Content and the Law

Liturgical books were the ‘bread and butter’ of the nascent printing industry, accounting for a large proportion of the output of many Continental printers.⁴²² In the previous chapter, we looked at the *De Heretico Comburendo* and Oxford Constitutions, noting how the fear of heresy all but quashed reform in fifteenth-century England. The clauses on the destruction of Wycliffite tracts and unauthorised English Scripture also forestalled any printing of such works, as no early printer was willing to risk excommunication or worse for either Wycliffite works or an English Bible without episcopal approval.⁴²³ In addition to this ‘national’ fear of heresy, papal authority put initial controls on printing for similar reasons. A bull of Pope Innocent VIII (1432-1492) issued on 17 November 1487 required that books be printed only if they had been approved by the local ordinary responsible for examining books for heresy.⁴²⁴ The fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517) and Pope Leo X (1475-1521) also described the benefits and ills of printing in *Super impressione librorum*, focusing on issues of textual stability.⁴²⁵ This bull dated 4 May 1515 began by noting that printing, when ‘carefully wrought’ (*perpolitata*), brought many advantages to the instruction of Christians.⁴²⁶ The main concern was with errors being perpetuated in translations, particularly from languages such as Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic. In order to reduce such errors, the Council was to pre-approve texts to be printed. Such rulings meant the Sarum texts had to remain orthodox.

Given the religious controversy of the Lollards in the early 1400s which had haunted the realm as Caxton matured, it comes as no surprise that he was likely only comfortable printing his translations of French devotional works in the 1480s. However, by the 1490s de Worde and Pynson produced a wide range of devotional works and sermon collections, including specific titles for

⁴²¹ Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.106-107.

⁴²² Reinburg, *French*, p.26.

⁴²³ *Statutes*, 2 Henry IV, c.15, pp.125-128. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.174.

⁴²⁴ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.174.

⁴²⁵ McKitterick, p.4. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.177.

⁴²⁶ Pope Leo X, *Bulla super impressione librorum lecta in X. sessionis S. Conc. Later.* Facsimile on Google Books: <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=YYISAAAACAAJ&pg=PT4#v=thumbnail&q&f=false>.

Bridgettine and Carthusian communities.⁴²⁷ Monasteries supported the print industry by purchasing printed books: Canterbury and Durham, for example, energetically renewed their holdings of liturgical and *lectio divina* texts in this way.⁴²⁸ But the Reformation could also generate ‘easy profits’ for printers because of the volume of writings produced and the interest of all Christendom in the religious debate.⁴²⁹ Printers printed for two main reasons: in support of their own ideological conviction (conservative or evangelical) or to profit from the controversy. A notable example of print for profit was Peter Quentell (fl.1540-1550), an anti-Lutheran who produced Tyndale’s Lutheran-inspired English New Testament.⁴³⁰ Like Quentell, Michael Hillenius (c.1476-1558) was solely interested in the profits available from printing controversial tracts both for and against Luther.⁴³¹ The Ruremond brothers (Hans and Christoffel) printed at least 21 titles for sale in England from 1523 to 1528, of which 18 were Sarum liturgical texts, produced despite their evangelical sympathies.⁴³²

From the 1520s in England, local controls were placed on printers even before texts were put through the press.⁴³³ Bishops took on the responsibility of determining which religious texts were allowed to be produced and sold in the realm – the licensing of printers by Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall of London (1474-1559) was intended to prevent the destruction of England by heretics.⁴³⁴ On 12 May 1521, the first burning of Lutheran books was orchestrated in London, in line with the official pronouncement of Luther as a heretic.⁴³⁵ In an additional move, on 12 October 1524, Tunstall warned the London printers against importing Lutheran texts or foreign books without approval from Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530), the Archbishop of Canterbury William Warham

⁴²⁷ Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.167.

⁴²⁸ Clark, pp.76-77. A.I. Doyle, ‘The Printed Books of the Last Monks of Durham’, in *The Library*, Sixth Series, Volume X, No. 3, (September) 1988. See especially p.213 for discussion of from where printed texts were sourced.

⁴²⁹ Pettegree, *Book*, p.66.

⁴³⁰ *Antwerp*, p.11. Steinberg, p.50.

⁴³¹ Johnston and Gilmont, p.191. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Michael Hillenius Hoochstratanus*, http://data.bnf.fr/12230646/michael_hillenius_hoochstratanus/.

⁴³² Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.228. *Antwerp*, p.33.

⁴³³ Pettegree, *Book*, p.206.

⁴³⁴ David Loades, ‘Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558’, in Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*. trans. Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990. p.267.

⁴³⁵ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.243.

(c.1450-1532), himself, or Bishop Fisher.⁴³⁶ Bishop Tunstall's meetings were part of an effort to ensure orthodoxy in their works. Both de Worde and Berthelet were recorded as being at the 1524 meeting.⁴³⁷ Yet on 19 December 1525 the former, along with John Gough, was in trouble with Tunstall for printing *The Image of Love* as it was considered a heretical text (though de Worde was known to be a devout traditionalist).⁴³⁸ A second meeting of 25 October 1526 implied that the conditions were not being met and Tunstall again warned booksellers to not sell or circulate Lutheran books or works not approved by church authorities.⁴³⁹ Those recorded at Tunstall's second meeting in 1526 included Laurence Andrewe's wife, Bankes, Berthelet, William Bonham, Colyns, Copland, Coston, Faques, Gough, Growte, Harman (representing Birckman), Heron, Kele, Pepwell, Petyt, Pynson, Rastell, Redman, Jean le Roux, Skot, Sutton, Tab, Toy, de Worde, and Wyer – seemingly every printer active in London in that year.⁴⁴⁰ On 23 March 1527, Birckman was bound by recognizance not to import certain materials and to act as an informer against Continental printers who were making such books. This was possibly done by Tunstall to discourage the importation of heretical material and because Francis seemed to have missed the 1526 meeting.⁴⁴¹ Whether directly connected to royalty or not, printers had to maintain at least the façade of agreement with the expectations of the king and his ministers (of State and of Church).

The royal proclamation of 6 March 1529 particularly affected printers who produced religious books; it was the first government policy explicitly involving both printing and religious principles.⁴⁴² Henry's proclamation forbade Luther's books being printed in or imported to England; printing of evangelical texts consequently became clandestine while Sarum books remained bastions of orthodoxy.⁴⁴³ A further proclamation of 22 June 1530, 'Prohibiting Erroneous Books and Bible Translation', was meant to suppress 'Lollard' texts and was the first to prohibit specific titles by

⁴³⁶ Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.93. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.244.

⁴³⁷ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.246.

⁴³⁸ *STC* (2) 21471.5. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.245. Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.168. Moran, p.41. Plomer, *Wynkyn*, p.94.

⁴³⁹ Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.247-248. Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. p.60.

⁴⁴⁰ Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.248-249.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.247.

⁴⁴² *TRP* 122, pp.181-186.

⁴⁴³ G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1969. p.49. Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. Second edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. p.93. Johnston and Gilmont, p.191.

name, in this case books by William Tyndale, Simon Fish, and John Frith (1503-1533).⁴⁴⁴ The concern was for ‘divers heresies and erroneous opinions’ being spread in ‘blasphemous and pestiferous English books, printed in other regions and sent into this realm’ and prompting sedition. A further clause reminded printers that the printing of English Scripture without episcopal approval would result in ‘uttermost peril’. Possession of English Scripture was illegal; owners would be liable for the same punishments as for any previously banned books. But Henry retained for himself the option of commissioning English Scripture if he thought it would benefit the realm. Sarum books with innovations could be subject to destruction.

The royal proclamation against Bishop Fisher’s books mentioned in Chapter Three was the first of two book-related proclamations of the late 1530s.⁴⁴⁵ As noted above, this proclamation targeted indulgences and works by Fisher. Given that indulgences sustained much of the early printing industry, this was a blow to printers, cutting access to a lucrative market. However, printed content was most changed by Henry’s 16 November 1538 proclamation, the first example of clearly defined prepublication censorship by a political authority as books in English now had to be pre-approved by the Privy Council.⁴⁴⁶ Here it is necessary to note the proclamation’s effect on printing: ‘wrong teaching and naughty printed books’ in English, printed both abroad and within the realm, were circulating, prompting dissent about the nature of the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist. A special licence was required to import, sell, or publish books printed in English and all translations had to be accompanied by the translator’s name.⁴⁴⁷ Additionally, the proclamation required printers only to use the phrase *cum privilegio regali* if they included *ad imprimendum solum*, making it clear that the king had not recommended the specific text, only granted its commercial monopoly.⁴⁴⁸ Henry VIII himself added this phrase to the proclamation, likely because he wanted the flexibility of

⁴⁴⁴ TRP 129, pp.193-197. Trapp, p.81. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.329. Rex, *Henry*, p.93. Haigh, *Reformations*, p.57.

⁴⁴⁵ TRP 161, pp.235-237. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.480.

⁴⁴⁶ TRP 186, pp.270-276. McKerrow, p.141. Rex, *Henry*, p.124. Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.404, 489 – the papal bull and Lateran decree on printing had required the same sort of prepublication censorship, but this proclamation shifted the authority for such action to the Privy Council. Neville-Sington, p.593. Butterworth, *Primers*, p.167. Clair, *Chronology*, p.47.

⁴⁴⁷ Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.482, 488.

⁴⁴⁸ Alfred W. Pollard, ‘Ad Imprimendum Solum’, in *The Library*, Series Three X (37), 1919. pp.58-59. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.484.

changing his opinion on the legality of a book's content without appearing indecisive.⁴⁴⁹ All books, including Sarum prints, were subject to this new inclusion – highlighting that Sarum Use itself could still be changed by Henry in his role as Supreme Head. In the following year, the Act of Six Articles further limited what printers were legally allowed to produce as religious content – any books that contained erroneous opinions were subject to burning and by extension any printer could be charged with heresy or treason. While many of these proclamations had a religious element to them, their main focus was to prevent disloyalty to Henry VIII, a political motivation (and practical from Henry's point-of-view of removing threats to his government).

Following the Ruremonds, no other printer in England seemed to have been in legal trouble with respect to royal (religious) authority until the 1540s. Evangelicals Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch both missed confession in 1540 but were protected from prosecution by their friendship with Chancellor Thomas Audley (c.1488-1544).⁴⁵⁰ John Gough was in Fleet prison on 8 January 1541 for producing seditious (i.e. heretical) books; his evangelical tendencies had been revealed on 22 May 1536 when he helped to pull down the Rood of St Margaret Pattens.⁴⁵¹ Grafton was also questioned by the Privy Council in 1541 for printing seditious ballads, but he was actually imprisoned for confessing to owning a copy of the *Epistle* by German reformer Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) that contained opinions contrary to the Act of Six Articles.⁴⁵² The need to sell the 1541 edition of the Great Bible which Grafton had helped to produce likely resulted in his early release from prison – clearly the needs of Henry's church outweighed his displeasure with those holding reformist ideas.⁴⁵³ However, on 8 April 1543, Whitchurch, Grafton, and six other printers were imprisoned 'for printing off suche bokes as wer thought to be unlawfull'.⁴⁵⁴ Grafton and Whitchurch were each in Fleet prison for only 25 days, their release coinciding with Henry's courting of

⁴⁴⁹ Pollard, 'AIS', p.60. Syme, p.36.

⁴⁵⁰ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.471.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.471.

⁴⁵² Bennett, p.37. Clair, *Britain*, p.65. Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.426-427. Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.37.

⁴⁵³ Kingdon, *Incidents*, p.86. See Chapter Six.

⁴⁵⁴ John Roche Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. New Series, Vol. I, 1542-1547. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890. pp.107, 125. ODNB (Richard Grafton) and (Edward Whitchurch). Kingdon, *Incidents*, p.80. Kingdon, *Grafton*, p.12. Fredrick Seaton Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965. p.29. Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.46.

Katherine Parr (1512-1548), another evangelical.⁴⁵⁵ Grafton's role as Prince Edward's Printer insulated him from further attacks by political enemies; his friendship with Miles Coverdale (1488-1569) and Hugh Latimer, favourites of Queen Katherine Parr's, also served to protect him.⁴⁵⁶

An act from Edward's first Parliament repealed all of the treason and heresy statutes that had been passed since the reign of Edward I (1239-1307) – this meant that censorship limits on printers were removed, especially on the printing of English Scripture.⁴⁵⁷ Most book-related dictates of Edward VI's reign required books to be produced and used rather than banned, highlighting the shift from political and practical motivations for change to reformist ones.⁴⁵⁸ This included the purchase of Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, the purchase of the Book of Homilies, and, crucially for our purposes, the use of the Book of Common Prayer. In June 1549, after the act requiring the production and use of the BCP, a proclamation followed, outlining the prices at which it was to be sold in the hope that its capped price would encourage the greatest number of people and parishes to purchase copies.⁴⁵⁹ But Edward's government found, as had Henry, that printers could not be easily controlled. On 13 August 1549, 'An Ordre was taken out that from hensforth no prenter sholde prente or putt to vente any Englishe booke butt suche as sholde first be examined by' a member of the Privy Council – giving the Privy Council further oversight of what was printed and sold in England.⁴⁶⁰ While the monopolisation of the religious book printing industry that had been in place since 1542 limited the availability of Sarum texts, the use and availability of Sarum books on the second-hand market was much more difficult to police and led to the proclamation and act of Parliament arranging for their destruction.⁴⁶¹

Grafton's remit as King's Printer under Edward VI included the traditional responsibility of printing what the king desired. But since the separation of England's Church from Rome and

⁴⁵⁵ Kingdon, *Incidents*, p.93. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.550.

⁴⁵⁶ Kingdon, *Incidents*, p.96.

⁴⁵⁷ *Statutes*, 1 Edward VI, c.12, pp.491-499. Blayney, *Vol. II*, p.602. Neville-Sington, p.598.

⁴⁵⁸ Blayney, *Vol. II*, p.737. Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. p.294.

⁴⁵⁹ TRP 335, p.464. Henry Barclay Swete, *Church Services and Service-Books Before the Reformation*. London: SPCK, 1925. p.19. Alan Jacobs, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Biography*. Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013. p.65.

⁴⁶⁰ John Roche Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. New Series, Vol. II, 1547-1550. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890. p.312.

⁴⁶¹ TRP 353, pp.485-486. Neville-Sington, p.601. *Statutes*, 3&4 Edward VI, c.10, pp.565-567. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*. London: Penguin, 2001. p.96. Blayney, *Vol. II*, p.738.

Edward's accession, the role included responsibility for the divine services, sermons, and any supplementary exhortations to be used in churches.⁴⁶² The role also changed slightly under Edward in that Grafton was only the King's Printer for English or English and a second language books.⁴⁶³ His role was now shared with printers of other languages, such as Reyner Wolfe (d.1573), Typographer and Bookseller in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Languages.⁴⁶⁴ Printing permissions aided in the sale and control of material in a given region. Most famously, the Nuremberg Chronicle was printed piratically (by a different printer) which resulted in the original printer being left with excess copies. The production of CUL F150.a.2.5 was likely similar – the name of the location (Collibus Valle Trompie) is an obscure reference to the actual city (Trent); coupled with the lower quality of the printing, one suspects piracy. Henry's and Edward's appointments of King's Printers and patents for producing service books were partially a means of controlling the content – and having a legal deterrent against piracy. The Reformation had brought regulation to England's print industry in the form of royal authority dictating what content was allowed and who could (and how to) sell approved titles.⁴⁶⁵

Conclusion

By 1549, printing was nearly a century old and well established in England. A printer's output was not only determined by what would sell, but by whether he was willing to be on the wrong side of the law (or his religious scruples) in order to make a profit. While printers in the burgeoning English market (especially of Sarum books) were often from abroad, after a couple of decades, the composition of this community shifted towards English natives. Part of this change was informed by shifts in confessional output. Despite the rising tide of evangelicalism in the 1530s and 1540s, evangelical printing in England generally ceased from the mid-1540s until Edward took the throne.⁴⁶⁶ Antwerp's dominance of English evangelical printing diminished and re-emerged with Henry's tentative embrace, then disavowal, of certain reform positions but Edward VI's succession ended

⁴⁶² Neville-Sington, p.598.

⁴⁶³ Blayney, *Vol. II*, p.606. Siebert, p.33. Clair, *Chronology*, p.51. Barrett L. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot: Popular Disorder in England during the Reign of Edward VI*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005. p.597. Davies, *Devices*, p.664.

⁴⁶⁴ Blayney, *Vol. II*, p.607.

⁴⁶⁵ Moran, *Wynkyn*, pp.50-51.

⁴⁶⁶ Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.37.

Antwerp's role for good, with only a brief resurgence under Mary I (1516-1558).⁴⁶⁷ Other centres on the Continent, like Rouen and Paris, never recovered from the demands that English service books be produced by the printers assigned the letters patent. The restricted nature of England's church limited the practicality of pirated Books of Common Prayer, while the country's geography (and lack of paper supply) restricted the feasibility of operating clandestine presses.⁴⁶⁸ Despite experimenting with different forms of type, black-letter was consistently chosen for liturgical and devotional texts though roman fonts were being added. While printers like Pynson and de Worde were hardly affected by the Reformation (mainstream religion at the turn of the fifteenth to the sixteenth century had already changed with the increasing availability of English devotional manuals and they both died before Henry had done much more than broken with Rome), it was to have wide-ranging and permanent effects on the printing industry.⁴⁶⁹ 1543 marked the point at which service book printing for the English market shifted from being predominately done in France or elsewhere on the Continent to being carried out exclusively in England (specifically London). England's laws and royal preferences affected the livelihoods of numerous individuals who sought to make their fortunes at the printing press. The foreign printers who produced and exported a large proportion of England's early printed liturgical books were completely cut out of the market, both because of economic protectionist strategies and because of changes to the accepted content of England's liturgy. Forcing the production of Sarum books to remain in London protected a native industry while limiting the possibility of sedition. Names like Regnault and Birckman that had dominated liturgical printing died away quickly after patents for such material were given to Grafton and Whitchurch. What is clear is that the methods of book production remained much the same from the Sarum tradition to the BCP, especially under Henry VIII, despite in Edward VI's reign the goal being the adoption of reformist texts. The navigational tools of the Sarum tradition were maintained though the location of production shifted to England and became subject to monopoly.

⁴⁶⁷ *Antwerp*, p.15.

⁴⁶⁸ Hellinga and Trapp, p.14.

⁴⁶⁹ Hellinga, *Caxton*, p.156.

5. ‘Moments, hours, days’:⁴⁷⁰ Medieval and Tudor Constructs of Time

sacred time: *Neither cyclical nor linear, it is rather a kind of anti time that Christians equate with God, who is perfect, eternal and timeless.*⁴⁷¹

*Astrology is the interpretation and prognostication of events on earth, and of men’s characters and dispositions...*⁴⁷²

Modern lives metaphorically revolve around the face of a clock, ticking off the hours, days, weeks, months, and years of one’s time on planet Earth.⁴⁷³ Our lives are also marked by milestone moments like births, marriages, bereavements, and so on.⁴⁷⁴ According to early medieval scholars like Bede (672/3-735) and Isidore of Seville (560-636), time was made up of ‘moments, hours, days, months, years, centuries and ages’.⁴⁷⁵ For the medieval layperson, time revolved around life’s milestones, represented by the offices, sacraments, and feast days of the Sarum tradition. This chapter will outline how time was tracked according to the Book of Common Prayer then argue that the Sarum calendar and ways of tracking time were carried over into the BCP, despite some evolution in the physical presentation.

Time According to the Book of Common Prayer

The reckoning of time according to the Book of Common Prayer followed the progression of Christian time from Creation to Last Judgement.⁴⁷⁶ Crucially, the BCP memorialised milestone events and sacraments of a medieval life such as baptism (birth), marriage, and burial (death).⁴⁷⁷ Other ways of reckoning time were included, such as the monthly cycle of the reading of the Psalms, saying a certain portion on a daily basis. This was highlighted with the table of readings placed at the beginning of the book.⁴⁷⁸ The Lord’s Supper (or Holy Communion or Mass) was a weekly reminder of Christ’s sacrifice with the introits, collects, Epistles, and Gospels for each Sunday of the year. The

⁴⁷⁰ Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. Faith Wallis. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004. p.13.

⁴⁷¹ David Ewing Duncan, *The Calendar: The 5000-Year Struggle to Align the Clock and the Heavens – and What Happened to the Missing Ten Days*. London: Fourth Estate, 1998. p.75.

⁴⁷² S.J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology*. Bury St Edmunds: Boydell Press, 1987. p.11.

⁴⁷³ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p.57.

⁴⁷⁴ Duncan, p.xvi. Christopher Haigh, ‘The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation’, in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.177.

⁴⁷⁵ Bede, p.13. Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum: Tomus I, Libros I-X*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Book 5, XXIX, 15. Duncan, p.122. Stanley Morison, *English Prayer Books: An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943. p.15.

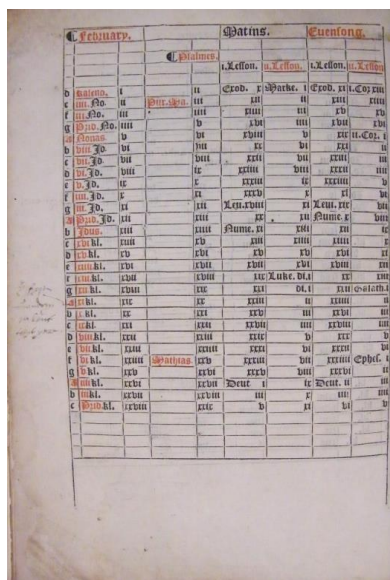
⁴⁷⁶ Alan Jacobs, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Biography*. Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013. p.43.

⁴⁷⁷ See Chapters Eight and Nine.

⁴⁷⁸ Jacobs, p.27. This was a medieval tradition within the Divine Office.

morning and evening prayers of Matins and Evensong, an adaptation of the Divine Office for the laity, represented the passage of daily time.⁴⁷⁹

The passing of the year as commemorated by the cycle of Church feasts listed in the calendar was affixed to the beginning of the book; a yearly calendar of twelve pages with one page dedicated to each month.



3. DCL F.IV.56, fol.7v

Each month was labelled with its English name and included monthly information set out in nine columns. Working through these columns from left to right, the first identified the Dominical Letter for each day of the month. The Dominical Letters (letters A to G of the alphabet) were assigned to each day of the year to allow one to see at a glance the day of the week of any given date in any given year.⁴⁸⁰ For instance, 1 January was lettered ‘A’ – if that date fell on Wednesday, then every A of that year would be a Wednesday, whereas if 1 January fell on Thursday, every A would be a Thursday.⁴⁸¹ In the second column was the Roman dating system; this calculated the days of the month by counting backwards from three fixed points: Kalends (first of the month), Nones (fifth or seventh), and Ides (thirteenth or fifteenth).⁴⁸² In the third column, Roman numerals represented each

⁴⁷⁹ Jacobs, p.43.

⁴⁸⁰ Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *The History of Time: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. pp.66, 73. E.G. Richards, *Mapping Time: The Calendar and its History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. pp.210, 301.

⁴⁸¹ Holford-Strevens, pp.66, 73.

⁴⁸² For details of this system, see C.R. Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, revised by Michael Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. pp.145-146. Richards, pp.210-11. Duncan, p.142.

day sequentially from 1 to 28, 30, or 31, while the fourth listed Church feasts celebrated in that month, aligned to the assigned day. Columns five through nine identified each day's required readings from the Psalms, and from the Old and New Testaments for the services of Matins and Evensong. Though the BCP counted time in various ways, from the beginning of the day to the end of all time, its monthly calendar fulfilled three purposes: noting the various ways of counting the days of the month, identifying Church feasts, and indicating the portion of Scripture assigned to each day. The rest of this chapter will prove how deeply rooted this system was in the Sarum tradition.

Time in Medieval Life

The calendar used in medieval society was the Julian calendar of 365 or 366 days divided into twelve unequal months, with a leap day once every four years to synchronise the calendar with the movement of the earth around the sun.⁴⁸³ While calendars originated as a way of tracking the seasons to complete agricultural tasks, they later expanded in function to monitor the collection of taxes and to perform time-sensitive rituals and sacrifices in religious capacities.⁴⁸⁴ According to the Julian calendar, the New Year began in March, coinciding with the spring equinox.⁴⁸⁵ This calendar was subsequently adopted by the Pope (pinning the date of the new year to 25 March) for general use in the churches of Christendom and undergirding the Sarum calendar.⁴⁸⁶

Church time was both cyclical and linear: cyclical in repeating the commemoration of Christian history each week and each year, linear in treading a direct path from Creation to the End of Days.⁴⁸⁷ Eschatology, the philosophy of the End of Days and the Second Coming of Christ, encompassed the life cycle and health of one's soul by being concerned with the doctrines of Original Sin and Purgatory; the Pontifical and Manual represented this with the services of baptism and burial. All humans were born with sin; baptism reprieved the soul, but sin accumulated against it and needed to be purged in Purgatory; however good works, gifts, and indulgences could decrease the

⁴⁸³ Holford-Strevens, p.32.

⁴⁸⁴ Richards, pp.3, 5. Duncan, p.50.

⁴⁸⁵ Richards, p.207.

⁴⁸⁶ Holford-Strevens, p.35.

⁴⁸⁷ Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. p.8. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996. pp.23, 125.

soul's time in Purgatory.⁴⁸⁸ The Office of the Dead, also found in Books of Hours, commemorated the passing of a human soul into the afterlife. Upon death, so long as one had been anointed with the service of Extreme Unction, one's soul would pass through Purgatory to be purged of any remaining sin and to await the end of the world, when souls would either be granted entrance into Heaven or eternally damned to Hell.⁴⁸⁹ In this tradition, time extended beyond one's physical life into the afterlife.

Christianising the Julian calendar included trading Roman feasts for ones commemorating the martyring of Christians.⁴⁹⁰ These 'martyrologies' began to signpost the passing of time in a more straightforward way than the Kalends system, becoming increasingly appended to English service books from the mid-ninth century, eventually to be found in Sarum Missals and Primers.⁴⁹¹ The liturgical cycle of the Church, as represented by Missals, was made up of the weekly Sunday services, the moveable feasts (based on the lunar calendar), and the static feasts (fixed to specific dates).⁴⁹² As outlined in Chapter Two, the Missal comprised the Canon of the Mass (the basic text of the Eucharist) and the introits, Gospel readings, and other instructions for every Sunday and feast of the ecclesiastical year.⁴⁹³ The liturgical calendar upon which the round of introits, etc. was based was divided between feasts requiring the temporal liturgy (Christological) and those requiring the sanctoral liturgy (saintly).⁴⁹⁴ As evident in DUL Bamburgh Select .15, DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, BCLLR

⁴⁸⁸ On Original Sin: Gordon Jeanes, 'Cranmer and Common Prayer', in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.34. On Purgatory: John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. p.30. On indulgences: John Shinnars, ed., *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader*. Second edition. Plymouth: University of Toronto Press, 2009. p.401.

⁴⁸⁹ Jacques LeGoff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*. London: University of Chicago Press, 1980. p.38. See Chapter Nine for more.

⁴⁹⁰ Jacques LeGoff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. p.2. W.K. Lowther Clarke, 'The Calendar', in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.212.

⁴⁹¹ Richard W. Pfaff, *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. Chpt. 6, pp.5, 12-14.

⁴⁹² Jacobs, p.43. Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours*. London: British Library, 2003. p.57. Stephan Borgehammar, 'A Monastic Conception of the Liturgical Year', in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. p.17. Clarke, 'Calendar', p.201. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. p.46. Holford-Strevens, p.84. Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999. p.200.

⁴⁹³ A list of all yearly Masses can be found in Appendix 1 on pp.247-249.

⁴⁹⁴ Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998. p.xxiii. Duncan, pp.140-141. More on prayers to saints can be found in Chapter Seven.

UB/S II 97, Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, DUL Routh SB+ 0084, Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, and Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, the collects of the Temporal run in chronological order, beginning with the First Sunday in Advent. The liturgical year comprised the Advent season, the first segment of Ordinary Time (the six weeks after Epiphany), the Paschal cycle of Lent, Easter Week, and feasts based on Easter, and the second segment of Ordinary Time (the weeks between Pentecost and Advent).⁴⁹⁵ All Christocentric feasts (particularly Easter, Pentecost/ Whitsunday, and Christmas, and, in England from 1318, Corpus Christi) fell in the six months between the winter and summer solstices.⁴⁹⁶ They were a mixture of static and moveable – Christmas was fixed to 25 December, while both the feast of Easter and the resultant feast of Pentecost were dictated by the lunar cycle.⁴⁹⁷ In the Sanctoral of Missals, as seen in DUL Bamburgh Select .15, DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, BCLLR UB/S II 97, Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, DUL Routh SB+ 0084, Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, and Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, the liturgical year began with the Feast of St Andrew (30 November). The calendar of the saints was ostensibly a progression of religious time; praying to particular patron saints personalised this progression.⁴⁹⁸ If a community observed all possible liturgical feasts, total or partial abstinence from work was required between forty and fifty days a year.⁴⁹⁹

Time for the laity was a combination of the passage of Church time, the life cycle of humans, and the yearly growing/working cycle. Church dating permeated secular life: legal documents, birthdays, and anniversaries were dated by the saint day upon which they occurred and the duration of the Westminster law terms were scheduled around the major feasts.⁵⁰⁰ Rents or loan payments were collected on ‘quarter’ days – the holidays of Lady Day (Feast of the Annunciation), Lammas

⁴⁹⁵ Palazzo, pp.xxiii-xxiv.

⁴⁹⁶ Duffy, *SotA*, p.46. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. pp.199, 209.

⁴⁹⁷ Duncan, p.57.

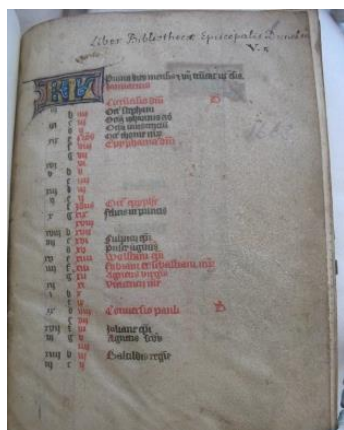
⁴⁹⁸ Duncan, p.142.

⁴⁹⁹ Duffy, *SotA*, pp.42, 156. Borgehammar, p.18.

⁵⁰⁰ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. London: Yale University Press, 1996. p.535. Duffy, *SotA*, p.41. Richard Britnell, *The Closing of the Middle Ages?: England, 1471-1529*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997. pp.177-178. Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559. Volume 1*. ed. William Douglas Hamilton. Camden Society, New Series XI, 1875. p.8. It is noticeable in Wriothesley’s *Chronicle* that dates are more frequently given by day of the month beginning in 1540 (pp.114-115).

Day, and Michaelmas Day.⁵⁰¹ Books of Hours were the most common source of calendars for the medieval layperson, reminding families of public holidays and the passing of the seasons, and, as mentioned in Chapter Two, recording of personal information about family births, marriages, and deaths.⁵⁰² In addition to recording the hours of the Divine Office, Primers' rubrics helped orient a reader to the time of day.⁵⁰³ As seen in Sarum editions (of both traditional and Authorised varieties) consulted for this study, rubrics labelled prayers to be said upon rising from bed in the morning,⁵⁰⁴ leaving one's house for the day,⁵⁰⁵ before and after both dinner and supper,⁵⁰⁶ or for going to bed at night.⁵⁰⁷ Daily life for everyone was supposed to revolve around Christianity and the tasks inherent in leading a Christian life.

Disposable calendars were unheard of in the sixteenth century, therefore calendars were reusable and many of their features reflect this.⁵⁰⁸ Examples of pages from calendars in Primers illustrating the numerous Church feasts are below.



4. DUL Cosin V.V.5, fol.2r 5. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.16r 6. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.6v

⁵⁰¹ Duffy, *SotA*, p.41. John Gough Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth: Volume II*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1857. p.251. Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. Second edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. pp.140-141.

⁵⁰² Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England: 1066-1550*. London: Routledge, 1997. p.4. Edwyn C. Birchenough, 'The Prymer in English,' in *The Library*, ed. F.C. Francis. Series 4, Volume XVIII. London: Oxford University Press, 1938. p.180. Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*. London: Methuen and Co, 1910. pp.58-69. For instance, Margaret Beaufort recorded Henry VIII's birth in her Book of Hours – David Starkey, *Henry: Virtuous Prince*. London: Harper Perennial, 2008. pp.13-14.

⁵⁰³ Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. p.167.

⁵⁰⁴ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.26v. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.18r. DUL Routh SB 2090, fol.103v. DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fol.128r.

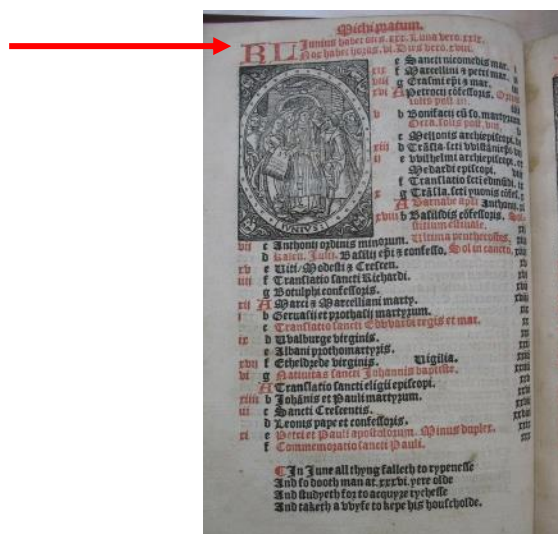
⁵⁰⁵ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.26v. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.18r.

⁵⁰⁶ DUL Routh SB 2090, fols.13v-14v. DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fols.14r-15r.

⁵⁰⁷ DUL Routh SB 2090, fol.104r. DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fol.128v.

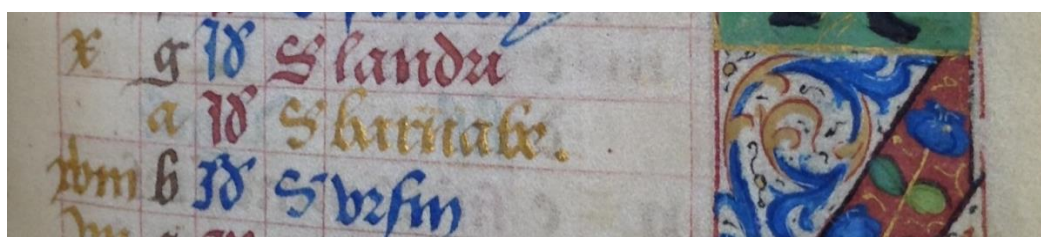
⁵⁰⁸ Pfaff, *Calendars*, Chpt. 6, p.1.

Sarum Primer calendars often included a header identifying not just the month but the number of days in the month and the number of days and nights it took for the moon to go through a full cycle.



7. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.6v

The bulk of the calendar text was composed of the third column listing the saints' days for the month, which will be examined in more detail in Chapter Seven. The first column of roman numerals represented the Golden Number and the second column contained the Dominical Letters. The Golden Number represented where in the Greek lunar cycle the year was positioned.⁵⁰⁹ This cycle was important for calculating the date of Easter; its inclusion in the calendars of a book meant for lay consumption was likely due to tradition rather than any expectation that the laity would make their own Easter calculations.⁵¹⁰



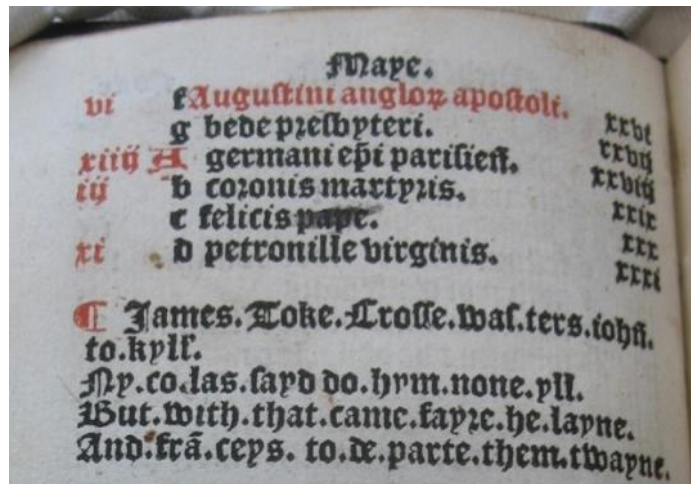
8. The detail of this June calendar assigns A to the feast of St Barnabas. DUL Add MS 1650, fol.7r

On the right side, a fourth column with a further set of roman numerals identified the date of each day of the month. Identifying the day of the month by the feast of a saint rather than by the Roman

⁵⁰⁹ Cristina Dondi, 'Books of Hours: The Development of the Texts in Printed Form', in Kristian Jensen, ed., *Incunabula and their Readers: Printing, Selling, and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*. London: British Library, 2003. p.56.

⁵¹⁰ Richards, pp.95, 102, 355-356.

method had become standard practice by the sixteenth century.⁵¹¹ Mnemonic devices, given in Latin and/ or in English at the end of each month, could be read aloud to teach illiterate friends and family the pattern of Church feasts.⁵¹²



9. An example of the mnemonic device, here for the May feasts. DUL Bamburg Select .46, fol.10v

Printed calendars produced standardised dates for audiences beyond priests, kings, and tax collectors.⁵¹³ Printers completely filled their calendars while also de-regionalising them in order to appeal to a wider audience.⁵¹⁴ Printed Primers acted in part like ‘mini-almanacs’ by tracking time in a variety of ways: the Church year (with feasts and mnemonic devices), the days of the week (with the moralised tract), the working year (with the Labours), astrological time (with the zodiac), and the human life cycle (with the Ages of Man).⁵¹⁵ We will now examine the latter four categories and how their concepts were translated to the BCP.

Days of the Week

The Christian week was a combination of a modified *nundinium*, the eight-day Roman market cycle, and the seven-day Jewish ‘week’, hearkening back to the creation account in Genesis.⁵¹⁶ While Jews observed the Sabbath (or *Shabbat*) on Saturday, Christians transferred that day of rest to Sunday and

⁵¹¹ Documents such as receipts for payment in the Durham Cathedral Muniments collection were using feast-day dating from at least the thirteenth century. Duncan, pp.142, 144.

⁵¹² Duffy, *SotA*, p.49.

⁵¹³ Duncan, p.245. Reinburg, *French*, p.175.

⁵¹⁴ In addition to saints’ days, yearly celebrations developed from a human need to celebrate milestones; such milestone events will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight. Richards, p.9. Shinnars, p.281. Jacobs, p.43.

⁵¹⁵ Duffy, *SotA*, p.50.

⁵¹⁶ Holford-Strevens, pp.64, 70. Richards, p.268.

celebrated it as a weekly commemoration of the sacrifice, death, and resurrection of Christ.⁵¹⁷ Emperor Constantine the Great (272-337) dictated Sunday as a day of rest for his non-Christian subjects while his Christian subjects kept it as ‘a weekly remembrance of the Resurrection’, though economic necessity meant that this was not always observed in the fourth century nor in the sixteenth.⁵¹⁸ Medieval society expected to attend Mass at least once weekly (on Sundays) as part of the maintenance of a good Christian life.⁵¹⁹ Books of Hours were used by their owners for silent devotions in church at these times.⁵²⁰ As such, several Sarum Primers, DUL Bamburgh Select .22 (fol.18r), DUL Bamburgh Select .46 (fol.27r), and DUL Bamburgh Select .20 (fol.18v), contained prayers to be said when entering the church. Primer prayers like the Salutations to the Sacrament in DUL Cosin V.V.5 (fols.50r-51v) or Prayers at the Elevation in DUL Bamburgh Select .22 (fol.57v), DUL Bamburgh Select .46 (containing two versions of this prayer, the first with an additional prayer at the elevation of the chalice: fols.28r-v, 86v-88v), and DUL Bamburgh Select .20 (fols.68v-69v), were directed towards the host in general. A further *Horae* prayer, such as in DUL Bamburgh Select .46 (fol.90v), could be included to acknowledge the presence of the reserved Sacrament in a church. Prayers for when the priest turned towards the congregation were occasionally included, as in DUL Bamburgh Select .46 (fol.28r) and DUL Bamburgh Select .20 (fol.18v). Separate texts in Primers were meant to be prayed on the rare occasions when an individual partook of the Sacrament, as in DUL Bamburgh Select .22 (fols.153v-154r) and DUL Bamburgh Select .46 (which contains an additional set of prayers at and after communion, separate from before and after receiving communion, fols.30v, 90r-90v, respectively). These prayers highlighted how the laity were to occupy themselves during their (at least weekly) attendance at Mass.

⁵¹⁷ Holford-Strevens, p.68.

⁵¹⁸ Holford-Strevens, p.70. LeGoff, *Time*, p.40. Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. p.163. See also T.A. Lacey, ed., *The King's Book or A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man, 1543*. London: SPCK, 1932. pp.95-96 – protection of the realm was another accepted reason to work on a holy day.

⁵¹⁹ Though a priest was expected to say Mass once daily, the laity were not expected to attend daily. Mass did not equal participation in the Eucharist – more in Chapter Eight. G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c.1350-1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926. p.12.

⁵²⁰ Virginia Reinburg, ‘Prayer and the Book of Hours’, in Roger S. Wieck, ed., *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*. New York: George Braziller, 1988. p.42. These types of prayers developed from the thirteenth century –Rubin, *Corpus*, p.156.

In addition to these prayers specifically for Sundays and days when one attended church, Primers, such as DUL Bamburgh Select .46 (fols.21v-22v, quoted below), often included tracts in which the days of the week were described and given purpose, highlighting appropriate Christian behaviour. As the 'Days of the Week Moralised', this discussion began with Sunday, instructing that it be taken as a day of rest. Monday was allowed as a work day, noting that good works would result in Paradise; Tuesday and Wednesday were for serving the Lord; Thursday was a remembrance of the Last Supper; Friday was a remembrance of the death of Christ; on Saturday one was to be mindful that Christ had been in Hell and was responsible for removing the taint of sin from one's soul.

Sunday: I am sonday honorable / The heed of all the weke dayes / That day all thyng labourable. / Ought to rest. and gyue lawde (and) / prayes To our creatour. that alwayes / Wolde haue vs rest after trauayle / Man. seruaunt. and thy beest he sayes / And the other to thyn auayle. / **Monday** / Monday. men ought me for to call / In whiche. god werkes ought to begyn / Heryng masse. te fyrst dede of all / Intendyng to fle deedly syn / This worldly goodes truly to wyn / With labour and true excercyse / For who of good werkes can not blyn / To rewarde. shall wyn paradyse. / **Tuesday** / I tuesday. am so named of mars / Called of goddes army potent. / I loue neuer for to be scars / Of werke. but always dilygent / Stryuyng agaynst lyfe indigent / Beyngin this worlde: and els where / To serue our lorde. with good intent / As of duety. we are bounde here. / **Wednesday** / Wednesday. sothely is my name / Amyd the weke is my beyng / Wherin all vertues dooth frame / By the meanes of good luyng / I do remembre the heuen kyng / That was solde in my season. / I do werke with true meanyng / Hym to serue as it is reason. / **Thursday** / I am the meryest of seuen / Called thursday veryly. / In my tyme the kyng of heuen / Made his sowper meryly / In fourme of breed gaue his body / To his apostles. as is playne / And than wasshed theyr fete mekely / And went to olyuet mountayne. / **Fryday** / Named I am deuout fryday / The whiche careth for no delyte / But to mourne. fast. deale. and pray / I do set all my hole appetyte / To thynke on the Jewes despyte / How they dyde Cryst on the tre rend / And thynkyng how I may be quyte / At the dredefull iugement. / **Saterday** / Saterdag I am comyng last / Trustyng on the tyme spent well / Hauyng euer mynde stedfast / On that lorde that harowed hell / That he my synnes wyl expell / At the instaunce of his mother / Whose goodnesse dooth ferre excell / Whome I serue aboue all other.

The tract reminded the laity to keep Christ in the fore of one's mind throughout the week, not just on Sundays, by linking the days to events in Christ's life, such as the Last Supper and the Crucifixion.

While only one case study contains this tract, it did form part of many Primers at the lower price-end of the market. The Christian week, with an emphasis on Sundays, was just one of the elements of time found in the Sarum calendar that, practically, could not be removed in the Book of Common Prayer. While the tract was eliminated, the rubrics for prayers in Books of Hours evolved into the English prayers said by the congregation during the Sunday services, changing in their language and

becoming more directly relevant to the proceedings happening in the nave but retaining their emphasis of Sunday as a holy day.

Labours of the Months

Within the monthly calendar pages of Sarum books, the labours of the months often featured. Rural and urban workers were equally subject to the different seasons and the tasks that could be completed; both types of tasks could be represented in pictorial accompaniments to the calendars of medieval devotional books.⁵²¹ These images generally represented growth, the only hint of death coming in November or December.⁵²² In general, January was represented by a feast, February by a man at the fire, March by pruning vines and trees, April by courting or by gardening, May by falconry or further courting, June by mowing or sheep shearing, July by haying/reaping, August by reaping/threshing, September by treading grapes, October by ploughing or by sowing seeds, November by sowing or by feeding acorns to pigs, and December by threshing and winnowing or by slaughtering animals.⁵²³ However, these images were an idealised version of the agricultural activity for that time; feeding acorns to pigs realistically occurred in October while the slaughter of pigs occurred November in most regions.⁵²⁴ In DUL Add MS 1650, the series of labours are slightly different from the standard: in order, the months are represented by a man awaiting dinner, a man sat before a fire, sowing of seed, a courting couple in a secluded area, a courting couple on horseback, scything of fields, reaping of wheat, threshing of wheat, a bathing figure, sowing of seed again, a boar hunt, and the slaughtering of a pig.⁵²⁵ In DUL Bamburgh Select .22, only the calendar images for April (courting on foot), May (courting on horseback), and August (threshing) align with the activities of the Labour cycle.⁵²⁶

These images were first removed in King Henry's Primer. This was likely a practical formatting choice to keep production costs down as the KHP only offered half a page to each month.

⁵²¹ LeGoff, *Time*, pp.35, 44. Colum Hourihane, *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian Art*. Princeton: Index of Christian Art/Department of Art and Archaeology/Princeton University, 2007. p.xlviii.

⁵²² Henisch, p.11.

⁵²³ Hourihane, pp.lvi-lviii. Edith A. Standen, "The Twelve Ages of Man": A Further Study of a Set of Early Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries', in *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 2, 1969. p.135. On feast scenes, see Henisch, p.36.

⁵²⁴ Sophie Page, *Astrology in Medieval Manuscripts*. London: British Library, 2002. p.47. Standen, p.134.

⁵²⁵ Fols.2r, 3r, 4r, 5r, 6r, 7r, 8r, 9r, 10r, 11r, 12r, 13r.

⁵²⁶ Fols.7v, 8v, 11v.

However, the Book of Common Prayer continued this removal despite returning each month to a full-page spread; the most likely explanation was that it was partly in keeping with the tradition asserted by the KHP while maintaining lower costs of production.⁵²⁷ The suppression of the labour images meant that the calendar was less associated with the daily work being done by Tudor men and women – perhaps an early indication of the sharper division between secular work and religious life that now defines the modern era.

Astronomy and Astrology

Astronomy underpinned early calendars by attempting to chart the phases of the moon and the date of solstices.⁵²⁸ The heavens measured the passage of ‘sacred time’ – the moon dictated months, the sun controlled the year, and both determined the hours of the day. Astrology was the practical use of astronomical knowledge, while the zodiac ‘link[ed] heaven and earth in one systematic whole’.⁵²⁹ The zodiac was based on the ancient philosophy of charting planetary and celestial events according to specific constellations, each appearing in one of twelve divisions in the sky.⁵³⁰ The Christian justification for the use of astrology was the astronomical knowledge of the Magi that led them to follow the Star of Bethlehem, but, by the thirteenth century, counter arguments ran that as other Biblical practices had been subsequently outlawed so too should be astrology.⁵³¹ But to most in this period, astrology was only ‘bad’ when paired with magic.⁵³² Two main positive attitudes towards astrology existed: either that life was predestined and the stars yielded firm predictions, or that “the stars incline, they do not compel”.⁵³³ In the event that a horoscope did not come true, the change of fate was usually attributed to God’s intervention rather than a miscalculation.⁵³⁴ In Primers, two forms of astrology existed: images of the zodiac signs and the Zodiac Man.

⁵²⁷ As will be discussed in more detail in Chapters Six and Seven, Protestants were at times averse to the use of image but given the presence of images elsewhere in the BCP, it is unlikely that iconophobia was the reason for their absence here.

⁵²⁸ Richards, p.89.

⁵²⁹ Page, p.7. Hourihane, pp.xlvii-xlviii. Robin B. Barnes, *Astrology and Reformation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. p.6. John North, *God’s Clockmaker: Richard of Wallingford and the Invention of Time*. London: Hambledon and Sons, 2005. p.58.

⁵³⁰ Each portion measured 30°. Holford-Strevens, p.19.

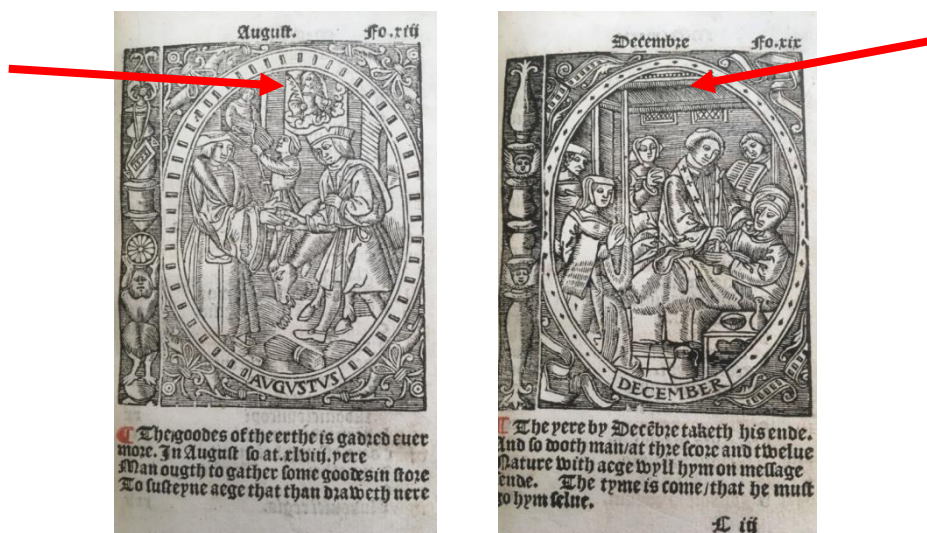
⁵³¹ Tester, pp.96-97, 178. Both Luther and Melancthon accepted astrological culture; Barnes, *Astrology*, pp.5, 135, 140.

⁵³² Page, pp.33, 59, 61.

⁵³³ Tester, p.2. Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800*. London: Faber and Faber, 1979. p.17.

⁵³⁴ Walter Clyde Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1960. p.187.

Although the changeover of zodiac signs occurs part-way through a month, in Primer calendars (including the first six editions of our case studies), the zodiac image depicted the sign for the end of the month.⁵³⁵ Aquarius (found on the January calendar page) was generally represented by a figure pouring water from a vase into a body of water; Pisces (in February) by two fish swimming in opposite directions with a cord linking their mouths; Aries by a ram; Taurus by a bull; Gemini by the twins (both male, both female, or one of each); Cancer ‘by a crab- or lobster-like scorpion’; Leo by a lion; Virgo by a woman often holding a palm or sheaf or by the Virgin Mary; Libra by a set of scales, sometimes held by a woman; Scorpio by a scorpion; Sagittarius by an archer (often a centaur); and Capricorn by a goat.⁵³⁶ Certain of our case studies contain such images. In both DUL Bamburgh Select .46 and DUL Bamburgh Select .20, the zodiac signs are tiny insets within the larger images: Aquarius is a figure of unidentified gender pouring water out of a jug; Pisces, two fish facing opposite directions (but with no discernible cord); a ram for Aries; a bull for Taurus; male and female figures reaching towards each other for Gemini; a lobster-like creature for Cancer; a lion for Leo; a woman holding a feather in each hand as Virgo; a disassociated and empty set of scales for Libra; a scorpion for Scorpio; a centaur with a bow and arrow for Sagittarius; but no figure given for Capricorn.⁵³⁷



10 and 11. Virgo and lack of Capricorn, DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.14r and 20r

⁵³⁵ Hourihane, p.lix.

⁵³⁶ Hourihane, pp.lx-lxiii. Frederick Goodman, *Zodiac Signs*. London: Brian Todd Publishing House, 1990. pp.21, 23, 140.

⁵³⁷ The same woodcuts were used in both editions. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.3v, 5r, 6v, 8r, 9v, 11r, 12v, 14r, 15v, 17r, 18v, 20r. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.4r-9v.

In DUL Add MS 1650, the zodiac signs were given their own miniatures in the borders of the verso pages for each month; the stylisation was much the same as in the later versions printed by Regnault. The exceptions were that for Gemini the man and woman are clothed with a blue cloth around their hips, for Cancer the crustacean has one pincher, for Virgo the woman holds a sheer white cloth, for Libra the scales are held by a fashionably-dressed woman, and Capricorn is represented by a white goat climbing a hill.⁵³⁸ DUL Bamburgh Select .22 was slightly different from the other case studies in that the images had been over-painted. The images were much like the first two examples noted here but Virgo appears much more like the Virgin as she has a book in addition to her feather, and Libra has a background colour but the scales were neglected in the over-painting (they are just visible beneath the layer of paint).⁵³⁹



12. Virgin-inspired Virgo, DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.13v

The seemingly clear astrological influence on the weather and on nature (plants, animals, and minerals) led to an acceptance of astrological principles in meteorology, agriculture, and medicine.⁵⁴⁰

The alignment of planets and stars, particularly at one's birth, was believed to be a guide to a person's health and personality.⁵⁴¹ The signs of the zodiac were thought to have different natures such as fiery, earthy, watery, or airy; these in turn were alleged to dictate the balance of humours in the

⁵³⁸ Fols.2v, 3v, 4v, 5v, 6v, 7v, 8v, 9v, 10v, 11v, 12v, 13v.

⁵³⁹ Fols.4v, 5v, 6v, 7v, 8v, 9v, 10v, 11v, 12v, 13v, 14v, 15v.

⁵⁴⁰ Page, p.37. Tester, p.183. Curry, p.xi.

⁵⁴¹ Tester, p.69. Curry, pp.10-11. Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*. Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1986. p.107. North, p.59.

body and the characteristics of an individual.⁵⁴² A poorly body part was the result of a bad planet or planetary aspect ruling; a treatment would be designed to counteract the planetary influence.⁵⁴³ Books of Hours represented the connection between religion, astrology, and medicine by including the Zodiac Man.⁵⁴⁴ The Zodiac Man was an illustration of the planetary influence on the body, describing the elements (blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm) and the temperaments resulting from their combinations (sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic), usually with a conventionalised image of a man charted onto a stylised version of the heavens, linking body parts to specific constellations.⁵⁴⁵ For instance, the stomach was ruled by Virgo and the chest by Cancer.⁵⁴⁶ DUL Bamburgh Select .46 contains a variation on this concept: there is no image of the Zodiac Man, but fol.3r lists the zodiac signs and what part of the body each sign ruled. DUL Bamburgh Select .20 is the only pictorial example of the Zodiac Man in our case studies (see below).⁵⁴⁷



13. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.11v

With the introduction of King Henry's Primer, the Zodiac Man and the depictions of the zodiac signs were all removed. This could be attributed to the aim of minimising 'superstitious' material in a religious book, but the move also saved paper, making the book smaller and,

⁵⁴² Curry, pp.7-8, 10. Capp, pp.204-205.

⁵⁴³ Tester, p.23. Curry, p.11. Page, p.54.

⁵⁴⁴ Page, p.56. Tester, p.29.

⁵⁴⁵ Page, pp.53, 56.

⁵⁴⁶ Hourihane, pp.lix-lx.

⁵⁴⁷ Fols.11v-12r.

presumably, cheaper. However, notations indicating the zodiac change-over was retained on its relevant date in each month of the KHP. With the Book of Common Prayer, though, even this change-over was removed. This could possibly have been because many Swiss reformers and John Hooper (their English mouthpiece, c.1495-1555), whose views were in the ascendant at this time, were vehemently against the use of astrology.⁵⁴⁸ But maintaining the removal also maintained the BCP as a cheaper text, as had been the case in the KHP. Astrological information also remained available in almanacs like *The Sheperdes Kalender* that were growing in popularity.⁵⁴⁹ This indicates that, while astrological information remained integral to Tudor culture, religious sentiment was being separated from more mundane or less obviously spiritual matters.

Ages of Man

The presence of the Ages of Man in the calendar indicated an additional acceptance of astrology, as by some counts the seven Ages of Man corresponded to the seven planets.⁵⁵⁰ However, images in our calendars compared the Ages of Man to the progression of the year.⁵⁵¹ In its basic form, as in DUL Bamburg Select .22 (fols.1v-12v) the comparisons were broken into six-year increments, presupposing a 72-year lifespan; thus January was infancy and early childhood, February the early years of learning, March was youth, April was young adulthood, May was full adulthood, June a 'ripe' age when a man ought to marry, July when one ought to be wise (if ever), August was when a man ought to start saving for old age, September when he ought to ensure that he had enough saved for old age, October when a man ought to live quietly, November a reminder to make provision for one's soul, and December was the end of a man's life.⁵⁵² Such images were sometimes included in place of the

⁵⁴⁸ Barnes, *Astrology*, p.190. Capp, p.132. John Hooper, 'The Third Commandment', in Samuel Carb, ed., *Early Writings of John Hooper*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1843. pp.328-331. Thomas Cranmer, 'Corrections of the Institution of a Christian Man', in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.100. In the summer of 1549, rumours of Edward's death were traced to astronomical calculations, resulting in Edward processing around London; however Edward wrote a defence of astronomy in 1551, perhaps appreciating the distinction between the two forms – Nichols, *Vol. I*, pp.cxxviii, ccxvii.

⁵⁴⁹ *STC* (2) 22408. Page, p.57. Martha W. Driver, 'When Is a Miscellany Not Miscellaneous? Making Sense of the "Kalender of Shepherds"', in *Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 33, Medieval and Early Modern Miscellanies and Anthologies, 2003. pp. 199-214. One such almanac was kept by Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset, in which he noted Biblical passages as he awaited his execution on 22 January 1522. Margaret Scard, *Edward Seymour, Lord Protector: Tudor King in All but Name*. Stroud: History Press, 2016. Loc 4905. Citing BL Stowe MS 1066.

⁵⁵⁰ Duffy, *SotA*, p.49. Page, p.45. Tester, p.86. Sears, p.48.

⁵⁵¹ On the standardisation of such images, see Sears, p.5.

⁵⁵² See also Hensich, p.138.

Labours. In DUL Bamburgh Select .46 and .20, certain labours were integrated into the ages cycle: January was represented by indoor games, February by pupils being supervised by a schoolmaster, March by two young men hunting, April by a courting couple (with a female chaperone), May by a courting couple and chaperone all on a horse, June by a wedding, July by a couple with a small child, August by sowing of seed, September by a dog barking at a beggar at the door, October by a mature family around a table, November by an apothecary diagnosing the ailments of an old man, and December by an old man being administered Extreme Unction.⁵⁵³ The cycle in DUL Bamburgh Select .22 is much the same, the exceptions being: May's courting couple on horseback are followed by a chaperone on foot, July's family sit outdoors and include two children, and November was represented by a man kneeling at prayer before a Crucifix in a churchyard.⁵⁵⁴ The calendar thus illustrated (literally) the idealised lifecycle of man.

These types of images and verses were also eliminated in King Henry's Primer. Once again, this was partially due to the economics of the project: the parsimonious arrangement of the KHP calendar with two months per page left no room for the images, simultaneously avoiding the additional cost that images represented. The Book of Common Prayer continued in the same vein – the economics, the tradition begun with the KHP, and the separation of religious life from secular areas of Tudor life combined to ensure that it did not contain any discussion of the Ages of Man.

Changes and Continuities

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the royal proclamation of 12 September 1530 was the first of limits on papal authority which would come to affect the calendar in time. A petition in the House of Commons in 1532 (supported by secular and ecclesiastical authorities both) criticized the 'excessive number of holy days observed' and called for fewer to take place during the harvest time, particularly

⁵⁵³ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.3v, 5r, 6v, 8r, 9v, 11r, 12v, 14r, 15v, 17r, 18v, 20r. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.4r-9v.

⁵⁵⁴ Fols.8v, 10v, 14v. A copy of the same book without painted images informs us that November's figure originally held a rosary and December's deathbed was attended by three other figures – a second mourning female, a second priest, and a small foreground figure with a book on their lap (the outline of this person is visible in the DUL copy) – CUL Syn.7.53.21.

because holidays were not being devoutly kept, thus serving no purpose.⁵⁵⁵ This was a practical yet orthodox revision of the calendar. Further limits on papal authority with the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals and the 1534 Acts of Succession and of Supremacy produced the political climate that in 1535 would result in the royal proclamation eliminating ‘papa’ as a term used in service books, including in the calendars.⁵⁵⁶ A 1536 act of Convocation ended holidays during the Westminster law terms and the summer (between 1 July and Michaelmas Day, 29 September); resentment of this act contributed to anti-reform feeling and the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁵⁵⁷ Also in 1536 royal injunctions reminded the realm that they were required to keep or abrogate the holy days as assigned by royal authority, yet the full calendar of saints’ days was retained.⁵⁵⁸ The first deletion of an entire saint’s entry came when the feasts of Thomas Becket were eliminated from observance in 1538, though again this was more of a political change.⁵⁵⁹ From 1541, a small number of saints’ days were abrogated, but as this was to limit interruptions to the courts and harvesting, it could be construed as ‘traditional’ rather than ‘radical’ reform.⁵⁶⁰

Compared to the Sarum Primers, KHP’s calendar was positively bare, with only seven or eight feasts counted per month – only the previously red-letter feasts were kept.⁵⁶¹ Gone were any images to accompany the text – no Ages of Man, Labours of the Months, or zodiac (man or symbol) were depicted. Of astronomical-based information, only the change in zodiac sign, the phases of the moon, and a table listing the dates of Easter for the next 22 years remained. The images below depict the change in the numbers of feasts (in December specifically) from a Sarum Primer to the KHP – a

⁵⁵⁵ Henry Gee and William John Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1896. p.150. Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation Parliament, 1529-1536*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. p.85. Duffy, *SotA*, p.42.

⁵⁵⁶ *TRP* 158, pp.229-232.

⁵⁵⁷ Duffy, *SotA*, pp.42-43, 394-395. Cheney, pp.98-99.

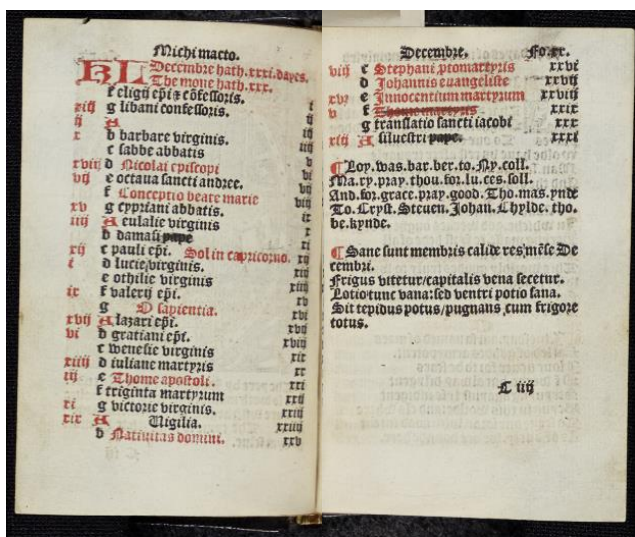
⁵⁵⁸ W.H. Frere and William McClure Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation: Volume II, 1536-1558*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1910. p.5. This was repeated in the 1538 royal injunctions, p.42.

⁵⁵⁹ *TRP* 186, pp.270-276. More on this will follow in Chapter Seven, though it serves to note that the first printed service book without any references to Becket did not appear until 1541 – G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1969. p.34. Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. p.28.

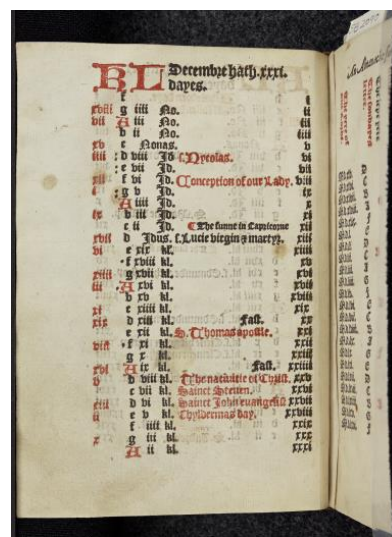
⁵⁶⁰ *TRP* 203, pp.301-302. Whether this had an impact on the composition of the calendar is unknown given the date-gap in our case studies.

⁵⁶¹ Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529-1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. p.260. E. Burton, *Three Primers Put Forth in the Reign of Henry VIII*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1848. pp.444-455.

decrease to eight from twenty-nine. While religious time did not change at this point, the variety of additional information available in the calendars was pared down.



14 and 15. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.20v-21r

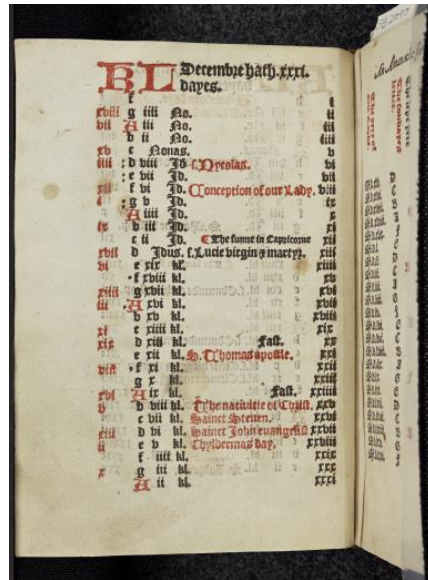


16. DUL Routh SB 2090, fol.9v

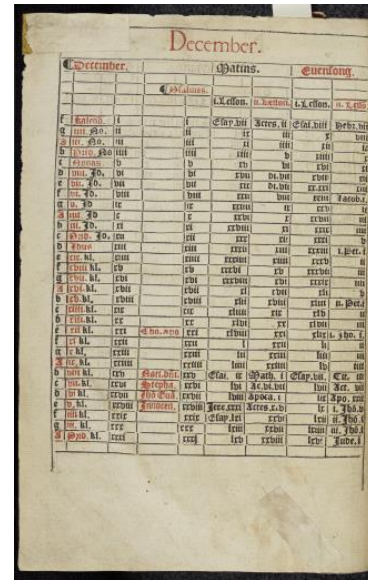
The presence of a calendar at all in the BCP was a break from the stance taken by Continental reformers, who forbore including any calendrical material in their church orders of service.⁵⁶² This was clearly an instance where Sarum's evolutionary base superseded the influence of the Reformation. The elimination of images and feasts that first appeared in the KHP was retained in the BCP. The Temporal calendar remained almost in full but only the barest bones of the Sanctoral calendar were evident, particularly as Cranmer abrogated further 'superfluous holydays'.⁵⁶³ The continued pruning of red-letter days is evident when comparing the KHP calendar for December with the December entry for the BCP – three further non-Biblical feasts were eliminated (see the images overleaf). From the height of the Sarum tradition to 1549, the calendar lost roughly 80% of its feasts.

⁵⁶² Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. p.xxvii. See as an example: *Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lere reichung der Sacrament Ordination der Diener des Euangelij ordenlichen Ceremonien in den Kirchen Visitation Consistorio vnd Schulen Im Hertzogthumb zu Meckelnburg etc. gehalten wird*. Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1552. <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11119971-2>.

⁵⁶³ Leonel Mitchell, 'Sanctifying Time: The Calendar', in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp.476-477. Thomas Cranmer, 'Visitation Articles for Second Year of Edward VI', in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.155. Clarke, 'Calendar', p.215.



17. DUL Routh SB 2090, fol.9v



18. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fol.12v

Though changes to time were viewed with suspicion, the English Reformation resulted in a slight evolution within the calendar.⁵⁶⁴ Despite the changes to the physical appearance of the calendar and the pruning of all of the black-letter and some of the red-letter saints' days, there were no specific changes to the mechanics of tracking time in the First Act of Uniformity of 1549, therefore certain ways of determining time present in the Sarum tradition were retained in the BCP. The Julian calendar remained the basis of the Tudor year. The Christian cycle of feasts, though minimised, was retained with its start in the liturgical season of Advent. Throughout the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, New Year's Day continued to be celebrated as Lady Day (25 March), following the Roman precedent.⁵⁶⁵ The Lord's Supper remained the weekly commemoration of Christ's sacrifice. Though the calendars were less illustrated by the time of the introduction of the BCP, its skeleton was still defined by the Sarum calendar. The limiting of disruption to the work calendar was practical; eliminating the use of Pope and the feasts of Thomas Becket was political; separating 'secular' information out from a religious text was reformist. Despite the cosmetic differences between the BCP and Books of Hours calendars, especially regarding images, and considering that Continental reformist books lost calendars completely, it is clear that the ways in which the average churchgoer could track time in the Sarum tradition were maintained in the BCP, from the heights of

⁵⁶⁴ John Walter, 'The Commons and their Mental Worlds,' in John Morrill, ed., *The Oxford History of Tudor and Stuart Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. p.195.

⁵⁶⁵ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.12. Hensch, p.137. Clarke, 'Calendar', p.203.

eschatology to the depths of daily prayer. Calendars, while affected by the legal changes regarding the statuses of popes and Thomas Becket, were more subject to the fashion and preferences of the printers; the addition of other types of calendars becoming available (like almanacs) reduced the secular necessity of the calendar in the BCP.

6. 'Not suitable for Church reading at all':⁵⁶⁶ The Bible and the Vernacular

*For unless a man first believe that holy scripture is the word of God, and that the word of God is true, how can he take any comfort in that which the scripture telleth him?*⁵⁶⁷

*For it is not much above one hundred years ago, since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within this realm: and many hundred years before that, it was translated and read in the Saxons' tongue, which at that time was our mother's tongue; whereof there remaineth yet divers copies, found lately in old abbeys, of such antique manners of writing and speaking, that few men now been able to read and understand them.*⁵⁶⁸

Some of the challenges to Church authority in the early sixteenth century arose from the fact that a better-informed laity was sceptical about certain devotional practices and resented ecclesiastical privilege and power.⁵⁶⁹ By facilitating access to knowledge and to debate, the printing press played an important role in creating these circumstances.⁵⁷⁰ This chapter highlights the use of English in the Book of Common Prayer, arguing that it was not unexpected given the trajectory of the use of English in the Sarum context (including Primers), that it was indeed a practical shift, and that the Biblical material used in the BCP was not entirely dependent upon the authorised English translation of the Bible known as the Great Bible, rather it relied on the tradition laid out in the Sarum books.

English, Education, and Religion

Most of late medieval society was aurally and pictorially literate.⁵⁷¹ Estimates of reading literacy for the early sixteenth century suggest that about thirty percent of men and ten percent of women could read English, with generally higher rates in urban areas.⁵⁷² Schooling in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was structured around taking dictation and memorizing lessons in free catechism schools.⁵⁷³ The sons of the lower gentry might be educated at institutions like Eton and Winchester, while sons of royalty, like Henry VIII and Edward VI, and the nobility studied with bishops or in

⁵⁶⁶ Percy Dearmer, *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book*. London: A.R. Mowbray and Co, 1912. p.6.

⁵⁶⁷ Thomas More, *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, trans. Monica Stevens. Project Gutenberg: <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/17075>, 2005.

⁵⁶⁸ Thomas Cranmer, 'Preface to the Bible, 1540', in G.E. Duffield, ed., *The Work of Thomas Cranmer: The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics*. Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964. pp.31-32.

⁵⁶⁹ C.S.L. Davies, *Peace, Print, and Protestantism 1450-1558*. London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1986. p.154.

⁵⁷⁰ R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215-c.1515*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. p.72.

⁵⁷¹ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. p.24.

⁵⁷² Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.213. Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*. London: Yale University Press, 2010. p.197. This can also be accounted for by certain occupations requiring higher literacy levels – W.B. Stephens, 'Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900', in *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Winter 1990. p.559.

⁵⁷³ Desiderius Erasmus, *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, trans. Craig R. Thompson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965. p.43. Pettegree, p.191.

small schools assembled in their houses.⁵⁷⁴ Women were clearly educated to a degree, as they were in many cases capable of taking over their husbands' businesses, but had likely been taught at home, as even Henry's and Edward's sisters were.⁵⁷⁵ All social levels were considered fair game for the Primer industry.

Although clerics were required to read Latin, priests were not formally trained for the priesthood; their education relied on having been trained at a local school and assisted at their parish altar.⁵⁷⁶ Priests (in theory) instructed their congregations in the rudiments of faith, relying on what they themselves were familiar with from service books, handbooks, and, in the case of the more able, doctrinal treatises.⁵⁷⁷ While some Latinate education across society would have stemmed from frequent use of the same Latin phrases and responses in church services, there is no guarantee that this would have resulted in reading Latin with fluency or with comprehension.⁵⁷⁸ From the 1300s, English was increasingly argued as being capable of expressing ideas as well and with as much authority as Latin, despite competing not only with the latter but also with Anglo-Norman as a literary language.⁵⁷⁹ English Primers grew in popularity from the late 1300s.⁵⁸⁰ Richard Rolle's *English Psalter* (c.1345), the anonymous *The Prick of Conscience* (c.1350), and William Langland's *Piers Plowman* (1370-1385) all offered discussions in English of a higher level of theological detail than had been seen since before the Conquest.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁴ John Gough Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth. Volume I*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1857. p.xli. Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *Medieval Latin Liturgy in English Translation*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2017. p.3.

⁵⁷⁵ Pettegree, *Book*, p.192.

⁵⁷⁶ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. p.42. Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969. pp.71, 82, 85-86.

⁵⁷⁷ Heath, pp.6-7.

⁵⁷⁸ M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Second edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1993. pp237-238.

⁵⁷⁹ Ruth Evans, Andrew Taylor, Nicholas Watson, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'The Notion of Vernacular Theory', in their *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999. p.322. Nicholas Watson, 'The Politics of Middle English Writing', in Ruth Evans, Andrew Taylor, Nicholas Watson, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999. p.332.

⁵⁸⁰ Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529-1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. p.4.

⁵⁸¹ N. Watson, pp.338-339. Anne Hudson, ed., *Two Revisions of Rolle's English Psalter Commentary and the Related Canticles*. Early English Text Society, Vols. 340, 341, 343. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-2014. Richard Morris, *Richard Morris' Prick of Conscience: A Corrected and Amplified Reading Text*. eds. Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood. Early English Text Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, ed. Derek Pearsall. London: Edward Arnold, 1978.



19. *Prick of Conscience* window of All Saints, North Street, York

By the early fifteenth century, both Chaucer and Wycliffe's works were part of the latent discussion of whether English could equal Latin in offering access to knowledge.⁵⁸² But with Wycliffe's heresy came a backlash against too much English in devotional books or in the Bible. Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (c.1409) and Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (1390s) were used to combat Lollard ideas, while still maintaining use of the vernacular to explain theology.⁵⁸³ But the damage had been done – English was not considered acceptable to use for theological discussion.⁵⁸⁴

The Sarum liturgy was required to be in Latin; the medieval public understood that, although their comprehension of the Latin language might be weak, such services nevertheless benefitted their souls.⁵⁸⁵ The language of additional religious rituals, instructions, and teaching in churches depended upon local choices.⁵⁸⁶ As early as the 1281 Lambeth Constitutions of Archbishop John Peckham (c.1230-1292), priests were required to teach the *Pater Noster*, Creed, Ten Commandments, Seven Deadly Sins, Seven Works of Mercy, and Seven Sacraments in English.⁵⁸⁷ The *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* (1281) made provision for teaching the two Gospel precepts and Seven Principal Virtues in the

⁵⁸² Evans et al., p.323. N. Watson, p.342.

⁵⁸³ N. Watson, p.343. Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*. ed. Michael Sargent. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004. Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, trans. John P.H. Clark and Rosemary Doward. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1991.

⁵⁸⁴ N. Watson, p.345.

⁵⁸⁵ Miri Rubin, ed., *Medieval Christianity in Practice*. Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2009. p.1.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.1.

⁵⁸⁷ Haigh, *Reformations*, p.27. Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. Second edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. p.85. Salisbury, *Medieval*, p.3.

vernacular four times per year.⁵⁸⁸ The basic teaching of children in the medieval equivalent to ‘Sunday School’ combined instruction in letters with such religious tenets.⁵⁸⁹ In 1538, an individual remained ineligible for receiving communion unless they could recite the *Pater Noster*, Creed, and Ten Commandments in English; practice at home was encouraged.⁵⁹⁰ The first printed Sarum Manual of 1506 used English for as much as was permissible.⁵⁹¹ Primers including English material dominated the market until full English translations were available, starting in 1534.⁵⁹² As early as 1527, traditional Primers were including increasing amounts of English – by 1533 (and the second of our printed *Horae*) various English prayers and tracts had become standard, including the ‘Days of the Week Moralised’ noted in Chapter Five and ‘Certain Questions on What is Sin’.⁵⁹³ For example, François Regnault’s Primers usually contained the following English material: a title-page including a ‘God be in my head’ devotional verse, instructions on the title-page verso, Ages of Man verses in the calendar, ‘Days of the Week Moralised’, ‘Manner to Live Well’, Three Verities, verses accompanying illustrations in the Hours, four prayers at the end of the suffrages and before the Seven Penitential Psalms, ‘A devout prayer to Jesus Christ’, and further end-matter, including a ‘Form of Confession’.⁵⁹⁴

Aristocratic audiences seeking texts to read aloud for the amusement and edification of their households popularised the use of the vernacular; that desire trickled into the religious sphere.⁵⁹⁵ At

⁵⁸⁸ Heath, p.93.

⁵⁸⁹ Anne Hooper to Heinrich Bullinger, in Hastings Robinson, ed., *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1846. p.107. Henry Littlehales, *The Prymer or Lay Folks’ Prayer Book*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co, 1895. p.xxxv.

⁵⁹⁰ W.H. Frere and William McClure Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation: Volume II, 1536-1558*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1910. pp.36-37. Thomas Cranmer, ‘Injunctions Given for 1538’, in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.82. Jonathan Willis, ‘The Decalogue, Patriarchy and Domestic Religious Education in Reformation England’, in John Doran, Charlotte Methuen, and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *Religion and the Household*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014. p.200. R.N. Swanson, ‘Prayer and Participation in Late Medieval England’, in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Elite and Popular Religion*. Studies in Church History, 42. Woodbridge: Boydell Press for EHS, 2006. p.132. Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. p.296.

⁵⁹¹ Kenneth Stevenson, ‘Worship by the Book’, in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.14. Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury*. Reading: Spire Books, 2008. p.98. Stevenson mistakenly uses 1508, but as is evident from CCCPL EP.H.10, the date is 1506.

⁵⁹² Mary C. Erler, ‘The Maner to Lyve Well and the Coming of English in François Regnault’s Primers of the 1520s and 1530s’, *The Library*, Sixth Series, Volume 6, Number 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, (September) 1984. p.236.

⁵⁹³ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, *passim*. Butterworth, *Primers*, p.9.

⁵⁹⁴ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, *passim*.

⁵⁹⁵ Pettegree, *Book*, pp.12-14.

the same time, permissible vernacular Bible translations were becoming common in all European countries aside from England. An English Bible was a logical evolutionary step to catch up with the religious progress made in other parts of Christendom. English in the Litany and Primer were elements of conservative reform, intent on preserving the tenets of the traditional Church while emphasising correct forms of piety – a practical notion.⁵⁹⁶ However, the reform impulses supporting the English Bible seem to go farther by asking for a vernacular order of service. An English Litany, based on the Sarum version, was published in May 1544 with the intention of encouraging better devotional practice by having more prayers in a language that was understood.⁵⁹⁷ This tentative first step was followed by the 1545 Primer, the 1548 Order of Communion, and then a complete turn to English in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer.⁵⁹⁸ Converting the services into English ensured that all people could understand them and that services were ‘plainly ministered, without any juggling or sorcery’.⁵⁹⁹ Though an English Mass was considered radical, much English had been used in churches (particularly for baptism, matrimony, bidding prayers, sermons, and catechetical teaching) so the occasional services were not as drastically changed by the use of English in the BCP.⁶⁰⁰ Perhaps the vernacularisation of the Mass and other services would have evolved without the influence of the Reformation given the increasing use of English in the Sarum tradition. Similarly, the idea of the English Bible was not radical, but the changes to beliefs that were made possible by it were. Criticisms of the BCP, such as those by Stephen Gardiner, were not in response to the services being in the vernacular but rather to the interpretations of doctrine that shifted with the vocabulary

⁵⁹⁶ DUL Bamburg Select .46, *passim*. Haigh, *Reformations*, p.164.

⁵⁹⁷ Haigh, *Reformations*, p.162. F.E. Brightman, ‘The Litany under Henry VIII’, in *English Historical Review*, Volume 24, No. 93. (January) 1909. p.102.

⁵⁹⁸ Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.52.

⁵⁹⁹ Thomas Cranmer, ‘A Confutation of Unwritten Verities’, in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.9.

⁶⁰⁰ As noted above, the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and Ten Commandments, among other religious tenets, were taught in English – this was upheld in both the 1537 *Bishops’ Book* and 1543 *King’s Book* – see Charles Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith Put Forth by Authority During the Reign of Henry VIII.: Viz. Articles About Religion, 1536. the Institution of a Christian Man, 1537. a Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man, 1543*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1856. *passim*. Devotional tracts like the *Speculum Vitae* (ed. Ralph Hanna. Early English Text Society, Vols. 331 and 332. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) was also evidence of a growing, non-liturgical but still ecclesiastical use of English – N. Watson, pp.335-336.

selected.⁶⁰¹ The embrace of English in devotional material whetted the buyers' appetite for more; the 1545 Authorised Primer went through ten English editions and two English/Latin diglots within two years.⁶⁰² English had been used for years in religious teaching; as English printing evolved and the audience reading English increased, so too did the use of English increase in the service books of the English Church – this was a natural evolution rather than a reformist revolution.⁶⁰³ This linguistic evolution was permanent to the extent that even Mary I chose to retain what had been useful of Anglicization of the Church, though the Mass itself was offered once more in Latin.⁶⁰⁴

Biblical Material and Translation Leading to the BCP

Given the importance of the Biblical material in the Sarum tradition and the Book of Common Prayer, it is crucial to understand how the translations used came into being. This section will present a potted history of the translations; the following will examine how the translations interacted to provide the basis for the BCP scriptural texts. For most medieval people, familiarity with the Bible was likely limited to stories acted out in plays or passages expounded upon in sermons.⁶⁰⁵ Indeed, the Bible had traditionally been treated more like a holy relic than a text to read and contemplate.⁶⁰⁶ The Biblical passages used in the Sarum service books of this period derived from the Latin Vulgate.⁶⁰⁷ As expected, the Bible was fundamental to late medieval liturgy and its books. Numerous prayers in medieval service books, including the *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis* (used especially at Lauds, Vespers, and Compline) were composed of Scriptural texts. Missals included the readings from the Bible for the yearly round of services in the Temporal and Sanctoral.

⁶⁰¹ John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, Volume VI.i., ed. J. Pratt. London: Seeleys, 1858. p.114. The Western Rebellion of 1549 did criticise the Mass in English but not other vernacular services – J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984. p.83.

⁶⁰² Butterworth, *Primers*, p.256.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.1 notes that such changes made the supplementation of Latin by English inevitable.

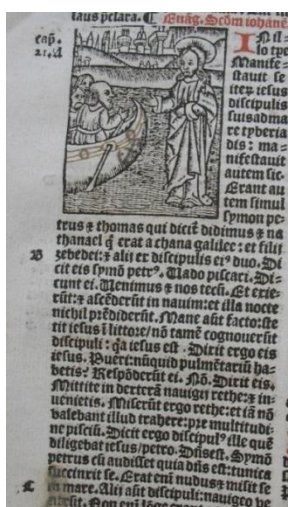
⁶⁰⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. pp.525-526.

⁶⁰⁵ The Psalms in particular were popular for serial sermons, such as those written by Longland or Fisher. J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450-c.1600*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964. pp.75-76.

⁶⁰⁶ Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*. London: Hambledon Press, 1984. p.113. Alan Jacobs, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Biography*. Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013. p.66.

⁶⁰⁷ The Vulgate was one of the first books printed on Gutenberg's new printing press. M.H. Black, 'The Printed Bible', in S.L. Greenslade, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963. p.415.

Printed Missals made it easier to follow extensive Biblical passages, with less contracted rubrics and the use of delineated verses (using the A, B, C, D, etc. demarcation).⁶⁰⁸



20. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fol. 89v

Excerpts from the Bible provided the structure for the occasional services of marriage, baptism, and the Office of the Dead as found in Manuals, Missals, and Books of Hours.⁶⁰⁹ Between 40 and 60 Psalms and Biblical passages could be included in any given edition of a Book of Hours.⁶¹⁰ The Book of Psalms, required to be read in full on a monthly basis according to the Hours, was divided into categories for use on varying occasions, such as Penitential (for expressing one's sorrow for sin), Gradual (with more hopeful sentiments of worship), and of the Passion (Psalm fragments compiled by St Francis (1181/2-1226) to bring to mind Christ's Passion).⁶¹¹ Additionally, the Psalter was to be run through each week, the Old Testament and Apocalypse read entirely over the course of a year, and the New Testament read three times during a given year.⁶¹² Within *Horae*, Matins included the Psalms up to 110 and other Biblical lessons on a serial basis; Lauds and Vespers involved Psalms 111 to 150, along with the *Benedictus* or *Magnificat*, and other prayers; Terce/Sext/None required daily recitation of Psalm 119 from verse 33 to the end, plus further Scriptural lessons; while Prime and

⁶⁰⁸ Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, *passim*. D.E.W. Harrison, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Anglican Heritage of Public Worship*. London: Canterbury Press, 1946. p.94.

⁶⁰⁹ Ephesians, Colossians, and Peter were used in matrimony. II Maccabees, Matthew, I Corinthians, and Luke were used in prayers for the dead. See Jacques LeGoff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. London: University of Chicago Press, 1988. p.67. Christine Peters, 'Gender, Sacrament and Ritual: The Making and Meaning of Marriage in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', in *Past and Present*, No. 169, (November) 2000. p.94.

⁶¹⁰ Butterworth, *Primers*, p. 1.

⁶¹¹ DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fols.103r-113v. Jacobs, p.27. This was retained by Cranmer.

⁶¹² F.E. Brightman and K.D. MacKenzie, 'The History of the Book of Common Prayer Down to 1662', in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.151.

Compline used Psalm 119 from verse 1 to verse 33, along with the *Quicumque vult, Nunc dimittis*, suffrages, and a collect.⁶¹³

The Church in the West on the whole recognised the utility of vernacular translations of Scripture. By 1500, at least thirty editions of the Bible had been produced in various Continental languages, and by 1522 every country in Christendom except England had a vernacular Bible.⁶¹⁴ Although, as Cranmer wrote in his 'Preface to the Bible' quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Anglo-Saxon England had had a tradition of rendering Biblical material in the vernacular, this had atrophied following the Norman Conquest.⁶¹⁵ Interest in an English Bible was revived in the late 1300s through the work of John Wycliffe and the Lollards, with translations prepared and circulated in manuscript form.⁶¹⁶ These versions underpinned the prohibitions of the Constitutions of Oxford and *De Heretico Comburendo* on the production of English translations of Scripture until such time as the authorities (ecclesiastical and royal) deemed such a translation appropriate.⁶¹⁷ Though translation as a whole was not explicitly forbidden, no 'authority' until Henry VIII sanctioned any translation.

The combination of established Continental Bible printers and the Constitutions of Oxford meant that, when printing developed, many Bibles used in England, both in Latin and in English, were printed abroad.⁶¹⁸ The small market for English printing meant that producing complete Bibles was unrealistic (especially when the production of unsanctioned vernacular editions was illegal).⁶¹⁹

Henry VIII was, in principle, supportive of vernacular Scripture as early as 1523, according to a letter

⁶¹³ G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1969. pp.22-23. Jonathan Black, 'The Divine Office and Private Devotion in the Latin West', in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. p.45. Roger S. Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. pp.473-474. Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. p.236. Edwyn C. Birchenough, 'The Prymer in English', in *The Library*, ed. F.C. Francis. Series Four, Volume XVIII. London: Oxford University Press, 1938. p.178.

⁶¹⁴ S.L. Greenslade, 'English Versions of the Bible, 1525-1611', in S.L. Greenslade, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963. p.141. S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955. p.85.

⁶¹⁵ Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Volume I: Laws against Images*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988. p.106.

⁶¹⁶ Greenslade, p.141. Today approximately 250 manuscripts of Wycliffe versions survive. Mary Dove, *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. pp.281-306.

⁶¹⁷ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.5. Davies, *PPP*, p.147. Brian Moynahan, *Book of Fire: William Tyndale, Thomas More and the Bloody Birth of the English Bible*. London: Abacus, 2002. p.xxii. Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557: Volume I. Chapters 1-8 (1501-1546)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. p.174.

⁶¹⁸ Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974. p.29.

⁶¹⁹ Pettegree, *Book*, p.127.

from the king to the Dukes of Saxony.⁶²⁰ But this support did not lead to immediate action, instead England witnessed a rise in unauthorised English translations during the 1520s and 1530s.⁶²¹

The first such translation was by William Tyndale who felt that because Scripture had been in the native languages of the original hearers, there was no justifiable reason why it should not be translated into English.⁶²² Initially Tyndale sought permission from Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall to produce his English Bible.⁶²³ Tunstall's refusal to support the work meant that Tyndale's project was illegal and he had to move abroad to continue his endeavours.⁶²⁴ He produced several editions of New Testaments and an edition of the Pentateuch, but even in exile he was not safe, as English agents did what they could to prevent his work from entering England; he was executed in the Low Countries in 1536 before his Old Testament translation was complete.⁶²⁵ The next major translation was by Miles Coverdale who produced the first full English Bible since the Wycliffite versions.⁶²⁶ Exceedingly lucky, Coverdale survived his exile and produced a complete translation of the Bible, printed in Cologne in 1535 and imported by James Nicolson (as approved by Cromwell).⁶²⁷ Nicolson printed further editions of Coverdale's Bible in England, after buying the woodblocks and captions used in the first edition (likely capitalising on the 1534 statute preventing foreigners from shipping bound books into the realm).⁶²⁸

⁶²⁰ Richard Rex, 'The Religion of Henry VIII', in *The Historical Journal*. Volume 57, No. 1, 2014. p.3.

⁶²¹ Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. p.28.

⁶²² William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed. David Daniell. London: Penguin Books, 2000. pp.15, 19. Richard Rex, 'The Role of English Humanists in the Reformation up to 1559', in N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree, and Henk van Nierop, eds., *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. p.22.

⁶²³ Pettegree, *Book*, p.127.

⁶²⁴ Greenslade, p.144. Moynahan, p.11.

⁶²⁵ *STC* (2) 2823 and *STC* (2) 2824. Stephan Füssel, *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing*, trans. Douglas Martin. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. p.69. Greenslade, p.142. David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence*. London: Yale University Press, 2003. p.174.

⁶²⁶ Greenslade, p.152. Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964. p.114. Charles C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible, 1340-1611*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. p.99. Rex, 'Role', p.22.

⁶²⁷ Coverdale was extremely lucky, not only surviving exile under Henry but again under Mary, living to contribute to the Geneva Bible and even surviving a bout of plague; he died at age 81 in 1569. Daniell, *Bible*, pp.176-181. Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.344, 349. J.F. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1953. p.7.

⁶²⁸ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.348. J.F. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1953. p.110.

By 1535, Henry VIII was more seriously considering the value of authorising vernacular Scripture. He sent Coverdale's Bible to his bishops before he 'let it go abroad among our people'.⁶²⁹ One such bishop was Stephen Gardiner. Despite Gardiner's disapproval of certain translations, he and other bishops ultimately allowed Coverdale's Bible to be published in England. By early 1536, it was circulating widely, with royal approval. In 1536 Convocation presented a petition for an authorised English translation.⁶³⁰ The royal injunctions of 1536 also required the purchase of Latin and English Bibles.⁶³¹

The next translation of interest was the 1537 'Matthew' Bible, printed for Grafton and Whitchurch at Antwerp by Matthias Crom (fl.1537-43).⁶³² The editing was done by John Rogers (c.1505-1555) (a.k.a. Thomas Matthew), with financial support from Grafton and Whitchurch (the former possibly in possession of Tyndale's manuscripts while the latter helped to gain custody of Coverdale's material).⁶³³ The 'Matthew' Bible arrived at a more opportune time to be approved by Henry VIII than had the editions by Tyndale and Coverdale; such approval voided Arundel's Constitutions and the 1530 proclamation limiting possession of Bible translations.⁶³⁴ Copies were sent to Cranmer and Cromwell in the (successful) hopes of receiving the king's license for printing; in an accompanying letter, Grafton credited Cromwell with showing Henry VIII the desirability of English Scripture.⁶³⁵ Cranmer, in his own letter to Cromwell, noted that he liked this translation, but it was not perfect and could be amended in time.⁶³⁶

⁶²⁹ Mozley, p.114.

⁶³⁰ J.A. Kingdon, *Incidents in the Lives of Thomas Poyntz and Richard Grafton, Two Citizens and Grocers of London, who suffered loss and incurred danger in common with Tyndal, Coverdale, and Rogers, in bringing out the Bible in the vulgar tongue; collected and confused by J.A. Kingdon, a Past Master of the Guild; dutifully dedicated to the Worshipful the Master and Wardens of the Company.* London: Rixon and Arnold, 1895. p.26. Greenslade, p.147.

⁶³¹ Frere and Kennedy, p.9. They note that Coverdale's Bible was likely intended given that his was the only complete edition available at the time.

⁶³² Colin Clair, *A Chronology of Printing.* London: Cassell, 1969. p.47. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.356. Mozley, p.74.

⁶³³ Colin Clair, *A History of European Printing.* London: Academic Press, 1976. p.256. Mozley, p.131. Kingdon, *Incidents*, pp.1, 32, 33, 37. Tyndale had been in the care of grocer Thomas Poyntz while in Antwerp. Poyntz possibly brought Tyndale's manuscript to London and gave them to Grafton in 1535.

⁶³⁴ TRP 129, pp.193-197. Kingdon, *Incidents*, pp.35-36. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.359.

⁶³⁵ Mozley, p.127. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.358. John Strype, *Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer in Three Volumes. Volume I.* Oxford: T. Combe for EHS, 1848. pp.393-396.

⁶³⁶ Thomas Cranmer, 'Letters of Cranmer', in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.344. Thomas Cranmer to Thomas Cromwell, in G.E. Duffield, *The Work of Thomas Cranmer: The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics.* Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964. pp.258-259.

But there was some vacillation following this approval. While in 1537 Archbishop of York Edward Lee (c.1482-1544) approved the use of English Scripture in the services of his province, the 1538 proclamation against Becket forbade the importation of English books and Bibles printed abroad.⁶³⁷ At the same time, the 1538 royal injunctions required the procurement of an English Bible by Easter 1539.⁶³⁸ Cranmer's injunctions for 1538 also required that each priest have Latin and English Bibles or at least a New Testament in both languages by the forthcoming 1 August.⁶³⁹ Where was one supposed to get these Bibles? On 14 November 1539, Thomas Cromwell was given charge of finding or creating a suitable English Bible without the 'inconvenience' of notes.⁶⁴⁰ As Cromwell undertook this venture, no one was allowed to 'enterprise, attempt or set in hand to print any bible in the English tongue, of any manner of volume, during the space of five years'. The Great Bible was commissioned, with Grafton and Whitchurch as publishers.

The Great Bible was composed of Tyndale's and Coverdale's translations, compiled and edited by Coverdale.⁶⁴¹ In the Great Bible, Tyndale's interpretation was generally preferred, but his incomplete Old Testament and non-existent Apocrypha meant that Coverdale's were used wholesale (the Apocrypha an almost direct translation of the Vulgate).⁶⁴² Printing of the Great Bible began in 1538 in Paris with François Regnault at the press, supervised by Coverdale and Grafton, but their venture was not without set-backs.⁶⁴³ The proclamation requiring the legal phrase *ad imprimendum solum* to be included in all printed books reached Paris in the midst of printing the Great Bible and Grafton wrote to Cromwell to clarify whether they needed the same wording because surely the

⁶³⁷ Cuming, 1969, p.50. Clair, *Chronology*, p.47. Haigh, *Reformations*, p.136.

⁶³⁸ Frere and Kennedy, p.35.

⁶³⁹ Cranmer, 'Injunctions', p.81. See also *LP XIII 2 281*. Cuming, p.50. Butterworth, *Literary*, p.130.

⁶⁴⁰ *TRP* 192, p.286. Henry Lemoine, *Typographical Antiquities: History, Origins, and Progress of the Art of Printing*. London: S. Fisher, No. 10, St John's Lane, Clerkenwell, 1797. <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=duruni&tabID=T001&docId=CW108362679&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. p.65. Not a real proclamation according to Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.558. Described as a Letter Patent by J.A. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton: Citizen and Grocer of London*. London: Rixon and Arnold, 1901. p.62.

⁶⁴¹ Greenslade, p.150. Davies, *PPP*, p.191. W.J. Sheils, *The English Reformation, 1530-1570*. London: Longman, 1989. p.34. Blayney, *Vol. I*, pp.359-360. Richard Taverner, probably a Cromwell employee who knew Greek but not Hebrew, had revised the 'Matthew' Bible himself in 1539; his edition was printed by Berthelet and Byddell. Mozley, p.347.

⁶⁴² Greenslade, p.169.

⁶⁴³ Technical skills, illustrative material, and paper available in Paris were the reasons for not printing in England. Ronald Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations', in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.158. Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation: the English Exception', in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie, eds., *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p.170. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.361. Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*. London: Cassell, 1965. p.62.

Bible was approved, textually, by Henry.⁶⁴⁴ Cromwell's presumed response (given the title-page) was that the Great Bible was privileged *ad imprimendum solum*. More damagingly, the French Inquisitor-general (likely prompted by the execution of Henry's traditional cousins, the Poles, in London on 9 December) seized Regnault's press and the Great Bible sheets on the charge of heresy on 17 December 1538.⁶⁴⁵ Bishop of London Edward Bonner (c.1500-1569) subsequently worked to get the seized sheets released.⁶⁴⁶ While the tale of shipping printers and presses to England was an exaggeration, the type was indeed sent and the Parisian sheets were released in October 1539.⁶⁴⁷ Cromwell's remit of 14 November was likely set out so that work on the Great Bible could legally continue in England.

There was no indication that Grafton and Whitchurch had ever intended to do more than fund printing enterprises; the failure to complete the Great Bible in Paris compelled them to become printers themselves.⁶⁴⁸ Upon their return to London, they were given an exclusive right to print the Great Bible, had completed the first full run of the Great Bible by April 1539, and produced seven editions by December 1541.⁶⁴⁹ April 1540 heralded the first completely English-produced edition of the Great Bible; in May 1541, the Great Bible was approved for use, with one to be placed in every church and cathedral in the realm.⁶⁵⁰ Though previous religious injunctions had dictated that parish churches ought to have an English Bible, this proclamation demanded that each parish church was to have a Great Bible by All Saints' Day – the penalty for each month without a Bible following that date

⁶⁴⁴ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.485. Alfred W. Pollard, 'Ad Imprimendum Solum', in *The Library*, Series Three X (37), 1919. p.62.

⁶⁴⁵ Clair, *Britain*, p.63. Kingdon, *Incidents*, pp.43, 48. Kingdon, *Grafton*, p.7.

⁶⁴⁶ Kingdon, *Grafton*, p.8. Arthur J. Slavin, 'The Gutenberg Galaxy and the Tudor Revolution', in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim, eds. *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*. London: Associated University Press, 1986. p.90.

⁶⁴⁷ Kingdon, *Grafton*, p.6. E. Gordon Duff, *The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906. p.209. Greenslade, p.151. Clair, *Britain*, p.63. Charles Sisson, 'Grafton and the London Grey Friars', in *The Library*, Series Four, XI, 1931. p.130. Clair, *Chronology*, p.48.

⁶⁴⁸ Kingdon, *Incidents*, p.65. Clair, *European*, p.257. W. Roberts, *Printers' Marks: A Chapter in the History of Typography*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1893. p.75.

⁶⁴⁹ Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.380. Pamela Neville-Sington, 'Press, Politics, and Religion', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume III 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.594. Roberts, p.75. ODNB (Richard Grafton). Kingdon, *Incidents*, p.37. Clair, *European*, p.257. Steinberg, p.74. Kingdon, *Incidents*, p.77.

⁶⁵⁰ Kingdon, *Grafton*, p.11. Kingdon, *Incidents*, p.77. TRP 200, p.296. Gordon Rupp, *Six Makers of English Religion*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957. p.27. John E. Booty, ed., *The Godly Kingdom of Tudor England: Great Books of the English Reformation*. Wilton, CT: Morehouse-Barlow Company, 1981. p.147. Greenslade, p.149. The proclamation requiring all churches to possess a Bible in English was likely to clear the remaining Great Bible stock. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p.384.

was 40s. To make it easier for parishes to afford, the Bible was guaranteed at 10s unbound and 12s bound as recommended by Cranmer, Whitchurch, and Berthelet.⁶⁵¹ Most churches had complied within three years.⁶⁵² Thus this rendering of Scripture, based on the work of two religious exiles, became the only Bible authorised for use in England.⁶⁵³

Despite concerns about the Great Bible's translations and the proposed revision by the universities, the May 1543 Act for the Advancement of True Religion confirmed that the Bible remained permissible to be printed and sold so long as the edition produced by Tyndale was not used and any annotations were blocked out.⁶⁵⁴ As Grafton and Whitchurch were the printers of the Great Bible and King Henry's Primer, it would be fair to presume that the Great Bible would underpin the KHP. After Edward VI's succession, a proclamation in 1547 reconfirmed that the Great Bible was the realm's standard and discontent with it was to be quashed.⁶⁵⁵ Therefore, the Great Bible's standard was also likely to underpin the Book of Common Prayer. Whether that was the case is the purpose of the analysis in this next section.

Biblical Material, Reformed

While seemingly reformist in nature, English Scripture was not incompatible with the Sarum tradition of the vernacular being used for elements of services for the edification of the general populace. But the translation of increasing amounts of religious materials into English prompted changes in interpretation. For example, in government policy, conservative terms like Purgatory were abandoned though the concept remained accepted.⁶⁵⁶ One particular area of grievance was in the interpretation of the Ten Commandments. Reformers saw the first Commandment about not having any other gods as a separate issue from not having images of God (whereas traditionalists felt

⁶⁵¹ As reported to Cromwell – Cranmer, 'Letters', pp.395-396. Mozley, p.217. Heal, p.277.

⁶⁵² Hutton, p.118. Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.43. Heal notes that some areas had still not purchased a copy by 1552 – p.277.

⁶⁵³ To this day the Great Bible is the only technically authorised version of the Bible, as the King James Version never received Parliamentary approval. Daniell, *Bible*, p.204.

⁶⁵⁴ *Statutes*, 34/35 Henry VIII, c.1, p.388. Blayney, *Vol. I*, p. 343-344, 542, 551. David Loades, 'Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558', in Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990. p.281. Mozley, p.282.

⁶⁵⁵ *TRP* 296, pp.410-412.

⁶⁵⁶ Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.36.

that not bowing down to graven images was part of not having other gods).⁶⁵⁷ Separating the prohibition of graven images from the rest of the First Commandment, this presentation of the text allowed reformers to justify their iconoclasm and created further differences between reformers and traditionalists.⁶⁵⁸ In 1537, the reformist numbering of the Ten Commandments had been adopted in the *Bishops' Book*.⁶⁵⁹ Though Henry accepted the reformist numbering of the Commandments, he still insisted on a traditional interpretation, in that images were acceptable so long as they were not idolised.⁶⁶⁰ But restructuring the list of the Ten Commandments made images more prone to be suspected of idolatry and hence apt to be destroyed by dissident groups like the one joined by printer John Gough that tore down the Rood of St Margaret Pattens.⁶⁶¹

The English passages of Primers from 1534 onwards, the Thirteen Articles of 1538, the Great Bible and Six Articles of 1539, and the King's Primer of 1545 all set the stage for the English of the BCP.⁶⁶² For the most part, Biblical passages remained integral to the revised and altered devotional and service books.⁶⁶³ To combat the injunctions against translating Scripture, several Primers gave independent renderings, often in verse or as paraphrases.⁶⁶⁴ The Authorized Primer was meant to standardise the content used in private devotion, especially the Biblical passages, such as in the Dirige (as the Office of the Dead was called).⁶⁶⁵ However, some alterations were evident: the KHP used only thirty-six Psalms (from a total of fifty-six in the Sarum Primers).⁶⁶⁶ In the KHP, the Seven Penitential Psalms were numbered as according to the Vulgate, but by the production of the BCP, the Psalms were renumbered as according to the Great Bible (for example, the Psalm *Miserere mei deus* was 50 in the Vulgate but 51 in the Great Bible).⁶⁶⁷ According to Butterworth, the Psalms

⁶⁵⁷ Additionally, reformists felt that by separating not having other gods from not having images of God it was just as expedient to disallow coveting as a whole rather than specifying a neighbour's wife and a neighbour's house. Butterworth, *Primers*, p.63.

⁶⁵⁸ Aston, *Iconoclasts*, p.98. Willis, p.204.

⁶⁵⁹ Lloyd, pp.130, 134-138. Rex, *Henry*, p.82. Aston, *Iconoclasts*, p.427. This numbering was apparent in the 'Matthew' Bible – John Rogers, ed., *Matthew's Bible: A Facsimile of the 1537 Edition*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2009. Deuteronomy 10, A-B, fols.lxx.

⁶⁶⁰ Rex, 'Religion', p.19.

⁶⁶¹ Aston, *Iconoclasts*, p.371.

⁶⁶² Booty, p.147.

⁶⁶³ Salisbury, *Medieval*, p.10. Brightman and MacKenzie, p.156.

⁶⁶⁴ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.2.

⁶⁶⁵ DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fols.72r-89v. Greenslade, p.153.

⁶⁶⁶ Butterworth, *Primers*, pp.260, 288-289.

⁶⁶⁷ DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fols.53v-64r.

used in the KHP were a combination of translations from the Rouen Primer of 1536 and the 1540 edition of the Great Bible.⁶⁶⁸ This seems strange since the Great Bible translation existed for all of the Psalms, and, given that Grafton and Whitchurch printed both it and the KHP, it would have made sense for the Great Bible to provide the translations for the KHP.

What, then, were the origin and nature of the English scriptural texts used in the BCP? Given the historically contentious status of scriptural texts in English and the subsequent authorisation of the Great Bible, it would be logical to assume that the Great Bible would be the source of all of the Biblical texts used in the Book of Common Prayer.⁶⁶⁹ But the inconsistent use of the Great Bible in the KHP brings that supposition into question. To establish whether the Great Bible was indeed the source of the BCP scriptural texts, I selected twelve passages of Biblical material from the Book of Common Prayer, six from the New Testament and six from the Old. The selections are the *Benedictus* from Luke of Matins, the *Magnificat* from Luke of Evensong, the Psalm for Christmas Day, the Gospel from Matthew for Epiphany, the Epistle from Joel for Ash Wednesday, the Epistle from Colossians for Easter Day, the Gospel from John for Whit-Sunday, the Psalm for the Purification of the Virgin, the Epistle from Acts for St Matthias' Day, a Psalm from Matrimony, a reading from Job in the Burial of the Dead, and a Psalm from the Ash Wednesday liturgy. These were chosen on account of being in parts of the BCP likely in frequent use and of the likelihood of their being heard at services by a large proportion of the population (hence the focus on the most important holidays).

The potted history of English scripture translation informed the initial approach taken in determining the origins of the Biblical material in the BCP. The twelve passages selected for comparison were typed out in full and read against each other in chronological order. In each case, the version used in the BCP was compared with the Vulgate and the English translations of 'Wycliffe', Tyndale, Coverdale, 'Matthew', and the Great Bibles. The twelve tables at the end of this chapter outline the vocabulary differences between six English translations of the Bible. The

⁶⁶⁸ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.261.

⁶⁶⁹ Despite Grafton's participation in printing the Great Bible, the postils he produced in 1543 did not use the Great Bible for any quotations. Ryrie, *Gospel*, p.117.

Wycliffite translation comes from: John Wycliffe, trans. (1382). *The New Testament in English*. revised John Purvey (1388). Portland, OR: International Bible Publications, 1986. The Tyndale translation comes from: William Tyndale, trans. *The New Testament: A Facsimile of the 1526 Edition*. intro. David Daniell. London: British Library, 2008. The Coverdale translation comes from: Coverdale Bible, 1535, DCL ChapterLib B.II.1. The Matthew's Bible translation comes from: "Matthew" Bible, 1537/1549, DUL Cosin B.2.26. The Great Bible translation comes from: Great Bible, 1541, DUL Cosin SB++ 0018. The BCP text with which these were compared is: Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, intro. C.S. Gibson. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1910. The differences in the translations signify that there were certain standards of grammar for translating out of the Latin and into English which could not be changed. The tables represent the differences in vocabulary or phrasing that was evident from reading across the editions; the varied vocabulary choices are contained in the tables while the highlighted entries represent innovation in the text with no link to any of the translations above or in the following discussion. They underscore the fact that the crux of the debate about Biblical translation came down to approved vocabulary. In the following paragraphs, we will explore what the differences in the passages indicated about the Biblical tradition underpinning the BCP.

Four of our six Old Testament passages are Psalms and are dealt with in the next paragraph. Of the remaining two Old Testament passages, one differs considerably from the version in the Great Bible (also dealt with later in this chapter). The last passage is the Joel reading from the service for Ash Wednesday; the translation is consistent between the Great Bible and BCP. In this passage, there was considerable change between the translation in Wycliffe's time and when Coverdale turned his hand to it (Tyndale did not translate this book before his execution), a phenomenon that likely relates to the alteration in the English language over the course of a century. The translation was consistent across Coverdale, "Matthew", and Great Bible and the BCP.

In general, the Psalms were consistent in translation. The BCP version of Psalm 50/51 clearly comes from the Great Bible (with one exception when 'bear' became 'heare', likely a typographical error). However, the Psalm had slight variations from Coverdale to the Great Bible,

with twelve differences in word choice or adjectival description – the most obvious difference was the adjectival addition of ‘young’ to ‘bullockes’. What is interesting about this passage is the consistency across editions given its frequent use throughout the services of the medieval Church (it even formed the basis of a reformist Primer accretion, Savonarola’s *Exposition on the Psalm*).⁶⁷⁰ Psalm 97/98 was consistent across the Great Bible and BCP but, as with the Joel passage, there was not much change between Bible translations. The major difference was that Coverdale used ‘sauynge health’ and ‘whole worlde’ instead of ‘saluacion’ and ‘round worlde’, but these were not retained in the Great Bible or BCP. Similarly, Psalm 127/128 was the same across the Coverdale, “Matthew”, and Great Bibles and the BCP. Only the singularisation of ‘laboure’ in the second verse of the passage in the BCP was different and this could likely be explained by a typographical error. Lastly, though Psalm 133/134 is short and the Great Bible presentation matches the BCP, there are three instances where the Great Bible was the first instance for certain turns of phrase, especially the ‘euen in the courtes of the house of our God’. The Psalms were clearly not a matter for contention in terms of content as there were few differences between the Bible translations and the version that ended up in the BCP.

Of our six New Testament passages, four contain variations in translation that are easily explained. The “Matthew” passage used in the Epiphany service of the BCP clearly matches that found in the Great Bible. However, it is interesting to note that the BCP differed from pre-Great Bible translations in fourteen instances. On three occasions, Tyndale’s translations were adopted by the Great Bible and BCP; on six occasions, Coverdale’s translations prevailed; and on a further five, the Great Bible/BCP version was an innovation beyond any previous mainstream translation. This was likely due to Coverdale deciding that in some instances Tyndale’s choices were better, in others his were, and in the third case, he was dissatisfied with both translations and revised it to his current ideas. Similarly, the Colossians reading contained only one difference between the BCP and the Great Bible but eight differences between the BCP and other Bible translations. The case where the BCP departs from the Great Bible was simply the deletion of an adverb. But in three instances where

⁶⁷⁰ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.135.

the BCP differed from other pre-Great Bible translations, Tyndale descriptors were preferred. The other differences from the earlier traditions amounted to the use of one translation each from the Coverdale and “Matthew” Bibles, and three translations that were Great Bible innovations. Similarly, in the John passage, the Great Bible and BCP versions are the same. However, seven differences between the pre-Great Bible translations and the BCP can be seen: three are Tyndale carry-overs, two Coverdale ones, and two “Matthew” ones, but there was nothing substantial in the changes. Finally, in the Acts reading for St Matthias’ Day, fifteen words or phrases were slightly altered along the road to the Great Bible translation, which matched the BCP. The majority of differences were between the Tyndale and Coverdale translations – in eleven instances, the Tyndale translation prevailed. On one occasion, the Coverdale translation was preferred and in three instances the Great Bible version was a variation that was not a direct transcription of the earlier translations – again likely an innovative term introduced during Coverdale’s editing. What is most noticeable in this analysis is that the New Testament was more prone to differences in translation than the Old Testament. This would seem to imply that there was little objection to Old Testament interpretation but greater debate about understanding the New Testament.

The considerable difference in some instances between the Wycliffite and the later translations is attributable to the evolution of the English language in the century and a half between them, as well as to the Wycliffite reliance on the Vulgate alone as the base text. There are obviously gaps in the parallels from Tyndale, as he did not complete a full Bible translation before his execution. The revisions of the “Matthew” and Great Bibles vary in whether Tyndale’s or Coverdale’s work prevailed, with Tyndale’s versions seeming to enjoy a slight lead in the uptake in the Great Bible. Coverdale’s own edition tended to follow German examples, which is particularly evident in the passage from Acts about the death of Judas. The Latin gives *suspensus* (hanging) which most translators rendered as ‘he was hanged’. However, following the 1534 Luther New Testament: ‘und er hat sich aufgehaengt’, Coverdale offers: ‘and hanged himself’. In the BCP, the passage is rendered ‘and when [Judas] was hanged, he burst asunder in the middes, and all his bowels gushed out’, which follows the precedent of Tyndale and the Great Bible. In general, renderings of the

Psalms of David in the BCP were a combination of those from the Great Bible and Coverdale's 1535 edition.⁶⁷¹

There were three notable exceptions where the Book of Common Prayer did not exactly follow the Great Bible translation, namely the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the reading from Job used in the Burial of the Dead. Richard Grafton produced a Primer in 1540 that was based on the Hilsey *Manual*, the Gough Primer, and the Goodly Primer; these Primer editions could be reasonably thought of as forerunners to the BCP and have been used to help determine whether they were the origin of the divergent passages.⁶⁷² Concerning the *Benedictus*, George Joye's *Hortulus* of 1530 contained an English *Benedictus* but, aside from the opening word being 'Praysed', which was taken up by the Great Bible but not the BCP, the only noteworthy information is that it provided many of the phrases used in Coverdale's Bible that were different from the other English versions, such as 'set up' rather than 'raised up' (which is 'lyfted' in the BCP version).⁶⁷³ The *Benedictus* printed in the copies of the KHP consulted (DUL Routh SB 2090 and DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37) matched the BCP version, confirming the use of King Henry's Primer in preparing the BCP. What is more curious is that the *Benedictus* used in the Gospel for St John the Baptist's Day and in the Communion service do match the Great Bible rendering. This implies one of two things: either the Great Bible was more consistently consulted when preparing the text of the Collects and/ or that the previous tradition as laid out in King Henry's Primer was preferred in the Matins service to avoid criticisms of radical innovation.

The second passage with considerable differences was the *Magnificat* of the Evensong service. Butterworth noted the passage's presence in English in the 1530 *Hortulus*, Redman's Primer, Marshall Primer of 1534, the Goodly Primer, Taverner's Primer, and the 1545 KHP.⁶⁷⁴ None of the

⁶⁷¹ Butterworth, *Literary*, p.153. J. Neil Alexander, 'The Shape of the Classical Book of Common Prayer', in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.72.

⁶⁷² Butterworth, *Primers*, p.208.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.44.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.44-45, 99, 114-115, 177, 198, 265, 273, 289.

versions given in Butterworth or in Burton completely matched the text as rendered in the BCP.⁶⁷⁵ Joye's *Hortulus* used many phrases that had no parallel in any other tradition, including 'lyfted vp the poore lowlyons' for what is 'exalted the humble and meeke' in the BCP, and 'lefte voyde' which was a throwback to the Wycliffite translation (the BCP has 'away empty').⁶⁷⁶ The Marshall Primer of 1534 utilised Joye's translation, whereas Redman's Primer used Tyndale's translation.⁶⁷⁷ The Goodly Primer used a variation of Joye's work, with significant differences in translation of the grammatical sense (more use of past tenses) and the use of 'low degree' and 'poor degree' as opposed to 'lowliness'.⁶⁷⁸ The text of the *Magnificat* in the BCP is closest to the version found in the KHP (DUL Routh SB 2090 and DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37) – the phrase 'empty away' in the KHP *Magnificat* becomes 'away empty' in the BCP (a slight typographical difference), identifying King Henry's Primer (not the Great Bible) as the most direct predecessor for the *Magnificat* as found in the Book of Common Prayer.⁶⁷⁹

Concerning the Job passage, Butterworth includes the text of this passage from the Wycliffite tradition, Redman's Primer, and Marshall's Goodly Primer – none of which is close to the BCP version.⁶⁸⁰ Joye's 1530 *Hortulus*, despite its differing turns of phrase in the *Benedictus* and *Magnificat*, has no 'Dirge', meaning there is no parallel to the Job readings of the traditional Primers.⁶⁸¹ The Marshall Primer of 1534 and the Gough Primer described by Butterworth do not contain the 'Dirge' either, so again no comparison can be made. Redman's 1535 Primer includes this section of the Job readings; Butterworth notes its similarities with a Wycliffite Primer, but the similarities between the few lines of Redman quoted by Butterworth and the Primer transcribed by Littlehales are closer than between Redman and the BCP.⁶⁸² Littlehales' transcription of this passage varies considerably from the BCP version in the final phrase expounding Job's desire to see the Lord

⁶⁷⁵ E. Burton, *Three Primers Put Forth in the Reign of Henry VIII*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1848. pp.238-239, 358, 476.

⁶⁷⁶ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.44.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.99.

⁶⁷⁸ Burton, pp.238-239; Butterworth, *Primers*, p.114.

⁶⁷⁹ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.265 claims that the KHP tradition derives from Tyndale's translation, but given the consistency between the KHP and BCP and the variations cited between BCP and Tyndale in the table below, I would not necessarily agree that it is a direct line from Tyndale to KHP to BCP.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.101-102, 115.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.45.

⁶⁸² Butterworth, *Primers*, p.102. Littlehales, *Primer*, p.69.

with his own eyes; this is left out of Butterworth's transcription.⁶⁸³ In the Rouen Primer of 1536, the Job Biblical passage has been versified.⁶⁸⁴ According to Butterworth, the Goodly Primer introduces completely new phrases to this passage, such as knowing 'without doubt' and 'as he is immortal'.⁶⁸⁵ However Burton's version of Marshall's Goodly Primer has the Job reading as a paraphrase appended to the response and versicle to *Parce mihi, Domine*.⁶⁸⁶ Hilsey's modified Dirige only contains three passages from Job, none of which is the passage used in the BCP.⁶⁸⁷ Given that Hilsey's Dirige was used in Grafton's 1540 Primer, the fact that the Job passage reappeared in the 1545 King Henry's Primer and the BCP is somewhat surprising.⁶⁸⁸ The versions of Job in DUL Routh SB 2090 and DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37 match each other, but again not the BCP, as can be seen in the transcription below (differences between the KHP and the BCP are underlined).

KHP: I knowe that my redemer liueth, and that I, the last day shal ryse from the yearth, and shall be cladde agayne with myne owne skinne, and in myne owne fesshe I shal se God, who' I my selfe shall se, and myne eyes shal loke vpo', and none other: this hope is layed vp in my bosome.⁶⁸⁹

BCP: I knowe that my redemer lyueth, and that I shall ryse out of the yearth in the last daye, and shalbe couered again with my skinne and shall see God in my flesh: yea and I my selfe shall beholde hym, not with other but with these same iyes.⁶⁹⁰

The BCP version seems to be a more literal translation of the Vulgate than a direct descendant of any other traditions. Instead, the Job passage may have been a paraphrase written by Cranmer (or Ralph Morice) when editing the Burial service.

Conclusion

The Constitutions of Oxford and *De Heretico Comburendo* fossilised the use of English in the Sarum tradition to uses in particular services – these underpinned the royal proclamation of 6 March 1529 against heretical books. The remaining Biblical-based acts and injunctions of Henry's reign, aside

⁶⁸³ Littlehales, *Primer*, p.69. Butterworth, *Primers*, p.102. Redman's Primer, of which only one copy exists at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, has not been imaged for microfilm or digitised therefore I cannot comment on whether it is a more direct comparison to the BCP than the 15th-century English Primers.

⁶⁸⁴ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.139.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.115.

⁶⁸⁶ Burton, p.246.

⁶⁸⁷ Burton, pp.412-413. *STC* (2) 16011.

⁶⁸⁸ Butterworth, *Primers*, p.211.

⁶⁸⁹ DUL Routh SB 2090, fol.69r.

⁶⁹⁰ Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, introduction C.S. Gibson. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1910. p.269.

from those allowing the production of the Great Bible, was predominately brought in when it suited Henry. The royal injunctions of 1536 required the purchase of Latin and English Bibles, reflecting Henry's generosity to reformers when it suited him. The limits imposed on who was allowed to read the English Bible in 1543 by the Act for the Advancement of True Religion reflected Henry's turn against the more strident reformers. The royal proclamation of 1545 requiring the Authorised Primer to be used was seemingly another of Henry's vacillations, as the Biblical passages were given in English (and not solely the English of the Great Bible). Following Edward's accession, legislation relating to the Bible (1547 royal injunctions, 1547 proclamation supporting the Great Bible, the 1548 Order of Communion using English readings and Mass, and finally the 1549 First Act of Uniformity) was about keeping the Great Bible's status quo until such time as the fully English service was embraced.

The Sarum tradition utilised limited to no English scripture, though the passages analysed here from the BCP were used in their Latin translation during the Sarum services. The consistency of the analysed passages between the Sarum and BCP traditions is telling. The implication is that these passages were required for the proper conduction of the services, despite any reformist efforts. Equally clear from these sections is that the authorised Bible translation of the Great Bible was not required to be carried through into the Biblical passages in the BCP. The Old Testament seems to have been less debated than the New, which was more susceptible to differences of interpretation. The clearest logic for the differences noted in the *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and Job is that the translations came from an earlier tradition. One might reasonably suspect that they derived from Books of Hours and Primers, as outlined above. Older traditions for integral portions of certain services could be retained, as in the *Benedictus* and *Magnificat*, but innovation and varied interpretation of Biblical passages continued, as in the Job. The major difference between Sarum and the BCP was the use of English translations for which we have proved the translations found in the Great Bible was greatly responsible – Sarum provided the Biblical bones to the services, but the Anglicization was a practical change to the proceedings to increase the comprehension of the average churchgoer.

Tables 2-13: Comparisons of Biblical Texts

Table 2: Luke 1, *Benedictus*

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
Benedictus	Blessid	Blessed	Blessed	Blessed	Praysed	Blessed
fecit redemptionem	maad redempcioun	redemed	redemed	redemed	redemed	redemed
erexit	hath rerid	reysed	set	reysed	raised	lyfted
salutis	heelthe	health	saluacion	saluacyon	saluacyon	saluacyon
pueri	child	servaunt	seruaunt	seruau'te	seruau't	servaunt
locutus est	hak	promised	promysed	promysed	promysed	spake
a saeculo	that weren fro the world	sens the worlde began	afore tyme	sens the worlde began	sens the worlde beganne	syns the world began
--	--	shulde	wolde	shoulde	shulde	shoulde
salutem	helthe	be saved	delyuer	be saued	be saued	be saued
--	men	--	--	--	--	--
ad faciendam misericordiam	to do merci with	shewe mercy	shewe mercy	fulfyl the merci	deale mercyfullye	to perfourme the mercy promised
memorari	haue mynde	remember	thynke vpon	remember	remembre	remember
testamenti	testament	promes	couenaunt	couenaunte	couenaunt	couenaunt
iusiurandum	--	--	--	performe	performe	to perfourme
sine timore	withouten drede	withoute feare	without feare	wythout feare	withoute feare	without feare
coram ipso	--	are accept	as is accepte	ar accepte	are accepte	--
parare	make redi	prepare	prepare	prepare	prepare	prepare
scientiam salutis	science of helthe	knowledge off health	knowledge of saluacion	knowledge of saluacion	knowlage of saluacyon	knowledge of saluacion
viscera	inwardnesse	tender	tender	tender	tender	tender
Dei	god	lorde	God	God	God	god
oriens	he spryngyng up	dayspringe	the daye spryng	daye spryng	the day spryng	the daye-spryng
--	--	--	that he might	--	--	--
dirigendos	dresse	gyde	gyde	gyde	guyde	guide

Table 3: Luke 1, *Magnificat*

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
Magnificat	magnifieth	magnifieth	magnifieth	magnifieth	magnifyeth	doth magnifie
exultavit	gladid	reioyseth	reioyseth	reioyseth	reioised	reioyced
salutari	helthe	savioure	Savioure	saviour	saviour	sauioure
respexit	inholdun	loked on	loked vpon	loked	loked	regarded
humilitatem	mekenesse	povre degre	lowe degre	poore degre	lowe degre	lowelnesse
fecit mihi magna	don to me grete thingis	done to me greate thinges	done greate thinges vnto me	done to me greate thinges	done to me great thynges	magnified me
sanctum	hooli	blessed	holy	holy	holy	holy
--	--	always	endureth	--	--	--
--	--	on them	vpon them	on them	is on them	is on them
in progenies et progenies	fro kynrede into kynrede	all generacions	all generacions	all generacions	from generacion to generacion	all generacions
mente	thought	ymmaginacion	ymaginacion	ymagination	ymagnacion	imaginacion
exaltavit humiles	enhaunsyde meke men	hath exalted them of lowe degre	exalteth them of lowe degre	exalteth them of low degre	exalted them of lowe degre	exalted the humble and meeke
--	--	thinges	thinges	thinges	thinges	thynges
inanes	voide	empty	emptye	empty	empty	emptye
memorari	hauynge mynde	remembred	remembreth	remembreth	in remembraunce	remembering
puerum	child	servaunt	seruaunt	seruaunt	seruaunt	seruaunt
locutus est	hath spokun	promised	promysed	promysed	promysed	promised

Table 4: Psalm 97/98, *Cantate Domino*

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
eius notum fecit	--	N/A	hath he gotten the victory	hathe he gotten the vyctory	hath he gotten hym selfe the victorye	hath he gotten himselfe the victorye
salutare	rightwisnesse		sauynge health	sauing health	saluacyon	saluacion
gentium	jentilis		Heithen	Hethen	Heathen	heathen
recordatus	recordide		remembred	remembred	remembred	remembred
termini terrae	termes of erthe		endes of the worlde	endes of the worlde	endes of the worlde	endes the worlde
salutare	helthe gethuere		sauynge health	sauing health	saluacyon	saluacion
terra	erthe		londes	landes	landes	landes
psallite	doth psalm		geue thanks	geue thanks	geue thanks	geue thanks
psallite	doth psalm		Prayse	Prayse	Prayse	Prayse
psalmi	in vois of psalm		psalme of thankesgeuyng	Psalme of thanckesgeuinge	Psalme of thankesgeuyng	Psalme of thankesgeuinge
moveatur	be moued		make a noyse	make a noyse	make a noyse	make a noyse
plenitudo	his plente		all that therein is	all that therin is	all that therein is	all that therein is
orbis terrarum	the roundnesse of londis		the whole worlde	the whole worlde	the round world	the round worlde
montes	mounteynes		hilles	hilles	hylles	hilles
conspectu	in the sighte		before	before	before	before
iudicare	demen		iudge	iudge	iudge	iudge
iudicabit	demen		iudge	iudge	iudge	iudge
orbem terrarum	roundnesse of erthe		worlde	world	worlde	worlde

Table 5: Matthew 2

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
Iudaeae	of iuda	a toune of Jury	in Iury	in Iurye	a citie of Iewrye	a city of Jury
magi	astromynes	wyse men	wyse men	wyse men	wyse menne	wise men
--	--	--	new	--	--	--
--	--	thys	thys	thys	these thynges	these thynges
omnis	all	all	all	all	all the cytie	all the citie
congregans	gaderide	sent for	gathered	gathered	gathered	gathered
principes sacerdotum	priniciples of prestis	chefe prestes	hye prestes	chefe Prestes	chefe prestes	chief priestes
--	together	--	--	--	together	together
scisbitabatur	enqueride	demaunded	axed	asked	demaunded	demaunded
Iudaeae	of iuda	a toune of Jury	in Iury	in Iury	in Iewrye	in Jurie
Iuda	of iuda	Iuda	Iuda	Iuda	Iuda	Iuda
nequaquam	among	as perteyninge	amonge	concerning	amonge	among
ex te	of thee	--	vnto me	--	vnto me	unto me
dux	duyk	captaine	captayne	captayne	captayne	captain
magis	astromyens	wyse men	wyse men	wyse men	wyse men	wise men
diligenter didicit	lernede bisili	dyligently enquiryed	dyligently enquiryed	diligently enquiryed	enquiryed...dyligently	inquired...diligentlye
mittens illos	sente hem	sente them	sent them	sent them	bad them go	bad them go
ite	Go thee	when the be come thyder	Go	Go	go your way thyther	go your waie thither
interrogate diligenter	axethe bisili	search dyligently	searche dyligently	searche diligently	searche dyligently	serche diligentelye
--	--	--	agayne	--	agayn	again
sunt gaudio magno	ioyeden with a ful greet ioye	were marveylously gladd	were maruelously glad	were maruelously glad	were exceedyng glad	were exceedyng glad
intrans	entriden	entred	went	went	wente	wente
procidentis	felden doun	kneled doune	kneled downe	kneled downe	fell downe flat	fel downe flat
responso accepto in somnis	hadden take an answe in sleep	were warned in ther slepe	were warned of God in a dreame	were warned of God in a dreame	were warned of God in slepe	were warned of God in slepe
ne redirent ad Herodem	thei schulden not turne agen	that they schulde not go ageyne to Herod	that they shuld not go ageine to Herod	that they shoulde not go agayne to Herode	that they shoulde not go agayn to Herode	that they shoulde not go again to Herode

Table 6: Joel 2

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
convertimini	conuertid	N/A	Turne	Turne	Turne	Turne
in planctu	weiling		mournynge	mournynge	mournynge	mournyng
convertimini	conuertid		Turne	Turne	Turne	Turne
vestrum...et libamen	and forgiue...youre god		for he is gracious... meat & drynck	for he is gracyous... Meate and dryncke	for he is gracyous... meate and drynk	for he is gracious... meat and drynke
relinquat	forgiue		forgeue	forgyue	forgyue	forgeue
canite	singe		Blowe	Blowe	Blow	Blowe
sanctificate	halewe		proclame	proclayme	proclayme	proclayme
coetum	kumpanye		congregacon	congregation	congregacon	congregacion
sanctificate	halewe		warne	warne	warne	warne
ecclesiam	chirche		congregacion	congregacion	congregacyon	congregacion
senes	olde men		elders	elders	elders	elders
sponsus	husbonde		brydegrome	brydegrom	brydegrome	brydgrome
cubili	couch		chambre	chamber	chambre	chambre
sponsa	wyff		bryde	bryde	bride	bryde
thalamo	chaumbre		closet	closet	closet	closet
ministri	mynestris		serue	serue	serue	serue
vestibulum	vestiarie		porch	porch	porche	Porche
parce	spare		be faourable	be faourable	be faourable	be faorable
--	spare		be faourable	be faourable	be faourable	bee faorable
in obprobrium	shenshipe		confucion	confusyon	confusyon	confusion
nationes	naciouns		Heithen	Heathen	Heathen	heathen

Table 7: Colossians 3

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
igitur	--	then	now	then	then	--
--	together	agayne	--	again	agayne	agayne
quae sursum sunt sapite	Cauethe	Set youre affeccion	Set youre mynde	set youre affeccyon	set your affection	set your affeccion
supra terram	ben aboue	that are above	which are aboue	that are aboue	heuenly	heauenly
--	ben on the erthe	which are on erth	that are vpon earth	which are on the earth	earthly	yearthy
--	--	hymselfe	himselfe	him selfe	himself	hymselfe
mortificate	sleghe	Mortifie	Mortifye	Mortify	mortifie	mortifie
super terram	ben on the erthe	which are on the erth	which are vpon the earth	which are on the earth	earthly	earthly
fornicationem	fornicioun	fornicacion	whordome	fornicacion	fornicacion	fornicacion
libidinem	letcierie	unnaturall lust	vnnaturall lust	vnnaturall Luste	vnnatural lust	unnaturall lust
concupiscentiam malam	yuel coueytise	evyll concupiscence	euell concupiscence	euill Concupiscence	euel concupiscence	euyll concupiscence
avaritiam	auerise	coveteousnes	coueteousnes	coueteousnes	coueteousnes	coueteousnes
simulacrorum	seruyce of mawmetis	worshippynge off ydols	a worshippynge of Idols	worshyppinge of ydoles	worshippyng of ydols	worshyppynge of ydolles
venit super filios incredulitatis	rain on the sones of unbileue	falleth on the chyldren off unbeleve	cometh vpon the children of vnbeleue	cometh on the children of unbelefe	come on the disobedient chyldren	come on the disobedient chyldren
aliquando	sum tyme	in which thynges	some tyme	once	somtyme	sometime

Table 8: John 14

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
--	the	my	the	the	the	the
aeternum	withouten enden	ever	for euer	euer	for euer	for euer
(mundus)	the world	the worlde	it	the world	the world	the worlde
cognoscitis	schulen	--	--	--	--	--
manebit	schal dwelle	dwelleth	abydeth	dwelleth	dwelleth	dwelleth
orfanos	fadirles	comfortlesse	comforteles	comfortlesse	comforteles	coumfortles
--	I schal	I will	I	but wyll	but wyll	but will
adhuc	--	whyle	whyle	whyle	whyle	while
modicum	not now	noo moare	no more	no moare	no more	no more
meo	my	my	the	my	my	my
vos in me	thee in me	my father in me	thee in me	you in me	you in me	you in me

Table 9: Psalm 133/134, *Ecce Nunc Benedicite*

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
nunc	now	N/A	--	--	nowe	now
benedicite	blesseth		prayse	praise	prayse	prayse
in noctibus	in nyghtis		by night	by nyght	by night	by night
in atriis domus Dei nostri	in the porchis of the hous of oure god		--	--	euen in the courtes of the house of our God	euen in the courtes of the house of our God
in sancta	holy thyngis		Sanctuary	Sanctuary	santuary	Sanctuary
benedicite	blesseth		prayse	prayse	prayse	prayse
benedicat te	blesse thee		blesse the	blesse the	geue the blessing	geue thee blessing

Table 10: Acts 1

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
exurgans	roos	stode up	stode vp	stode vp	stode up	stode up
in medio fratrum	middil of the brithren	myddes of the disciples	myddes amonge the disciples	middes of the disciples	myddes of the dysciples	middes of the disciples
turba nominum	cumpany of men	noumber off names	company of the names	nomber of names	nombbre of names	numbre of names
virī fratres	--	Ye men and	Ye men and	Ye men and	Ye men and	Ye men and
dux	led	gyde	gyde	gyde	guyde	guyde
et sortitus est sortem ministerii huius	and gat a part of this seruice	and obtayned felliship in this ministracion	and had opteyned the fellashippe in this mynistracion	and had obtayned fellowwip in thys mynistracion	and had obtayned felowshyp in thys mynystracion	and had obtained fellowship in this ministracion
--	--	--	trulye	--	--	--
possedit	hadde	possessed	possessed	possessed	possessed	possessed
agrum de mercede	feeld of the hire	plott of grounde with the rewarde	felde for the rewarde	plat of grounde with the rewarde	plat of grounde wyth the rewarde	plat of ground with the rewarde
iniquitatis	of wickidnesse	of iniquyte	of vnrighteousnes	of iniquite	of iniquytie	of iniquitie
et suspensus	he was hangid	when he was hanged	and hanged himself	when he was hanged	when he was hanged	and when he was hanged
crepuit medius	to barst the myddil	brast asondre in the myddes	brast a sunder in the myddes	brast a sunder in the myddes	burste a sunder in the myddes	burst asunder in the middes
diffusa sunt omnia viscera eius	entraylis weren sched abroad	bowels gushed out	bowels gushed out	bowels gushed out	bowels gushed out	bowels gushed out
habitantibus	men	inhabiters	them that dwell	inhabiters	inhabyters	inhabiters
ita	thiwe	that	same	that	same	same
ille lingua eorum	acheldemak	mother tonge	mother tonge	mother tonge	mother tonge	mother tongue
Acheldemach	langage of hem	Acheldema	Acheldama	Acheldama	Acheldama	Acheldama
deserta	be maad desert	be voyde	be voyde	be voyde	be voyde	be voyde
episcopatum	bisshoprich	bisshoprycke	bisshoprike	Bishoprycke	Byshopryke	bishoprike
ex	--	of	amonge	of	of	of

congregatii	gaderid togither	have companyed	haue bene gathered together	haue companied	haue companyed	haue companyed
intravit et exivit inter nos	entrude and wente out among us	went out and in amonge us	wente out and in amonge vs	went in and out amonge vs	all his conuersacion among vs	al his conuersacion emong us
testem	be maad witesse	be ordeyned to be a witnes	be a wytnesse	be ordeyned, to be are witnes	be ordeyned, to be a witnes	be ordayned, . . . be a witness
statuerunt	thei ordeyneden	apoynted	appoynted	appoynted	apointed	appoynted
orantes dixerunt	praied	prayed	makege their prayer	they prayed	when they prayed	when they prayed
unum	oou	the one	the one	the one	he	he
ministerii	seruyce	ministracion	mynistracion	ministration	mynystracyon	ministracion
--	--	--	awaye	--	--	--
sortes eis	gaue lottis to hem	their lottes	the lottes ouer them	theyr lottes	theyr lottes	theyr lottes
adnumeratus est	noumbrid	counted	counted	counted	counted	coumpted

Table 11: Psalm 127/128, *Beati Omnes*

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
Beati	blysfyl	N/A	Blessed	Blessed	Blessed	blessed
timent	dreden		feare	feare	feare	feare
ambulant	gon		walke	walke	walke	walke
labores	trauailys		laboures	labours	laboures	laboure
--	--		owne	owne	--	--
beatus	blisful		well	well	well	wel
bene	wel		happie	happy	happy	happie
vitis abundans	vyne aboundinge		frutefull vyne	frutefull vyne	frute full vyne	fruitful vine
lateribus	sijdes		walled	walles	walles	walles
fili	sones		children	chyldern	children	children
in circuitu	cumpas		rounde about	rounde about	rounde about	rounde about
timet	dredeth		feareth	feareth	feareth	feareth
bona	goddes		in prosperite	in prosperitie	in prosperytie	in prosperitie
filios filiorum	the sones of thi sones		childers children	childers childeren	childers children	childers children

Table 12: Job 19

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
scio	I wot	N/A	For I am sure	For I am sure	For I am sure	I knowe
redemptor	ageen biere		redemer	redemer	redemer	redemer
--	laste		latter	latter	latter	last
--	eft		--	--	--	--
rursum circumdabor	enuyrouned		clothed	clothed	clothed	couered
mea	my		this	this	thys	my
--	my saueour		--	--	--	--

Table 13: Psalm 50/51, *Miserere Mei Deus*

Vulgate	Wycliffe	Tyndale	Coverdale	Matthew's	Great	BCP
magnam	grete	N/A	--	--	greate	greate
misericordiam	mercy		goodnes	goodnes	goodnes	goodnesse
et secundum...semper	and after...euer more		and accordinge...before me	according...before me	accordyng...before me	according...before me
multitudinem	multitude		greate	greate	multitude	multitude
amplius	--		well	wel	thorowly	throwly
tibi	to thee		Agaynst the only, against the	Against the	Against the	Agaynst thee
malum	euel		euell	euel	this eiuil	this euyl
sermonibus tuis	woordis		saynges	saynges	saiyng	saying
vincas cum iudicaris	ouercome whan thou art demed		and shuldest ouer come when thou art iudged	and shuldest ouer come when thou art iudged	and cleare when thou art iudged	and clere when thou art iudged
conceptus	conseyued		borne	borne	shapen	shapen
veritatem dilexisti	trewthe thou loouedest		hast a pleasure in the trueth	hast a pleasure in the trueth	requirest truth in the inward partes	requirest trueth in the inward partes
incerta et occulta sapientiae tuae...	uncerteyne and hidde thingis of thi wisdam		hast shewed me secrete wysdome	hast shewed me secrete wysdome	make me to vnderstand wisdome secretly	make me to understand wysedome secretelye
asparges me	Thou shalt sprengen me		O reconcile me	O pouрге me	Thou shalt pouрге me	Thou shalt pouрге me
auditui meo dabis	to myn heering		let me heare	let me heare	make me bear	make me heare
et exultabunt ossa humiliata	and ful out shuln iothen bonys meeked		that the bones...maye reioyse	that the bones...maye reioyse	that the bones...maie reioyse	that the bones...maye reioyce
iniquitates	wickedenessis		mysddedes	mysdedes	misdedes	mysdedes
in visceribus	in my boowelis		within me	with in me	within me	within me
pericias mea facie	throwe		Cast	Cast	Cast	Caste
--	face		presence	presence	presence	presence

laetitiam	gladnesse		comforte	comfort	comfort	coumforte
--	--		agayne	again	again	agayne
et spiritu principali confirma me	and with the spirit principal conferme me		and stabish me with thy fre sprete	and stablish me with thy fresprete	and stablish me with thy fre spirite	and stablishe me wyth thy free spirite
imp̄ii	unpitouse		synners	synners	synners	sinnners
convertentur	tunred		conuerted	conuerted	conuerted	conuerted
de sanguinibus	fro bloodis		bloudegyltynesse	bloude giltynesse	bloode giltines	bloud-giltynesse
exultabit	tellen		maye prayse	may praise	shal syng	shall syng
adnuntiabit laudem	before tellen thi preisyng		shewe thy prayse	shewe thy prayse	shewe thy praise	shewe thy prayse
voluisses	haddyst wold		if thou haddest pleasure in	if thou hadest pleasure in	desirest no	desyrete no
holocaustis	brent sacrifices		burnt offerynges	burnt offeringes	burnt offeryng	burnt offeryng
contritum et	--		a broken and	a broken and	a broken and	a broken and
benigne	benygnely		be fauourable	be fauourable	be fauourable	bee fauorable
bona voluntate	goode wil		gracious	gracyous	gracious	gracious
acceptabis	taken at worth		be pleased	be pleased	bee pleased	be pleased
oblaciones et holocausta	offryngis and brent sacrifices		burnt offerynges and oblacions	burnt offeringes and oblacions	burnt-offerynges and oblacions	burnt-offeringes and oblacions
imponent	shul putten in vp		laye	lay	offer	offre
vitulos	calues		bullockes	bullockes	young bullockes	young bullockes

7. 'Loving friends':⁶⁹¹ The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints

*The fervent zeal which I have seen in you for the reformation of idolatry, very dear and well loved Uncle, incited me to pass time in the manner of reading Holy Scripture, noting many places in which defend neither the adoration nor the making of any images, not only of foreign gods, but also to not make those things that resemble the majesty of God the Creator.*⁶⁹²

*First, there is the glorious example of the saints, those who have used the appointed means of prayer and the sacraments to acquire heroic virtues, and to become the lights of the world in their several generations. Unfortunately they are all too often presented as mere wonder-workers to be marvelled at by simple audiences.*⁶⁹³

Prior to the English Reformation, the Blessed Virgin Mary (BVM) and the panoply of saints had, in principle, offered protection, comfort, and healing for those on earth who had appealed to them. But for reform-minded persons, the idea of venerating the saints and their relics was superstitious.⁶⁹⁴ Though Luther himself valued saints as Christ's 'support staff', he disapproved of revering them in their own right.⁶⁹⁵ In the 1530s and 40s, England was mired in the conflict between those who fully embraced the cults of the Virgin and the saints and those who rebelled against them and sought complete reform.⁶⁹⁶ But the changes to the role of saints in England were also political: Henry VIII saw the veneration of particular saints as damaging to his monarchical power and consequently sought to remove their influence. This chapter will analyse how, like the depression left in the ground when a corpse decays, the diminution of the Sarum practices concerning the Virgin and the saints left a visible shadow in the BCP.

Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage was a journey to a cult site of spiritual importance; the object was to view a relic or image of a saint or of the Virgin.⁶⁹⁷ This Sarum service found in Manuals and Pontificals was for healing, to

⁶⁹¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. p.187.

⁶⁹² Letter from Edward VI to his uncle, Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset (c.1500-1552). John Gough Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth: Volume I*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1857. p.145. My translation from the French.

⁶⁹³ J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons 1450-c.1600*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964. p.257.

⁶⁹⁴ Duffy, *SotA*, p.385. Lawrence S. Cunningham, *A Brief History of Saints*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005. p.56.

⁶⁹⁵ Cunningham, p.57.

⁶⁹⁶ Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964. p.23.

⁶⁹⁷ Harvey Stahl, 'Heaven in View: The Place of the Elect in an Illuminated Book of Hours', in Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman, eds., *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. p.223. Peter Marshall, *The Reformation: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. p.8. Robert Whiting, 'Abominable Idols: Images and Image-Breaking under Henry VIII,' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. Volume 33, Issue 1. (January) 1982. p.38.

offer thanks to an intercessor (particularly in fulfilment of a vow made to go on pilgrimage if the prayer was successful), or for forgiveness of sin (often as an assigned penance).⁶⁹⁸ King Henry II (1133-1189) was the most famous example of a penitential pilgrimage, being assigned pilgrimage for his part in the martyring of Thomas Becket at Canterbury.⁶⁹⁹ In many respects, pilgrimage was an earthly Purgatory, a purifying journey designed to enhance one's likelihood of entering Heaven. Pilgrimage increased one's grace, but only if such a journey improved one's behaviour.⁷⁰⁰ Pilgrims were criticised if they went out of 'frivolity', too frequently, or from a desire to sight-see rather than for amendment of a sinful life.⁷⁰¹ Erasmus' colloquy of 1526 entitled 'A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake' condemned most pilgrims as religious tourists who returned from pilgrimage 'ringed with scallop shells, choked with tin and leaden images onto every side, decked out with straw necklaces, and ...snake eggs on your arms', rather than genuine seekers of wisdom and miracles.⁷⁰²

Jerusalem and Rome were the premier pilgrimage sites, followed by the Spanish town of Compostela with its shrine of St James (the closest site to England where a Biblical saint was venerated) and, in England, by Canterbury with Becket's shrine.⁷⁰³ Pilgrimages were also made to sites with Marian associations; the most famous site in England was the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, based on the eleventh-century legend of a woman who had had a vision of the Holy House where Gabriel had announced Mary's virginal pregnancy.⁷⁰⁴ Henry VIII made two pilgrimages

⁶⁹⁸ Kathryn Beebe, 'Knights, Cooks, Monks and Tourists: Elite and Popular Experience of the Late-Medieval Jerusalem Pilgrimage', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Elite and Popular Religion*. Studies in Church History, 42. Woodbridge: Boydell Press for EHS, 2006. p.106. Desiderius Erasmus, *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, trans. Craig R. Thompson. London: University of Chicago Press, 1965. p.288.

⁶⁹⁹ W.L. Warren, *Henry II*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1973. pp.113-114, 519-520. Leigh Ann Craig, 'Royalty, Virtue, and Adversity: The Cult of King Henry VI', in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 35, No.2. (Summer) 2003. p.189. Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion*. London: Faber and Faber, 1975. p.99.

⁷⁰⁰ William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed. David Daniell. London: Penguin Books, 2000. p.139.

⁷⁰¹ Beebe, pp.99, 105. Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1952. pp.58, 186.

⁷⁰² Erasmus, *Colloquies*, p.287. Ben Nilson, 'The Medieval Experience at the Shrine', in J. Stopford, ed., *Pilgrimage Explored*. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1999. p.115. Anonymous, *Canterbury and Becket: Power to Inspire*. Exhibition pamphlet, 7 April – 31 October 1997. A.M. Koldeveij, 'Lifting the Veil on Pilgrim Badges', trans. Ruth Koenig, in J. Stopford, ed., *Pilgrimage Explored*. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1999. pp.161-188.

⁷⁰³ Cunningham, p.50. The many locations to which Margery Kempe went on pilgrimage – Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. B.A. Windeatt. London: Penguin Books, 1994. Dominic Marnier, *St Cuthbert: His Life and Cult in Medieval Durham*. London: British Library, 2000. p.9. For Becket, the classic account that comes to mind is the representation in Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. F.N. Robinson. Third edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.

⁷⁰⁴ Simon Coleman and John Elsner, 'Pilgrimage to Walsingham and the Re-Invention [sic: of] the Middle Ages', in J. Stopford, ed., *Pilgrimage Explored*. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1999. p.194. Donald Attwater, *A Dictionary of Mary*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956. p.303.

to this site, the first following the birth of his legitimate son in 1511 and the second in 1522.⁷⁰⁵

Erasmus, reforming traditionalist that he was, was an articulate opponent of pilgrimage and relics, despite visiting the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham once (if not twice), as well as the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury.⁷⁰⁶ The tradition of pilgrimage was integrated in the spiritual life of Tudor English-people, even if it was not for the spiritual benefits but for the novelty of travel.

The Sarum service for sending someone off on pilgrimage (consistent across fifteen case studies) began with Psalms. Prayers for the journey were offered, followed by the blessing and sprinkling of knapsacks and staffs, putting crosses on clothing and sprinkling of the crosses. A Mass was performed, accompanied by readings from Genesis and Matthew. At the end of the service, the pilgrims made their offerings, after which came a post-communion prayer and a final blessing of the pilgrims.⁷⁰⁷ The service of pilgrimage and the traditional reverence of saints went through an accelerated and drastic evolution following the 1536 Dissolution of the Monasteries, the 1547 Dissolution of the Chantries, and the various injunctions against saints under both Henry and Edward.⁷⁰⁸ Initially an orthodox diminution of superstitious pilgrimage to false relics, the elimination of pilgrimage from the material that formed the Book of Common Prayer reflected a more significant change to the relationship between the English and the saints; however, as not every person went on pilgrimage, its direct impact was correspondingly limited. In the rest of this chapter, we will argue that the tradition of the saints as a whole had a wider ranging influence and, despite their diminution, the relics of their power remained.

⁷⁰⁵ Neil Samman, 'The Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529', in Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1995. p.60. G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. p.233. Richard Rex, 'The Religion of Henry VIII', in *The Historical Journal*. Volume 57, No. 1, 2014. p.7.

⁷⁰⁶ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*. London: Allen Lane, 2009. p.365. Erasmus, *Colloquies*, p.286. Roland H. Bainton, 'The Bible in the Reformation', in S.L. Greenslade, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963. p.29.

⁷⁰⁷ BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fols.198v-200r. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fols.217r-219r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fols.298r-300v. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fols.291v-294r. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fols.251v-253v. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, fols.268r-270v. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fols.276r-278v. BL Stowe MS 13, fols.37v-42r. BL Add MS 30506, fols.142r-146v. CUL Syn.7.52.25, fols.73v-79v. CCCPL EP.H.10, fols.40r-43v. SJCUL T.9.53, fols.72r-78v. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fols.60r-65v. BL Add MS 6157, fols.117v-124v. A. Jeffries Collins, *Manuale ad Usum Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis: From the Edition Printed at Rouen in 1543 compared with those of 1506 (London), 1516 (Rouen), 1523 (Antwerp), 1526 (Paris)*. Volume 91. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1960. pp.60-63.

⁷⁰⁸ Whiting, 'Abominable', p.39.

The BVM and Saints

Saints (and their images in particular) were subject to abuse and superstition but remained ‘an inescapable feature’ of the Church at the beginning of Henry’s reign.⁷⁰⁹ Playing a role in English people’s lives from birth to death, saints could be the reason for one’s name (if one was born upon their feast day), while a Crucifix, or an image of the BVM or of a saint that had been particularly revered during life was to be kept in one’s sightline when on their sick- or death-bed, affirming one’s faith and keeping the devil away.⁷¹⁰ Reformers sought to eliminate superstition and disallow devotion to saints as a way to refocus attention on the Bible. To them, belief in the saints was a ‘mechanical, calculating attitude’ to religion that could easily be conflated with superstitious beliefs in magic.⁷¹¹ In the next two sections, we will examine how the cults of the Virgin and the saints respectively were presented in the Sarum tradition, then analyse how these cults evolved into what is seen in the BCP.

The Cult of the Virgin

The Virgin Mary was the supreme woman of Christianity, the paradigm of female virtue and an example for all to follow.⁷¹² The doctrine relating to Mary, as the human parent of the divine yet mortal Christ, was as old as the Church itself.⁷¹³ Mary was an intercessor for humanity with the Trinity; as the mother of Christ, she was the figure whom the Trinity could never refuse.⁷¹⁴ Her

⁷⁰⁹ Erasmus, *Colloquies*, p.287. Martin Luther was not entirely adverse to using images. His translations of the Bible into German featured pictures of events. Martin Luther, *Luther’s Works: Church and Ministry II*, Volume 40, ed. Conrad Bergendoff. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1958. pp.99-100. Additionally, he felt that iconoclasts were ‘bloodthirsty, seditious, and murderous’ for not believing the Commandment on images to be ceremonial. Martin Luther, *Luther’s Works: Lectures on Deuteronomy*, Volume 9, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan. St Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1960. p.79. Whiting, ‘Abominable’, p.33.

⁷¹⁰ William Caxton, ‘Arte and Crafte of Dying’, in David William Atkinson, *The English ars moriendi*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992. p.15. Desiderius Erasmus, ‘Preparation to Deathe’, in David William Atkinson, *The English ars moriendi*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992. p.60.

⁷¹¹ C.S.L. Davies, *Peace, Print, and Protestantism*, London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1986. pp.134, 145. Peter Marshall, ‘Forgery and Miracles in the Reign of Henry VIII’, in *Past & Present*, No. 178. (February) 2003. p.45.

⁷¹² Veronica Sekules, ‘Women’s Piety and Patronage’, in Nigel Saul, ed., *Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England*. Manchester: Brockhampton Press, 1992. p.130. Timothy Verdon, ‘Picturing Mary: Woman, Mother, Idea’, in Timothy Verdon, Melissa R. Katz, Amy G. Remensnyder, and Miri Rubin, eds., *Picturing Mary: Woman, Mother, Idea*. New York: Scala Arts Publishers, 2014. p.15.

⁷¹³ Miri Rubin, ‘God-Bearer and Woman: Christian Traditions of Picturing Mary throughout History’, in Timothy Verdon, Melissa R. Katz, Amy G. Remensnyder, and Miri Rubin, eds., *Picturing Mary: Woman, Mother, Idea*. New York: Scala Arts Publishers, 2014. p.29.

⁷¹⁴ Roger S. Wieck, ‘The Book of Hours’, in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. p.473. Peter Brown, ‘The Decline of the Empire of God: Amnesty, Penance, and the Afterlife from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages’, in Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman, eds., *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. p.49. Whiting, ‘Abominable’, p.32.

Books of Hours were the prime example of reliance on Marian prayers. Their core contents, the Little Hours of the Virgin, were considered ‘Our Lady’s favorite prayers, the quickest way to her heart’; they were said daily at the appointed times to express one’s devotion and piety.⁷¹⁹ One prayer that featured heavily in the Hours (hence its discussion in Chapter Six) was the *Magnificat*, a prayer of praise and happiness emphasising the Virgin’s meekness before God.⁷²⁰ Other prayers like the *O Intemerata* and *Obsecro Te* asked the Virgin for her pity and her aid in a particular request. The prayer *Salve Regina* was also a hymn requesting the aid of the Virgin, emphasising the sorrow of humans as exiles from Paradise.

Three further devotions, outside of the Hours, explored the complementary sides of the Virgin’s experience as the mother of God: joyous and woeful. The Joys of the Virgin focused on the happy events of her life, the events of Marian and Christological devotion such as the Annunciation and Nativity. The number of Joys varied, seven or fifteen being commonly accepted; as known from DUL Add MS 1650, the Joys were often a vernacular text.⁷²¹ Conversely, the suffering of Mary was equally a focus of devotion.⁷²² The Seven Sorrows (Simeon’s prophecy of Christ’s suffering, the flight into Egypt, the loss of the young Jesus in Jerusalem, the meeting on the road to Calvary, the Crucifixion, the removal of Christ’s body from the Cross, and the burial in the tomb) began as a devotional exercise in Flanders in the fifteenth century and spread rapidly.⁷²³ The *Stabat Mater*, a prayer referencing more directly the sorrows of the Virgin, was to be said before an image of the Virgin, though it was also used during the Stations of the Cross (at Easter) and on the Feast of the Seven Sorrows.⁷²⁴

⁷¹⁹ Wieck, ‘Book’, p.473. Attwater, *Mary*, p.111. Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*. New York: George Braziller, 1997. p.9.

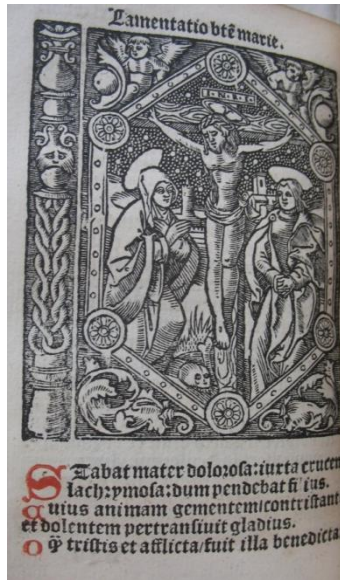
⁷²⁰ Luke 1: 46-55. Attwater, *Mary*, pp.165-166.

⁷²¹ DUL Add MS 1650, fols.111r-115v. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.54r. Attwater, *Mary*, pp.135-136.

⁷²² Rubin, ‘God-Bearer’, p.34.

⁷²³ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.57r. Attwater, *Mary*, pp.274-275.

⁷²⁴ DUL Cosin V.V.5, fol.47v. This prayer is sometimes titled the Lamentation of the BVM – DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.187v-191v. Rubin, ‘God-Bearer’, p.35. Attwater, *Mary*, pp.276-277. The feast was a moveable one, taking place the Friday before Palm Sunday – Frederick Holweck, ‘Feasts of the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary’, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 14. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14151b.htm>. Though this feast is not attested to in any of the liturgical calendars of this study.



22. *Stabat mater*, DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.187v

The final component of Marian prayer was the Mass of St Mary, found in Manuals and Missals.⁷²⁵ Such Masses were frequently included between others devoted to the Holy Cross and the Holy Spirit, emphasising once again the importance of the Virgin to Sarum devotions. The Votive Mass was offered at times when Mary's attention was particularly desired, or as part of the service for a church dedicated to the Virgin.⁷²⁶ Marian prayer could occur at any time and in many ways – the array of prayers and Masses dedicated to the Virgin emphasised her inexorable presence in the devotional lives of England's populace.

Places and Images

While all churches were dedicated to God, numerous ones had specific secondary dedications to the Virgin. The number of chapels and altars devoted to her within cathedrals and churches had been on the rise since the thirteenth century.⁷²⁷ 'Lady altars' and 'Lady chapels', such as those found in the small local church of St Laurence's Pittington or the exalted environs of Durham Cathedral, attested to her popularity as the premier intercessor with her Son.⁷²⁸ In the period when lesser monasteries

⁷²⁵ CCCPL EP.H.10, fol.104r. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fols.155v-157r. SJCUL T.9.53, fols.181r-182v. Ushaw XVIII F 4 3, fols.185-187r. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fols.204r-205v. See also Francis Henry Dickinson, *Missale ad Usam Insignis et Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*. Oxford: J. Parker and Society, 1861-1883. pp.759-782. J. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916. pp.387-391.

⁷²⁶ A further prayer against plague specifically invoking the BVM is found in DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.55v.

⁷²⁷ Rubin, *Mother*, p.192. Peter Draper, 'The Architectural Setting of Gothic Art', in Nigel Saul, ed., *Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England*. Manchester: Brockhampton Press, 1992. p.68. All Cistercian foundations were dedicated to the BVM – Alison Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in English and Wales, 1066-1216*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989. p.40.

⁷²⁸ Attwater, *Mary*, p.145.

were suppressed but Henry VIII was endowing new foundations such as Stixwold and Bisham, dedications to the Virgin and charters underlining ‘his special devotion to Our Lady’ were part of those endowments – emphasising Henry’s interest in maintaining traditional theology despite the reform that was being carried out.⁷²⁹

Images of the Virgin reinforced devotional practice and were often the object of oblations and spending campaigns.⁷³⁰ In Books of Hours, especially DUL Add MS 1650, DUL Bamburgh Select .20, DUL Bamburgh Select .22, and DUL Bamburgh Select .46, and almost all of the canonical hours were headed by an image featuring the Virgin. The most common image cycle was composed of the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Exhortation to the Shepherds (the one from which Mary was absent), Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Flight into Egypt, and Coronation of the Virgin.⁷³¹ The Crucifixion, found in the Hours of the Cross in *Horae* and throughout Missals, invariably featured Mary, highlighting her sorrow and suffering by her slumped position, ‘the Swoon’, while being supported by John the Evangelist and Mary Cleophas.⁷³²



23. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.140r

⁷²⁹ Rex, ‘Religion’, p.22. Richard Rex and C.D.C. Armstrong, ‘Henry VIII’s Ecclesiastical and Collegiate Foundations’, in *Historical Research*. Volume 75, No. 190, 2002. p.391-393.

⁷³⁰ Rubin, *Mother*, p.217. Sekules, p.130. Whiting, ‘Abominable’, pp.34, 36.

⁷³¹ DUL Add MS 1650, fols.26r, 34v, 47r, 53v, 56r, 58v, 63v. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.35r (Nativity), 40v (Adoration), 42v (Presentation), 56v (Coronation), 61r (Coronation), 64r (Adoration). DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fols.35r (Nativity), 43v (Presentation), 48r (Pieta), 49r (Assumption), 51r (Burial of Jesus), 140v (Assumption), 169r (Pieta). DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.44r (Visitation), 55v (Nativity), 64r (Adoration), 68r (Presentation), 71r (Flight), 76r (Coronation), 91r (Adoration), 132r (Visitation), 133r (Nativity), 138r (Adoration), 142r (Presentation), 143r (Flight) [images between fols.130r and 143r are part of the Vigil of the Dead, which is an unusual place to find this cycle], 185r (Coronation), 200v (Nativity).

⁷³² DUL Add MS 1650, fol.82r. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.34r, 67r, 76r. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fols.45v, 60v, 124r, 155r, 178v. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.34v, 50r, 58r, 195r.

Pictures of Mary were believed to have begun with St Luke the Evangelist. As the Biblical author with the most to say about the Virgin, he was termed ‘Our Lady’s Painter’, and, as in DUL Bamburgh Select .20, was frequently depicted in the act of painting the Virgin, generally with the Christ Child.⁷³³



24. Painting the Virgin and Child, DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.13v

Other images of the Virgin with Christ abounded in Primers; versions of the same composition, differing only in minor details, appeared time after time in the same text.⁷³⁴ The pair could be appealed to by a donor, as in DUL Add MS 1650, but equally they formed an affectionate pair appealed to in spirit for their supplicatory power as in the Suffrages of DUL Bamburgh Select .22.



25. DUL Add MS 1650, fol.111r



26. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.166v

⁷³³ Attwater, *Mary*, p.79. Verdon, ‘Picturing’, p.11. *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (c.1435-40) by Rogier van der Weyden (1400-1464) is now regarded as the premier example of this design (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.13v.

⁷³⁴ DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.166v. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.60v, 94r, 52v (in conjunction with John the Evangelist). DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.83v, 186v, 202r, 205r, 207v. DUL Add MS 1650, fol.111r. A detailed example of the image cycle for the Virgin is found in John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves: Introduction and Commentaries*. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1966.

The relationship of Mother and Child was illustrated by her lactation and feeding of the infant Christ, as in DUL Bamburgh Select .20, while in the same volume the pair was depicted in a greater context of the heavenly host and adoring masses.

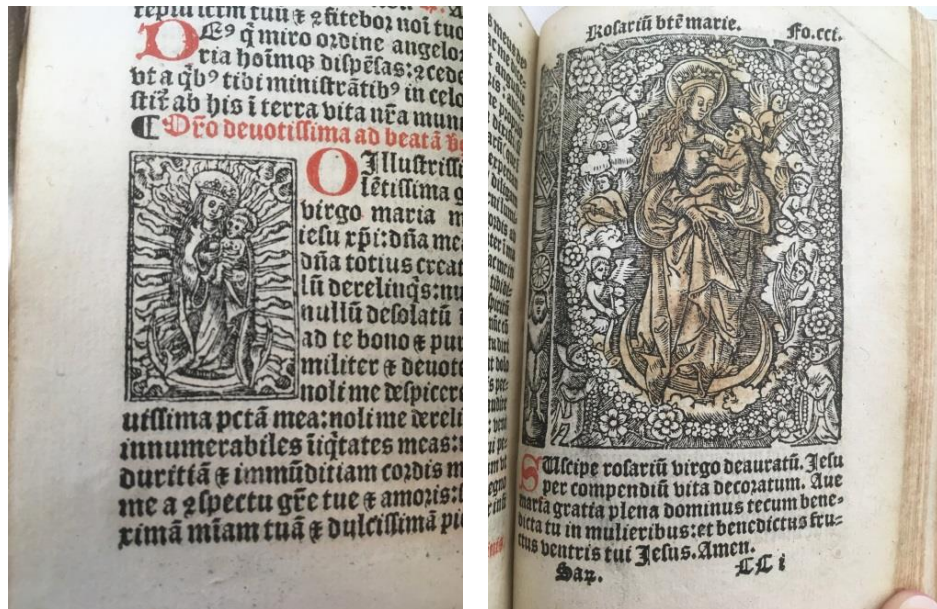


27 and 28. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.52v and 60v

Static images of the Virgin and Child in Majesty, with no other accompaniments could also be found throughout, such as in DUL Bamburgh Select .46 where they were used to indicate the start of prayers like the *O Intemerata*, *Obsecro Te*, and Rosary of the Virgin.



29 and 30. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.82v and 83v



31 and 32. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.186v and 202r

The Virgin's relationship with Christ was also presented in other guises, such as in images associated with the Sorrows (not always in conjunction with the *Stabat Mater*), depicting the Virgin with seven swords piercing her heart.⁷³⁵ Each sword represented one of her sorrows; for example the top centre image showed Christ's walk to Calvary, the bottom right illustrated the burial of Christ, and the middle left image depicted the Flight into Egypt.



33. Sorrows of the Virgin, DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.57r

⁷³⁵ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.57r.

In some interpretations, images of the Virgin and Child were expanded to depict the genealogy of Christ or the Holy Family more generally; on rare occasions the relationship of Mary and Joseph was given pictorial emphasis.⁷³⁶ In DUL Bamburgh Select .20 and DUL Bamburgh Select .46, the Virgin and Child formed the central branch on the tree sprouting from the side of their sleeping ancestor Jesse.



34. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.55r



35. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.38v

In DUL Bamburgh Select .46, a series of images of the Virgin were used as fillers in the Vigil of the Dead, expanding beyond the usual repertoire to include the marriage ceremony of her and Joseph.



36. Marriage of Joseph and Mary, DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.130r

⁷³⁶ Verdon, 'Picturing', p.16. Annunciation: DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.3v, 23r, 59v. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.131r, 210r. Holy Family: DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.38v (Genealogy), 130r (Wedding of Joseph and Mary). DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.55r, 56r.

Another common theme in the Marian images was reading; taking the form either of the Virgin teaching Christ to read from a Primer, or of Anne teaching the Virgin herself.⁷³⁷ The Suffrage prayer for St Anne featured the Virgin being taught how to read by her mother, attending to the book in Anne's lap, as in DUL Bamburgh Select .22 and DUL Bamburgh Select .46. But Anne also featured as a nurturing presence, enveloping her daughter the Virgin and grandson Christ as they were depicted in Majesty.



37. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.165v



38. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.199v



39. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.83v

In the life-cycle of the Virgin, her Death (or Dormition) was also a regular theme. Images of this event represented her 'falling asleep' only to be taken up into Heaven by angels. Generally presented as an element within her Assumption, the Dormition was at times expanded to include her funeral

⁷³⁷ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.83v. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.199v. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.165v. Edwyn C. Birchenough, 'The Prymer in English', in *The Library*, ed. F.C. Francis. Series Four, Volume XVIII. London: Oxford University Press, 1938. p.180. p.181. M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993. p.13.

procession with its associated miracles.⁷³⁸ The example given from DUL Bamburgh Select .20 featured the Virgin's bier with unbelievers being stuck to the top of her bier and struck down with blindness, as seen in the central and bottom left of the image. The Coronation of the Virgin in Heaven is found in an upper roundel within the image.



40. Virgin's funeral procession, DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.3r

Church dedications and images on walls and in books emphasised the importance of the Virgin. The extensive tradition of images relating to the Virgin, from her childhood through to her death, reminded devotees that her human life was touched by the divine. This juxtaposition made her eminently suitable for the role of premier intercessor with the Trinity and reminded all members of Christendom of her power.

Feasts of the Virgin

Mary's biography was the object of a variety of devotional practices in the Middle Ages. Feasts of the Virgin's life that were found in the Sarum Missals of our study are as follow: Conception (8 December), Nativity (8 September), Presentation at the Temple (21 November), Annunciation (25 March), Visitation (2 July), Purification (2 February), and Dormition/Assumption (15 August).⁷³⁹ In addition, Mary was an integral part of many Christological feasts, namely the Nativity of Christ (25

⁷³⁸ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.3r, 48r. Claire Donovan, *The De Brailles Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*. London: British Library, 1991. p.98.

⁷³⁹ Some or all of these feasts are present in the calendars of each of the case studies listed: Ushaw MS 16, fols.1r-6v. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fols.4v-16r. Some or all of these feasts are rubricated in the following case studies: DUL Add MS 1650, fols.2r-13v. DUL Cosin V.V.5, fols.2r-7v. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.3v-21r. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.4r-9v.

December), Adoration of the Magi (6 January), Circumcision of Christ (1 January), and Crucifixion of Christ (Easter). While some of these feasts celebrated occasions documented in the New Testament, others related to extra-canonical events. Non-Biblical feasts included Mary's Conception, Nativity, and Presentation at the Temple (from her early life) and her Purification and Assumption (from her motherhood).⁷⁴⁰ Taken together, feasts involving the Virgin amounted to an average of nearly one per month: thus Marian devotion was integral to the liturgical year and the holy days celebrated by the English people.

Reforming the BVM

The humanist Erasmus thought that interaction with the Virgin was in need of reform. His colloquy on pilgrimage noted a supposed letter from the Virgin which thanked a Lutheran for 'persuading people that the invocation of saints is useless', highlighting the fact that people were asking things of her that they ought rightly be asking of Christ instead.⁷⁴¹ But that was not to say that the Virgin ought to be ignored – she and Christ were inseparable: 'Either you expel him along with me, or you leave us both here, unless you prefer to have a church without Christ'.⁷⁴² Humanists sought to remind the devout that the Virgin was integral to Scripture but her role had been overblown. Other reformers also felt that Marian influence had taken on more significance than was deserved. Yet as a student, Martin Luther accidentally stabbed himself with his own dagger and invoked the Virgin to help him (clearly he was saved).⁷⁴³ That experience may explain why Lutherans maintained Marian feasts (though no other devotions to her), while Calvinists eventually eliminated them.⁷⁴⁴

Over the course of reform leading to the BCP, some changes to the role of the Virgin can be noted. In the latest Manual of our study (dated January 1543) the Mass of Blessed Mary was retained;

⁷⁴⁰ Details of the Virgin's life prior to the Annunciation come from texts such as the Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas and the Golden Legend. Ronald F. Hock, *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*. Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1995. See especially pp.37 (Conception), 43 (Presentation to the Temple), 47 (Betrothal to Joseph), 55 (Visitation and Joseph's discovery of her pregnancy), 65 (Nativity of Christ). See M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament, Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953. pp.223-224 and W. Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, Collected and Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1865. pp.37-40 for the Virgin's burial.

⁷⁴¹ Erasmus, *Colloquies*, p.289. Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. Second edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. p.72.

⁷⁴² Erasmus, *Colloquies*, p.291.

⁷⁴³ Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart. London: Fontana Press, 1989. p.125. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Tischreden I. Band*. Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1912. p.46.

⁷⁴⁴ Rubin, *Mother*, pp.369, 371.

in the 1545 Primer, all of her feasts were still intact and prayers to her continued to abound.⁷⁴⁵ But she was no longer the, or even a, focus of the Sarum books. Her images were removed from the Primer; no longer were pilgrimages made to her shrines; and supplications invoking her power were reduced.⁷⁴⁶ Though elimination of her shrines was part of the list of grievances of the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace, by the publication of the Book of Common Prayer, the relationship between the Virgin and the English people had contracted.⁷⁴⁷ By 1549 it was difficult to see any of the Sarum influence as not only were all of her Masses and the Little Hours eliminated, but many supplementary prayers (like the Sorrows and Joys) were removed. For humanists like Erasmus, this was practical reform to ensure that the Church returned to its original state. However, commemorations of the Annunciation and Purification of Mary's stand-alone feasts remained and the *Magnificat* persisted in Evensong, both indicating a minimal but extant residual influence.⁷⁴⁸ As we noted in Chapter Five, Lady Day was kept as the new year after 1549, retaining the Marian association despite the removal of some of her other feasts from the BCP. As a Biblical saint, the mother of Christ, and an integral part of medieval devotion, Mary could not be fully eliminated from the Church – the BCP recognised this even though it contracted her influence.

The Cults of the Saints

In conjunction with the Virgin, saints acted as intercessors with God and were believed to perform healings at shrines where their relics were housed; they were examples of how to live a good life.⁷⁴⁹ Saints occupied a somewhat ambivalent position in that they were known to be in Heaven, but they were also physically present on earth through their relics; a fragment of a saint's body was considered representative of the whole saint.⁷⁵⁰ In this section we will discuss the influence of saints in the Sarum tradition then analyse what reforms occurred and what they meant to the BCP.

⁷⁴⁵ Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3, fols.185v-187r. DUL Routh SB 2090, fols.4r-9v.

⁷⁴⁶ Rubin, 'God-Bearer', p.37.

⁷⁴⁷ LP XII 1, 70.

⁷⁴⁸ DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fol.7r-12v.

⁷⁴⁹ Cunningham, pp.8, 23. Nilson, 'Medieval', p.104. Marner, p.10. Frank Kendon, *Mural Paintings in English Churches During the Middle Ages: An Introductory Essay on the Folk Influence in Religious Art*. London: John Lane, 1923. p.207. J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984. p.170.

⁷⁵⁰ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996. pp.12, 14.

Prayers to the Saints

As intercessors, the saints featured in the Litany, Suffrages, and further prayers.⁷⁵¹ The Litany, found in all books of the Sarum Use, was a list of the hierarchy of Heaven, requesting the prayers of those named. In general, after the Virgin, the Litany worked in hierarchical order through the male saints of Archangels, the Disciples, the Church Fathers/ confessors/ abbots, and male martyrs.⁷⁵² Female saints followed, beginning with Biblical ones, subsequently virgins, martyrs, and other holy women (typically described as widows). In sum, the arrangement of the Litany was generally celestial figures, Biblical ones, and lastly ecclesiastical figures. Two forms of the Litany were found in service books: one accompanying the cleansing of the font and the second the commendation of the souls (the latter usually being more extensive).⁷⁵³ The Litany allowed medieval people to call upon the panoply of Heaven, especially when praying for the departed.

The Suffrages took the form of a short prayer to a specific saint, enumerating their qualities and requesting their assistance. In Books of Hours, the Suffrages were commonly accompanied by small images depicting the saint in question.⁷⁵⁴ Popular saints in the Suffrages of our case studies included Michael, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Nicholas, and Katherine; also Andrew, Stephen, Thomas, Mary Magdalene, and Margaret; as well Lawrence, Pantaleon, Erkenwald, Wilgeforte, and Sitha, followed later by James of Compostela, Sebastian, Christopher, George, Martin, Wilhelm, Anthony, Francis, Anne, Barbara, Apollonia, Dorothy, Roch, Edward, Gregory, and Raphael.⁷⁵⁵ These prayers directed pleas to saints reputed for aiding particular ills – for example, Katherine was prayed to by single women hoping to marry. Prayers to specific saints, separate from the Suffrages, could be included in Primers; a two-page prayer to St George, patron saint of England and of the

⁷⁵¹ Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. p.174.

⁷⁵² Richard W. Pfaff, *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. Chpt. 6. p.15.

⁷⁵³ DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fols.39v-40r, 101. DUL Cosin V.III.21, fols.7r-7v, 31r. SJCUL T.9.53, fols.47v-48r, 118v-119v. Ushaw XVIII F 4 3, fols.53r-54r, 116r-117r. CUL Inc.3.B.2.26[1220], fol.16. CUL Syn.7.52.25, fols.49, 124. CUL F150.a.2.5, fol.15. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.113r-114r. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fols.75v-77v. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.120v-122v. DUL Add MS 1650, fols.77v-80r. Ushaw MS 16, fols.54r-56v. DUL Cosin V.V.5, fols.59r-60v.

⁷⁵⁴ See especially the image of Anne and the Virgin above (DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.165v) as an example.

⁷⁵⁵ DUL Add MS 1650, fols.43r-44r. DUL Cosin V.V.5, fols.22v-25r. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.29v-33r, 80v-91v. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fols.158v-165v. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.49v-53r, 101v-103r, 199r-200r.

Order of the Garter, was likely included to appeal to buyers who were also soldiers or to reflect Henry VIII's preferences.⁷⁵⁶



41. St George, DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.160r

Other saints were further represented in the service books examined here by prayers they had, or were believed to have, written. One prominent example was the *Fifteen Oes* of St Bridget (prayers commemorating Christ's Passion), found in two of our case studies, which was meant to direct an individual's contemplation of Christ's suffering.⁷⁵⁷ Another popular prayer was the Verses of St Bernard (often described as a vision experienced by Bernard courtesy of the Virgin), also seen in two of our case studies, which contained the seven Psalms that were going to ensure salvation.⁷⁵⁸ Other prayers, such as the ones reputedly written by the likes of St Augustine and the Venerable Bede, as presented in one of our case studies, were also based in Scripture.⁷⁵⁹ Such prayers highlighted the importance of the saints in helping to understand Scripture and communicate with the Trinity.

⁷⁵⁶ DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.160. Cunningham, pp.34-35. Muriel C. McClendon, 'A Moveable Feast: St George's Day Celebrations and Religious Change in Early Modern England', in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Jan. 1999. pp.4, 7. Samantha Riches, *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth*. Stroud: Sutton, 2000. p.106. Henry VIII was a prominent devotee of St George, even being buried in the St George Chapel at Windsor Castle. Rex, 'Religion', pp.12-13.

⁷⁵⁷ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.92v-96r. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.64v-66r. For more information on St Bridget, see Attwater, *Mary*, pp.55-56. Martha W. Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and its Sources*. London: British Library, 2004. p.212.

⁷⁵⁸ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.125v. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.168r.

⁷⁵⁹ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.72r, 73r.



42. Bridget receiving the *Fifteen Oes*, DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.64v

Saints were prayed to by the community as a whole in the event of certain circumstances, as exemplified by Votive Masses within the Missals used as case studies. Masses commemorating SS Roch and Sebastian were invoked against plague.⁷⁶⁰ Roch, known as one of the Holy Helpers, was a doctor who helped patients suffering from plague; contracting the disease himself, Roch went to a forest to die, but was saved by a dog bringing him food.⁷⁶¹ Sebastian, an early martyr, was shot to death with arrows, the arrow-wounds being likened to the buboes of the plague. Masses commemorating the two saints were meant to prevent plague outbreaks from spreading and to encourage healing. Other saints with commemorative Masses in the Missal included SS Anthony, Gabriel, and Barbara, the last particularly being invoked as insurance for a 'good death', i.e. not dying before confession and Extreme Unction.⁷⁶² In general, such Masses were designed to protect the community and ensure that God's wrath would not be visited upon the area – devotional practice equated protection.

⁷⁶⁰ John Shinnars, ed., *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader*. Second edition. Plymouth: University of Toronto Press, 2009. p.68. For example, DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fols.224v-225r.

⁷⁶¹ John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. pp.11-13. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p.25. Rex, 'Religion', p.13.

⁷⁶² DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.225v. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.228r. BCLLR UIB/S 11 97, fol.203. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.226v.

Places and Images

Viewed as pieces of Heaven on earth, relics of saints provided each church with a way to establish a direct relationship with the saint in question, keeping the community in harmony with their intercessor and consequently with God.⁷⁶³ The rite for the consecration of a church found in Pontificals included the burial of relics within its high altar.⁷⁶⁴ Churches frequently had more than one altar: the main altar was dedicated to the same saint as the church while additional side altars were dedicated to other saints. For example, the main altar of St Laurence's Church in Pittington was believed to contain a relic of St Laurence that had been brought to England by King Oswy of Northumbria; a subsidiary altar was dedicated to St Katherine of Alexandria with its attendant relic.⁷⁶⁵ Thus churches, and the communities they served, could benefit from the aid of more than one saint in the daily course of prayer and services.

In addition to altars, images were centres of saintly power, as 'sites where the attentive presence of the saint was most likely to be focused and prayers most likely to be answered'.⁷⁶⁶ Many church walls were covered with images – though these were frequently repainted, allowing adaptation in response to changing devotional trends.⁷⁶⁷ The paintings were both aids to those unlearned in Latin and functional directionals for the community's prayers.⁷⁶⁸ As he ensured safe travel and protection against sudden death, St Christopher was a common image which featured in churches ranging from the great Westminster Abbey to the small family chapel of Haddon Hall; such images were usually found opposite the main entrance.⁷⁶⁹ The importance of his images to travellers also explains his presence in devotional books like DUL Bamburgh Select .20.

⁷⁶³ *Canterbury and Becket*. Shinnars, p.158. R.N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. pp.237-238.

⁷⁶⁴ Walter Howard Frere, *Pontifical Services. Illustrated from Miniatures of the XVth and XVIth Centuries. With Descriptive Notes and a Liturgical Introduction*. Vol. I. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1901. pp.2, 50.

⁷⁶⁵ Anonymous, *St Laurence Church Informational Leaflet*, courtesy of Dave Arnott.

⁷⁶⁶ Marshall, *VSI*, p.94. Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998. p.3.

⁷⁶⁷ Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'Painting in Medieval England: The Wall-to-Wall Message', in Nigel Saul, ed., *Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England*. Manchester: Brockhampton Press, 1992. p.114. E. Clive Rouse, *Medieval Wall Paintings*. Princes Risborough: Shire, 1991. p.9. A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963. p.27. For catalogues of examples, see Caiger-Smith, pp.129-182. Eileen W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century*. London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1954. pp.131-271. Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008. pp.225-306.

⁷⁶⁸ Rouse, p.13.

⁷⁶⁹ Tudor-Craig, pp.112, 115, 118. Cunningham, p.34. Amelia Grounds, 'Evolution of a Manuscript: The Pavement Hours', in Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney, eds., *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*.



43. St Christopher, Haddon Hall, Derbyshire



44. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.82r

While wall paintings could communicate with the community, images in books focused an individual's attention during private prayer; they were a standard feature of service books, above all of Primers. The first sequential images in Primers were often depictions of the evangelists, prefacing the Gospel readings, of all four gossellers in a quartered image or John featured on his own.⁷⁷⁰



45. Four Evangelists, DUL Add MS 1650, fol.14r



46. St John, DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.20v

Illustrations of the relevant saints also accompanied their Suffrages in Primers or the service for their feast in the sanctoral of Missals, frequently in the form of a decorated initial, as in the examples of St Anne and St George in the images below from our case studies.⁷⁷¹ As with wall paintings, these

York: York Medieval Press, 2008. p.134. Shiners, p.324. For a list of churches with extant Christopher paintings, see Rosewell, pp.324-328. Rouse, pp.14, 16. Kendon, pp.148-151, 154, 160.

⁷⁷⁰ DUL Add MS 1650, fol.14r. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.20v.

⁷⁷¹ DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.218v, 198r. BCCLR UB/S 11 97, fol.106r.

decorated initials focused attention during prayer to these figures in the hopes of ensuring the saints would guide a devotee's petition to the Trinity, for a successful answer.



47. Anne and the BVM for Anne's sanctoral entry, DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.218v



48. St George, BCCLR UB/S 11 97, fol.106r



49. St George, DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.198r

Feasts of the Saints

The saints celebrated by the medieval English church were figures from the Bible, early martyrs, and distinguished Christians (local, regional, national, and universal). Taking for an example the saints whose feast days were celebrated by the Sarum calendar in June, John the Baptist provides an instance of a Biblical saint (celebrated on the 24th), Mark and Marcellian (18th) examples of early martyrs, Silverius (20th) a Pope (a universally-recognised distinguished Christian), and Etheldreda (23rd) an English queen then abbess who lived in the seventh century (a nationally/regionally celebrated saint).

In the table on pages 186-188, the saints as found in the calendars of the eight Sarum Missals consulted for this thesis are presented, colour-coded by their origin.⁷⁷² In these full Sarum calendars,

⁷⁷² As determined by reviewing C.R. Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, revised by Michael Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. pp.63-93. David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Oxford:

186 days are taken with feasts relating to saints, accounting for 51% of the year – emphasising the importance of feast days in organising the calendar of the Church and society. The four categories of origin that I have assigned are Biblical/para-Biblical, of British or Irish origin (prioritising origin over any other characteristic), martyrs (from anywhere beyond the British Isles), and other Church figures (again from beyond the British Isles). Biblical and Para-Biblical saints account for 36 feasts or 19%, while saints of British and Irish origins account for 41 feasts or 22%. Martyrs of non-British Isles origin account for 67 feasts (or 36%), while other Church figures (most especially popes and other prominent bishops) account for 42 feasts (or 23%). As discussed in Chapter Five above, martyrologies were the original calendars so the high number of feasts of martyrs was likely a holdover from this earlier tradition. Biblical and para-Biblical saints are expected as their presence underpins Christianity in general and medieval tradition in particular. The category of ‘other Church figures’ is more difficult to define – given that most of them are popes, it is clear that the Church’s hierarchy was a key factor in the creation of the calendar. The crucial category is that of the saints of British and Irish origin. These types of saints illustrated the differences between various Uses. Given that Thomas Becket (and at a push Cuthbert) was the only British saint with a major cult outside of England, the presence of 40 feasts of British saints in the calendar (and in the sanctoral of Missals) indicate that Sarum books were exhibiting a certain amount of differences with Continental ones. The large number of saints’ feasts resulted in the debate about the keeping of holy days (and holidays) that was rife in England at the time of the Reformation.

Reforming the Pope

As mentioned in Chapter Three, a suite of legislation – the Acts of Annates, Appeals, Succession, and Supremacy – outlawed the authority of the Popes in England and only recognised ‘Bishop of Rome’ as their title.⁷⁷³ Henry was in conflict with the Pope politically, but this did not prevent him from embracing the reformist notion that papal authority had usurped the role of the saints for papal

Oxford University Press, 1984. *passim*. Donald Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965. *passim*.

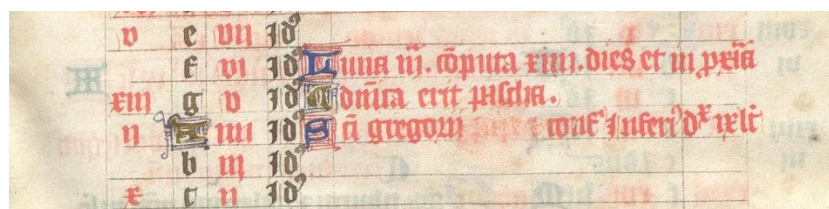
⁷⁷³ *Statutes*, 26 Henry VIII, c.1, pp.187-188. Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury*. Reading: Spire Books, 2008. p.96. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p.110.

profit.⁷⁷⁴ The royal injunctions of 1536 scheduled quarterly reminders in sermons of the removal of papal authority in England.⁷⁷⁵ With the 1538 proclamation, a campaign of eliminating references to Popes was implemented. This was the first blast of the trumpet against the saints but, though the honorific title of Pope (*papa*) was either removed entirely or replaced by bishop (*episcopus*), the feast or prayer was otherwise maintained. Though Cromwell insisted that a pen stroke or slip pasted over *papa* was insufficient, these were common methods of adhering to the law.⁷⁷⁶ In DUL Bamburgh Select .46, *pape* is removed from all papal entries in the calendar; *damasi pape* for 11 December is a case in point.⁷⁷⁷



50. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.19v

Further obliterations of *pape* in this book followed in relation to Marcellus; Gregory; Sixtus, Julius, Anicetus, and Victor; Cletus and Anastasius; Felix; Leo; Stephen; Calixtus; Evaristus and Florentius; Martin and Clement; Linus; and Sylvester.⁷⁷⁸ In BL Add MS 30506, papal references were scratched out, as in this feast of St Gregory, illustrating that manuscripts as well as printed books were expected to follow such rulings.⁷⁷⁹



51. BL Add MS 30506, fol.4r

⁷⁷⁴ Tyndale, p.142.

⁷⁷⁵ Frere and Kennedy, p.4.

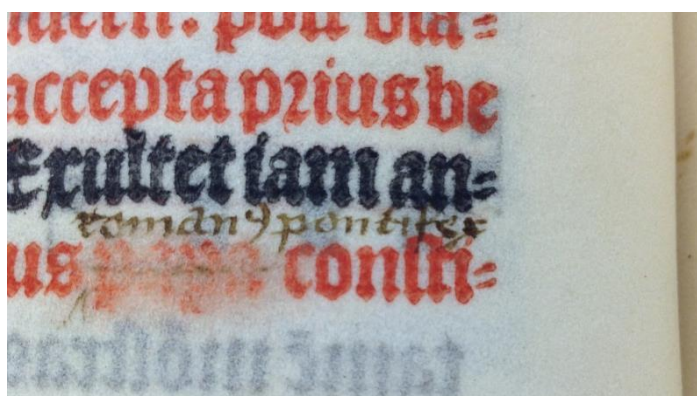
⁷⁷⁶ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. p.124.

⁷⁷⁷ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.19v.

⁷⁷⁸ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.3r, 6r, 7v, 8r, 9v, 11r, 13v, 16v, 17r, 18r, 18v, 20r, respectively.

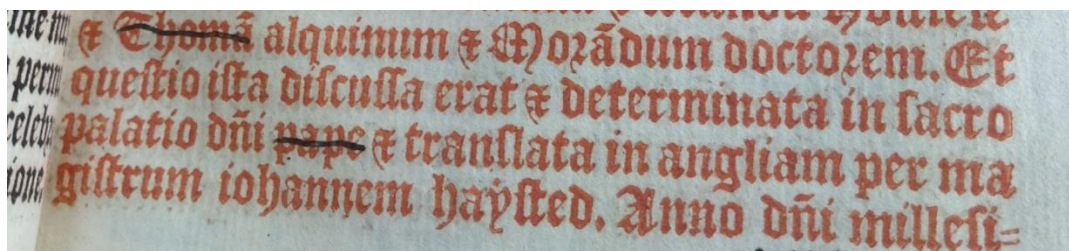
⁷⁷⁹ BL Add MS 30506, fols.3r, 4r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7v, 8r, and 8v.

CCCPL EP.H.10 contains an instance where a line was put through *papa*; the word was later rubbed out and *roman(us) pontifex* was written in above.⁷⁸⁰



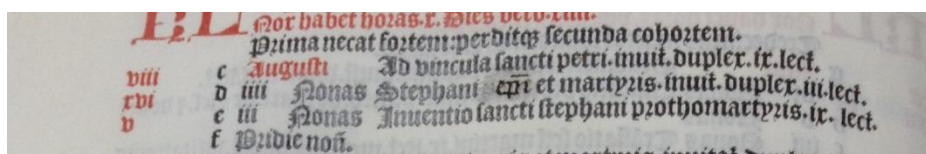
52. CCCPL EP.H.10, fol.19v

In SJCUL T.9.53, *papa* was crossed through in basic (some might say reluctant) adherence to the legislation.⁷⁸¹

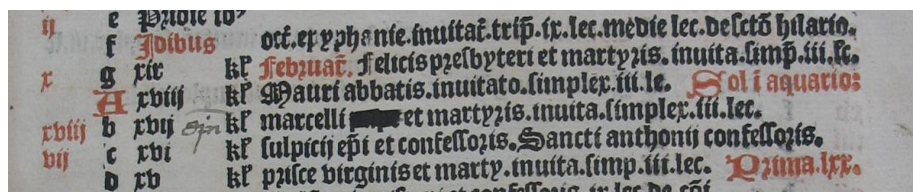


53. SJCUL T.9.53, fol.70r

In BCLLR UB/S 11 97 and DUL Bamburgh Select .15, Pope was replaced with the abbreviation for *episcopi*.⁷⁸²



54. BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fol.12v



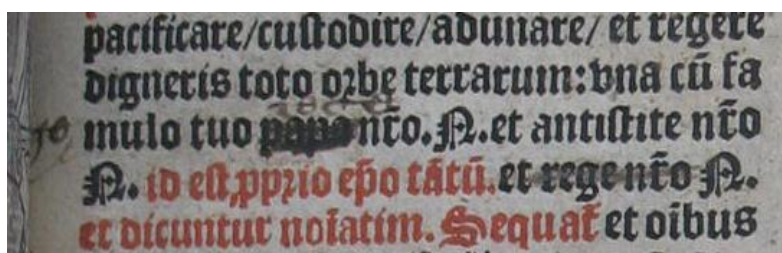
55. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.3r

⁷⁸⁰ CCCPL EP.H.10, fol.19v. This can also be seen in the image from BL Add MS 30506, fol.16v above.

⁷⁸¹ SJCUL T.9.53, fol.70r.

⁷⁸² BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fols.11v-14v. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fols.3r, 7v, 8r, 8v, 131v.

In passages describing the role of the head of the church, such as in the Canon of the Mass, *papa* was sometimes replaced with *rege*, as in the example shown below.⁷⁸³



56. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.86r

The ‘demotion’ of Popes to bishops was a superficial change to terminology in the service books. The saints who had been popes were still considered saints. The change in hierarchy, from Pope to king, was less superficial of a shift; but this was a political alteration. Nothing in this ‘reform’ of papal authority amounted to any sort of concerted campaign against the saints as intercessors or as performing salvific functions.

Reforming Thomas Becket

For Henry VIII, the sainthood of Thomas Becket was particularly unpalatable for political reasons. Martyred in 1170 after a dispute with King Henry II and canonised in 1173, Becket became the most popular English saint in Christendom. His role in defending the rights of the Church against the authority of temporal rulers, and the fact that Henry II had suffered the humiliation of a very public penance for his role in the martyrdom, made Becket anathema to Henry VIII in his dispute with the Pope over his divorce.⁷⁸⁴ Henry’s 1538 proclamation demanding Becket’s removal from the service books was promulgated to encourage support for the royal supremacy over loyalty to the Pope.⁷⁸⁵ The proclamation followed on the heels of the suppression of Becket’s shrine at Canterbury and the destruction of his relics – reformist actions being used for political ends.⁷⁸⁶

Ostensibly known as the ‘unsainting’ of Thomas Becket, the proclamation was responded to in a variety of ways within the service books. Some users zealously cut out references to and pictures

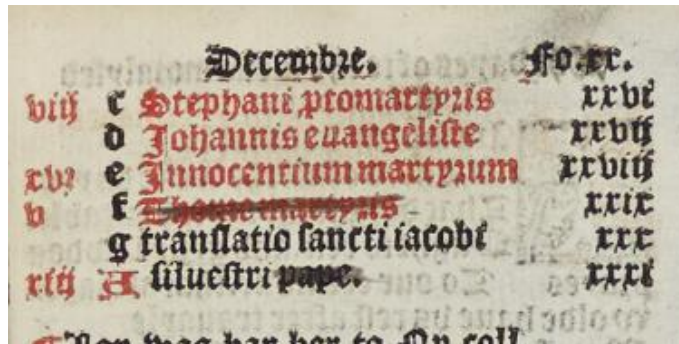
⁷⁸³ DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.86r.

⁷⁸⁴ W. Ian P. Hazlett, *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland: An Introduction*. London: T and T Clark International, 2003. p.38. Marshall, ‘Forgery’, pp.56-57.

⁷⁸⁵ TRP 186, pp.270-278. Peter Marshall, ‘The Rood of Boxley, the Blood of Hailes and the Defence of the Henrician Church’, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. Volume 46, Issue 4. (October) 1995. p.690.

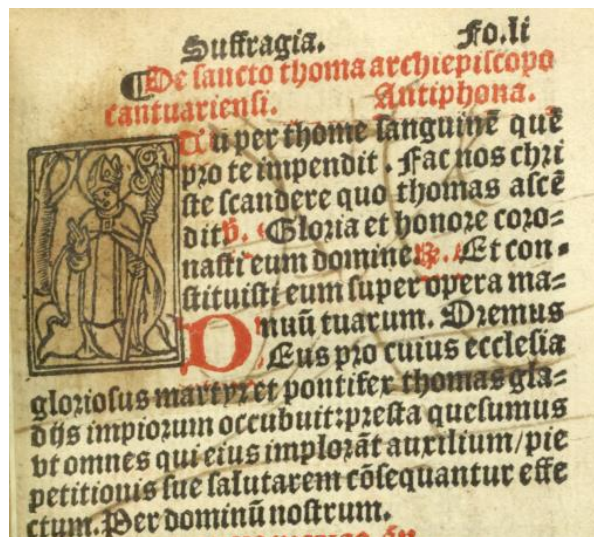
⁷⁸⁶ Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559, Volume 1*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton. Camden Society, New Series XI, 1875. p.89. Henry’s sacrilegious handling of Becket’s relics was the official cause of his excommunication – Marshall, ‘Forgery’, p.59.

of Becket.⁷⁸⁷ Others simply rubbed with pumice or scraped with a knife the ink from the page with differing degrees of determination.⁷⁸⁸ In nearly every Sarum book consulted for this study, users had gone through with a pen or a knife, crossing out, rubbing out, or scraping out the name of Thomas, in some cases not just in the calendars but in prayers and page headings too.⁷⁸⁹ DUL Bamburgh Select .46 contained multiple obliterations of Becket, including his Translation and December feast days.⁷⁹⁰



57. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.20r

Pen scribbles across Becket's entry in the Suffrages (with particular emphasis over *thome* and *martyr*) was thought sufficient, though the words are still entirely visible.⁷⁹¹



58. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.52r

In BL Add MS 30506, both of Becket's feasts, and a Thomas entry in the Litany, were scraped from the page.⁷⁹²

⁷⁸⁷ BL Harley 2985 (Book of Hours, Sarum Use), fol.30.

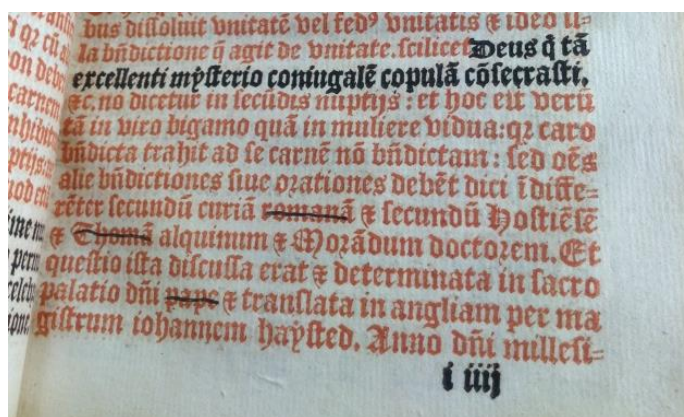
⁷⁸⁸ Eamon Duffy, 'Elite and Popular Religion: the Book of Hours and Lay Piety in the Later Middle Ages', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Elite and Popular Religion*. Studies in Church History, 42. Woodbridge: Boydell Press for EHS, 2006. p.146.

⁷⁸⁹ Driver, *Image*, p.197.

⁷⁹⁰ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.12r, 20r.

⁷⁹¹ DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.52r.

In SJCUL T.9.53, the wrong Thomas was struck off, as *Thoma(m)* of Thomas Aquinas has been struck through (as, too, was the nearby *romana(m)*).⁷⁹⁵



62. SJCUL T.9.53, fol.70r

Putting a single horizontal line through a word was the most common way of adhering to the anti-Becket and anti-Papal policy while being able to continue using the text as normal.⁷⁹⁶ Not until 1541 did printed material created for English use come without commemoration of Becket or reference to the Pope.⁷⁹⁷ The earliest book in our study without them is DUL Bamburg Select .21, dating from 1543. Not every devotional book was properly changed – one copy used for the edition of the York Hours produced by the Surtees Society had *Becket* and *papa* removed in the calendar but nowhere else.⁷⁹⁸ The ‘unsainting’ of Becket, though reformist in form, was intended to curtail the influence of the traditional Church within England, with an emphasis on reducing the political authority held by the Pope.

Reforming the Saints in the English Church

Even before the Reformation, prayer to the saints was accompanied by reminders that such action should not amount to worship.⁷⁹⁹ Despite Martin Luther’s original embrace of the salvific nature of

⁷⁹⁵ SJCUL T.9.53, fols. 41v, 70r.

⁷⁹⁶ Further examples can be found in DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fols.4r, 7r, 7v, 8v, etc.

⁷⁹⁷ Sarum Breviary, *STC* (2) 15833.5. G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1969. p.53. Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. p.28.

⁷⁹⁸ This copy is only identified as belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. Christopher Wordsworth, ed., *Horae Eboracenses: the Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York*. Durham: Andrews and Co for Surtees Society, 1920. p.xviii.

⁷⁹⁹ Thomas Cranmer, ‘Corrections of the Institution of a Christian Man’, in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.102.

the saints, eventually para- and non-Biblical saints became distasteful to him.⁸⁰⁰ Consequently, the Reformation swept away much of the traditional devotional practice of medieval people – gone were shrines, relics, and much of the cults of the saints and of the Virgin.⁸⁰¹ In England, the conditional Act in Restraint of Appeals had given the king and Privy Council the option to reform indulgences and privileges, resulting in their removal from saintly prayers like the *Fifteen Oes*.⁸⁰² Other reform of the saints began under the aegis of the reformers in 1536. On 6 February, Cranmer used his sermon at Paul’s Cross to rail against prayer to saints, the worship of images, and the idea of Purgatory.⁸⁰³ On the heels of that sermon, monasteries were targeted by the Dissolution, ostensibly because they promoted false relics to the public.⁸⁰⁴ The exposure of such ‘false relics’ and ‘miraculous images’ like the Blood of Hailes and the Rood of Boxley were part of this campaign, though this was within the bounds of orthodoxy as ‘false relics’ damaged the reputation of true ones.⁸⁰⁵ The royal injunctions for 1536 also emphasised that images, relics, and pilgrimages were to be denied as superstitious.⁸⁰⁶ By September 1538, the royal injunctions also demanded the removal of images that had been the subject of devotional practice (in addition to the composition of sermons against pilgrimages and like devotional activities), though images that had not been superstitiously adored could be retained.⁸⁰⁷ The 1538 proclamation decrying Becket resulted in a more concerted denunciation of relics, miraculous items, and other ‘superstitious’ vestiges of the saints.⁸⁰⁸ This was in keeping with a strict orthodoxy – traditionalists could not quibble with the denunciation of superstition – but it also prepared the way for more drastic action to be taken at a later date. Reformist actions were being supported by Henry’s political desires and the practical acceptance by traditionalists that superstitious practice did no good to orthodoxy.

⁸⁰⁰ In addition to his appeal to the Virgin discussed above, on 2 July 1505, Luther made a vow to St Anne to become an Augustinian monk if she saved him from a severe thunderstorm. Oberman, p.125. Rubin, *Mother*, pp.366-367. D. Martin *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Tischreden 4. Band*. Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1916. p.440.

⁸⁰¹ G.H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*. London: Phoenix House, 1947. p.59.

⁸⁰² *Statutes*, 25 Henry VIII, c.21, pp.170-182.

⁸⁰³ Margaret Aston, *England’s Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images, Vol. I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988. p.172.

⁸⁰⁴ Marshall, ‘Forgery’, pp.50, 53.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.54.

⁸⁰⁶ Frere and Kennedy, p.6.

⁸⁰⁷ Frere and Kennedy, pp.37-39. Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.12. Haigh, *Reformations*, p.157. Whiting, ‘Abominable’, p.42.

⁸⁰⁸ Bernard, p.453.

The Ten Articles appeared in the summer of 1536, outlawing images and worship of saints.⁸⁰⁹ Only Apostolic feasts, Marian feasts, and those of George, Ascension Day, John the Baptist, All Saints', and Candlemas were retained, much to the chagrin of those who participated in the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁸¹⁰ The royal proclamation of 22 July 1541 placed further limits on which saintly feasts were celebrated.⁸¹¹ The feasts of SS Luke, Mark, and Mary Magdalene had previously been suspended because they fell in periods that interfered with law terms or harvest. But because they were all saints named in the Bible, they could not really be abrogated and were thus reinstated by this proclamation. 'St Elyn's Day' (for Helena, mother of Constantine, and the Finding of the True Cross) and the Exaltation of the Cross, feasts when they fell outside of the law term but not when they fell within, would no longer be kept as feasts at all in the interest of uniformity. Though feasts of certain saints were still kept, ceremonies that were deemed superstitious were to be abandoned.⁸¹² This was underscored by the instructions given to the Convocation of Canterbury in their 1542 meeting – clerics were to ensure that non-Scriptural saints and popes were to be removed from the calendar and the sanctoral. Ostensibly, the abrogation of holy days had been to curtail interference in the secular calendar (as noted in Chapter Five above); taken as a sign of progress by reformers, it was not denigrated by those traditionalists who agreed with the need to improve the calendar.

The *Hortulus Animae*, a reformed Primer of 1530, was the earliest text to limit Marian invocations and eliminated the saints entirely from the Litany and Suffrages.⁸¹³ However, this radical step was not embraced by ecclesiastical authorities in England until 1544 when Cranmer wrote a new Litany, entirely in English; despite following the format of the Sarum Suffrages in asking for assistance during specific events, it made no reference at all to specific saints.⁸¹⁴ Here the Litany was limited to invocations to the various aspects of the Trinity, while the Suffrages requested deliverance from a whole host of evils; deliverance was only possible via God (not the saints). The calendar of the

⁸⁰⁹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. London: Yale University Press, 1996. p.153. McClendon, pp.16-17.

⁸¹⁰ *LP XI* 553. Duffy, *SotA*, pp.394-395.

⁸¹¹ *TRP* 203, pp.301-302. Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.43.

⁸¹² Rex, *Henry*, p.74.

⁸¹³ *STC* (2) 13828.4. British Museum. *Catalogue of an Exhibition Commemorating the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the Introduction of the Book of Common Prayer*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1949. p.13.

⁸¹⁴ Though invocations to the Virgin remain. BM, *BCP*, pp.16-17. Cuming, p.31.

1545 Primer retained a number of the saints' feasts, but popes were no longer described as such and Becket's two feasts were excluded.⁸¹⁵ The Litany and Suffrages of Henry's 1545 Primer repeated Cranmer's 1544 formulation, but went no further in terms of saintly elimination.⁸¹⁶

Under Edward VI, reformist ideals and iconoclasm became more widespread.⁸¹⁷ While according to traditionalists and humanists, images were acceptable so long as they were not worshipped, their removal from service books and other forms of iconoclasm occurred because some reformists believed images were Biblically-forbidden.⁸¹⁸ The iconoclasm of the Continent and in England that resulted in the smashing and melting of shrines, relics, and windows and the defacing of books was not a 'Lutheran' habit, but a 'Calvinist' one.⁸¹⁹ Edward VI, influenced by 'Calvinists', took it upon himself to strike out references to the saints in books that he used.⁸²⁰ Additionally, the royal injunctions of 31 July 1547 required the destruction of shrines and images rather than simple removal, though this was tempered by Cranmer's 1548 visitation articles in which removal remained sufficient.⁸²¹ The continued removal of *papa* and *Becket* from church-books, and the elimination of rubrics and prayers for pardons, indulgences, or 'other superstitions' was demanded.⁸²² The destruction of shrines and images was extensive, removing the opportunity for English people to be taught pictorially in favour of oral or literary learning.⁸²³ The removal of images, especially of saints, in churches also resulted in their reduced presence in service books – the 1545 Primer only contained one image, a woodcut of the Biblical account of David and Bathsheba.

⁸¹⁵ DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fol.6v, 7v.

⁸¹⁶ DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fols.65v-71v. Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, introduction C.S. Gibson. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1910. pp.231-235.

⁸¹⁷ A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963. pp.102-103.

⁸¹⁸ No examples of 'iconoclasm' against extant images can be confirmed in our case studies. Priscilla Heath Barnum, ed., *Dives and Pauper*. Early English Text Society, Volume 275. London: Oxford University Press, 1976. p.87. Blench, pp.7-8. Rex, 'Religion', p.17. Nigel Ramsay, 'Artists and Craftsmen', in Nigel Saul, ed., *Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England*. Manchester: Brockhampton Press, 1992. p.59.

⁸¹⁹ Cunningham, p.59. Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. London: Yale University Press, 2002. pp.231, 235.

⁸²⁰ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*. London: Penguin Books, 1999. p.36. In reference to the Oath of Supremacy made at Hooper's confirmation as Bishop of Gloucester.

⁸²¹ Thomas Cranmer, 'Visitation Articles for Second Year of Edward VI', in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.155. Ronald Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations', in Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.120.

⁸²² Cranmer, 'Visitation', p.157.

⁸²³ Robert Whiting, 'Local Responses to the Henrician Reformation', in Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1995. p.219.

The Book of Common Prayer adopted the Sarum temporal calendar almost in full (keeping all of the feasts of Christ and that of the Purification of the Virgin), but only the barest bones of its sanctoral calendar, namely the Biblical saints.⁸²⁴ Only a few services for the Biblical saints remained in the Book of Common Prayer, appended to the end of the temporal Introits and Collects, celebrating Andrew, Thomas the Apostle, the conversion of Paul, the purification of Mary, Matthias, the annunciation of Mary, Mark, Philip and James, Barnabas, John the Baptist, Peter, Mary Magdalene, James the Apostle, Bartholomew, Matthew, Michael and all Angels, Luke, Simon and Jude, and All Saints.⁸²⁵ Despite the cull of saints and the traditions surrounding them, the custom of using red ink to denote the feast days continued.⁸²⁶ And while images of the saints disappeared from this text, Grafton and Whitchurch understood their market. They ensured that decorated initials of leaves and animals (and John the Evangelist) continued to form navigational tools within the Book of Common Prayer, but resorted to Biblical stories for the historiated initials heading each major section of text.⁸²⁷ The two printers were known to have evangelical preferences, so the retention of images meant either that they were not iconoclasts and/ or were businessmen above their faith.

The Reformation had encouraged a shift towards Biblical material and reliance on the Scripture alone, limiting the opportunities for influence by the saints and the Virgin. Because not all saints were eliminated in the Book of Common Prayer, some felt that the book ‘preserved more than an echo of older rituals’.⁸²⁸ So long as New Testament saints and the celebration of All Saints’ Day remained in the calendar and services of the Church of England, so too did hope for the average churchgoer who still found comfort in their devotions to those saints.⁸²⁹ The elimination of saints from English culture was not so easy as their elimination from the calendar – resistance resulted in the reintroduction of four non-Biblical feasts to the 1552 BCP and of 58 saints’ days to the 1559

⁸²⁴ Leonel Mitchell, ‘Sanctifying Time: The Calendar’, in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.477.

⁸²⁵ *First*, pp.176-211.

⁸²⁶ Sheridan Gilly, ‘Prayer Book Catholicism’, in Margot Johnson, ed., *Thomas Cranmer: Essays in Commemoration of the 500th Anniversary of his Birth*. Durham: Turnstone Ventures, 1990. p.172.

⁸²⁷ DCL F.IV.56, *passim*. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, *passim*. YML XI.F.21.(5), *passim*. YML XI.F.26, *passim*.

⁸²⁸ Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. p.247. Duffy, *SotA*, pp.589-591.

⁸²⁹ D.E.W. Harrison and Michael C. Sansom. *Worship in the Church of England*. London: SPCK, 1982. p.57.

BCP.⁸³⁰ Sarum traditions, while significantly pruned by 1549, provided the basis for the re-growth of the calendar and saintly devotion in 1552 and 1559, and into the twenty-first century.

⁸³⁰ Mitchell, p.478.

Table 14: Origins of Saints in Sarum Calendars

Biblical/Para-Biblical	Martyrs
British/Irish Origin	Other Church Figures

December	January	February
4 - Osmund	8 - Lucian and companions	1 - Bridget
6 - Nicholas	14 - Felix	2 - Purification of BVM
8 - Conception of Virgin	15 - Maurus	3 - Blaise
13 - Lucy	16 - Marcellus	5 - Agatha
21 - Thomas	17 - Sulpicius; Anthony	6 - Vedast and Amand
26 - Stephen	18 - Prisca	10 - Scholastica
27 - John the Apostle	19 - Wulfstan	11 - Translation of Frideswide
28 - Holy Innocents	20 - Fabian and Sebastian	14 - Valentine
29 - Thomas Becket	21 - Agnes	16 - Juliana
31 - Sylvester	22 - Vincent	22 - Chair of St Peter
	25 - Conversion of St Paul	24 - Matthias
	27 - Julian	
	28 - Agnes II	
	30 - Bathild	

March	April	May
1 - David	3 - Richard	1 - Philip & James the Less
2 - Chad	4 - Ambrose	6 - John at Latin Gate
7 - Perpetua and Felicitas	14 - Tiburtius, Valerian, & Maximus	7 - John of Beverley
12 - Gregory	19 - Alphege	9 - Translation of Nicholas
16 - Noah onto the Ark	23 - George	10 - Gordian and Epimachus
17 - Patrick	25 - Mark the Evangelist	12 - Nereus, Achilleus, and Pancras
18 - Edward	28 - Vitalis	19 - Dunstan
20 - Cuthbert	29 - Noah leaves the Ark	25 - Aldhelm
21 - Benedict	30 - Deposition of Erkenwald	26 - Augustine of Canterbury
23 - Creation of Adam		28 - Germanus of Paris
25 - Annunciation		31 - Petronilla

June	July	August
1 - Nicomedes	2 - Visitation of Mary	1 - Chains of Peter
2 - Marcellinus and Peter	4 - Translation/Ordination of Martin	2 - Stephen
5 - Boniface and followers	7 - Translation of Thomas	3 - Finding of Stephen
8 - Medard and Gildard	8 - Feast of Relics	5 - St Mary of the Snows
9 - Translation of Edmund	10 - Seven Brethren	5 - Oswald
11 - Barnabus	11 - Translation of Benedict	7 - Donatus
12 - Basilides, Cyrinus, and Nabor	15 - Translation of Swithin & followers	7 - All martyrs
14 - Basil	16 - Translation of Osmund	8 - Cyriacus and followers
15 - Vitus, Modestus, & Crescentia	17 - Kenelm	9 - Romanus
16 - Translation of Richard	18 - Arnulf	10 - Laurence
18 - Mark and Marcellian	20 - Margaret of Antioch	11 - Tiburtius
19 - Gervase and Protase	21 - Praxedes	13 - Hippolytus and followers
20 - Translation of Edward	22 - Mary Magdalene	14 - Eusebius of Rome
22 - Alban	23 - Apollinaris	15 - Assumption of BVM
23 - Etheldreda	24 - Christina	18 - Agapitus
24 - Nativity of John the Baptist	25 - James the Great	19 - Magnus of Italy
26 - John and Paul	26 - Anne	23 - Timothy and Apollinaris
28 - Leo	27 - Seven Sleepers of Ephesus	24 - Bartholomew
29 - Peter and Paul	28 - Samson	27 - Rufus
30 - Commemoration of Paul	29 - Felix and Faustinus	28 - Augustine of Hippo
	30 - Abdon and Sennen	29 - Decollation of John the Baptist
	31 - Germanus of Auxerre	30 - Felix and Adauctus
		31 - Cuthburga

September	October	November
1 - Giles	1 - Translation of Remigius, Germanus, Vedast, & Bavo	1 - Feast of All Saints
4 - Translation of Cuthbert	2 - Thomas of Hereford	3 - Winefride
5 - Bertin	6 - Faith	6 - Leonard
8 - Nativity of the Virgin	7 - Mark and Marcellian	8 - Four Crowned Martyrs
9 - Gorgonius	9 - Denys and followers	9 - Theodore
11 - Protus and Hyacinth	10 - Gereon and followers	11 - Martin
16 - Edith	11 - Nicasius and followers	13 - Brice
17 - Lambert	13 - Translation of Edward the Confessor	14 - Translation of Erkenwald (1148)
21 - Matthew	14 - Callistus	15 - Malo
22 - Maurice and followers	15 - Translation of Wulfram	16 - Deposition of Edmund of Abingdon
23 - Thecla	16 - Michael in the Mountain Tomb	17 - Hugh of Lincoln
25 - Fermin	17 - Translation of Etheldreda	20 - Edmund
26 - Cyprian and Justina	18 - Luke the Evangelist	22 - Cecilia
27 - Cosmas and Damian	19 - Translation of Frideswide	23 - Clement
29 - Michael the Archangel	21 - Eleven Thousand Virgins	24 - Chrysogonus
30 - Jerome	23 - Romanus	25 - Katherine
	25 - Crispin and Crispinian	26 - Linus
	28 - Simon and Jude	29 - Saturninus and Sisinnius
	31 - Quentin	30 - Andrew

8. 'The Roman family of liturgies':⁸³¹ Occasional Services of the English Church

*for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer; in sickness and in health, to be bonere and buxom
in bed and at board till death us depart*⁸³²

*The Church of England is the most striking example in European history of the capacity of
institutions to maintain an unbroken, almost complete, continuity in structure while
undergoing a thorough change in spirit.*⁸³³

A key purpose of the medieval Church was the preparation of the soul for the afterlife. The Sacraments, holy signs representing promises of God, were the building blocks of that preparation, but they were only efficacious when accompanied by faith.⁸³⁴ Cemented in the mid-twelfth century, the Seven Sacraments of the traditional Church comprised baptism, confirmation, marriage, ordination, Extreme Unction, penance, and the Eucharist – five rites of passage and two renewable sources of consolation and grace.⁸³⁵ Two additional, but not technically sacramental, services that were common in the Sarum service books were purification and coronation. In this chapter, we will examine the Sarum services in order of the appearance of their evolutionary successors in the Book of Common Prayer: Matins and Evensong, the Eucharist, baptism and confirmation, and marriage and purification.⁸³⁶ We will conclude by analysing two other services from the Sarum tradition that evolved during the Reformation, though they were not explicitly found in the 1549 BCP: ordination and coronation. Finally, we contend that the content of the BCP/reformed services retained enough of the Sarum skeleton to comfort the average churchgoer.

Matins/Evensong

In the Book of Common Prayer, Matins and Evensong replaced the Divine Office as the method of daily prayer; together, the two services represented content from five of the eight canonical hours

⁸³¹ Henry Barclay Swete, *Church Services and Service-Books Before the Reformation*. London: SPCK, 1925. p.120.

⁸³² CCCPL EP.H.10, fol.34r.

⁸³³ Maurice Powicke, *The Reformation in England*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. pp.134-135.

⁸³⁴ William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed. David Daniell. London: Penguin Books, 2000. p.108. Thomas Cranmer, 'A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Saviour Christ', in G.E. Duffield, *The Work of Thomas Cranmer: The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics*. Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964. p.207.

⁸³⁵ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.35. Peter Marshall, *Reformation England: 1480-1642*. Second edition. London: Hodder Arnold, 2003. p.5.

⁸³⁶ Penance (and confession) had a limited presence in the Sarum service books examined here (as part of the services of administering Unction and visiting the sick with absolution a standalone idea in the printed Manuals) and was not a standalone concept in the BCP, therefore is not discussed further. Visitation of the Sick/Extreme Unction were part of the end of life rituals which, with Burial/Office of the Dead, will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

described in Chapter Five – Matins, Lauds, and Prime; along with Vespers and Compline.⁸³⁷ The secular clergy had been grouping the prayers of the Divine Office into morning and evening sessions by the mid-sixteenth century, so it was not surprising that Cranmer formalized this arrangement.⁸³⁸ Two of the Biblical readings for the BCP Matins matched Sarum Matins, while the third derived from Sarum Lauds. The BCP Evensong service used two Biblical readings from Sarum Vespers and one from Compline.⁸³⁹ Prayers such as the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, *Nunc dimittis*, and *Te Deum* were also maintained. The main differences between the Sarum Hours and the BCP were the shift from Latin to English and the liturgical condensation of all eight hours into two official services.⁸⁴⁰ The BCP versions of Matins and Evensong were simply codifications of changes that had already been occurring – the Anglicization aided in comprehension by the general public (which had been happening in other services up to this point) and the condensation of services performed by the laity and clerics alike allowed for the prayers to be said while limiting interruptions to one’s day.

Words on the Eucharist

Communion, otherwise known as the Eucharist or the Mass, was a major centre of controversy during the Reformation and a distinctly theological issue.⁸⁴¹ Suffice it to say here that in the traditional Church, Communion was only available following confession (based on understanding and embracing the *Pater Noster*, Creed, and Ten Commandments) and penance (which assured the progression of the soul through Purgatory into Heaven).⁸⁴² In general, the laity were required to

⁸³⁷ DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.13r-18r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fols.13r-19v. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.152r-157v. YML XI.F.26, fols.13r-16r. Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, introduction C.S. Gibson. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1910. pp.21-31. Swete, pp.22, 71. Geoffrey Moorhouse, *The Last Office: 1539 and the Dissolution of a Monastery*. London: Phoenix, 2008. p.222. Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury*. Reading: Spire Books, 2008. p.98. D.E.W. Harrison and Michael C. Sansom, *Worship in the Church of England*. London: SPCK, 1982. p.58.

⁸³⁸ G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*. London: Macmillan and Co, 1969. p.24. Moorhouse, p.221.

⁸³⁹ Swete, p.72.

⁸⁴⁰ The most dramatic difference was that there were no longer monasteries in which the Divine Office was the central organising feature of the day.

⁸⁴¹ See especially Rubin, *Corpus*, *passim*. See also Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. pp.134-145 on the doctrine of justification in evangelical discussions of the efficacy of the Mass. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation*. London: Allen Lane, 2016. p.144.

⁸⁴² Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969. p.7. John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. p.30. There were many handbooks for priests in dealing with confession in the Middle Ages, in particular John Mirk’s *Festial* (ed. Susan Powell, Volumes 334-335. Early English Text Society, 2009) and Robert Mannyng of Brunne’s *Handlyng Synne* (ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co, 1973). The general textbook concerning pre-Reformation confessional practices is Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.

attend Matins, Mass,⁸⁴³ and second Evensong on Sundays and holy days; they were to be shriven at Lent in order to receive the Eucharist at Easter; and they were expected to go to processions when required.⁸⁴⁴ As early as 1310, the laity were recommended to communicate thrice yearly, at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.⁸⁴⁵ Though no Mass was offered on Good Friday, three Masses were said on Christmas, and two could be said on Easter or in the event of a funeral or wedding, giving ample opportunity for the laity to attend Mass on such days.⁸⁴⁶ Three forms of participation in the Mass were possible for the average churchgoer – they could pay a fee to have Mass offered for a specific benefit (ranging from Requiem Masses for deceased family members to Masses for protection against the ravages of plague), they could attend and receive Communion, or they might be present at the Mass (especially the elevation) but not communicate (a procedure which remained a means of grace).⁸⁴⁷ Despite the changes and vacillations of his reign, including dropping the use of the term transubstantiation in the Act of Six Articles, Henry VIII never had anything but a traditional view of the Mass.⁸⁴⁸

The abolishing of the Act of Six Articles in early 1547 had removed Henry VIII's protections for the offering of private Masses. On 4 November, Edward's first Parliament opened with the commencement Mass offered in English – a further sign of changes to the Mass.⁸⁴⁹ Edward's accession had immediately prompted clerics with reformist tendencies to begin experimenting with services in English, requiring Cranmer to instigate a standard form to preserve the unity of the

⁸⁴³ CCCPL EP.H.10, fols.53v-57r. CUL Syn.7.52.25, fols.97v-103r. SJCUL T.9.53, fols.94v-102v. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fols.80r-87r. Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3, fols. 90v-99v. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fols.85v-88v. DUL Howard A138, fols.112r-115v. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fols.163v-172v. BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fols.82v-86v. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fols.161v-167v. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fols.161r-166v. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, fols.147r-151r. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fols.139v-146r. DUL Cosin V.III.13, fol.41v (incomplete).

⁸⁴⁴ Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*. London: Methuen and Co, 1910. pp.15-16, 23.

⁸⁴⁵ Rubin, *Corpus*, p.70.

⁸⁴⁶ Churches with multiple priests could have several Masses said per day; the rules here were for individual priests. Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England: 1066-1550*. London: Routledge, 1997. p.5.

⁸⁴⁷ Martin R. Dudley, 'Sacramental Liturgies in the Middle Ages', in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. p.227. Harford Pearson, *The Sarum Missal Done into English*. London: Church Printing Company, 1884. p. xvi. Roger S. Wieck, 'The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral', in Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick, eds., *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*. Canterbury: Peter Lang, 1999. p.436.

⁸⁴⁸ G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. p.492. Glyn Redworth, 'A Study in the Formulation of Policy: The Genesis and Evolution of the Act of Six Articles', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. Volume 37, No. 1. (January) 1986. pp.51, 63.

⁸⁴⁹ Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559, Volume 1*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton. Camden Society, New Series XI, 1875. p.187.

realm.⁸⁵⁰ This standard form, the 1548 Order of the Communion, was a translation of the Canon of the Mass from the Sarum Missal.⁸⁵¹ This in essence continued the Anglicization that had been evident in certain services with the practical aim of increasing lay understanding of theological and doctrinal matters. What in the 1549 BCP was called ‘the Supper of the Lorde’ equated to the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass from the Sarum tradition, an adoption with no significant change of the 1548 Order.⁸⁵² Of the eighty-three different Collects required for the Mass services on Sundays and holy days throughout the year according to the BCP, sixty-seven were close translations of the Sarum versions.⁸⁵³ The most direct differences between the Sarum and BCP Eucharists (aside from the theological controversy of the nature of Communion) were the elimination of the option of Votive Masses and the vernacularisation of the Mass. The use of English in this way was unusual, considering that other areas of Europe under the Pope still used Latin for the Mass, but it was in keeping with the evolution of the Sarum services to contain more English. But the BCP’s language was sufficiently vague as to allow both traditionalist and reformist interpretations of the Eucharist itself. This implied an understanding (presumably on Cranmer’s part) that the entire nation would not be comfortable with too many reformist changes and that there was value in retaining links to the traditional Sarum service for the comfort of the average churchgoer.

Baptism

The service of baptism was a service of renewal – immersing a child in the font signified the death of the child’s sinful life (as exemplified by Adam’s death), and removing him or her again constituted his or her return to life (as typified by Christ’s resurrection).⁸⁵⁴ Sinning did not nullify one’s baptism, but the failure to complete penance for subsequent sin would result in more extensive time in Purgatory (or eternal damnation for mortal sins).⁸⁵⁵ Baptism occurred at the earliest convenient point

⁸⁵⁰ David N. Griffiths, *The Bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549-1999*. London: British Library, 2002. p.6. W.J. Sheils, *The English Reformation, 1530-1570*. London: Longman, 1989. p.41.

⁸⁵¹ *STC* (2) 16456.5. Baxter, 2008. p.98. Excerpts from this Order were transcribed as part of YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.132r-133v.

⁸⁵² DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.136r-149r. DUL SB+ 0851/1, fols.137r-150r. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.261r-272v. YML XI.F.26, fols.135r-137r. *First*, pp.212-230. Swete, p.115.

⁸⁵³ DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.19r-135v. DUL SB+ 0815/1, fols.21r-136r. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.158r-260r. YML XI.F.26, fols.17r-133v. *First*, pp.32-211. Moorhouse, p.222.

⁸⁵⁴ Tyndale, p.109.

⁸⁵⁵ Thomas Cranmer, ‘Corrections of the Institution of a Christian Man’, in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.95.

in one's life; this could be on the day of birth, or as soon after that the child could be brought before a priest.⁸⁵⁶ Midwives and laypeople were deputized to perform baptism *in extremis*, such as in the event of the likely immediate death of the infant, even if the child remained partially in the birth canal.⁸⁵⁷ The service of baptism also created a secondary layer of kinship in the guise of godparenthood – individuals selected to support the religious education of the child were often chosen to reinforce kinship ties or promote goodwill with a patron or employer.⁸⁵⁸

In the Sarum ordo, baptism began with the presentation of the child to the priest; it was followed by the exorcism of salt, prayers over and exorcism of the child, a reading from Matthew, prayers and making the sign of the cross over the child, blessing the font, exhorting the godparents to the spiritual and physical care of the child, prayers at the font, dipping a candle and putting holy oil into the font, questioning the godparents about renouncing the devil on the child's behalf, anointing the infant with oil before immersing him or her thrice, returning the child to the parents to be wrapped in the chrisom cloth and placing a candle in his or her hand, and concluded with readings from Mark and John.⁸⁵⁹

In the Sarum texts, most of the service was in Latin. However, the vernacular was used on two occasions, presumably because of the necessity of those sections being comprehensible to the individuals involved and the attending churchgoers. The first instance concerned the role of the godparents:

Godfaderis and godmoderis I charge zow and ye fader and ye moder that yis child be kept yis seuen zer fro wat', fro feer, fro hors fot. fro houdes toth. and yat he ligge not be ye fader au be ye moder un to tyme he co'ne sey' ligge outter. and yat he be confermyd of a byschop that next cometh to contre be seuen myle be halue. and yat be tauzt his beleue. yat is for to

⁸⁵⁶ Bartholomew Traheron to Heinrich Bullinger, in Hastings Robinson, ed., *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1846. p.319.

⁸⁵⁷ Heath, p.7. Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. p.172. Peter Marshall, *The Reformation: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. p.52. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p.24.

⁸⁵⁸ Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700*. London: Longman, 1984. p.131. Christopher N.L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. p.136.

⁸⁵⁹ DUL Cosin V.III.21, fols.4v-13r. BL Add MS 30506, fols.12v-24v. BL Stowe MS 13, fols.6r-25v. CCCPL EP.H.10, fols.23v-32v. SJCUL T.9.53, fols.43r-58r. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fols.35r-48v. Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3, fols.48r-65r. CUL Syn.7.52.25, fols.54v-59v. A. Jeffries Collins, *Manuale ad Usus Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis: From the Edition Printed at Rouen in 1543 compared with those of 1506 (London), 1516 (Rouen), 1523 (Antwerp), 1526 (Paris). Volume 91*. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1960. pp.25-43.

sey. Pat' nr. Aue maria. and Credo. And yat ze wasche Zo(n) hondes er ze goon owt of chirche in peyne of fastyng xl fridayes.⁸⁶⁰

A variation of the exhortation to the godparents read:

Godfadyrs & godmodyrs & all that be here about say in the worshyppe of god & our ladye & of the .xii. appostellys a [Pater nr'] an [Aue Creede.] That we may so mynyster this blessi(d) sacrame(n)t that it maye be to the pleasure of almyghty god and co'fusyo' of our gostly enemy & saluaco'n of the sowle of this chyld. God faders & godmod's of this chylde we charge you that ye charge the fader & the moder to kepe it from fyer & wat' & other perels to the age of vii. yere & that ye lerne or se it be lerned the [Pr' nr'. Aue] & [Crede.] after the lawe of all holy chirche & in all goodly haste to be co'fermed of my lorde of the dyocyse or of his depute & that the moder bri'ge ayen the cryson at hir puryficacyo' and wasshe your hande or ye departe the chirche.⁸⁶¹

The exhortation confirmed the minimum expected from godparents in the religious upbringing of the child. While the first variant outlined more graphically the perils awaiting the infant, the second gave more detail on godparental expectations. The second instance of the vernacular occurred when the child was being anointed: 'I cristene the N. in the name of the fadir and of the sone and of the holy gost'.⁸⁶² The use of vernacular ensured that the congregation understood that the christening had taken place and the child was now protected against a fate in Limbo.

In the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, the public and private forms of baptism comprised the first section of occasional services.⁸⁶³ The opening prayers referred to Biblical stories of water washing away sins, particularly the story of the flood and the tale of Moses and the Red Sea. The Gospel reading at the service, from Mark 10, recounted the time when the children visited Christ. The questions ensuring that the infant was prepared for baptism were meant to guarantee a simple life of faith and avoidance of sin. The children were then given a chrisom cloth (a white vesture as in the Sarum days) as a token of innocence. Next, the godparents were given instructions to ensure the spiritual guidance of the child and to take him or her to hear sermons as well as to learn the basics of Christianity – namely the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. The rubric then instructed that, as in the Sarum ordo, when the mother went to the Purification ceremony, the chrisom cloth be returned.

⁸⁶⁰ BL Add MS 30506, fol.23v.

⁸⁶¹ CCCPL EP.H.10, fol.26v. With minor spelling differences: DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fols.39. Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3, fol.53r.

⁸⁶² For an example, DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fol.46v.

⁸⁶³ DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.150r-157v. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fols.154r-161v. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.276r-282v. YML XI.F.26, fols.148r-155v. *First*, pp.236-246.

As in the Sarum tradition, the baptismal service was typically performed in the church, but a ceremony for private baptism in the home was still allowed by the Book of Common Prayer in the event of imminent infant death.⁸⁶⁴ As one would expect, the prayers on such an occasion were mostly the same as in the main service. The principal divergence was in the questions about forsaking the devil; the questions themselves remained the same but there was the deletion of asking whether the child was willing to be baptised. Significantly, other prayers were put into the present tense rather than the future. The prayers for the rest of the service emphasised the nature of baptism as a cleansing process and preparation for taking the Eucharist.

Baptism in the BCP was clearly based on the Sarum Manual service with minor changes: the Gospel was from Mark rather than Matthew, there was no use of oil, there was an increased use of English, and the directions to godparents, though similar to the second Sarum variant, emphasised less the physical perils the child faced and more the teaching of religious tenets in English.⁸⁶⁵ In keeping with the reformist preference for Biblical material and the dilution of Marian influence, the teaching of the *Ave* was replaced by the Ten Commandments. Both traditional and reformed baptismal services required the godparents to renounce the devil and declare the faith on behalf of the child; even the renowned Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) acted as godfather to English reformer John Hooper's daughter Rachel.⁸⁶⁶ While the change of Biblical passage and use of oil could be attributed to reformist tendencies, the Anglicization of this service was not radical as the key points (the role of godparents and the act of christening) were already in English. The lack of evolution in this service likely related to the fact that it was considered essential to spiritual health and represented the best alteration to the service from Biblical times to the sixteenth century that could be achieved with the reduction of an average baptismal candidate's age from adulthood down to infancy.

⁸⁶⁴ Cf. the opening rubric of Administration of Public Baptism, 'children ought at all tymes to be baptised, eyther at the churche or els at home', DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fol.150r.

⁸⁶⁵ *First*, p.241. F.E. Brightman and K.D. MacKenzie, 'The History of the Book of Common Prayer Down to 1662', in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. pp.160-161.

⁸⁶⁶ Houlbrooke, *English*, p.130. John Hooper to Heinrich Bullinger, in Robinson, p.50.

Confirmation

Confirmation, the ‘ordination to the priesthood of the laity’, was a reaffirmation of the baptismal covenant, though it often followed shortly after, if not on the same day as, baptism.⁸⁶⁷ The service had to be performed by a bishop to be of any spiritual value; as mentioned above, it was encouraged to be completed by the age of seven.⁸⁶⁸ Confirmation also appeared to procure the benefit of an additional godparent, at least for the elite. Princess Elizabeth had two godmothers for her baptism and a third for confirmation – both services being performed on 10 September 1533 by her godfather, Cranmer.⁸⁶⁹ Prince Edward had at his baptism two godfathers (Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1473-1554) and one godmother (his sister Mary), with a further godfather for his confirmation.⁸⁷⁰ The use of confirmation was debated by reformers; some believed that confirmation was not instituted by Christ but by the apostles and, as it was a gift to the apostles, it could not be assumed that the said gift had remained with ‘the successors of the apostles’.⁸⁷¹

Of the exclusively Pontifical services, only confirmation was carried over to the 1549 BCP.⁸⁷² The BCP confirmation began with thirteen questions on the articles of faith, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English.⁸⁷³ The rest of the service was a short selection of prayers, forming the ‘confirmation’ of the person in faith.⁸⁷⁴ The BCP confirmation service followed that of the Sarum tradition with almost no change; only the anointing with oil was removed.⁸⁷⁵ By contrast with the Sarum tradition, however, baptism and confirmation were now more separated to reflect their discrete purposes – baptism being the protection of the infant from the perils of death, and confirmation the reaffirmation after the age of discretion of the tenets of the Christian faith

⁸⁶⁷ This sacrament was not as strictly administered as baptism; often high-born infants would have this service performed on the day of baptism. W.K. Lowther Clarke, ‘Confirmation’, in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.444.

⁸⁶⁸ Thomas Cranmer, ‘Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law’, in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.74.

⁸⁶⁹ Wriothlesley, p.23.

⁸⁷⁰ Wriothlesley, p.67. John Gough Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth. Volume I*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1857. p.xxiv.

⁸⁷¹ Tyndale, pp.127-129. Thomas Cranmer, ‘Some Queries Concerning Confirmation’, in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.80.

⁸⁷² DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.158r-161v. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fols.162r-165v. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.283r-286v. YML XI.F.26, fols.156r-159v. W.K. Lowther Clarke, ‘The Consecration of Churches and Other Occasional Services’, in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.703.

⁸⁷³ *First*, pp.247-250.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.250-251.

⁸⁷⁵ DUL Cosin V.III.13, fols.101. Clarke, ‘Confirmation’, p.451. Brightman and MacKenzie, p.162.

enacted on one's behalf when an infant. As with the baptismal service, the lack of change from Sarum to BCP indicated that there was little that could be considered superstitious or extraneous to Biblical precepts – the spiritual benefit was retained by English reformers.

Marriage

The church blessing of a marriage was a custom rather than a requirement of the early Church, with the rite being much the same as the pagan tradition – a Mass was substituted for the ritual sacrifice.⁸⁷⁶

According to the Church, marriage was meant to control human passions and offer an appropriate environment for procreation, by turning carnality into merit through the sacramental nature of the service.⁸⁷⁷ In the propertied classes, marriage took place in five steps: 1) the written legal contract for lands and monies, 2) the spousals or the verbal contract between the two individuals intending to marry, 3) the calling of the banns or attainment of a special license, 4) the actual church wedding, and finally 5) the sexual consummation of the match in the hope of heirs. Of these, the spousals were the legally binding part while steps three through five were required for the successful completion of a marriage in the eyes of the Church.⁸⁷⁸



63. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.9v

⁸⁷⁶ W.K. Lowther Clarke, 'The Solemnisation of Matrimony', in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. pp.461-462. Brooke, p.39. A church wedding was not a legal requirement in England until 1753 – Brooke, p.139.

⁸⁷⁷ J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450-c.1600*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964. pp.13-14. Gillian Varcoe, 'Marriage', in Charles Heffling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p.509. Brooke, p.141.

⁸⁷⁸ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*. Abridged edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979. p.30.

The calling of the banns was a combined religious and legal requirement to ensure that notification forestalled potential issues of inheritance that might arise from bigamy or polyandry.⁸⁷⁹ In the Sarum service, the banns were to be called three weeks before a wedding in order to allow time for any responses to be made. For example, the banns ran:

I aske ye banes betwen I de V and A de C zif any man or woman kan sey or put any lettenge of sybrede wher for they may not ne owght not to come to gedere be lawe of holy chirche do vs to wete. Also I charge zow bothe man and woman yat zig ony of zow haue any contracte p(ri)uyli be fore yis tyme. or any a vow mad. or ony other cause knowe whi yat ze mai not come to gedere lawfulli; now knowliche it.⁸⁸⁰

In the BCP version of the matrimony service, the banns were similarly required to be announced on the three Sundays preceding any wedding, though no specific formula was given.⁸⁸¹

If no objections were offered to the banns, the wedding was permitted to take place. The Sarum marriage ceremony began in the doorway to the church; an acknowledgement of the willingness to be married was the first requirement.⁸⁸² In some Manuals, the questions for this willingness were in English (though in others, such questions were in Latin):⁸⁸³

Wiltow haue yis woman to yiu wyf and loue here and worschipe here and holde hire and kepe here in seknes and in hele as an hosbonde owyth to his wif and alle oyer women to forsaken for hire. and only to drawe to hire as longe as zowre bothe lyues to gede' lasten.⁸⁸⁴

Wiltow haue yis man to yiu housbonde to be buxum to hym. and serue hym. and loue hym. and worschipe hym. and kepe hym in syknes and in hele as a wif owyth to do here housbonde. and alle oyer men forsaken for hym. and only to drawe to hym; as longe as zowre bothyn lyues to gedere lasten.⁸⁸⁵

These questions were designed to ensure that both parties understood the solemnity of their undertaking and were prepared to adhere to the expectations of a monogamous relationship. After satisfactory answers were given, the vows were exchanged. The man's vows in the Sarum service were as follows:

⁸⁷⁹ SJCUL T.9.53, fol.197v. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fol.169r. Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3, fol.202r. Thomas Cranmer, 'Visitation Articles for Second Year of Edward VI', in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.159. Clarke, 'Solemnisation', p.458.

⁸⁸⁰ BL Add MS 30506, fols.25r-26r.

⁸⁸¹ *First*, p.252.

⁸⁸² BL Stowe MS 13, fols.26v-37v. CUL Syn.7.52.25, fols.60v-73r. Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3, fols.65v-80r. Brooke, p.248.

⁸⁸³ As the wedding service was followed by a nuptial Mass, this service was also found in Missals: BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fols.195v-198r. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fols.214r-216v. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fols.292v-296v. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fols.286v-290v. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fols.247v-250v. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, fols.263r-267r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fols.271v-275r.

⁸⁸⁴ BL Add MS 30506, fol.26r.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, fol.26v.

[1] I N take N to my wedded wife to haue and to holde for fayrer for fowler for bettur for worse for richer for porer in sykenes and in hele for thys time forward til dethe vs dep,te as holi church well ordeyn & y'to I pligth ye my truthe.⁸⁸⁶

In the same manuscript, this alternative vow was given in addition to the one above:

[2] Ych N. take ye. N. to my veddede wyf the to loue worschepe holde [i(n) or &] kepe in sekensse and in helthe as a man schal his wyf. [i(n) or &] alle oy for the leue & for sake. & to ye only che? holde & take tyl dey vs departe and yer to y plyzte the my treuthe.⁸⁸⁷

The main differences between these two versions were the role of the Church as ordaining the service and the detail of the conditions in which the marriage was to be conducted (sickness and health being the consistent condition between the two). Further variations to the vows in other texts follow one of the three versions below:

[3] I N. take the. N. to myn wedded wyf. to haue and to holde from yis day forward for beter for wers. for richere for porere. for fayrere for fowlere. in seknes and in helthe. til deth vs departe. zif holy chirche if wil ordeyne and ther to I plithe ye myn trewth.⁸⁸⁸

[4] I N. take the. N. to my wedded wif to haue & to holde fro this day forward for bettere for wers for richere for pouerer: in sykenesse and in hele tyl dethe vs departe if holy church it woll ordeyne & therto y plight the my trouthe.⁸⁸⁹

[5] I. N. take the. N. to my weddyd wyfe to haue & to holde: for better: for wors: for richer: for porer: in sykenesse & i' helth tyll deth vs depart: & therto I plyght the my trouthe.⁸⁹⁰

The wording of the variations emphasised different aspects of the service. Version [3] was a detailed vow, emphasising the several aspects in which the wife was to be treated. Version [4], though similar in focus to [3], eliminated the phrase 'for fairer for fouler', generally thinking that this was covered by the other parts of the vow. Version [5] was a streamlined version that mentioned the main details of version [1] but also neglected the role of the Church in ordaining the sacrament. The woman's vows continued:

[1] I N take ye N to my webbe husbond to haue & to hold for feyrer for fowlur for bettur for wors for richer for porere in sekens & in helye to be lawfulliche & boxum in bedde and at

⁸⁸⁶ DUL Cosin V.III.21, fol.13v. Repeated on an insert, fol.13bv. In Ushaw XVIII.F.4.4, fol.106r, a York Manual, the man's vows are: 'Here I take the. N. to my wedded wife/ to haue and to holde at Bedde/ and at Borde/ for fayrer/ for fouler/ for better for warse/ in sekens and in hele/ Tyle dethe us depar. And thereto I plight the my trouthe.' – a bit shorter but generally the same.

⁸⁸⁷ DUL Cosin V.III.21, fol.14r.

⁸⁸⁸ BL Add MS 30506, fol.26r.

⁸⁸⁹ CCCPL EP.H.10, fol.34r. Same with minor spelling differences in CUL Syn.7.52.25, fol.62r. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fol.50r. SJCUL T.9.53, fol.60r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.293v. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fol.287v. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fol.248r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, fol.264r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fol.272r.

⁸⁹⁰ BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fol.196r. With minor spelling differences in DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.214v.

burde from yis time forward til dethe us dep'te as holi church it well ordeyne & ye to I pligth
ye my truthe.⁸⁹¹

The crucial difference between the husband and wife's vows in this variation was the emphasis on the legal obligation of conjugal rights – 'lawfulliche & boxum in bedde and at burde'. In the same manuscript, this alternative vow was given in addition to the one above:

[2] Ych N take ye N to my weddede hosobonde to the to be obeysaunt and serue. loue & worchepe holde & kepe in sekenesse and in helthe as a woman schal housebonde & alle others for the leue. and to the onlyche holde & take. tyl dey vs departe & yer to y plyzte the my treuthe.⁸⁹²

This variant leaves out the emphasis on legal obligation, instead presenting the obedience of the wife as a necessary quality. Further variations in other texts follow one of the three versions below:

[3] I N. take the .N. to myn weddid housbonde to haue and to holde. from yis day forward. for beter for wers. for richer for porere. for fayrere for fowlere. in seknes and in hele. to be boner and buxu' as a wyf owyþ to hur husbddd. til deth vs departe as holi cherche it wil ordeyne. and ther to I plith the myn trowthe.⁸⁹³

[4] I N. take the. N. to my wedded housbond to haue and to holde fro this day forwarde for better for wors; for richer for pouerer: in sykenesse & in hele: to be bonere and buxum in bedde and atte borde till dethe vs departe if holy church it will ordeyne and therto I plight the my trouthe.⁸⁹⁴

[5] I. N. take the .N. to my weddyd husbonde to haue & to holde for better for wors: for richer for porer: in sykenesse and in helth to be bonowre & buxu' in bed & at borde: tyl deth vs depart and ther to I plyght the my trouth.⁸⁹⁵

Version [3] takes from version [1] but lessens the emphasis on the owing of conjugal rights by taking out the 'lawfully' clause. Version [4], like its counterpart for the husband, streamlines the clauses of the vow while following the same pattern as the other variations. Version [5] reduces the role of the Church. The slight differences between the various formulations of the vows were likely subject to local tradition, but their similar language fosters the belief that they all covered the same legal territory as far as the Church was concerned.

⁸⁹¹ DUL Cosin V.III.21, fol.13v. Repeated on an insert, fol.13bv. In Ushaw XVIII.F.4.4, fol.106r, a York Manual, the woman's vows are: 'Here I take the. N. to my wedded husbunde to haue and to holde. At Bedde and at Borde. For fayere for fouler. For better for wars in seknes and in helth. Tyll dethe us departe. And there to I plyght the my trouthe.' – again much the same as but shorter than the Sarum version.

⁸⁹² DUL Cosin V.III.21, fol.14r.

⁸⁹³ BL Add MS 30506, fol.27r.

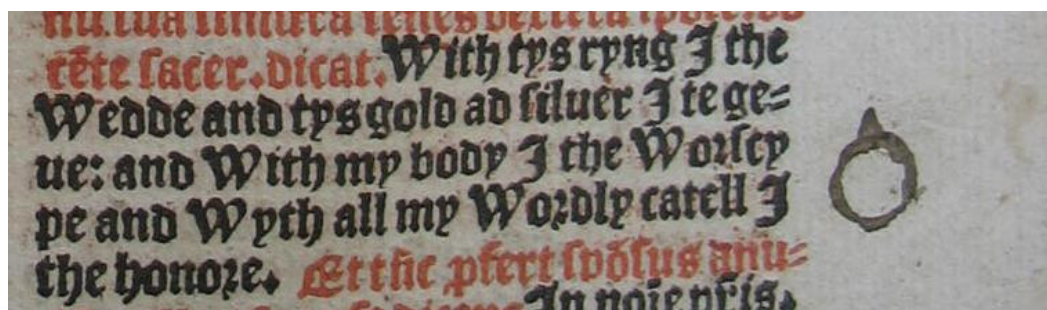
⁸⁹⁴ CCCPL, EP.H.10, fol.34r. Same with minor spelling differences in CUL Syn.7.52.25, fol.62r. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fol.50r. SJCUL T.9.53, fols.60. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.293v. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fol.287v. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fol.248r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, fol.264r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fol.272r.

⁸⁹⁵ BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fol.196r. With minor spelling differences: DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.214v.

After exchanging the vows, the placing of gold and silver and a ring onto the book for a blessing and sprinkling with water was followed by the giving of the ring to the woman, accompanied by these words:

With this ring, I thee wed and this gold and silver I thee give and with my body I thee worship and with all my worldly chattels I thee endow.

Alternatives for 'chattels' and 'endow' were 'goods' and 'honour'.⁸⁹⁶



64. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fol.248r

The matrimony service concluded with a Psalm, Kyrie, prayers for the couple's life together, another Psalm, further prayers, the Mass, a reading from Matthew, Creed, censing, a further prayer, and finally the blessing of the Sacrament.⁸⁹⁷ Certain elements were left out of the service for a second marriage since the repetition of the entire service constituted bigamy according to the Church.⁸⁹⁸

In the Book of Common Prayer (as in the Sarum service), questions of willingness began the interaction of the bride and bridegroom with the priest.⁸⁹⁹ That asked of the husband is as follows:

N. Wilt thou haue this woman to thy wedded wife, to liue together after Goddes ordeinau'ce in the holy estate of matrimonie? Wilt thou loue her, coumforte her, honor, and kepe her in sicknesse and in health? And forsaking all other kepe thee only to her, so long as you both shall liue?

And of the wife:

N. Wilt thou haue this man to thy wedded houseband, to liue together after Goddes ordeinaunce, ni the holy estate of matrimonie? Wilt thou obey him, and serue him, loue, honor, and kepe him in sickenes and in health? And forsaking al other kepe thee onely to him, so long as you bothe shall liue?

⁸⁹⁶ CUL Syn.7.52.25, fol.62v. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fol.50v. SJCUL T.9.53, fol.60v. Chattels and honour: BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fol.196r. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.214v. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.293v. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fol.287v. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fol.248r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, fol.264r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fol.272r. BL Add MS 30506, fol.27v. Ushaw XVIII.F.4.4, a York Manual, fol.106v, gives 'With this ryng. I. wedde the and with this golde and siluer. I. honoure the and with this gyft I. honoure the.'

⁸⁹⁷ Collins, pp.44-55.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid., pp.55-58.

⁸⁹⁹ DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.162r-166v. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fols.166r-169v. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.287r-291r. YML XI.F.26, fols.160r-164v. *First*, pp.252-258.

These were very similar to the Sarum versions, however with the reformist concentration on the Trinity, the importance of 'God's ordinance' was pushed to the beginning of the questions. Additionally, the concept of worshipping one's spouse was replaced with honouring, likely to avoid charges of idolatry. The BCP variation maintained much of the Sarum version; the differences present preserved reformist ideals of appealing to God's authority over the Church in the marriage proceedings. The vows for the husband proceeded as follows:

I N. take thee N. to my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness, and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us depart: according to God's holy ordinance: and thereto I plight thee my truth.

And for the woman:

I N. take thee N. to my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness, and in health, to love, cherish, and to obey, till death us depart: according to God's holy ordinance: and thereto I give thee my truth.

The BCP version of both vows is closest to those found in the majority of the case studies containing this service (version [4] under both the husband's and wife's vows). This suggests that version [4] was the most commonly used throughout England and that changing the authority of the Church for 'God's holy ordinance' was in keeping with a reformist attitude toward shifting responsibility away from the institution and back to God. The giving of the ring was accompanied by:

With this ring I thee wed: this gold and silver I thee give: with my body I thee worship: and withal my worldly goods I thee endow.

This passage in the BCP service was completely unchanged compared to the Sarum version – perhaps because there was no change in the symbolism, but also possibly because the reformers allowed traditionalists to maintain this symbol even if some, like Cranmer, did not believe in it.

In the provisions of the BCP, the marriage ceremony was moved from the porch to the nave of the church and the blessing of the ring was left out.⁹⁰⁰ These steps located the service as a religious ceremony while keeping superstitious ideas out of the proceedings. For those listening to or participating in the service, the most obvious change was the use of English throughout rather than the previous tradition of Latin for most of the service, with English only for the vows. In the vows

⁹⁰⁰ Clarke, 'Solemnisation', pp.465-466.

themselves, the most obvious differences were the phrase ‘according to God’s holy ordinance’ replacing the authority of the Church, and the woman promising to ‘love, cherish, and obey’ instead of being ‘bonere and buxom at bed and at board’. While the medieval English Church referred to marriage as a sacrament, the Church of England did not accept its sacramental nature. Cranmer’s main innovation in the content of the marriage service was enumerating the concept of ‘mutual society’ as a legitimate reason for marriage.⁹⁰¹ In one interpretation of marriage according to Scripture, proposed by St Augustine, marriage was a partnership of consent, for mutual affection.⁹⁰² In the other, deriving from St Paul’s Epistles, it was about the man taking the role of the master over his wife. The wording of the Sarum marriage vows were broadly consistent with the Augustinian view of marriage, but Cranmer’s addition of ‘obey’ for women promoted the hierarchical view endorsed by Paul. The rest of the marriage service in the Book of Common Prayer did not exhibit significant change: the Psalms and New Testament readings were unchanged except to be offered in English (practically) rather than Latin, the collects and prayers were also English translations of the Latin. The declaration of the marriage and phrase ‘Those whom God hath joined’ were added portions. The ring was switched from being placed on the right hand to the left and was no longer blessed, and the Mass to be offered at the end was changed to being that of the day rather than always being that of the Holy Trinity.⁹⁰³ The opening collect in the Sarum rite began: ‘Ecce convenimus hic fratres coram deo et angelis et omnibus sanctis eius in facie ecclesie ad coniungendum duo corpora scilicet huius viri et huius mulieris’.⁹⁰⁴ In the Book of Common Prayer, Cranmer rendered this as ‘Dearly beloved friends, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of his congregation, to join together this man and this woman’.⁹⁰⁵ Despite the abandonment of the presence of angels and the debate about the translation of *ecclesia*, the sense of this opening collect was

⁹⁰¹ Stone, p.101.

⁹⁰² Emma Lipton, *Affections of the Mind: The Politics of Sacramental Marriage in Late Medieval English Literature*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007. p.3. Brooke, p.55.

⁹⁰³ As was evidenced by Henry’s wedding to Anne of Cleves, Retha M. Warnicke, *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves: Royal Protocol in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. p.158. Brightman and MacKenzie, p.163.

⁹⁰⁴ SJCUL T.9.53, fol.59r.

⁹⁰⁵ *First*, p.252.

generally the same. Though Cranmer's English translation of the wedding service is well known to this day, it clearly evolved from the original Sarum service and its English and Latin portions.

Henry VIII's numerous weddings give us the chance to examine the practical implementation of the Sarum rite. Henry's first marriage to Katherine of Aragon on 11 June 1509 at the Franciscan friary at Greenwich was likely conducted in much the same way as the standard Sarum service, despite it being Katherine's second wedding.⁹⁰⁶ What are known to have been different from the service outlined above are the opening questions, which for Henry and Katherine were not just about their willingness to marry each other but about fulfilling the treaty requirements between England and Spain.⁹⁰⁷ Henry's second marriage to Anne Boleyn, performed by Rowland Lee (c.1487-1543, later Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry), seemingly took place twice – on 14 November 1532 and again on 25 January 1533.⁹⁰⁸ This was a secret ceremony; given Henry's expected but not yet bestowed annulment from Katherine, this likely reflected his desire to refrain from broadcasting his second marriage to prevent diplomatic difficulties while also fulfilling his desire to father a son by his wife rather than a mistress. Henry's marriage to Jane Seymour on 20 May 1536 in the Queen's Oratory of Whitehall was also a secret ceremony – despite being free from the constraints of his previous wives, this was perhaps so that Henry could continue to use the main Sarum wording rather than the instructions for a second marriage.⁹⁰⁹ Following Jane's death, Henry was free to marry Anne of Cleves (1515-1557) on 7 January 1540 'solemply, in her closett at Greenewych' with Cranmer officiating, likely using the Sarum Rite.⁹¹⁰ No further detail about this service is known, but Cranmer was possibly already drafting his version of the marriage ceremony by this point. After Henry's divorce from Anne, he married Katherine Howard (c.1523-1542) at Hampton Court on 8 August

⁹⁰⁶ J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1968. pp.12-13. I surmise that the standard service rather than the blessing of second marriage was used because Henry was the more important party and had not been married previously.

⁹⁰⁷ G.A. Bergenroth, *Calendar of Letters, Papers and State Papers Relating to England and Spain, Volume 2 (1509-1525)*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866. 17, p.19.

⁹⁰⁸ Wriothesley, p.17. While traditional accounts speculate that Anne was unwilling to sleep with Henry unless she was queen, Brooke noted that Henry was likely waiting to ensure that any children would be legitimate heirs – pp.164-165. Diarmaid MacCulloch (*Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. London: Yale University Press, 1996) notes that the ceremony was likely performed twice – first in November on impulse, followed by the January service which may have been performed by Lee – pp.83, 637-8.

⁹⁰⁹ Wriothesley, p.43. John Guy, *Henry VIII: The Quest for Fame*. London: Penguin Books, 2014. p.60.

⁹¹⁰ Wriothesley, p.111. Warnicke, pp.155, 157. Warnicke makes this claim based on the judgement that the BCP service was not much different from the Sarum version.

1540.⁹¹¹ Again, full details are unknown, but his affinity for the Sarum service indicates that that was likely put into use once more. Henry VIII's sixth and final wedding (also at Hampton Court) was to Katherine Parr (1512-1548) on 12 July 1543, performed by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.⁹¹² According to contemporary sources, this service used the Sarum rite, with Henry and Katherine using version [5] of the respective vows above, the wording most commonly found in the service as presented in Missals rather than Manuals.⁹¹³ The consistency in service between Henry's first and last wedding makes it likely that all of his weddings employed the same form. Henry's fondness for the service likely contributed to the BCP version being so consistent with the Sarum predecessor. If any service was to be changed to reflect Henry's attitudes, this would have been the most likely one to exhibit such alterations. The few changes in language made by Cranmer reflected his reformist ideology, though the provision of the service entirely in English was a practical change, but for the average churchgoer, the important sections (consent to marry, the vows, and the giving of the ring) were hardly changed.

Purification

The ritual of purification of women after giving birth was rooted in the Jewish tradition; the act had been undertaken by Mary herself in the Temple after the birth of Christ.⁹¹⁴ In England, this Marian feast was known as Candlemas.⁹¹⁵ Collects for Candlemas were found in the Sanctoral, on 2 February.⁹¹⁶ Images for this feast reflected that it was also Christ's Presentation at the Temple (one of the Sorrows mentioned in Chapter Seven), despite the heading emphasising that it was the Purification of the Virgin, underscoring the importance of Marian devotion.⁹¹⁷

⁹¹¹ Wriothesley, pp.121-122.

⁹¹² James Arthur Muller, *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933. p.xxix. Wriothesley, p.143.

⁹¹³ *LP XVIII* 1 873, p.488.

⁹¹⁴ Donald Attwater, *A Dictionary of Mary*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956. pp.232-233. David Cressy, 'Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churaching of Women in Post-Reformation England', in *Past and Present*, No. 141. (November) 1993. pp.107, 141.

⁹¹⁵ 'because of the blessing of and procession with candles that takes place' – Attwater, *Mary*, p.38.

⁹¹⁶ Attwater, *Mary*, p.38. SJCUL T.9.53, fol.58r. BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fol.131r.

⁹¹⁷ Attwater, *Mary*, p.38. SJCUL T.9.53, fol.58r. BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fol.131r.



65. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.190v

In pre-Reformation usage, the rite appeared in Manuals and Missals under the heading of *Benedictio mulieris post partum ante ostium ecclesie*, generally following baptismal or nuptial services.⁹¹⁸ This was the logical placement as the blessing of a woman who had given birth was likely to follow the baptism of said child and (preferably) the wedding of said child's parents. The purification of post-partum mothers was a short service comprising a series of Psalms and sequences, a prayer giving thanks for a safe delivery, and the sprinkling of the mother which symbolised her being allowed to enter the church. In general, it was a service of thanksgiving for the safe delivery of the woman, though not necessarily the child.⁹¹⁹ One rubric reminded priests that women who had lost a child were not to be refused entry, because a child's death was not their fault.⁹²⁰ The service had social implications in that it allowed women to come together to celebrate the mother's safe delivery and indicated that they could now attend Church as before and resume normal sexual relations with their husbands.⁹²¹

⁹¹⁸ BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fols.198. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.217r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.297v. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fol.291v. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fol.251r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, fol.268r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fol.276r. BL Stowe MS 13, fols.25v-26v. BL Add MS 30506, fols.44. CUL Syn.7.52.25, fol.60r. Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3, fols.65. CCCPL EP.H.10, fol.32v. SJCUL T.9.53, fols.58. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fol.48v. BL Add MS 6157, fols.125. Cressy, p.118.

⁹¹⁹ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971. p.38.

⁹²⁰ Collins, pp.43-44.

⁹²¹ Cressy, p.116. That conjugal right that was so important in some of the variations of the Sarum wedding vows.

The Order of the Purification of Women was the shortest of the services in the Book of Common Prayer.⁹²² The post-partum mother knelt before the priest near the choir door while prayers were offered for safe delivery of the child and subsequent baptism. However, like the Sarum version, a rubric stated that the prayer did not need to be said word for word, presumably leaving room for the possibility of the child not having survived. Psalm 121 was then spoken, followed by the Lord's Prayer and prayers asking for strength and salvation for the new mother. Then the woman was to offer the chrisom cloth from the baptism and 'other accustomed offerings'.⁹²³ The BCP Purification service was in essence a translation of the Sarum service excepting that the women were not sprinkled with holy water and the service was moved from the porch into the church.⁹²⁴ Despite the removal of female presence from nearly all other parts of the Church of England, this service was retained and generally in its Sarum form; the practical shift to English was the most significant of the changes. Like baptism and marriage, this ceremony did not have superstitious or idolatrous overtones and was considered of sufficient import to the average churchgoer to include in the BCP.

Holy Orders

Entering the religious life in the cloister or as part of the priesthood was not just the inception of an individual into a community of others of similar persuasion but also an individual's decision that they would devote themselves to God, forsaking all others for the rest of eternity. Services for all ordinands, from parish priests to monks and anchorites to nuns, were covered by Pontificals. Ordination was an 'endowment of the Holy Spirit', allowing God to work via those who were ordained.⁹²⁵ Ordination occurred at particular times of the year: Saturday in the third week of Advent, Saturday of the first week of Lent, the vigil of Trinity, and Saturday after the octave of the Virgin's Nativity; *in extremis*, ordination could also occur on the Saturdays before Passion Sunday or Easter.⁹²⁶

⁹²² DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.179. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fols.182. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.302v-303r. YML XI.F.26, fols.177. *First*, pp.278-279.

⁹²³ No chrisom cloth was offered if the child died in the first month of life, as it was used as the infant's winding sheet instead. Cressy, p.126.

⁹²⁴ Brightman and MacKenzie, p.166. Cressy, pp.118, 120.

⁹²⁵ W.K. Firminger, 'The Ordinal', in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.628.

⁹²⁶ Heath, p.13.

Candidates for priesthood were presented as a group. The traditional service for the making of clerics was composed of a preface, blessing, antiphon, Psalm, prayers for the cleric, prayer for the shaving of a beard, another antiphon, Psalm, and concluding prayer.⁹²⁷ Ostiarii (doorkeepers, or the lowest of clerics) were invested with keys, readers and exorcists were invested with their requisite books, acolytes were given candles, subdeacons chalices and patens, while deacons were offered the Gospel-book. Pontificals could also include the services for consecrating a bishop, an archbishop, and the Pope. Monastic communities were created with specific instructions – abbots and abbesses were consecrated and blessed by the bishop and the veiling of nuns was another episcopal function.⁹²⁸

The most decisive change to this situation was contingent upon the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536, resulting in the disbanding of all monastic communities and rendering at least half of the services of ordination pointless. But priests were still needed for all of the churches and chapels that remained. Though intractable reformer Simon Fish wildly claimed that there were upwards of 52,000 parish churches in the Tudor period, modern calculations estimate there were approximately 9000, each to be served by the requisite number of clergy.⁹²⁹ While “reformed” monks, nuns, and priests on the Continent who had left their convents often got married, those in England were not originally released from their vows of chastity and consequently could not marry.⁹³⁰ The most dramatic change to the priesthood since the Dissolution came with the Edwardian abandonment of the requirement that priests remain celibate.⁹³¹ By 1548, priests were believed to harbour ‘Uncleanness of Living’, not for being with a woman but for being unmarried.⁹³²

Ordination was not officially a part of the first Book of Common Prayer but became the subject of a volume of its own. In March 1549, Grafton printed a new ‘pontifical’ extract that, after

⁹²⁷ H.A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College with an Appendix of Extracts from Other English Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century*. London: Harrison and Sons for Henry Bradshaw Society, 1910. pp.57-58.

⁹²⁸ DUL Cosin V.III.13, fols.61v-69v. BL Add MS 6157, fols.29v-80v. BL Harley MS 561, fols.4r-27v, 41r-48v. BLO Auct. 1 Q 1.26, fols.9v-93r. CUL Inc.3.B.2.26[1220], fols.6v-90r. BLO Auct. Q sup. 2.1, fols.8r-82v. DUL Cosin SA 0142, fols.11r-85v. CUL F150.a.2.5, fols.7v-81v. For these services in English translation, see Arthur Stapylton Barnes, *The Popes and the Ordinal: A Collection of Documents Bearing on the Question of Anglican Orders*. London: Robert Browning, 1896. For priests, pp.75-84. For bishops, pp.85-98.

⁹²⁹ Simon Fish, *A Supplication for the Beggars*, ed. Edward Arber. Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1895. p.4. Heath, p.27.

⁹³⁰ Wriothlesley, p.105. This was a key point in the Act of Six Articles, cf. Redworth, pp.46, 50. Martin Luther, a monk, and his wife, Katharina von Bora, a nun, were just such an example of former religious marrying that reformers wanted to encourage in England. Lyndal Roper, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet*. London: Bodley Head, 2016. p.275.

⁹³¹ *Statutes*, 2/3 Edward VI, c.21, pp.544-545. Moorhouse, p.216.

⁹³² *Statutes*, 2/3 Edward VI, c.21, pp.544-545.

revision by Cranmer and Ridley, became *The Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons*, published in February 1550.⁹³³ Printings of the Book of Common Prayer between 1550 and 1552 sometimes included it; individuals were always offered the possibility of binding the two texts together into one volume.⁹³⁴ The Ordinal was highly conservative – ‘only the expert theologian could detect its difference from the old’.⁹³⁵ The edited service included sections for deacons, priests, and bishops (with modifications for use to install an archbishop). So while some aspects of the ordination and consecration of religious had clear evolutionary roots in the Sarum tradition, other aspects were completely abandoned by the Church of England (particularly as regarded women’s participation in the church, i.e. with the elimination of nunneries) or innovated such as permitting clerical marriage. If one interprets (as reformers did) the limitation of female participation and the elimination of monasticism as being irrelevant for salvation, then their removal makes some sense, as does the retention almost in full of the services for those members of the Church that were required for salvation. The only changes in services kept from the Pontifical and the Ordinal was the use of English and the elimination of the ring being given to a bishop; though the service details meant little to the average churchgoer, a married priest was quite an innovation that could be shocking.⁹³⁶

Coronation

According to the medieval Church, coronation was a quasi-sacramental rite.⁹³⁷ The archbishops and bishops that orchestrated the ceremony followed the protocols of their Pontificals in anointing and crowning the king.⁹³⁸ The coronation of a king required at least two senior bishops to be at each hand of the monarch. The coronation service found in our service books was formed of three parts: 1) vows to the people being ruled, 2) consecration and anointing, and 3) investiture with regalia and the

⁹³³ *STC* (2) 16462. This very rare text was partially transcribed from the Lambeth Palace copy in YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.124-128. Stanley Morison, *English Prayer Books: An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943. p.46. F.E. Brightman, *The English Rite: Being A Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer. Volume I*. London: Rivingtons, 1915. p.cxxx.

⁹³⁴ *First*, p.291.

⁹³⁵ Powicke, p.112.

⁹³⁶ Firminger, p.667.

⁹³⁷ Percy Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. L.G.W. Legg. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937. p.96.

⁹³⁸ BL Add MS 6157, fols.3r-9r. BL Harley MS 561, fols.27v-40v. BLO Auct. 1 Q 1.26, fols.106r-123v. CUL Inc.3.B.2.26[1220], fols.103r-120v. BLO Auct. Q sup. 2.1, fols.82v-96v. DUL Cosin SA 0142, fols.85v-99v. CUL F150.a.2.5, fols.81v-95v.

enthronization.⁹³⁹ The king was to swear his oath to his people, lie prostrate for the length of the Litany, have his hands, arms, chest, and shoulders anointed with holy oil, be presented with his sword and other arms, be crowned, and then be given the sceptre and a rod. Finally he was installed on his throne. The crux of these services (that which made it quasi-sacramental) was the anointing of the monarch with consecrated oil. The service included provision for a queen as well. Depending on the preference and situation of the king, the queen could be crowned on the same day or in a separate ceremony at a later time. Her service included the following elements: the king demanding the coronation of his queen, her blessing, anointing, crowning, acceptance of the sceptre, and an examination.⁹⁴⁰

The English coronation service in BL Harley MS 561, given the manuscript's approximate creation date, likely related to that of Edward IV (1442-1483), and the coronation of a queen to that of his wife, Elizabeth Woodville (c.1437-1492).⁹⁴¹ Similar services were likely used in Henry VIII's lifetime. Katherine of Aragon was crowned at the same time as Henry (24 June 1509) and probably used a service much like Edward and Elizabeth's. Of Henry's other wives, only Anne Boleyn had a coronation; he would have had to call especially for his wife to be crowned, according to the formula set out in our service book examples.⁹⁴² The religious nature of the service was underscored by the frequent use of images depicting the Coronation of the Virgin – this linked a secular event with celestial and religious history.



66-68. Coronation of the Virgin, DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.56v and 61r, and DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.76r

⁹³⁹ L.G. Wickham Legg, 'The Coronation Service', in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.691.

⁹⁴⁰ Wilson, pp.89-98.

⁹⁴¹ BL Harley MS 561, fol.30r.

⁹⁴² Jane Seymour was intended to have a coronation, but in the end she was only proclaimed queen (inconveniently dying before the date set for the service, after it was postponed due to pestilence then her pregnancy). Wriothesley, pp.19, 44.

Edward VI's coronation departed somewhat from the traditional fashion, despite being based on the same rite as was used for his father and grandfather.⁹⁴³ At Henry VIII's coronation, the oath he made had emphasised his duty to keep the laws and customs of his realm, including protecting the laws and privileges of the Church.⁹⁴⁴ At Edward's coronation, the main point of his oath was the preservation of Crown lands and the keeping of laws and customs of the land – so long as such laws and customs were not 'evil'.⁹⁴⁵ At Edward's service, Thomas Cranmer offered a sermon before the official coronation (not its usual placement), highlighting in particular that the coming ritual of anointing the monarch with oil, while previously blessed and considered sacred, would only be done as a symbol of God's decision for Edward to be king. Coronation, Cranmer reminded his young liege, had nothing to do with being God's anointed but was a ceremony; any bishop could perform it, even if it was 'proper to be done by the chiefest'.⁹⁴⁶ While retaining something of its Sarum basis in terms of its outline and emphasis on ceremony and an oath to the people, coronation became a service that was adapted for each incoming monarch, starting with Edward VI. Though previously placed within Pontificals, the coronation service was not included in the Book of Common Prayer, as the average churchgoer did not participate in the service or need the text.

General Impact

Changes to the services of the English church began in earnest in 1534 with the Dispensations Act, when power over dispensations was removed from Rome and given to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Act of Supremacy, placing Henry as the *de facto* head of the Church, the end of the monastic life, and the limits on services for the dead in the Ten Articles paved the way for the 1537 *Bishops' Book* changing the definitions of the sacraments. The 1538 proclamation that had 'unsainted' Thomas Becket resulted in a further mix of stasis and change in tradition. Requiring that parish

⁹⁴³ Nichols, *Vol. I*, p.cclxxviii. Schramm, p.217.

⁹⁴⁴ L.G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co, 1901. p.230.

⁹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.240-241.

⁹⁴⁶ Thomas Cranmer, 'Speech at Edward VI's coronation, 20 February 1547', in Duffield, p.21. Nichols, *Vol. I*, p.xcv. Schramm, p.217.

registers be kept in order to record christenings, marriages, and burials, the proclamation also demanded that traditional sacramental beliefs be upheld.⁹⁴⁷ The

ceremonies of holy bread, holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the Cross, and Easter day, setting up of lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of candles upon the day of the Purification of Our Lady, ceremonies used at the purification of women delivered of child, and offering of their chrisoms

were all under threat from innovators but Henry required that they all be kept because they were not superstitious but salvific.⁹⁴⁸ But once these changes were implemented, Henry seems to have had a change of heart – the 1539 Act of Six Articles and 1540 Act concerning True Opinions reimplemented Henry’s authority over any changes and insisted on private Masses being admissible. The 1543 *King’s Book* returned the sacraments that had been ‘de-sacramentalised’ to their former nature and reinstated prayer for the dead. The sacraments and services of the English Church were further more radically changed when Edward succeeded to the throne. the 1547 abolishing of the Six Articles once again removed the provision of private Masses. The 8 March 1548 Order of Communion moved the English Church into fuller vernacularisation. With the First Act of Uniformity and the production of the BCP followed by the *Form and Manner* resulted in the wholesale adjustment of the services into English, though despite the seeming radicalisation of Edward’s reign, the bones of the Sarum services remained.

The eight services discussed here had been spread across a number of Sarum books; in 1549, they were (mostly) brought between two covers. Daily prayer and the Eucharist were the very bedrock of Christianity, as such they are the first services of the BCP. Of the other occasional services, in the theology of the BCP, only communion and baptism retained their sacramental stature, spiritual comforts to reflect upon while one was dying.⁹⁴⁹ For reformers, confirmation, holy orders, and coronation were not deserving of their (quasi-) sacramental statuses, as there was nothing in Scripture to insist on such necessities.⁹⁵⁰ Marriage and holy orders were not sacraments because

⁹⁴⁷ W.H. Frere and William McClure Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation: Volume II, 1536-1558*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1910. p.40. Houlbrooke, *English*, p.4.

⁹⁴⁸ TRP 186, pp.270-276.

⁹⁴⁹ Thomas Becon, ‘The Sicke Man’s Salve’, in John Ayre, ed., *Prayers and Other Pieces of Thomas Becon, S.T.P., Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1844. p.173.

⁹⁵⁰ Thomas Cranmer, ‘Questions and Answers on Sacraments 1540’, in Duffield, p.27.

they did not signify a promise made by God.⁹⁵¹ The change in sacramental nature, however, was a theological change that the average churchgoer would not have thought or cared about. The similarities between the Sarum services of baptism, confirmation, marriage, purification, admission to holy orders, and coronation, and their counterparts in the Book of Common Prayer and reformed tradition highlighted not only that the essential salvation these services offered could not be eliminated but also that the Sarum tradition had provided a strong evolutionary basis for the services. If one interprets the removal of elements of the Sarum tradition as eliminating anything that was not salvific, then the retention almost in full of many of the Sarum services indicates that they were far more important to the reformed agenda than is generally noted. The most significant of changes in these services was the use of English – this was practical, making the services more understandable to the average churchgoer. The few changes in most of these services were mere reformist drops into the river of the Sarum tradition.

⁹⁵¹ Tyndale, pp.110-111.

9. 'Rules and mechanisms of salvation':⁹⁵² Death and the Afterlife

*dethe ys nothyng elles but a goyng owte off pryson and endyng off exyle...*⁹⁵³

*All that was left of the great number of institutions and rituals concerning the dead was the occasional burning of candles at the burial of a parishioner.*⁹⁵⁴

The early modern assessment that life was 'nasty, brutish, and short' has been commonly extended back to describe the lives of medieval people.⁹⁵⁵ Though in many cases their lives were short, they were not necessarily 'nasty' or 'brutish'. However, the unavoidable reality of death meant that traditions of funeral, burial, and remembrance were frequently exercised. Christianity offered a system for dying with purpose and for survivors to cope with the death of loved ones.⁹⁵⁶ In this chapter, we will examine the rituals of dying and death according to the BCP, then analyse how the Sarum services of the Visitation of the Sick, Extreme Unction, and the Office of the Dead evolved into the reformed versions and what any changes or similarities meant for the average churchgoer.

Dying and Death in the BCP

The services of Visitation of the Sick and Burial of the Dead were found between Matrimony and Purification in the 1549 BCP. The BCP service of the Visitation of the Sick took place at the house of the ill person, beginning with Psalm 143. This was followed by a prayer requesting that the sick person be spared and defended from evil or at least eased into the afterlife. A rehearsal of the articles of faith was succeeded by the process of absolution and forgiveness. The service concluded with the option of anointing on the forehead or breast with an additional prayer for healing or at least pardon and strength and the recitation of Psalm 13. The Communion of the Sick was part of the same office; communion was to be offered as frequently as feasible, especially in times of plague, and when offered in the house of a sick person, it was to be accompanied by Hebrews 12 for the Epistle and John 5 for the Gospel. With prayers further requesting healing or at least comfort, the service

⁹⁵² Peter Marshall, *The Reformation: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. p.42.

⁹⁵³ William Caxton, 'Arte and Crafte of Dying', in David William Atkinson, *The English ars moriendi*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992. p.2.

⁹⁵⁴ Ronald Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations', in Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.122.

⁹⁵⁵ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.89. Myriad examples of this phrase in books on the Middle Ages can be found by entering the search terms of 'nasty brutish and short medieval' into Google Scholar.

⁹⁵⁶ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. p.1.

concluded with Psalm 71 and a further anointing if desired.⁹⁵⁷ The Visitation of the Sick in the BCP used many of the same prayers found in the Sarum service, but anointing was limited – only allowed on the chest or brow at the ill person’s choosing – and no longer carried the same stigma of ‘zombie-ism’ if said person recovered.⁹⁵⁸

The BCP Order for the Burial of the Dead commenced with meeting the corpse at the gate with the option of going into the church or to the grave, severely truncating the Sarum tradition of pre-church provision of prayer for the deceased. Readings from John 11, Job 19, I Timothy 6, and Job 1 were given. While the corpse was readied for interment, Job 9 was read, asking for salvation from eternal death. The priest then cast earth upon the corpse, commending the soul to God and outlining bodily decay. A reading from Apocalypse 14 was followed by further prayers for everlasting life and deliverance from mortal misery. A number of Psalms were now to be read as well as I Corinthians 15. Prayers on Christ’s resurrection and the delivery of souls from Hell and entrance to Heaven at the general resurrection were offered. The communion service at the burial followed, with Psalm 42, a collect, a prayer declaring the hope to be among the saints at the day of Judgement, I Thessalonians 4 for the Epistle, and John 6 for the Gospel.⁹⁵⁹

In some ways, the 1549 BCP was a ‘drastic revision’ of the ceremonies for burying and commemorating the dead.⁹⁶⁰ The major ideological change under the reformers was that the state of one’s soul at the point of death determined whether one was saved or damned – there was no post-mortem opportunity for purgation and eventual redemption.⁹⁶¹ Even if some churchgoers continued to use traditional Sarum language and practices for funeral rituals outside of the church, ecclesiastical

⁹⁵⁷ DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.167r-172v. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fols.170r-175v. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.291v-296v. YML XI.F.26, fols.165r-170v. Church of England, *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, introduction C.S. Gibson. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1910. pp.259-268.

⁹⁵⁸ F.E. Brightman and K.D. MacKenzie, ‘The History of the Book of Common Prayer Down to 1662’, in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.164.

⁹⁵⁹ DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.173r-178v. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fols.176r-181v. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.297r-302r. YML XI.F.26, fols.171r-176v. *First*, pp.269-277.

⁹⁶⁰ J.H. Srawley, ‘The Holy Communion Service’, in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.369. Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642*. Second edition. London: Hodder Arnold, 2003. p.73.

⁹⁶¹ Thomas Becon, ‘The Sicke Man’s Salve’, in John Ayre, ed., *Prayers and Other Pieces of Thomas Becon, S.T.P., Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1844. p.129.

and royal authorities only authorised the Order for the Burial of the Dead.⁹⁶² Where in the past, the corpse had been taken to the church after the washing and dressing in the home, under the new Prayer Book rules, it typically went directly to the grave. Whereas formerly a Requiem Mass had been nearly guaranteed, under the Book of Common Prayer the Mass was optional and only took place after the disposal of the corpse – the body was no longer present or the focus of attention at the Mass. For the average churchgoer, death was no longer about helping the deceased transition to the afterlife and prevent extended torture in Purgatory. Instead, it was more focussed on using the deceased as a reminder to be a good Christian before one's own death.

Dying and Death in the Sarum Tradition

At each fresh death with which one came into contact, one was reminded to contemplate one's own end; preparing for one's death started with one's birth.⁹⁶³ In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, some adults died from natural causes at a late age, ever hopeful of reaching their Biblical 'threescore years and ten' or beyond.⁹⁶⁴ But to reach that goal, one had to be born, alive and healthy, and make it to church for one's baptism.⁹⁶⁵ Death during pregnancy and childbirth was so common that Sarum Missals contained Masses to be said especially for a woman's protection and safe delivery of child.⁹⁶⁶ After birth, accidents were a continual threat; as noted in the exhortation to godparents, children needed to be kept from falling into the hearth at home, under a horse in the road, or into a well while fetching water.⁹⁶⁷ Death from disease affected all ages and both sexes, the most feared pathogen being plague. The ravages of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century had not been forgotten by the 1500s: Sarum Missals continued to provide Masses against plague in the hopes that

⁹⁶² In learned evangelical circles, volumes of memorial poetry came to replace other forms of remembrances. Richard Rex, 'The Role of English Humanists in the Reformation up to 1559', in N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree, and Henk van Nierop, eds., *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. p.

⁹⁶³ Desiderius Erasmus, 'Preparation to Deathe', in David William Atkinson, *The English ars moriendi*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992. p.46. Houlbrooke, *Death*, p.57. J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450-c.1600*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964. p.235.

⁹⁶⁴ 'The dayes of oure age are thre score yeares and ten'. Psalm 90: B, *Great Bible*, 1540. Miles Coverdale, as mentioned in Chapter Six, managed four score and one.

⁹⁶⁵ Donald Mowbray, *Pain and Suffering in Medieval Theology: Academic Debates at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009. p.100.

⁹⁶⁶ DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.217r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fols.296v-297r. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fols.290v-291r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fols.275.

⁹⁶⁷ DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fol.39r. See also Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. p.177.

the service would protect a community from the devastating disease.⁹⁶⁸ Plague outbreaks in England occurred in 1513 and 1543; the sweating-sickness was widespread in 1507/8, 1517, and 1551 – fear of death from such diseases seemingly increased displays of piety, if only temporarily.⁹⁶⁹ The desire of the average churchgoer to avoid unexpected death was reflected in Sarum Missals by Masses specifically said to protect against the phenomenon.⁹⁷⁰

Purgatory

The doctrines and practices of medieval Christianity provided a road-map to heavenly salvation, with death merely a weigh-station on the way to one's afterlife; it was an eschatological religion, stressing the four last things of death, judgement, Heaven, and Hell.⁹⁷¹ In this tradition, fear of death was, in truth, a fear for the state of one's soul.⁹⁷² From the twelfth century onwards, Purgatory became Heaven's waiting room, where souls were purged of their sins so that they might be made fit to enter Heaven.⁹⁷³ The simplest way in which to live well, and to decrease one's time in Purgatory, was to engage in daily prayer. This idea underpinned Books of Hours, allowing the average churchgoer to pray his or her way to a better afterlife.⁹⁷⁴ In addition to prayer, good works and gifts were believed to offset one's purgatorial punishment.⁹⁷⁵ The predominant depiction of Purgatory in late medieval England was of torments similar to those of Hell, just temporary; images were replete with boiling cauldrons, leaping flames, and other tortures.⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁶⁸ Hence the Masses of SS Roch and Sebastian (discussed in Chapter Seven). DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fols.224r-225r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.307v. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fols.285r-286v. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fols.301v-302v.

⁹⁶⁹ Houlbrooke, *Death*, pp.11-12, 75.

⁹⁷⁰ DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fol.211r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.288v. BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fol.86v. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fol.267r. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fol.282v. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, fol.259r. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fol.244r.

⁹⁷¹ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996. p.24. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p.1. Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England: 1066-1550*. London: Routledge, 1997. p.20. Edelgard E. DuBruck, 'Introduction', in Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick, eds., *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*. Canterbury: Peter Lang, 1999. p.2.

⁹⁷² Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1952. p.31. Thomas Lupset, 'Waye of Dyenge Well', in David William Atkinson, *The English ars moriendi*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992. p.77. Blench, p.236.

⁹⁷³ The general subject of Mowbray and of Jacques LeGoff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981 – see especially pp.41, 56. Houlbrooke, *Death*, p.34. The Biblical precedents assigned for Purgatory were II Maccabees 12:39-45, Matthew 12:32, and I Corinthians 3:11-15; referring to: the benefits of prayer by the living for the dead and offering of sacrifices on behalf of the dead, the nature of the world to come, and the saving power of fire, respectively.

⁹⁷⁴ Kempis, p.108. Helen C. White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*. Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951. p.14.

⁹⁷⁵ Jacques LeGoff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*. London: University of Chicago Press, 1980. p.38.

⁹⁷⁶ Binski, p.194. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.92v. Daniell, *Death*, p.11.



69. Purgatorial suffering, DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.92v

Good Versus Bad Deaths

Of all of the ways that one could die, doing so unexpectedly and without Extreme Unction was most feared when it came to the state of one's soul.⁹⁷⁷ Medieval Christianity developed protective measures against 'bad deaths'.⁹⁷⁸ Praying in front of an image of St Christopher or witnessing the Elevation of the Host were believed to prevent one from dropping dead that day.⁹⁷⁹ One key method of protection was found in the series of tracts called *ars moriendi*. Written by traditionalists and reformers alike, these proliferated in the late Middle Ages, defining and outlining what an individual needed to do in order to 'die well'.⁹⁸⁰ Examples of good deaths were both historic (such as the Virgin's Dormition) and recent: Henry VII and Margaret Beaufort were cases in point – Henry as the penitent sinner and Margaret as the liver of an exemplary life.⁹⁸¹

⁹⁷⁷ John Shinnars, ed., *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader*. Second edition. Plymouth: University of Toronto Press, 2009. p.324.

⁹⁷⁸ Charles Harris, 'Visitation of the Sick: Unction, Imposition of Hands, and Exorcism', in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.537. A.S. Duncan-Jones, 'The Burial of the Dead', in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.616. Daniell, *Death*, pp.38, 40.

⁹⁷⁹ Shinnars, p.324. Daniell, *Death*, pp.32, 35. D.M. Hadley, *Death in Medieval England: An Archaeology*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2001. pp.71, 161. R.N. Swanson, 'Problems of the Priesthood in Pre-Reformation England', in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 417. (October) 1990. p.858.

⁹⁸⁰ David William Atkinson, *The English ars moriendi*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992. *passim*. Donald F. Duclow, 'Dying Well: The *Ars moriendi* and the Dormition of the Virgin', in Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick, eds., *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*. Canterbury: Peter Lang, 1999. p.379.

⁹⁸¹ Duclow, p.379. Houlbrooke, *Death*, pp.151-152.

By the thirteenth century, the quantity and duration of punishment in Purgatory had become of utmost concern to the average churchgoer.⁹⁸² Indulged prayers were produced as broadsheets to be tacked up in churches, as slips of paper or parchment for distribution, or as integrated with prayers in Books of Hours.⁹⁸³ Indulgences in *Horae* typically had two purposes: to reduce the user's time in Purgatory or to reduce the purgatorial sentence of a friend or relative. Rubrics in Sarum Books of Hours, such as the following, highlighted prayers that contained indulgences to reduce one's own sentence: 'Our holy father Bonifacius pope of Rome hath graunted vnto all them that say deuoutly thys prayer. hondred days of pardon'⁹⁸⁴ and: 'Celestinus the pope hat graunted to all them that deuoutly saye thys prayer in the honour and worshyp of our blessyd lady iii hondred days of pardon'.⁹⁸⁵ Other examples were more complex in explaining what one had to do in order to obtain the benefit. Here:

Our holy father the pope Sixtus hath grau[n]ted at the instance of the hyghe moost et excellent princesse Elyzabeth late qwene of englonde et wyfe to our souuerayne lyege lorde kynge Henri the seuenth. god have mercy on her swete soule et all cristien soules that euery day i[n] the mornynge after .iii. tollynges of the aue bell say .iii. tymes the hoole salutacyon of our lady. Aue Maria g. that is to say at .vi. the cloke in the mornynge .iii. Aue Maria. at .xii. the cloke at none .iii. Aue Maria gratia. and at .vi. the cloke at eve[n] for euery tyme so doynge is graunted of the spirituall tresour of holy chyrche .iii. C. dayes of pardon totiens quotie[n]s. And also our holy father the archebyssshop of Ca[n]torbery & yorke with other .ix. bysshoppes of this reame haue grau[n]ted .iii. tymes in the day .xl. days of pardon to all them that be in the state of grace able to receue pardo[n] the whyche begon[n]e the .xxvi. day of marche. Anno .M.xxxxvii. an[n]o He[n]rici .vii. And the summe of the indulgence & pardon for euery Aue Maria gratia. viii. hondred days & .lx. totie[n]s quotiens. Thys prayer shall be sayde at the tollynge of the aue bell.⁹⁸⁶

The complexity of the order of prayer would result in a higher rate of return in terms of remission from Purgatory. Another example is:

To all the[m] that be in the state of grace that daily say deuoutly this prayer before our blessyd lady of pitie she wyll shewe them her blessyd vysage [and] warne them the daye et the owre of dethe| et in theyr laste ende the aungelles of god shall yelde theyr sowles to heue[n]| [and] he shall obteyne v hondred yeres [and] soo many lentes of pardon graunted by v. holy fathers popes of Rome.⁹⁸⁷

⁹⁸² Binski, p.186.

⁹⁸³ R.N. Swanson, 'Prayer and Participation in Late Medieval England', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Elite and Popular Religion*. Studies in Church History, 42. Woodbridge: Boydell Press for EHS, 2006. p.130.

⁹⁸⁴ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.57r. Christopher Wordsworth, ed., *Horae Eboracenses: The Prymer or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, According to the Use of the Illustrious Church of York*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1920. p.138.

⁹⁸⁵ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.58v.

⁹⁸⁶ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.59.

⁹⁸⁷ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.53v.

However, a second form of indulgence allowed the prayer to count towards the purgatorial sentence of one's deceased family member or friend, as in the following:

These be the xv oos the whyche the holy v[ir]gyn sai[n]t Brygitta was wounte to say dayly before the holy rode in saint Paules chyrche at Rome: who so say this a hole yere he shall deleuer. xv. soules out of purgatory of hys nexte ki[n]dred. a[n]d [con]uerte other xv synners to gode lyf a[n]d other xv ryghtuouse me[n] of hys kynde shall p[er]seuer i[n] gode lyfe. And whas ye desyre of god ye shall haue it| y it be to the saluacyo[n] of your sowle.⁹⁸⁸

An individual could thus help to save sinners, preserve the righteous, and protect the souls of his family from Purgatory. By using this aspect of Books of Hours, men and women were constantly reminded of their own inevitable demise through the remembrance of deceased family members and praying for souls languishing in Purgatory.

Images of Death

Depictions of death within the Sarum books underlined its inescapable nature. Images of the Virgin Mary's Dormition often prefaced the service of Compline, emphasising the ideal death of one (supposedly) without sin – not death as such, but slipping away peacefully in the night.⁹⁸⁹ Other depictions of Death used as headers for the Office of the Dead illustrated a skeletonised corpse approaching his victim with a dart, a predecessor to the modern 'Grim Reaper'. Some were 'snatched away' while in company, but others are found confronting Death alone. Images of Death and his intended victim unaccompanied underscored the notion that, even if one was surrounded by family and friends, one was alone at the time of death. As many of these images also featured individuals along a road, the implication was that death would visit at some point during life's journey.

⁹⁸⁸ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.64r.

⁹⁸⁹ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.49r, 140r. Caxton, 'Arte', p.12. Erasmus, 'Preparation', p.38. Duclow, p.395.



70. Death with his dart, University of Iowa, Book of Hours, xMMs.Bo6, fol.94r

Other images accompanying the Office of the Dead showed the *danse macabre*, or Dance of Death, in which skeletons led their victims (from every walk of life) to their doom; such depictions often alternated presenting ecclesiastical and secular individuals and sometimes even women.⁹⁹⁰ The focus of these types of images was that death visits all – but each victim is still alone at the end.



71 and 72. Dance of Death, University of Iowa, BX 2080.A2 1502, fols.55v, 56r

The legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead enjoyed wide currency in England as elsewhere. In this legend, three young men (or kings or powerful leaders) were riding in the forest, only to come across three skeletons (or three bodies in various stages of decomposition) who inform

⁹⁹⁰ This theme was more common on the Continent than in England. Daniell, *Death*, p.69. DuBruck, p.7.

them that what the deceased are now, the men soon will be.⁹⁹¹ Known from sources as early as the end of the thirteenth century, such scenes in our books typically took the form to two facing images at the beginning of the Office of the Dead.⁹⁹² Unlike the Dance of Death, which focused on the equalising nature of death, the Three Living and the Three Dead emphasised death's inevitability and the transience of earthly pleasures, and was meant to foster reflection on one's own end.⁹⁹³ Interestingly, death is implied as less lonely by the use of the collective pronoun 'we' in the accompanying poems. The average churchgoer encountering such images would have taken the opportunity to prepare for their own death as they commemorated the passing of another.



73 and 74. DUL Bambergh Select. 22, fols.80v-81r

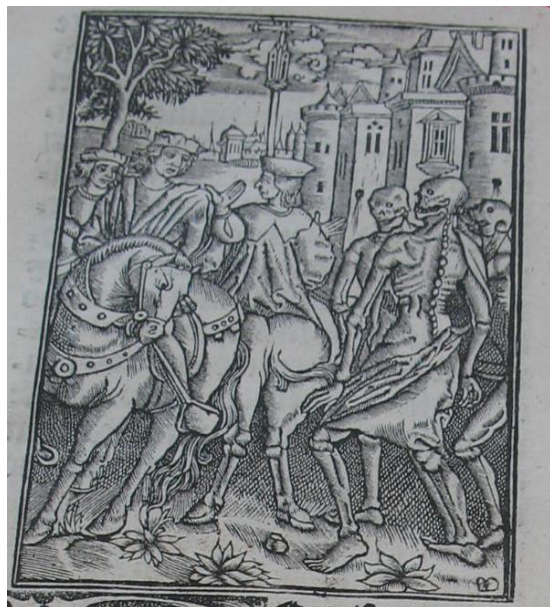


75 and 76. DUL Bambergh Select. 46, fols.126v-127r

⁹⁹¹ Shinnars, p.513. Lawrence R. Poos, 'Social History and the Book of Hours', in Roger S. Wieck, ed., *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*. New York: George Braziller, 1988. p.38.

⁹⁹² DUL Bambergh Select .22, fols.77v-78r. DUL Bambergh Select .46, fols.125v-126r. A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963. p.45.

⁹⁹³ Binski, pp.149-150.



77. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fol.300v



78. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fol.294v



79. On the right are three skeletons; the left, where the shadow of a hat can be seen, likely depicted three men.

Haddon Hall chapel, Derbyshire

Preparing for Imminent Death

When the stages of approaching death were visible and known, a priest was requested to attend to the Last Rites: a final confession, one last communion, and the administration of Extreme Unction.⁹⁹⁴

Some Sarum Books of Hours illustrated Extreme Unction for the month of December and/or as part of the Office of the Dead.⁹⁹⁵ In these images, the dying person was usually lying in bed, being

⁹⁹⁴ Hadley, p.71. Roger S. Wieck, 'The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral', in Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick, eds., *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*. Canterbury: Peter Lang, 1999. p.435.

⁹⁹⁵ DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.9v.

administered to by the priest, with family and friends in the background.⁹⁹⁶ Demons under the bed were granted the souls of those who were not contrite or failed to confess at their passing, while angels above would take those who had been devout and piously confessed their last sins.⁹⁹⁷



80. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.15v 81. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.91v 82. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.95v



83. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fol.9v 84. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.139v 85. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fol.144r

The Sarum service for visiting the sick began with the seven Penitential Psalms, before continuing with the peace, offering a Crucifix for adoration, sprinkling the sick person with water before anointing, with prayers being said over the sick person all the while. Questions based on the articles of faith were asked of the sick person to ensure that they were in faith and charity with everyone before the priest heard their confession and gave absolution; further prayers and the kissing

⁹⁹⁶ DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.92v. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p.46.

⁹⁹⁷ Daniell, *Death*, p.40.

of the cross followed.⁹⁹⁸ The Sarum service of Extreme Unction, said if the sick person's condition deteriorated, comprised the *Salvator mundi*, Psalm 70, a prayer led by priest, and the making of crosses in oil on the eyes, lips, nose, hands, feet, and back or navel of the sick person accompanied by various Psalms, after which the priest washed his hands and burned the cloth used for drying.

Another prayer followed, Psalm 140 was spoken, and a final prayer offered before questions were asked about the beliefs of the dying person (whether the sacrament was the body and blood of Christ, faith and good works were sufficient for salvation, Christ preserved body and soul in everlasting life, plus whether the recipient felt truly contrite and accepting of his death), followed by further Psalms, prayers, and blessings. The office ended here if the person was likely to die very soon, but otherwise continued with another Psalm and prayer.⁹⁹⁹ The family and possibly the priest would then sit with the dying person until the final death rattle.

Death and Those Left Behind

Once a human crossed from the living to the dead, dealing with the fleshly remains of the deceased was the most immediate task. Services relating to the dead, as found in Books of Hours, began with the Vigil as the family stayed with the body through the night. The Vigil of the Dead was made up of various Psalms and antiphons, the *Magnificat*, the censing of the corpse, further Psalms, prayers, obsequies, a series of readings from Job (7:16-21, 10:1-7, 10:8-12), further Psalms and readings from Job (13:23-28, 14:1-6, 14:13-16), a third series of Psalms and readings from Job (17:1-3/11-15, 19:20-27, 10:18-22), then a final series of Psalms and prayers plus repetitions of the Kyrie.¹⁰⁰⁰ This process allowed family members time to come to terms with the death of their loved one, while also ensuring that nothing untoward happened to the body before burial.¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁸ A. Jeffries Collins, *Manuale ad Usum Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis: From the Edition Printed at Rouen in 1543 compared with those of 1506 (London), 1516 (Rouen), 1523 (Antwerp), 1526 (Paris)*. Volume 91. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1960. pp.97-107. Daniell, *Death*, p.34.

⁹⁹⁹ CCCPL EP.H.10, fols.58v-67r. CUL Syn.7.52.25, fols.106v-122r. SJCUL T.9.53, fols.102v-121r. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fols.87r-103r. Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3, fols.99v-118v. DUL Cosin V.III.21, fols.20v-32v. BL Add MS 30506, fols.45r-66r. BL Stowe MS 13, fols.42r-61r. Collins, pp.107-118. Muir, p.155.

¹⁰⁰⁰ DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fols.72r-102v. DUL Add MS 1650, fols.88r-110v. DUL Bamburgh Select .20, fols.118r-140v. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fols.80v-110v. DUL Bamburgh Select .46, fols.126v-163v. DUL Cosin V.V.5, fols.64r-80v. DUL Routh SB 2090, fols.62r-85v. Ushaw MS 16, fols.63r-110v. Daniell, *Death*, p.42. Collins, pp.132-142.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700*. London: Longman, 1984. p.203. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*. Abridged edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979. p.88.

Funerals were generally structured in four parts: 1) procession of the corpse from the house to the church, 2) prayers and readings in church, 3) the Requiem Mass, and 4) burial – prayers at the grave were at the discretion of the officiating priest.¹⁰⁰² The body was brought into the church – the arrangement of the coffin was often depicted in the Office of the Dead of the Sarum books. At this point, the corpse was prepared for the Mass for the Dead.¹⁰⁰³



86. DUL Add MS 1650, fol.88r

87. DUL Bamburgh Select .22, fol.90v

88. DUL Bamburgh Select. 46, fol.138v

At the end of the Requiem Mass, the pall-bearers took the coffin to the churchyard for burial. The priest would say further prayers and the body would be interred. Bodies were expected to be interred in consecrated ground – a parish churchyard or urban graveyard with mortuary chapel.¹⁰⁰⁴

Following the disposal of the body, the soul rather than the flesh was the concern of the deceased's family and friends. Ideally, mourners would continue praying for the deceased using the Office of the Dead. The Office of the Dead (never abbreviated in Books of Hours) was formed of two sections: Vespers (the Placebo) and Matins and Lauds (the Dirige).¹⁰⁰⁵ The Placebo (Psalm 116),

¹⁰⁰² Duncan-Jones, p.619. Wieck, 'Death', p.434.

¹⁰⁰³ BLO Auct. Q. sup.2.1, fols.224r-227v. DUL Cosin SA 0142, fols.227r-330r. CUL F150.a.2.5, fols.223r-226v. Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8, fols.253v-258r. BLO Auct.1.Q.1.26, fols.293r-298r. CUL Inc.3.B.2.26[1220], fols.290r-295r. DUL Bamburgh Select .15, fols.219r-224r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fols.300v-307r. BCLLR UB/S 11 97, fols.200r-203r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3, fols.278v-283r. DUL Routh SB+ 0084, fols.294v-301r. Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1, fols.270v-276v. CCCPL EP.H.10, fols.67r-103v. CUL Syn.7.52.25, fols.122v-187r. SJCUL T.9.53, fols.121r-180r. DUL Bamburgh Select .21, fols.103r-155r. Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3, fols.118v-184v. BL Stowe MS 13, fols.62r-119r. BL Add MS 30506, fols.66r-123v. DUL Cosin V.III.21, fols.32v-68v.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Hadley, p.44. The service for the separation of lepers was similar to that of burial – they were led from the church and made to stand in a grave while dirt was chucked at them before they were sent to live elsewhere – p.57. See SJCUL T.9.53, fols.195v-197r.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Henry Littlehales, *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co, 1895. p.xx. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. p.210. Eamon Duffy, 'Elite and Popular Religion: the Book of Hours and Lay Piety in the Later Middle Ages', in Kate

Dirige (Psalm 5), Miserere (Psalm 51), and Benedictus Dominus (Psalm 144) were an integral part.¹⁰⁰⁶ Readings from the Gospels concerning Christ's Passion, from Job, and various Psalms were commonly included in tracts used to prepare for death.¹⁰⁰⁷ Bequeathing Books of Hours to family members encouraged the perpetuation of prayers for one's soul by giving a family member the tool with which so to do.¹⁰⁰⁸ Another method of requesting prayer was through the commissioning of Requiem Masses. These were particularly favoured by royalty and nobility who could request that all those over whom they had ruled should pray for them.¹⁰⁰⁹ Masses were frequently offered on the third, ninth, and thirtieth days after death and on the yearly anniversary.¹⁰¹⁰ The provisions of Henry VIII's will dictated that perpetual Masses be said.¹⁰¹¹ Wealthier families might have invested in a *trental*, a set of thirty Masses on thirty consecutive days or thirty Masses to be said on one day.¹⁰¹² Middling families, unable to fund a separate Mass, might offer a donation to a priest to include the name of the deceased in the prayers for the dead for that day as a token of remembrance.¹⁰¹³ In the Sarum tradition, the focus of rituals surrounding dying and death was on the health of the soul and the participation in activities during life to reduce one's own time in Purgatory and that of one's ancestors. The average churchgoer was likely to participate in the Visitation services for family and close friends, and in the burial service whenever required by family, neighbours, and others.

Reformation and the Afterlife – A New (Under) World?

Of great concern to reformers was the doctrine of Purgatory. Reformers believed that Masses for the dead, pardons, and 'such other baggage' like *trentals* and pilgrimages designed to deliver a soul from

Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Elite and Popular Religion*. Studies in Church History, 42. Woodbridge: Boydell Press for EHS, 2006. p.154. Wieck, 'Death', p.432. Daniell, *Death*, p.4.

¹⁰⁰⁶ BL Add MS 30506, begins on fol.70v. G.H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*. London: Phoenix House, 1947. p.10. Binski, p.53.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Gospel readings found in DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37, fols.114r-122r and DUL Cosin SB+ 0059, fols.80r-88v. Becon, pp.174, 180. Roger S. Wieck, 'The Book of Hours,' in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, eds. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. pp.488-490. Binski, p.53.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Hadley, p.79.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Daniell, *Death*, p.14.

¹⁰¹⁰ Duncan-Jones, p.622. Daniell, *Death*, p.61. Cook, p.9.

¹⁰¹¹ G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*. London: Yale University Press, 2005. p.238.

¹⁰¹² Daniell, *Death* p.51.

¹⁰¹³ Daniell, *Death* pp.17-19. Cook, p.4.

Purgatory were part of the idolatrousness of the Church and contrary to the word of God.¹⁰¹⁴ The most vigorous argument against Purgatory was its lack of Biblical support; II Maccabees 12:40-45 emphasised the goodness of prayers for the dead but mentioned nothing about pardons; nor did it name this middle place or specify what its punishments were.¹⁰¹⁵ Reformers complained that Purgatory was a form of covetousness by the Roman Church, of wanting control not just over the living but over the dead; it was an invention to bilk the masses, as surely no one would need any further expiation other than Christ's blood.¹⁰¹⁶

A harbinger of doom for the doctrine of Purgatory in England was the Dissolution of the Monasteries.¹⁰¹⁷ Monks had been responsible for many of the obsequies that were expected to ensure souls made their way through Purgatory and into Heaven.¹⁰¹⁸ With the suppression of religious houses, care for souls was left to priests and laypeople. However, mindful of the attachment of many English people to the idea of Purgatory, in early 1536, Henry, the 'absolute sovereign in spiritual as in temporal matters', allowed it to remain as a concept.¹⁰¹⁹ Convocation's Ten Articles of 1536 rejected the name of Purgatory but not the doctrine behind it, and even according to the reformer Hugh Latimer, prayer for the dead was acceptable (though for him all other commemoration of the dead was pointless).¹⁰²⁰ While Purgatory might have been only partially denounced by religious and government officials, the practice of endowing Masses and other forms of religious giving started to decrease in the second half of the 1530s, in part owing to concerns about the longevity of any bequests, given the dissolution and plunder of monasteries.¹⁰²¹ And yet, at the death of Jane Seymour

¹⁰¹⁴ Thomas Cranmer, 'A Confutation of Unwritten Verities', in John Edmund Cox, ed., *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1847. p.63. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. p.51.

¹⁰¹⁵ Bernard, p.286. David M. Loades, 'Rites of Passage and the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552', in Michael Wilks, ed., *Prophecy and Eschatology*. Studies in Church History, Subsidia, Volume 10. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994. p.207. Supporters argued that there was no reason not to believe in Purgatory just because it was not named so in the Bible – the word Trinity was not found in Scripture either. Blench, p.248.

¹⁰¹⁶ Thomas Cranmer, 'Homily of Good Works', in Cox, p.148. William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed. David Daniell. London: Penguin Books, 2000. p.91. Simon Fish, *A Supplication for the Beggars*, ed. Edward Arber. Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1895. p.10. J.J. Packer, 'Introduction', in G.E. Duffield, ed., *The Work of Thomas Cranmer: The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics*. Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964. p.xxvi.

¹⁰¹⁷ Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution*. London: Harvard University Press, 1979. p.94.

¹⁰¹⁸ Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. p.23.

¹⁰¹⁹ LP X 752. Though this was not satisfactory to those involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace, LP XII 1, 70.

¹⁰²⁰ Duffy, *SotA*, p.391, 393.

¹⁰²¹ Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. p.70.

in October 1537, despite the opening salvos against monastic institutions, Henry VIII ordered 1200 Requiem Masses for her.¹⁰²² The idea of Purgatory remained in the Act of Six Articles of 1539, and the *King's Book* in 1543 tentatively re-endorsed the doctrine behind it, but only insofar as to say that Masses should be said for the dead in general but not for any specific soul – in both cases, the term of Purgatory was abandoned.¹⁰²³ The bidding of the beads was maintained as a way to pray for the whole Church; the quick and the dead were not separated.¹⁰²⁴ While the 1545 King Henry's Primer removed indulgences, images of death, and statements concerning Purgatory, the Dirige remained with many of the Psalms and Biblical readings that had been used in the Sarum tradition. A further section named the Commendations also included Psalms about living a good life and how sin would be punished. The physical handling of the dead was still done in a relatively traditional manner at the end of Henry VIII's reign.

With the accession of Edward VI, the Dissolution of the Chantries that had been mooted under Henry was fully enacted and proceeded to eliminate the last provision of Masses for the soul.¹⁰²⁵ According to the act, superstition and error had been imposed upon the English people through beliefs such as Purgatory and the use of masses for the dead. In the past, parishioners had been encouraged to think about worldly ways to protect their souls: giving alms, buying pardons, going on pilgrimages, funding *trentals* and satisfactory masses, decking images, offering candles, and giving to friars; all of these were deemed 'blind devotions' to be eliminated.¹⁰²⁶ Rather than spending money on *trentals*, chantries, and other prayers after death, funds ought to be transferred to the creation of grammar schools and for the provision of the poor and needy.¹⁰²⁷ Yet, despite changes to the rituals surrounding death, the idea of good or bad death remained. Reformist tracts on death emphasised that life was a 'short pilgrimage' so loving one's worldly goods was bad; money should

¹⁰²² Richard Rex, 'The Religion of Henry VIII', in *The Historical Journal*. Volume 57, No. 1, 2014.

¹⁰²³ Hutton, p.118. Haigh, *Reformations*, p.163. Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.50.

¹⁰²⁴ Thomas Cranmer, 'Bidding Beads 1534', in Cox, p.460.

¹⁰²⁵ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Christianity in England from Roman Times to the Reformation: Volume III: 1384-1558*. London: SCM Press, 2001. p.241. Cook, p.59. Kreider, p.1. C.S.L. Davies, *Peace, Print, and Protestantism 1450-1558*. London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1986. p.220.

¹⁰²⁶ Thomas Cranmer, 'Visitation Articles for Second Year of Edward VI', in Cox, p.157.

¹⁰²⁷ *Statutes*, 1 Edward VI, c.14, pp.499-517. Kreider, pp.186-187.

be used to forgive others' debts, support education, and pay for sermons.¹⁰²⁸ These sorts of provisions could help ensure a good death. And despite all of the polemic against Purgatory, some provision for the dead remained: while the new Litany prayed for the hierarchy of Christ's Church, the Church of England and Ireland, the royal family, the governing bodies, and the weal of the realm; at the end, the dead were included (though as a group).¹⁰²⁹

The Reformation and the Book of Common Prayer represented a shift in attitudes towards the dead and in their memorialisation. There was minimal memorialisation of the dead under the Book of Common Prayer regime, no expectation of a daily round of prayers for the dead. The focus shifted from remembrance of the deceased to using the death of someone to remind oneself that self-reliance was the maintenance mechanism of a healthy soul. No longer were the dead commemorated, functioning as an unseen but continuing presence in everyone's lives. Matins and Evensong did not specify any prayers for the dead (the latter merely mentioned the dead in three verses at the end of the service, in reference to the death and resurrection of Christ).¹⁰³⁰ The dead were disposed of in the ground and left to God, with only brief official remembrances on All Souls' Day. Mention of the dead in the BCP was otherwise limited to the Collect for All Saints' Day, a prayer not for souls in Purgatory, but rather a reminder that one ought to mimic the lives of those who were in Heaven.¹⁰³¹ In sum, the Book of Common Prayer exhibited the least evidence for the continuation of traditional Sarum practices around the death, burial, and memorialisation of loved ones; the continuity of corpse disposal and Biblical material represents the barest of shadows of Sarum influence on the BCP service. But while the average churchgoer did not see as much commemoration of the dead in church, the option of anointing during the Visitation and of individual prayer for one's relatives allowed most English people to maintain their personal comforts outside of church.

¹⁰²⁸ Becon, pp.91, 117-119. See Ryrie, *Gospel*, pp.123-126 for Becon's writing style as a reformer.

¹⁰²⁹ *TRP* 287, pp.393-403.

¹⁰³⁰ DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.13r-18r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fols.13r-19v. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.152r-157v. YML XI.F.26, fols.13r-16r. *First*, pp.21-31.

¹⁰³¹ DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56, fols.133r-135r. DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1, fols.135r-136r. YML XI.F.21(1-7), fols.259r-260r. YML XI.F.26, fols.132r-133r. *First*, pp.209-211.

10. 'Too fair-minded for the violent and bitter spirit of the age':¹⁰³² Concluding Remarks

*Gone is the sad expiation over transience, and the vanity of life; gone is the morbid preoccupation with old age, death and decay; but gone too is the loving contemplation of the Passion, and in large measure also the expectant raptures over heaven.*¹⁰³³

*The minister who stressed Bible-reading to a largely illiterate congregation, who denigrated the cycle of fast and feast linked to the harvest year, who replaced active ritual with tedious sermons to pew-bound parishioners, and who refused to supply the protective magic for this world and the next was naturally less popular than his priestly predecessor.*¹⁰³⁴

Very rarely does something come from nothing; as Augustine and Darwin noted, the evolution of something seemingly new generally comes from outside forces working on an existent base.

Histories of the English Reformation conventionally acknowledge the influence of the Continental reformers above the Sarum tradition in the development of the Church of England. The origin of this thesis was therefore in the question: how far was the 1549 edition of the Book of Common Prayer an evolution of the foregoing Sarum tradition?

As noted in Chapter One, much literature about the 1549 Book of Common Prayer treats it as a strictly 'Protestant' text, above all when talking about it in light of its descendants of 1552, 1559, and 1662. Though as discussed previously some scholars have offered a more balanced view of the 1549 BCP as having a dual origin in reformist and traditionalist sources, until the present work no codicological evidence has been presented concerning where and in what ways the conservative influence from the Sarum tradition could be seen. In Chapter Two, we examined thirty-six Sarum texts and Books of Common Prayer. This allowed us to form a baseline impression of what Sarum Books of Hours, Manuals, Missals, and Pontificals offered to the average churchgoer and what material was then present in the Book of Common Prayer. In Chapter Three, we investigated the religious changes imposed by the laws of the realm from the era of Wycliffe up to the year 1549 in Edward VI's reign, and concentrating in the reign of Henry VIII. In conjunction with the bibliographical descriptions of our case studies, we used the chronological discussion of religious

¹⁰³² Percy Dearmer, *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book*. London: A.R. Mowbray and Co, 1912. p.73.

¹⁰³³ J.W. Blech, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450-c.1600*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964. p.263.

¹⁰³⁴ Christopher Haigh, 'Anticlericalism and the English Reformation', in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.73.

changes as reflected in Parliamentary acts and royal proclamations to determine that the Sarum influence remained in law even as the religious culture of England evolved.

In Chapter Four, this thesis considered how the growth of the printing industry of England impacted how and by whom Sarum liturgical material and, later, the BCP was produced. The ground-breaking preliminary visualisation of the web of links that connected English printers not only one to another but also to colleagues on the Continent illustrated the extensive but interconnected nature of the printing of Sarum material. Though several of the same printers who produced Sarum material were still producing the BCP, the monopolisation of service book printing imposed by Henry VIII and maintained by Edward VI reduced the footprint of Continental printers in England. But despite the change to location of printing, the methods remained the same – most crucially the continued use of decorative and historiated initials as navigational tools despite evangelical tendencies to remove all images under a strict reading of the Ten Commandments.

With the understanding that the English Reformation was in large part dictated by royal authority and approval, and that the publication of the BCP varied from the Sarum tradition only in location of printing, we then investigated different thematic ways in which the Sarum influence seeped into the BCP. The first of these themes concerned the calendar and ways of counting time. We established that despite the removal of astrological material like the Zodiac Man, illustrations of zodiac symbols and labours of the months, and a number of saintly feasts, the calendar of the BCP functioned in much the same way as the Sarum ones. Other methods of tracking dates (such as kalends dates, feast days, and days of the month) continued to be used interchangeably for some time following the implementation of BCP. Additionally, the Christian ways of reckoning time in the Sarum books, from daily prayer to yearly feast cycles to preparing for the End Times, remained visible in the BCP – the changes that the average churchgoer would have seen would have been minimal.

Our second theme examined the use of English and Biblical readings in the Sarum tradition, then the BCP. We proved that English was already being used for religious teaching under Sarum. But the retention of many scriptural passages for the same purposes was of key importance in

illustrating the impact of the Sarum books on the BCP. This was particularly evident when we examined twelve Scriptural passages from the BCP and discovered that they had not only been used in the same places in the Sarum tradition but also that the Sarum tradition of translation could maintain an influence above other translations – proven by the renderings of the *Benedictus* and *Magnificat* not as they had been found in the Great Bible but in the Primer tradition.

Our third theme argued that in the use of the Virgin Mary and saints as examples of good lives lived, the Sarum tradition was maintained in the BCP. While non-Biblical saints' feasts were contracted, the Biblical saints' were retained – the services for such saints were offered in much the same formula from Sarum to BCP. Indeed, Marian devotion, though contracted, still remained and the most strident actions against the saints (eliminating the Pope and Thomas Becket) were politically- rather than religiously-based. The average churchgoer could (and would) have continued to use saints as examples of good living, though petitions to them were frowned upon by the end of Henry's reign and throughout Edward's.

Our fourth theme proved that in the occasional services the ways in which spiritual health was maintained were nearly identical from the Sarum tradition to the BCP. Of the eight services investigated, we proved that six of them existed nearly completely unchanged from Sarum to BCP – the most severe differences were theological and thus less traumatic to the average churchgoer. While some have argued that the use of English was the most drastic of the changes in the shift from Sarum to BCP, we have seen that the use of English particularly in the services of baptism and matrimony for the comprehension of the congregation was neither surprising nor a new innovation.

Our fifth and final theme was that the preparation of the soul for death was changed despite the handling of the sick and of the corpse being very much the same. Though the loss of Purgatory in the reign of Edward VI impacted the provision of religious services for the souls of the deceased, using community deaths to reflect upon one's own life was common between Sarum and BCP. Our 'average churchgoers' would have been exposed to some differences – with the loss of monasteries and pilgrimage, the diminution of saintly influence, and the increased emphasis on Biblical understanding – but they would have been able to keep many of their previous traditions. We have seen

that the BCP was far from a new entity and that it had not evolved solely from the reforming texts that were being generated on the Continent; the 1549 Book of Common Prayer was clearly rooted in the Sarum tradition, making the book peculiarly English from the start.

What is as clear from our service books as from other sources is that the English Reformation was not a monolithic change; on the contrary, it was piecemeal and took decades to complete.¹⁰³⁵ In the table that follows, I have integrated the dates of the case studies with the key legislation from Chapters Three and Four. Limits on printers often preceded either reformist or traditionalist shifts in legislation. The more changes occurred, the more difficult it became for printers to keep up. The production of Sarum liturgical material slowed from the end of the 1530s to barely a trickle in 1543, when the *King's Book* crystallised Henry's beliefs. Sarum Pontificals had only ever been in manuscript, so there was no surprise that one was not produced in England. Sarum Missals were a large proportion of the liturgical output of the Continent, with the final English Missal being printed in 1512 and the final Continental one in 1534. Sarum Manuals were less numerous in their editions but experienced similar rates in that the first/last/only English-printed edition occurred in 1506, while the remaining editions up to the last in 1543 were Continental productions. Sarum Primers were the most numerous of the 'liturgical' materials printed in England, with Grafton producing the last one before the KHP in 1544; though the final Continental production dated to 1542. The 1545 Authorised Primer appeared following several years of little to no Sarum Primer output. While the reductions of printed liturgical material were possibly due to market saturation, it was more likely due to market uncertainty. The 1534 limits on importation and the wide-ranging religious legislation of the 1540s meant that if buyers could not be assured that what they were buying was legal, printers were not going to print.

Table 15: Case Studies and Legislative Acts

Date	Item	Brief Description of Key Points
13th c.	DUL Cosin V.III.13	Pontifical
14/15th c.	DUL Cosin V.III.21	Manual
beg. 15th c.	DUL Cosin V.V.5	Horae

¹⁰³⁵ Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.2. Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993. p.13. J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984. p.17.

1401	De Heretico Comburendo	Biblical
1409	Constitutions of Oxford	Biblical
15th c.	Ushaw MS 16	Horae
15th c.	BL Add MS 30506	Manual
15th c.	BL Stowe MS 13	Manual
c.1414-1443	BL Add MS 6157	Pontifical
c.1450-1475	BL Harley MS 561	Pontifical
Jan. 1484	Printers	Bringing printers to England
20 Dec. 1485	BLO Auct. 1 Q 1.26	Pontifical
20 Dec. 1485	CUL Inc.3.B.2.26[1220]	Pontifical
17 Nov. 1487	Papal bull	Local ordinary examine books for heresy
16 Aug. 1497	BLO Auct. Q sup. 2.1	Pontifical
16 Aug. 1497	DUL Cosin SA 0142	Pontifical
c.1500	DUL Add MS 1650	Horae
1503	CUL F150.a.2.5	Pontifical
1506	CCCPL EP.H.10	Manual
22 Feb. 1512	DUL Bamburgh Select.15	Missal
1514	DUL Howard A138	Missal
28 Nov. 1514	DUL Cosin SB+ 0059	Missal
4 May 1515	Papal bull	Need for textual stability
24 Dec. 1520	BCLLR UB/S II 97	Missal
24 Dec. 1522	CUL Syn.7.52.25	Manual
30 Oct. 1526	Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3	Missal
3 Mar. 1527	DUL Routh SB +0084	Missal
28 Mar. 1527	Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1	Missal
27 Jul. 1527	Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8	Missal
1529	Star Council/Parliament against strangers	Stopping new business ventures by foreigners
6 Mar. 1529	Royal Proclamation	Biblical
6 May 1530	DUL Bamburgh Select.22	Horae
22 Jun. 1530	Royal Proclamation	Prohibiting Erroneous Books and Bible Translation
12 Sept. 1530	Royal Proclamation	No bulls from Rome
7 Apr. 1533	Act in Restraint of Appeals	Henry de facto head
May 1533	Act of Submission	Royal approval for changes
4 Nov. 1533	DUL Bamburgh Select.46	Horae
1534	Act for Printers and Binders of Books	Forbidding imported bound books, setting prices
12 Mar. 1534	Dispensations Act	Canterbury supplies
Apr.? 1534	Act of Supremacy	Henry as head
9 Jun. 1535	Royal Proclamation	Papal erasure
1 Jan. 1536	Fisher proclamation	No indulgences
4 Apr. 1536	Lesser Dissolution	Beginning of end of monasteries
25 May 1536	DUL Bamburgh Select.20	Horae
11 Jul. 1536	Ten Articles	Removal of saints, limits on dead
1536	Royal injunctions	English teaching, Latin/English Bibles
1537	Bishops' Book	Sacramental definitions
17 Oct. 1537	SJCUL T.9.53	Manual

Sept. 1538	Royal injunctions	English Bible & teaching; no pilgrimage, no images
16 Nov. 1538	Royal Proclamation	Unsainting of Becket
1539	Act of Six Articles	Masses, no bad books
1540	Act Concerning True Opinions	Henry in charge of changes
8 Jan. 1541	Arrests of printers	Heretical books
22 Jul. 1541	Royal Proclamation	Elimination of certain feast days
1542	Convocation	Removal of popes and non-Scriptural saints
1543	DUL Bamburgh Select.21	Manual
Jan. 1543	Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3	Manual
1543	King's Book	Sacraments and dead
8 Apr. 1543	Arrests of printers	For 'unlawful printing'
10 May 1543	Act for Advancement of True Religion	Limits on Biblical reading
1544	English Litany	Removal of saints
6 May 1545	Royal Proclamation	Authorised Primer
19 Jun. 1545	DUL Routh SB 2090	Horae
6 Sept. 1545	DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37	Horae
1546	Arrests of printers	For 'unlawful printing'
8 Jul. 1546	Royal Proclamation	Publishers and authors must be identified; certain outlawed
31 Jul. 1547	Royal injunctions	No images/pilgrimages, English teaching, no Purgatory
1547	Abolishing of Six Articles	Removal of private masses
27 Dec. 1547	Royal Proclamation	Acceptance of Great Bible
1548	Dissolution of Chantries	End of certain death rituals
6 Feb. 1548	Royal Proclamation	Restriction on heretical opinion
8 Mar. 1548	Order of Communion	English service, English readings, no more images
21 Jan. 1549	First Act of Uniformity	Heralding BCP - changes everything
7 Mar. 1549	DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1	BCP
Mar. 1549	DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56	BCP
Mar. 1549	YML XI.F.26	BCP
16 Jun. 1549	YML XI.F.21(5)	BCP
13 Aug. 1549	Royal Proclamation	Privy Council to examine English books before sale
25 Dec. 1549	Ordering Bishops to Destroy	End of Sarum books
1 Feb. 1550	Act for Abolishing	End of Sarum books

Henry's Reformation had been a rigorous defence of the royal supremacy above all else, though radical in the elimination of monasteries and pilgrimage.¹⁰³⁶ Henry primarily wanted his subjects to believe and worship as he did.¹⁰³⁷ Under Henry, the English Reformation in law developed piecemeal (as did his personal faith) – first by denying the authority of the Pope and

¹⁰³⁶ G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*. London: Yale University Press, 2007. pp.225, 598, 601.

¹⁰³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.277.

placing the king or the Archbishop of Canterbury in his stead. The Reformation then removed the monasteries (bastions of popish power and of wealth) and ended the practice of pilgrimage. This was followed by vacillations about the provision of English Scripture (when to provide it, which version to provide, and who was allowed to read it). The ‘unsainting’ of Becket and the removal of papal titles began to seep into the fabric of the Sarum books. Further wholesale changes to religious practice (like the Dissolution) did not occur until 1544 with the replacement of the Litany with Cranmer’s non-sanctoral version. The more extensive works, like the *Bishops’ Book* or the *King’s Book*, remained focused on particular sacraments. Under Henry, the Reformation addressed only a few elements of the Church at any given time.

The success of the first stages of the English Reformation can be attributed to a ‘peculiarly potent respect’ for Henry VIII, with no ‘effective resistance’ but rather a ‘sullen resentment’ in the acceptance of many of the changes.¹⁰³⁸ The Pilgrimage of Grace had been an illustrative example of the consequences of pushing reformist ideology too firmly and too quickly onto the English.¹⁰³⁹ Theological differences made little difference to the general public, but the removal of saints’ days, shrines, and pilgrimages and the demand to purchase Bibles in English could not be so ignored.¹⁰⁴⁰ The requirement to strike out references to the Pope and Thomas Becket were adhered to in proportion to an owner’s preference to retain tradition, as seen in Chapter Seven. A ‘poster-child’ for obedience over individual religious preference was Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and cousin of Henry VIII. He accepted the use of the Book of Common Prayer because it was the law and, as he had noted in his *De Vera Obedientia* (1535), the law was paramount.¹⁰⁴¹ However,

¹⁰³⁸ Robert Whiting, ‘Abominable Idols: Images and Image-Breaking under Henry VIII’, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. Volume 33, Issue 1. (January) 1982. pp.40, 43, 46. Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p.1.

¹⁰³⁹ C.S.L. Davies, *Peace, Print, and Protestantism 1450-1558*. London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1986. pp.200-205, 211. Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Maurice Powicke, *The Reformation in England*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. p.107. Margaret Bowker, ‘The Henrician Reformation and the Parish Clergy’, in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.76.

¹⁰⁴¹ John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, Vol. VI – Part I*. London: Seeleys, 1858. p.112. Pierre Janelle, *Obedience in Church and State: Three Political Tracts by Stephen Gardiner*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930. *passim*.

obedience was frequently external for the average churchgoer – true belief would require a few generations of this ‘new normal’ before it would take hold in the majority population.¹⁰⁴²

The most wide-ranging legal changes occurred in Edward’s reign. Under Edward, the 1547 royal injunctions, the 1548 Order of Communion, and the First Act of Uniformity in 1549 underpinned massive changes to the English Church. These changes resulted in the Book of Common Prayer – on the surface, this was a major shift away from the traditional Church. But as we have seen, the radicalism of the BCP is tempered by the Sarum structure that underpins it. The first Book of Common Prayer was just conservative enough to forestall most concerted protest.¹⁰⁴³ What protest emerged came in the form of the 1549 Prayer Book rebellion – rebels wanted the reinstatement of the Latin Mass, prayers for souls in Purgatory, the return of abbey and chantry lands and new ones set up in every county, the reserved sacrament to be allowed, and all other ceremonies that had been abolished and images destroyed to be returned.¹⁰⁴⁴ This would have also meant a return to the service books that had been previously used – though the rebels accepted being limited to King Henry’s Primer. However, the rebellion was put down and Edward instead issued a proclamation calling for the complete destruction of all Use of Sarum (and other English Uses) service books.¹⁰⁴⁵

The 1549 BCP was a combination of Sarum and reformed liturgies, but only as far as it was an attempt ‘to draw all men of goodwill into unity’.¹⁰⁴⁶ Even with the attempts at uniformity embodied by the BCP, local variation remained in the performance of services.¹⁰⁴⁷ Some clergy performed the Prayer Book services as closely to the traditional Mass as they legally could, treating it as a Sarum revision, while others like John Hooper were vocally against the BCP as not reformed enough.¹⁰⁴⁸ The eradication of social traditions was incredibly difficult; the 1552 BCP eliminated the

¹⁰⁴² Haigh, *Reformations*, p.202.

¹⁰⁴³ Peter Marshall, *Reformation England: 1480-1642*. Second edition. London: Hodder Arnold, 2003. p.66.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Scarisbrick, *Reformation*, p.83.

¹⁰⁴⁵ TRP 353, p.485. Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.89.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Powicke, p.95.

¹⁰⁴⁷ David Cressy, ‘Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churaching of Women in Post-Reformation England’, in *Past and Present*, No. 141. (November) 1993. p.129.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Christopher Haigh, ‘The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation’, in Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p.180. To Heinrich Bullinger, in Hastings Robinson, ed., *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Parker Society, 1846. p.79.

language of purification but could not exclude the service entirely.¹⁰⁴⁹ Equally, the 1552 edition was forced to reintroduce black-letter days so that the Courts could continue to reckon the days of their terms as previously.¹⁰⁵⁰

On 6 July 1553, King Edward VI died, throwing his realm, which became increasingly radical following the introduction of the 1552 edition of the Book of Common Prayer, into religious turmoil. By the terms of Henry VIII's will, Princess Mary was to inherit the throne. According to the terms of Edward's will, he left the throne to his more suitably evangelical cousin, Lady Jane Grey. But loyalty to Tudor blood won out and Mary successfully claimed her throne, working throughout her reign to reinstate traditional religion. With a further reverse following Mary's death without a child, Elizabeth acceded to the throne and set about imposing her own version of reform on the Anglican Church, particularly with the 1559 edition of the BCP. The requirement of the Book of Common Prayer for the services of the Church of England, combined with Elizabethan and later explorations and colonisations, resulted in it becoming a crucial liturgical form that undergirds modern churches around the world.

31 October 2017 marked the quincentenary of Martin Luther's '95 Theses' being nailed to Wittenburg Cathedral's door. As events commemorating this act and successive milestones of the Reformation begin to take place, it is important to remember how these events impacted England's Reformation. In particular, it must be remembered that England's Reformation was not generated in the same way as the Lutheran or Calvinist ones – it evolved from a combination of the Sarum and reformed influences. In the event that ecumenicalism between the Anglican and Catholic churches continues as it has done under Archbishop Welby and Pope Francis, then this research can hopefully provide a basis for a unified service highlighting the historic links between the two forms. Optimistically, future researchers will now be able to regard the BCP not in binary terms (*Catholic* or *Protestant*) but as a stage in the evolution of English religion that reflected its shared traditional and reformist origin because the book-based evidence now proves it.

John Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book in its Literary and Liturgical Aspects*. London: Methuen and Co, 1902. p.15.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Cressy, p.119.

¹⁰⁵⁰ W.K. Lowther Clarke, 'The Calendar', in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, eds., *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1932. p.216.

Appendix 1: Bibliographical Descriptions of the Case Studies

This appendix contains the bibliographical descriptions of the thirty-six Books of Common Prayer, Books of Hours, Manuals, Missals, and Pontificals that form the basis of this thesis. The texts are listed in chronological order, according to Table 1 found in Chapter Two.

DUL Cosin V.III.13

Use of Reims Pontifical

Manuscript, 13th century

Produced in Northern France

Hand: Gothic Minuscule

Materials: Parchment; black, red, and blue for text

Binding: 19th century

225 x 154 x 34mm, 105 folios

Content: Blessings for Vigil of Christmas, Christmas, Stephen, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, Circumcision, Epiphany, Octave of Epiphany, 1 Sunday of Advent, 2-8 Sundays after Epiphany, Quinquagesima, 1-5 Quadragesima, Palm Sunday, Feria 2, Last Supper, Easter Week, Easter Day, Feria 2, 2 Sunday after Easter, Octave of Easter?, letanea iudiori?, Ascension Day?, 1 Sunday after Ascension; Order for blessing and consecrating a church (including Litany, Greek and Latin alphabets, blessings of salt, water, wine, reading from Apocalypse, preface of Trinity), Mass for dedication of altar, consecration of cemetery; preface for Christmas; Canon of Mass; Order for Supper of Lord; Mass for ordination with blessing of oil and instructions going down grades of ordinands; exorcism for oil for catechumens (mostly missing); assembly of church council; ordination of abbot; order for consecrating virgins (making nuns); order for making priests; ordination of 'ostiarium', acolytes, subdeacons, deacons, presbyters; consecration of bishop; blessing of king followed by Mass; breaks off and then begins again with prayer for consecrating paten; blessing of images, other ornaments; prayer for confirmation of boys, making priests; blessing of beards. Breaks off incomplete.

Observations: The earliest Pontifical of our study has particular value despite not technically being Use of Sarum, as an inscription notes that it was owned by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. This book illustrates some of the traditional observances with which Cranmer would have been familiar and the forms he could have studied while contemplating changes to the liturgy during England's Reformation. The few amendments to the original text correct scribal errors and include pencilled-in rubrics.

DUL Cosin V.III.21

Use of Sarum Manual

Manuscript, 14th/15th century

Produced in England

Hand: Textura

Materials: Parchment; black and red for text; red, blue, white, and gold for decoration

Binding: 17th century

186 x 140 x 29mm, 72 folios

Content: Blessing of Salt and Water, Order for Making Catechumens, Blessing of the Font, Baptismal Rite, Order for Matrimony, Order for Visiting the Sick, Order for Extreme Unction, and parts of Commendation of the Souls and Office of the Dead.

Observations: Some sections of the text are missing, particularly at the end and beginning of the first two prayers and in Visiting the Sick, Extreme Unction, and Commendation. Decoration of this text is solely in the form of decorated letters, an indication of its utilitarian function, though in a reading from John there is a gilded initial. Of particular note is the marriage ceremony, in English, which was erased and then re-written (again in a form of textura), presumably as an update to the language.

This edition, therefore, is a baseline for Manuals with particular relevance for the marriage ceremony.

DUL Cosin V. V. 5

Use of Sarum¹⁰⁵¹ Book of Hours

Manuscript, beginning of 15th century

Produced in Northern France or Low Countries

Hand: Textura

Materials: Parchment; black, red, white, blue, gold inks

Binding: 17th century

174 x 125 x 30mm, 107 folios

Contents: Calendar, Fifteen Oes of St Bridget, Hours of the Virgin and of the Cross, prayers to Our Lady, Seven Joys of the Virgin, prayer of the Venerable Bede, prayers on the Five Wounds of Christ, to the Image of Christ, Salutations to the Sacrament, Seven Penitential Psalms, Gradual Psalms (incomplete), Litany of the Saints, Office of the Dead, Commendations of the Soul, Psalms of the Passion, Psalter of St Jerome, Psalm, and Seven Joys of the Virgin (in a different hand).

Observations: Stubs indicate that ten folios have been removed at the beginnings of the Hours, presumably for their illustrations. Two folios remain with full-page, though mutilated, miniatures. Within the Hours of the Cross, in a Crucifixion image, a figure reaching out to Christ has been carefully excised, leaving a human-shaped void. The further excision, in the Psalter of St Jerome, is square, but the text and remaining red cardinal's hat indicate that the image was once of St Jerome.¹⁰⁵² Marginal addenda, correcting errors, have been made at various points. A second version of the Seven Joys in a Textura script (but a different hand from the rest of the volume) was added to the end of the book. The manuscript illustrates how users could personalise their text, underscoring one of the main benefits of manuscripts during the printed age.

Ushaw MS 16

Use of Sarum Book of Hours

Manuscript, 15th century

¹⁰⁵¹ According to Mr. A.J. Piper; see: <https://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/theme/medmss/apvv5/>.

¹⁰⁵² Other pages with transferred cuts from the excision of folios have been repaired with tape.

England?

Hand: Textura

Materials: Parchment; black, red, blue inks; minor gold-leafing

Binding: possibly 18th century

85 x 62 x 34mm, 123 folios

Contents: Calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Nunc Dimittis, Salve Regina, Penitential Psalms, Litany of the Saints, Office of the Dead, and Fifteen Oes of St Bridget.

Observations: This manuscript is the smallest of the books used in this study, its miniscule nature clearly reflecting personal use by an individual. The small format does not leave much room for illustration (there are only a few decorated initials) and keeps the material to the most basic of the texts typically found in a Book of Hours. On the final written folio, a different Textura hand has begun a prayer in English, indicating the desire of a user to personalise their book. Folio 120r also has a fingerprint in a brown ink smudge, possibly from the scribe – a rare ‘personal’ trace of such a figure. This manuscript helps to form a picture of the variety of formats that a Book of Hours could take in size, design, and content.

BL Add MS 30506

Use of Sarum Manual

Manuscript, 15th century

Produced in England, possibly Gloucester

Hand: Textura

Materials: Parchment; black and red for text, red, blue, white, and gold for decoration

Binding: 15th century

296 x 204 x 51mm, 171 folios

Content: Calendar, Blessing of Salt and Water, Baptismal Rite, Order for Matrimony, Order for Purification of Women, Order for Visiting the Sick, Commendation of Souls, Vigil of Dead, prayers for blessing of lights at purification of BVM, ashes, incense, Easter candles, Order for Making

Pilgrims, blessings of new soldiers, meat/cheese/butter/eggs in Easter, first fruits, wheat, apples, alms, rings, eyes of William of Montibus, Mass of Mary at Advent and Christmas, Litany of Saints, Office of Holy Trinity, Masses of Angels, health of friends, parents, priests.

Observations: In most respects, this text seems to be a fuller, undamaged version of the earlier Manual. However, there are many notations in the margins and multiple passages have been scraped clean and reworked. Several instances of 'Becket' and 'Pope' were scratched out. Certain areas of excised text, including some of the Becket and Pope entries, have been re-inserted at a later date, perhaps an attempt at restoring the text either under Mary I or later. The many accretions suggest a long history of use, the book being adapted to meet the changing needs of its community (believed to be that of St Aldgate's in Gloucestershire).¹⁰⁵³

BL Stowe MS 13

Use of Sarum Manual

Manuscript, 15th century

Produced in England (?)

Hand: Textura

Materials: Parchment; black and red for text; blue, red, white for decoration

Binding: 15th century

116 x 92 x 26mm, 122 folios

Content: Blessing of Salt and Water, Order for Making Catechumens, Baptismal Rite, Orders for Purification of Women, Matrimony, Pilgrims, Visiting the Sick including questions for dying person, Extreme Unction with Commendation of Souls, Vigil of the Dead, Inhumation of the Dead, and Masses for Avoiding Death, Name of Jesus, Mary for Advent.

Observations: The hand in this manuscript is cramped and much of the parchment is thin allowing the ink to bleed through many folios; implying that the material was well-known and not required to be read word for word, or that the volume was economically produced. This copy features evidence

¹⁰⁵³ British Library catalogue entry: http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=IAMS_VU2&docId=IAMS032-002022177&fn=permalink.

of use, especially in marginal notations and on folio 62r where a different hand added a supplementary prayer on the glory of the risen. Additionally, there is a considerable liquid stain (either oil or water) in the Order for Making Catechumens which may reflect its use during the service.

BL Add MS 6157

Use of Sarum Pontifical

Manuscript, c. 1414-1443

Produced in England (?)

Hand: Textura

Materials: Parchment; black and red for text; decoration

Binding: 18th/19th century

309 x 222 x 39mm, 151 folios

Content: Order for Coronation, Mode and Form for Degradation of Heretical Clergy, consecration of ship, blessing of church bells, Making of Anchoresses, Bridgettine Nuns and Brothers, Making of Monks, consecration of feretory, tomb, blessing of stone, consecration of cross, archbishops receiving pallium, Institution of archbishop and bishop, tonsure of Augustinian monks, making regular brothers, Order for Pilgrims, blessings of images, purifying women, yearly processions, Peckham's episcopal blessings, other blessings (incomplete).

Observations: This manuscript is also known as the Canterbury Pontifical, being linked to Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1414 to 1443. Such a manuscript likely influenced other similar manuscripts written in the sixteenth century. There is evidence that the manuscript may have continued to be used in the 1530s, perhaps by Cranmer himself following his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury, as a few appearances of 'Pope' and the blessing for Thomas Becket have been crossed through. Unfortunately, the text is incomplete and there is considerable damage to the end of what survives. A few miscellaneous notations have been made in the margins, emending the text.

BL Harley MS 561

Use of England (Sarum?) Pontifical

Manuscript, c. 1450-1475

Produced in England, possibly at Winchester

Hand: Textura

Materials: Parchment; black and red for text; decoration

Binding: 1963

252 x 180 x 14mm, 53 folios

Content: Fragmentary, as follows: Order for Consecration of Bishop, Profession of Nuns (Virgins and Non-Virgins), Coronation Service and Mass, and Consecration of Ministers of Church (ostiarium, readers, exorcists, acolytes).

Observations: This incomplete copy is not linked to any specific bishop or archbishop, but is understood to be English use. The argument for this is based upon the inclusion of a service of coronation for a King Edward (perhaps Edward IV, given the probable date). There are no images in the manuscript and very few decorated letters – a range of small decorated initials are scattered throughout, in addition to a number of similar sized gilded letters. Minimal inscriptions that might date to the sixteenth century are also visible at the beginning and end. Given the scarcity of English Pontificals, this text (particularly the coronation service) provides some insight into what was used by English bishops.

BLO Auct. 1 Q1.26

Use of Rome Pontifical

Rome: Stephen Planck for John Burchard, 20 December 1485

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; hand-coloured woodcuts

Binding: 18th/19th century

339 x 247 x 67mm, 306 folios

Content: From table of contents at beginning of book: Part One: chrism in the font, making of psalmists, conferring orders, making priests, rules for beards, ordination of ostiarii, readers, exorcists, acolytes, holy orders in general, ordination of subdeacons, deacons, presbyters, consecration of bishops-elect, blessings of pastoral staff, episcopal ring, mitre, gloves, ballot system, pallium, blessing of abbot-elect who is not a monk, making monks, blessings of abbots, pastoral staff, ring, mitre, gloves, abbesses, veil, blessing and consecration of virgins, blessings of robes, sails, rings, crowns, blessing and coronation of king, queen, queen during reign, king after consort chosen, blessing of new soldiers; Part Two: blessing and placement of first stone for church, dedication or consecration of church, consecration of altar, blessing of quarry stones, textiles/vessels/ornaments at church and altar consecration, consecrating altar without church dedication, blessing of textiles/vessels/ornaments at altar consecration, consecrations of altar in which relics are housed, portable altar, blessing of cemetery, reconciliation of church and cemetery, reconciliation of cemetery, consecration of paten and chalice, blessing of priestly garments, form for any special blessings, blessing for white or linen cloths for the altar, corporal blessing, blessings of new cross, other vessels and ornaments, tabernacle or other vessel for reserving sacrament, receptacles for relics, sign or bells, blessing and laying on of cross for those travelling to Holy Land, blessings of armour, sword, blessing and delivery of weapons; Part Three: five feria days in Lord's Supper, blessings of oil for sick, balsam, chrism, oil for catechumens, mandate for said acts, order for convening provincial council or synod, order for suspension of reconciliation, deposition, dispensation, degradation, and restitution of orders, order of excommunication and absolution, order of reconciliation of apostasies, schismatics, and heretics, itinerary of prelate, order for receiving the procession of prelate, order for visiting parish, for receiving imperial procession, royal procession, procession of prince, procession of empress or queen, procession of princess, vespers for eve of episcopal celebration, Mass for same, solemn vespers celebrated in presence of bishop, Mass for same, vespers and matins for dead, mass for dead, office for after Mass, Mass for dead in presence of bishop, private mass for hearing of bishop, on diversity of colours, mitre, responses, Creed,

pastoral staff, episcopal blessings, offices of the episcopal chapel, episcopal deacon at mass, episcopal subdeacon at mass, and chapel office serving mitre of bishop.

Observations: There is a series of decorated letters and capitals acting as textual dividers; many of the decorated letters were augmented by hand, one possibly gilded and the gold leaf later rubbed off.

Numerous marginal annotations offer guidance in the performance of the episcopal tasks, being concentrated in the areas of text relating to the ordination of priests and other church officers and around the blessings of various clerical vestments and tools and of churches. As Pontificals are rare, this print example was used to examine what services a bishop was expected to perform. Sarum Use had developed from the Roman Use, therefore these services were not likely to be far different from what an English bishop would have been required to do.

CUL Inc.3.B.2.26[1220]

Use of Rome Pontifical

Rome: Stephen Planck for John Burchard, 20 December 1485

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; hand-coloured woodcuts

Binding: 15th century

295 x 291 x 68mm, 304 folios

Content: Matches BLO Auct. 1 Q 1.26.

Observations: This second copy of the first printed Pontifical contains marginal annotations while also offering insight into differences between copies in a print run, as there are minor typographical mistakes, such as a line of text not being inked. In comparison with the previous copy, fewer initials were decorated after printing. Additional annotations were added at some point in the sixteenth century. Several of these have been covered up – blank paper was pasted over them.

BLO Auct. Qsup. 2.1

Use of Rome Pontifical

Rome: Stephen Planck for John Burchard, 16 August 1497

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; hand-coloured woodcuts

Binding: 18th/19th century

340 x 242 x 47mm, 235 folios

Content: Though produced twelve years later than the two previous copies, there are only minor changes to the content – all additions. Part One: tract on minor orders, blessing of abbot of ordinary authority, and creation of regular soldiers are added. Part Two: blessings for salt, water, ashes, wine, and incense are added.

Observations: As the rest do, this copy begins with a letter that stating that the text was produced in conjunction with John Burchard and contains patterned woodcut decorated letters. Typographical errors are evident: a series of decorated capitals are missing from the last section of the text. These gaps may be a result of fewer woodcut letters being allocated in the setting of the text than were needed. There is an illuminated coat of arms (of unknown origin but believed to be English) on the first text page after the table of contents, but signs of use are limited to a few sections of marginal notation – at the very beginning of the blessings and among the blessings of tools and accoutrements.

*DUL Cosin SA 0142*¹⁰⁵⁴

Use of Rome Pontifical

Rome: Stephen Planck for John Burchard, 16 August 1497

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: 17th century

332 x 232 x 57mm, 239 folios

Content: Matches BLO Auct. Q sup. 2.1.

Observations: This is a second copy of the second edition that Planck produced. Letter-form damage matches that seen in the Bodleian copy, but the present copy has not been modified in any way, not even by decorating the larger initials. The same capitals are missing as in the previous copy and no replacements have been made for them. However, a number of marginal and interlinear

¹⁰⁵⁴ This text has had other shelfmarks during the course of this thesis: Cosin D.3.6 (=S.R.2.B.20) and Cosin SR.3.D.4.

corrections and amendments have been made in black ink in a very cramped, Secretary hand; there are also corrections in a Secretary hand using red ink. Other folios evidence poor inking and seemingly damaged forms of musical notation. Annotations to the text that make reference to the 1596 Pontifical instituted after the Council of Trent clearly postdate that point.

DUL Add MS 1650

Use of Rouen¹⁰⁵⁵ Book of Hours

Manuscript, ca. 1500

Produced in Rouen

Hand: Textura

Materials: Parchment; black, red, white, blue, green, brown, grey gold inks

Binding: 18th century

148 x 105 x 29mm, 118 folios

Contents: Calendar, Gospel readings, Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms, Litany of the Saints, Hours of the Cross and Holy Spirit, Office of the Dead, Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, and Seven Requests of Our Lord.

Observations: The calendar and the last two content items are in French. There are high-quality images and decoration. In addition to line endings, flowered marginal borders, and decorated initials, there are fourteen large miniatures throughout the text, as follow: four Evangelists, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Exhortation to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation at the Temple, Flight into Egypt, Coronation of the Virgin, King David at Prayer, Crucifixion, Pentecost, a Funeral, and a Donor with Virgin and Child. This final image represents the owner of the manuscript, encouraging her to connect with the Virgin as intercessor with Christ. Additionally, there are marginal images in the calendar, two per month. The first in each set depicts the occupation of the month while the second represents the appropriate zodiac sign. This manuscript is particularly useful for this study in that the image cycles contained therein were common in Sarum Books of

¹⁰⁵⁵ Incorrectly ascribed to being for an English market in the DUL Catalogue entry, but retained for comparison of calendar and images and for its similarity to Use of Sarum.

Hours, highlighting the similarities between the two Uses that resulted in so many Sarum texts being produced in Rouen.

CUL F150.a.2.5

Use of Rome (?) Pontifical

Trent: Mapheus de Fracazinis, 1503

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: unknown

353 x 248 x 65mm, 232 folios

Content: Matches BLO Auct. 1 Q 1.26 and DUL Cosin SA 0142, though the page format is slightly different.

Observations: The text begins with the permission stating that the text was printed on behalf of John Burchard. The dimensions of this edition are smaller than those of the 1497 copies; the text does not appear on the same place on the same pages between the two editions. There is no rubrication in the Table of Contents as there was in the earlier edition. In general, this book is poorly printed: there were numerous mistakes – typographical errors, damaged forms in the music, and a spate of missing large capitals. The paper is very rough, and the inking inconsistent, bleeding through on many pages. This copy thus exhibits how the same content and form can vary between printers; perhaps it was a pirated copy.

CCCPL EP.H.10

Use of Sarum Manual

London: Richard Pynson, 1506

Materials: Parchment; black and red for text, woodcuts

Binding: 16th century

327 x 226 x 60mm, 116 folios

Content: Blessings of salt and water, in Easter, bread, Gospel readings, blessings of lights for Purification of BVM, ashes, palms, services of Last Supper, Easter vigil, Orders for making catechumens, changing font, baptism, purification of mothers, Matrimony, on second marriages, service for pilgrims, blessings of new soldiers, meat at Easter, meat/cheese/butter/eggs at Easter, first fruits, wheat, apples on the day of James the Apostle, alms, rings, sore eyes, ships, after lunch, Prefaces, Canon of Mass, Orders of Visitation of Sick, Extreme Unction, Commendation of Souls, Vespers/ Vigil/ Mass of Dead, Masses for Holy Cross, Virgin, Holy Spirit, general articles for greater excommunication, absolution, blessings of bishop.

Observations: Evidence of use and emendation comes in three forms. At some point, most of the Mass of the Holy Spirit was excised (fols.105-110). Additionally, and worthy of future study, is the elimination of references to Rome in addition to the traditional excisions of Becket and Pope, a deletion that is not seen in most texts. Another feature of note is the first printed presence of the vernacular in the Order for Making Catechumens. In this text, we have the first exhortations in English (from our sample) concerning the duties of the godparents in relation to teaching and protecting the child presented. This printed version presents much new information, signalling the changes to the genre possibly brought about by printing. This title was also considered 'one of the finest of Pynson's books' and therefore of typographical value.¹⁰⁵⁶

DUL Bamburgh Select.15

Use of Sarum Missal

London: Richard Pynson, 22 February 1512

Materials: Paper; black and red for text, woodcuts

Binding: 17th/18th century

269 x 197 x 37mm, 246 folios

Content: Calendar, blessings of salt, water, bread; Temporal: 1-4 Sundays in Advent and Ferias, Vigil of Christmas, Mass at Cock's Crow, Mass at Daybreak, Christmas, Stephen, John the

¹⁰⁵⁶ British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition in the King's Library. Illustrating the History of Printing, Music-Printing and Bookbinding*. London: William Clowes and Sons, 1939. p.67.

Evangelist, Holy Innocents, Thomas Becket, Silvester, Circumcision, Vigil of Epiphany, Sunday of
 the Octave of Christmas, Epiphany, Sunday of the Octave of Epiphany, 1-5 Sundays after the Octave
 of Epiphany, Septuagesima and Ferias, Sexagesima and Ferias, Quinquagesima and Ferias, 1-4
 Quadragesima and Ferias, Passion Sunday and Ferias, Palm Sunday and Ferias, Vigil of Easter,
 Ordinary of Mass, Prefaces of Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Apostles and Evangelists, Mary,
 daily, Canon of the Mass, Easter Sunday and Ferias, 1-5 Sundays after Easter, Vigil of Ascension,
 Ascension Day, Sunday of the Octave of Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Corpus Christi Day, 1-24
 Sundays after Trinity, Sunday before Advent, Ember Days, Church Dedication, Church
 Consecration, Church Reconciliation; Sanctoral (in calendar order) – Circumcision, Felix, Maurus,
 Marcellus, Sulpicius, Prisca, Wulfstan, Fabian and Sebastian, Agnes, Vincent of Saragossa,
 Conversion of Paul, Julian of Le Mans, Agnes, Bathild, Bridget, Purification of BVM, Blaise, Agatha,
 Vedast and Amand, Scholastica, Valentine, Juliana, Chair of Peter, Matthias, David, Chad, Perpetua
 and Felicitas, Gregory, Patrick, Edward, Cuthbert, Benedict, Annunciation, Richard, Ambrose,
 Tiburtius and Valerian, Alphege, George, Mark, Vitalis, Philip and James, Invention of the Cross,
 John before the Latin Gate, John of Beverly, Gordian and Epimachus, Nereus/Achilles/Pancras,
 Dunstan, Aldhelm, Augustine of Canterbury, Germanus, Petronilla, Nicomedes, Marcellinus and
 Peter, Boniface, Medard and Gildard, Translation of Edmund, Barnabas, Basilides, Basil,
 Vitus/Modestus/Crescentia, Translation of Richard, Mark and Marcellian, Gervase and Protase,
 Translation of Edward, Alban, Nativity of John the Baptist, John and Paul, Peter and Paul,
 Commemoration of Paul, Visitation of the BVM, Processus and Martinian, Translation of Martin,
 Translation of Thomas Becket, Feast of Relics, Seven Brothers, Translation of Benedict, Translation
 of Swithun, Osmund, Kenelm, Arnulf, Margaret, Praxedes, Mary Magdalene, Apollinaris, James,
 Anne, Seven Sleepers, Sampson, Felix, Abdon and Sennen, Germanus, Peter in Chains, Stephen,
 Invention of Stephen, Oswald, Transfiguration of Christ, Sixtus, Feast of the Name of Jesus,
 Donatus, Cyriacus, Laurence, Tiburtius, Hippolytus, Assumption of BVM, Bartholomew, Rufus,
 Augustine of Hippo, Sabine, Decollation of John the Baptist, Felix and Adactus, Cuthburga, Giles,
 Translation of Cuthbert, Bertin, Nativity of BVM, Exaltation of the Cross, Edith, Lambert,

Matthew, Maurice, Tecla, Fermin, Cyprian and Justina, Cosmas and Damian, Michael, Jerome, Remigius, Leger, Faith, Mark, Denys, Gereon, Nicasius, Translation of Edward, Calixtus, Wulfram, Michael in the Mountain Tomb, Etheldreda, Luke, Frideswide, 11,000 Virgins, Romanus, Crispin and Crispinian, Simon and Jude, All Saints, All Souls, Winifred, Leonard, Four Crowned Martyrs, Theodore, Martin, Brice, Malo, Edmund, Hugh, Edmund, Cecilia, Clement, Chrysogonus, Katherine, Linus, Commemoration of Thomas, Andrew, Osmund, Nicholas, Conception of the BVM, Lucy, Thomas, Nativity of Christ, Stephen proto-martyr, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, Thomas Becket, Sylvester, anniversary of one or more apostles, one evangelist, one martyr, martyr and bishop, multiple martyrs, confessor, confessor and doctor, confessor and abbot, multiple confessors, virgin martyr, virgin non-martyr, multiple virgins, Holy Trinity, Masses of Angels, health of people, commemoration of Holy Spirit, Corpus Christi, Holy Cross, Five Wounds, Crown of Christ, Mary in Advent, between Christmas and Purification, between Purification and Advent, peace, king, thanks to Holy Spirit, oneself, gifts of Holy Spirit, sinners, penitent, inspiration of divine wisdom, tribulation of heart, sick, health of friends, clear skies, seeking rain, times of war, growth of vines, mortality, sick animals, troubles, friends, sick near death, travelling agents, pope, bishop, prelates and subjects, pope, oneself, carnal temptation, bad thoughts, tearful petitions, stormy skies, church invaders, navigators, benefactors, enemies, pregnant women, Katherine/Margaret/Mary Magdalene, fevers, pagans, incarnation of Christ, penitent, memorial of the Resurrection during Easter, memorial for all saints, universal church, peace, king and queen, Order of Matrimony, blessings of bread, post-partum women, pilgrims, Office of the Dead, Trental of Dead, Anniversary of death, for male and female family members, general prayers, Trental of Gregory, Masses of avoiding death, Sebastian, Roch, Anthony, fevers, Gabriel, Compassion of the BVM, passion of Barbara.

Observations: The earliest edition of a Sarum Missal in our study sets the baseline. The text includes the traditional rubrics for instructions and Biblical readings. As in many other books, woodcuts were used for the decorated letters. However, there are three full or three-quarter page woodcuts, at the beginning of the Temporal, Sanctoral, and Canon of the Mass. This particular copy has numerous

inscriptions, many of which have faded beyond legibility. One on fol.5v notes the birth of Amea Robesart on the 7th of June in 1532, indicating that the text had passed into the possession of a family by that point. There is also evidence of adherence to Henry's anti-Becket decree. Both Becket and papal references are struck through and in many of the latter cases, *ep'i* is added above the crossed out text – demoting sainted popes to the rank of bishop. The evidence of contemporary use confirms its presence in this study.

DUL Howard A138

Use of Sarum Missal

Rouen (?): Martin Morin for William Bernard (?), 1514 (?)

Materials: Paper; black and red for text, woodcuts

Binding: 19th century

197 x 142 x 23mm, 125 folios

Content: Incomplete: Andrew, Nicholas, Conversion of Paul, 3 Sunday in Quadragesima, 2 Feria after Lent, blessing of candles at Purification of BVM, Mass at Cock's Crow, Blaise, Agatha, Vedast and Amand, Scholastica, Valentine, Julianne, Chair of Peter, Mathias, David, Chad, Perpetua and Felicitas, Patrick, Gregory, Edward, Cuthbert, Benedict, Annunciation, Richard, Ambrose, Tiburtius and Valerian, Alphege, Sunday in the Octave of Christmas, Silvester, Circumcision, Mark, George, Vitalis, Philip and James, Epiphany, Octave of Epiphany, 1-5 Sunday after Octave of Epiphany, Septuagesima and Ferias, Sexagesima and Ferias, Quinquagesima and Ferias, 1-2 Quadragesima and Ferias, Passion Sunday and Ferias, Palm Sunday and Ferias, Ferias of Easter week, Easter vigil, Sunday in Easter Octave, 1-5 Sunday after Easter, Vigil of Ascension, Sunday of the Octave of Ascension, Vigil of Pentecost, Feria days of Pentecost week, Trinity, Corpus Christi, 1-24 Sundays after Trinity, Sunday before Advent, Dedication of Church, Reconciliation of Church, Ordinary of the Mass, Prefaces of Christmas, Ascension, Pentecost, Apostles, Mary, daily, Canon of the Mass.

Observations: There is extensive damage to many of the folios, and, mis-bound, it was for a long time thought to be a Breviary. This is understandable as the numerous saints' entries indicated use by a priest (for whom Breviaries were designed) and, because in some Missals the foliation may restart at the Temporal, Sanctoral, and Votives, the nineteenth-century binder misunderstood the context of the pages and simply followed the foliation. Therefore, the Mass at Cock's Crow at Christmas (from the Temporal) is followed by Masses for Blaise and Agatha (from the Sanctoral). The damage to the folios appears to be rodent-based, as the edges are inconsistently frayed (looking as if something chewed them). No colophon or title-page exists, so the publication information comes from a comparison of the text with F.H. Dickinson's study on Sarum Missals.¹⁰⁵⁷ This text is included as an example of the 'adventures' that can befall a text.

DUL Cosin SB+ 0059

Use of Sarum Missal

Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl for Francis Birckman, 28 November 1514

Materials: Paper and parchment; black and red for text, woodcuts

Binding: 17th century

319 x 232 x 59mm, 316 folios

Content: Matches DUL Bamburgh Select.15 except adds blessings of incense and Easter candles before Easter Vigil and the Mass of Raphael; the Prefaces are generally 'in prostration'.

Observations: An important feature of this edition is the number of images scattered throughout the Temporal and the Sanctoral, highlighting feasts of particular significance such as the Circumcision of Christ or Easter or Epiphany in addition to the full-page image of the Crucifixion at the beginning of the Canon of the Mass. This is the first instance in our sample of such extensive imagery in the design of a Missal. There are two vellum folios at the beginning of the Canon of the Mass, doubtless used as being more durable than paper. This copy, compared with DUL Bamburgh Select .15, illustrates that the content of Missals was less likely to differ than in Primers and Manuals.

¹⁰⁵⁷ DUL catalogue entry: <http://library.dur.ac.uk/record=b1836610~S1>.

BCLLR UB/S II 97

Use of Sarum Missal

London: Richard Pynson, 24 December 1520

Materials: Parchment; black and red for text; variety of colours over woodcuts

Binding: 19th century

434 x 301 x 75mm, 213 folios

Content: Matches DUL Bamburgh Select.15 except adds prayers to evade death, Sebastian, and for after Mass before the Easter service and leaves out the Trentals, Roch, Anthony, Compassion of the BVM, and Passion of Barbara.

Observations: Of particular note is the use of parchment throughout, which implies sale to a wealthier parish or foundation.¹⁰⁵⁸ There are numerous emendations that indicate possible use in the sixteenth century. Surviving tabs and the outlines from others now lost indicate a previous owner's need to have ready access to commonly used sections of text. There are a number of woodcuts (some hand-coloured), but fewer than in the previous copy: Biblical-based woodcuts appear throughout the Temporal with a Crucifixion at the beginning of the Canon of the Mass. The only historiated letter image in the Sanctoral is a representation of Pentecost. The particular relevance of this copy is that it was produced by the King's Printer, Richard Pynson.

CUL Syn.7.52.25

Use of Sarum Manual

Rouen: Jean Caillard, 24 December 1522

Materials: Paper; black and red for text, woodcuts

Binding: 20th century

199 x 149 x 32mm, 215 folios

Content: Matches CCCPL EP.H.10.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Stanley Howard Johnston, Jr., *A Study of the Career and Literary Publications of Richard Pynson*. London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1977. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis). p.160.

Observations: Like the Pynson edition above, this Manual contains many of the same services of the manuscript editions, but printing gave it the latitude to include a larger number of Masses and blessings. There are no decorated letters, merely one- and two-line capitals in red. However, there are four large woodcuts: title-page, colophon, beginning of the text, and Canon of the Mass. There are also various evidences of use, in particular, multiple instances of marginal notation and discolouration indicating the placement of bookmarks throughout the text. There is also what looks to be a droplet of wax on folio 151r, suggesting use of the Vigil of the Dead at night.

Ushaw XVIII.F.3.3

Use of Sarum Missal

Paris: François Regnault, 30 October 1526

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: 19th century (?)

316 x 236 x 61mm, 300 folios

Content: Matches DUL Bamburgh Select.15 except Easter is followed directly by Ascension, which is then followed by Dedication, Consecration, Reconciliation, Ordinary, Prefaces, and Canon, and, in the Votives, 'sick animals' is followed by memorials, Order for Matrimony, Mass for pregnant women, blessing for post-partum mothers, skips anniversary of dead and male/female dead, a Mass for Christopher is added before Anthony, and for fevers is replaced by Raphael.

Observations: This copy has a number of images scattered through both the Temporal and Sanctoral. There is some evidence of adherence to Henry's anti-Becket decree, but only in the calendar (Becket's service is intact). A few leaves aside, the copy is in good condition. While showing what minor differences could be seen between Missals of the sixteenth century, this text also shows how half-heartedly the 1538 proclamation could be observed.

DUL Routh SB+ 0084

Use of Sarum Missal

Paris: Nicholas Prevost for Francis Birckman, 3 March 1527

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: 19th century

347 x 241 x 55mm, 309 folios

Content: Matches DUL Bamburgh Select.15 except skips the Sunday in Octave of Christmas, adds the blessing of incense and candles within the Easter Vigil service, which is followed directly by the Easter Day service, adds Vigil of Pentecost and Feria days after Pentecost, Reconciliation is followed by the Ordinary, Prefaces remain the same up to Pentecost, Canon, further Prefaces 'in prostration', Accidentia of the Mass, prayers for after Mass, and Mass for remembering Mary; the Sanctoral skips the Circumcision, notes Osmund as a translation feast, adds Pantaleon, and skips the Commemoration of Thomas.

Observations: Much of the text and many of the images are the same as DUL Cosin SB+ 0059. The evidence of the images implies that Birckman retained possession of and reused the woodcuts from one edition to the next, or Hopyl sold or gave them to Prevost. Evidence of use during our period is the elimination of 'pope' plus the sporadic elimination of Thomas Becket's name or entry in the text. There are further markings in the calendar at particular dates that indicate readings or prayers that were to be added or excluded on those dates. This edition of the Missal shows how different editions could be linked to each other as well as how users responded to the call to eliminate papal and Becket references.

Ushaw XVIII.F.3.1

Use of Sarum Missal

Antwerp: Christoffel Ruremond for Francis Birckman, 28 March 1527

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: 16th century (?)

339 x 225 x 61mm, 300 folios

Content: Matches DUL Bamburgh Select.15 except does not start until 1 Sunday in Advent, includes Octave of Advent, Septuagesima is assumed but damage to pages obscures the heading where it is likely to be named, adds blessing of palms to Palm Sunday, skips Vigil of Easter, Saturday in Easter Week is followed by prayer for before and after Mass, the recollection of Mary, then Easter Day; after the Reconciliation of the Church is the Ordinary of Mass, Prefaces for Christmas, Epiphany, and Quadragesima, then ends with Apostles and Evangelists, followed by Canon and 'in prostration'; Pantaleon is added to the Sanctoral, Mark is joined by Marcellian and Apuleius, omits the Commemoration of Thomas; services for Mary are just the Office and Mass and then on to peace, no bread blessing in Matrimony, Office of the Dead is followed by prayers for the dead, general prayers, Gregory Trental, and Masses for death and against death, a Commemoration of Erasmus comes between the Masses of Sebastian and Roch, Christopher before Anthony, and Raphael added after Gabriel.

Observations: A half-sheet of typescript inserted at the beginning makes a number of assertions about the book, enumerating the editions sponsored by Birckman (though neglecting the Prevost imprint listed above), describing the binding as being of 'Durham Abbey' origin and noting that there are textual inscriptions (post-dating our period), but most importantly hypothesising that due to no erasure of 'Becket' or 'Pope' the copy had not been sold prior to Queen Mary's reign. This copy is included in this study due to the lack of erasures, though despite the hypothesis of a previous cataloguer, this volume could equally have been used in England before Mary's reign by an orthodox family.

Ushaw XVIII.E.4.8

Use of Sarum Missal

Paris: François Regnault, 27 July 1527

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: 20th century (?)

216 x 162 x 49mm, 267 folios

Content: Matches DUL Bamburgh Select.15 with the following differences: no salt, water, bread but mirror of priests and address to obtain good end; no Sunday in Octave of Christmas; added blessing of palms on Palm Sunday; added blessing of incense and candles before Easter Vigil; added Pentecost Vigil, Octave of Dedication; after Reconciliation – Ordinary, Prefaces (but Epiphany rather than Easter); after Canon – ‘in prostration’, prayers before and after Mass, recollection of Mary; Osmund as translation feast; Pantaleon added, Marcellian added to Mark; no Commemoration of Thomas or health of people; Office and Mass of Mary; sick animals last item before memorials then Matrimony (but no bread); Office of Dead followed by benefactors, female family, general prayers, Gregory Trental; Erasmus added between Sebastian and Roch, Christopher before Anthony, and Raphael before Gabriel.

Observations: An example of the content found at the end of the period of Missal printing, this copy has fewer images in the Sanctoral than some of the others. References to the Pope and Becket have been crossed through. Additionally, there are post-Edwardian inscriptions. This copy illustrates how the Missal kept its basic format despite the variations printers could introduce and the legislation that required its destruction.

DUL Bamburgh Select.22

Use of Sarum Book of Hours

Paris: Germanus Hardouyn, 6 May 1530

Materials: Parchment; black, red inks for printing; various colours including gold in miniatures

Binding: 19th century

211 x 137 x 46mm, 185 folios

Contents: Calendar, Table of Dominical Letters, Invocation of the Trinity and of the Cross, prayers for entering Church, taking holy water, avoiding temptation, penance, angels, general confession, salutation to the Virgin, four Evangelists, Hours of our Lord, Holy Spirit, Holy Trinity, Holy Cross, prayers to Michael, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Andrew, John the Evangelist, Laurence, Pantaleon, Stephen, Thomas Becket, Erkenwald, Nicholas, Armigillo, Mary Magdalene, Wilgeforte,

Katherine, Margaret, Sitha, All Saints, for peace, Matins of the Cross, Salve Regina, Corporal Joys of Mary, Spiritual Joys of Mary, prayers of the Virgin, Elevation, Gregory, Cross, Bernard, Angels, Seven Penitential Psalms, Common Psalms, Litany of the Saints, Vigil of the Dead, Psalms against all adversities, Commendations of the Soul, Psalms of the Passion, Psalter of Jerome, Prayer to Gregory, Hours of the Passion, Offices of the Trinity, Faithful Dead, Holy Spirit, All Saints, Sacrament, Holy Cross, Blessed Virgin for Saturdays, Prayers of Ambrose on the Passion, Venerable Bede on the Seven Words of the Lord on the Cross, Gregory on the Five Wounds of Christ, before sleep, to the Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Virgin Mary, Joys of Mary Magdalene, Prayer before communion, after communion, Contemplation of the Virgin, prayers for feasts of the Virgin, Saturdays of the Virgin, Thomas Aquinas, George, on our Redeemer, abbreviated Passion, on the Five Wounds of Christ, Erasmus, Roch, James the Major, James, Anthony, Anne, Barbara, Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, prayers to the Virgin, Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, prayer to the Image of Christ, Salutation of the Virgin, Hours of the Name of Jesus, Passion according to John, Prayer to Susanna for false accusations.

Observations: The earliest of our printed Books of Hours, this copy represents the upper end of the printed market. Parchment was more expensive than paper, making this copy comparatively luxurious. In addition to the frontispiece and colophon, there are sixty-seven images. The woodcut illustrations were over-painted by hand and sculptural features were added to the pages to frame the text, indicating an owner's desire to enhance their copy and mimic the features of a manuscript edition. Only one image escaped the over-painting campaign – the rest of the painted images match the outlines provided by the woodcuts, though points of detail were added by the painter.¹⁰⁵⁹ Four folios are missing from this volume; the third and fourth have likely been dislodged from the binding over time but the first and second were either never printed or escaped the current binding. Each page features gold ink and numerous decorated initials in alternating red or blue ink with gold accents. None of the feast days in the calendar is rubricated, unusual given the enhancements and

¹⁰⁵⁹ A method known as 'painting of the cut', where the lines of the woodcut are left visible while details are filled in by the illuminator. Mary C. Erler, 'Devotional Literature,' in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. p.495-525. The unpainted image is an interlinear woodcut of the Crucifixion flanked by four mourners on fol.152r.

common augmentation of calendars in other editions. The extensive illustration and the use of parchment indicates high quality work, but the missing folios and medium size illustrate the wear patterns and perils of printing.

DUL Bamburgh Select.46

Use of Sarum Book of Hours

Paris: François Regnault, 4 November 1533

Materials: Paper; black, red inks for printing; woodcuts

Binding: 20th century

128 x 96 x 32mm, 250 folios

Contents: Almanac, calendar, Days of the Week Moralised, Manner to Live Well, Verities, prayers for rising, leaving house, holy water, entering church, church relics, kneeling before Cross, priest turns, Elevation of Sacrament/ of Chalice, Pax, after *Agnus dei*, at and after communion, Gospels of John, Luke, Matthew, Mark, Hours of the Passion, prayers to Lord, Matins of the Virgin, Cross, Compassion, prayers for Prime, Virgin, Elevation, presence of Sacrament, Trinity, before and after receiving communion, Three Kings of Cologne, Fifteen Oes of St Bridget, Christ, angels, Sebastian, Christopher, George, Martin, 11,000 Virgins, Apollonia, All Saints, Christ, Trinity, God, Seven Penitential Psalms, Fifteen Gradual Psalms, Litany of Saints, Verses of Bernard, Dirige, Commendations of the Souls, Psalms of the Passion, Psalter of Jerome, prayers of Gregory, hour of death, Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Virgin, Veronica, Five Wounds of Christ, Erasmus, Roch, James, Anthony, Anne, Barbara, Nativity of the Virgin, Seven Words of Christ on the Cross, Rosary of Our Lady, prayers of Virgin, at and after communion, Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, Salutation of the Virgin, names of God, Christ (in English), Passion, services of the BVM at Advent and from Nativity to Purification, Hours of the Name of Jesus, certain questions on what is sin, form of confession.

Observations: The varied content, small format, and use of paper implies a clientele of modest means. Small woodcuts pepper the text while full-page images head each section of the Hours. There is evidence that it was in active use in England in the 1530s and after – throughout the book, ‘Pope’

is crossed through as are the entries for Becket in the Suffrages and calendar. This edition is useful as an example of Regnault's work and for its evidence of contemporary use in England.

DUL Bamburgh Select.20

Use of Sarum Book of Hours

Paris: François Regnault, 25 May 1536

Materials: Paper; black, red inks for printing; woodcuts

Binding: 20th century

246 x 184 x 27mm, 175 folios

Content: Calendar, zodiac material, Gospels of John, Luke, Matthew, and Mark, Passion according to John, prayers for rising, leaving house, priest turning, entering church, holy water, beginning to pray, temptation, penance, Augustine, Anselm, Pax, at and after receiving sacrament, evil thoughts, king, friends, wayfaring men, sick friends, dead parents, dead friends, living and dead, benefactors, Mary after communion, Hours of the Virgin, prayers for Trinity, Michael, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Paul, Andrew, John the Evangelist, Laurence, Pantaleon, Stephen protomartyr, Thomas Becket, Erkenwald, Nicholas, Armigillo, Mary Magdalene, Wilgeforte, Katherine, Margaret, Sitha, All Saints, dead, Hours of the Cross and Compassion, prayers for dead, Seven Joys of the Virgin, prayers for plague, death without penance or sacrament, Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, Christ's Passion, Rosary of the Virgin, prayers for Bridget, Gregory, Elevation, Augustine, Bede on the Five Wounds of Christ, Bernard, Hours of the Name of Christ, prayers of Conception of the BVM, James the Minor, Sebastian, Christopher, George, Martin, William, Anthony, Francis, Anne, Barbara, Apollonia, Dorothy, Cross, temptation, death from plague, King Henry, Roch, Edward, Erasmus, Five Wounds of Christ, Gregory, hour of death, Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Gabriel, Raphael, angels, Trinity, pregnant women, Names of Christ, storms, Biblical figures, Susanna, those likely to die, Seven Penitential Psalms, Fifteen Gradual Psalms, Litany of the Saints, prayer of Bernard, Office of the Dead, Commendations of the Soul, prayers for dead, Psalms of Passion, Psalter of Jerome, Hours

of the Name of Jesus, prayer on Image of Christ, Form of Confession, Ten Commandments, and Fifteen Oes in English.

Observations: Another edition by François Regnault, the images and texts can be compared with those of the previous item. This edition gives an elaborate explanation of the zodiac and celestial influence on bodily health, to be compared with that in Bamburgh Select.²² above. While many prayers are the same as Bamburgh Select .²², this edition contains a larger number of prayers for deadly circumstances. Additionally, there are a large variety of English rubrics and indulgences. Though there are few decorated letters, numerous woodcuts feature in the text, including in the calendar and prayers to particular saints; this text is key to understanding the variety in Sarum Primers that could be offered by even just one printer.

SJCUL T.9.53

Use of Sarum Manual

Paris: François Regnault, 17 October 1537

Materials: Paper; black and red for text, woodcuts

Binding: 16th/17th century

196 x 148 x 29mm, 203 folios

Content: Matches CCCPL EP.H.10 and CUL Syn.7.52.25 with the exception of replacing the luncheon blessings with blessings of the table, and the Vespers of the Dead with the inhumation of the dead and the blessing of the tomb; also added were Confirmation of boys, blessings of ecclesiastical things and the countryside, and the form of separating lepers, making wills, and proclaiming the banns.

Observations: This copy has seen moderate use reflected in worn edges on many folios and repairs done with paper. Like CCCPL EP.H.10, it includes the unusual feature of eliminating Roman references, in addition to the common deletions of 'Becket' and 'Pope', which begs the question of whether this was a peculiarity of Cambridge, as CCCPL EP.H.10 joined the Corpus Christi collection soon after its publication, courtesy of their Master Peter Nobys (c.1480-c.1527), and this

copy has the same sorts of deletions (though its sixteenth-century location is unknown). This evidence of contemporary use underscores the value of this book in determining what was required in a Sarum Manual.

Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3

Use of Sarum Manual

Antwerp: Christoffel Ruremond, January 1543

Materials: Paper; black and red for text, woodcuts

Binding: 20th century

207 x 154 x 39mm, 206 folios

Content: Matches SJCUL T.9.53 except that it omits services for pilgrims and new soldiers and the articles for excommunication.

Observations: There is little in general to distinguish this copy from previous ones. There are a few decorated letters and the usual Crucifixion scene at the Canon of the Mass. Noteworthy is the engagement of a user or users with the text of the marriage ceremony: three versions of the ceremony are produced, one labelled as being from the 'Protestants book of Co'mon prayer', indicating that someone felt it necessary to keep the Manual and update it with the BCP text.

DUL Bamburgh Select.21

Use of Sarum Manual

Rouen: Nicholas Rufus (Le Roux) for Martin Datier of London, 1543

Materials: Paper; black and red for text, woodcuts

Binding: 20th century

226 x 179 x 29mm, 171 folios

Content: Matches Ushaw XVIII.F.4.3 except that it includes services for pilgrims and new soldiers.

Observations: This copy contains only two woodcuts, of St John on the title-page and of the Crucifixion before the Canon of the Mass; a few figured letters are scattered throughout the text.

The vernacular is used in the exhortation of the godparents and in the marriage ceremony. A clean copy, containing no indication of use, it stands as an example of a pristine Manual and of the last printed edition until Mary I's reign.

DUL Routh SB 2090

Use of Sarum Book of Hours

London: Edward Whitchurch, 19 June 1545

Materials: Paper; black, red inks for printing; woodcuts

Binding: possibly 18th century

196 x 144 x 27mm, 134 folios

Content: Calendar, Injunction authorising Primer, *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, Creed, Ten

Commandments, Graces before and after dinner, before and after supper, Hours of the Virgin,

Collects for Holy Spirit, Trinity, Cross, Apostles, Martyrs, peace, Passion, Seven Penitential Psalms,

Litany and Suffrages, prayer of John Chrysostom, Office of the Dead, Commendations of the Soul,

Psalms and prayers of the Passion, prayers for morning, arising, bedtime, patience, Church concord,

against Christ's enemies, trouble, sin, Manassas, Jerome, Solomon, Wisdom, speaking boldly, peace

of church, pride, envy, anger, adversity, prosperity, hour of death, devil.

Observations: Entitled 'The Primer, set forth by the King's Majesty', this quarto book is the first edition of a Primer in English authorised by Henry VIII. For our purposes, it is useful for its role in documenting the transition from the Church *in* England to the Church *of* England.¹⁰⁶⁰ The title-page is only partially intact – title and date are visible but the rest was copied by hand at a later date from another copy. Unfortunately, the verso of the page (containing a Table of Contents) has not been copied and any text that withstood the original damage has been mostly obscured by repairs meant to create a square edge to the folio. Other damaged pages later in the book have been stitched up. Most

¹⁰⁶⁰ John N. Wall, Jr., 'The Reformation in England and the Typographical Revolution: "By this printing...the doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all nations"', in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim, eds., *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*. London: Associated University Press, 1986. p.212.

of the text is in English; the little Latin that remains is in the marginal guides to the prayers and in the Biblical content.

DCL ChapterLib H.IIIB.37

Use of Sarum Book of Hours

London: Richard Grafton, 17 August 1545

Materials: Paper; black, red inks for printing; woodcuts

Binding: 20th century

187 x 133 x 26mm, 175 folios

Content: Calendar, Henry's Preface and Injunction, *Ave Maria*, Creed, Ten Commandments, Graces before and after dinner, before and after supper, Hours of the Virgin, Collects for the Holy Ghost, Trinity, Cross, Apostles, Martyrs, Passion, Seven Penitential Psalms, Litany and Suffrages, Office of the Dead, Commendations of the Soul, Psalms of the Passion, Passion readings, prayers for morning, uprising, bedtime, trust in God, patience, concord of Church, Christ's enemies, keep the tongue, trouble of conscience, sinners, war, Manassas, Job, Jerome, Solomon, speaking word of God, peace in Church, keeping good name, pride, envy, anger, adversity, prosperity, all times, Christ, hour of death, general confession, devil, desire of life to come, Grafton and Whitchurch's license to print.

Observations: This Primer is another version of that permitted by Henry VIII, a bilingual edition that combines the English texts of DUL Routh SB 2090 and the Latin prayers they derived from.

Generally speaking, this copy is useful both for its role as the legal alternative to other bilingual Primers and for offering us a view of the 'authorised' version of the Latin prayers.

DUL Cosin SB+ 0851/1

Church of England Book of Common Prayer

London: Edward Whitchurch, 7 March 1549

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: 17th century

275 x 199 x 57mm, 368 folios total (bound with 1552 edition), ff. 1-189 1549 BCP

Content: Matches DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56.

Observations: Like Grafton's edition, this one contains the pricing scheme for the sale of the book. There are a few pages where the alignment of the text has gone slightly a kilter compared to the rest of the pages.¹⁰⁶¹ The images appear similar to those in the edition listed above, but, in contrast to Grafton's edition, this one has several decorated letters that do not fill the space allocated and so borders have been added to the images. In the calendar, someone has marked several dates with ticks but no other information. There appears to be an inky fingerprint in the bottom margin of folio 11r, in the September calendar, possibly evidence of the printers' production or of someone using the volume while writing (there are multiple writing exercises in the text). This edition offers us Whitchurch's approach to producing the Book of Common Prayer as well as minor evidence of use.

DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56

Church of England Book of Common Prayer

London: Richard Grafton, March 1549

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: 20th century

289 x 208 x 32mm, 190 folios

Content: Preface, Table and Calendar of Psalms and Lessons, Order for Matins and Evensong, Introits/ Collects/ Epistles/ Gospels, Supper of the Lord/Mass, Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Visitation of Sick, Burial, Purification of Women, Ash Wednesday, Of Ceremonies, and Certain Notes.

Observations: This is the first evidence of a major shift from the traditional texts described above. Of note is an extension to the colophon confirming that Grafton has Edward VI's permission to print and listing the prices at which the book may be sold. This copy was well maintained, with a note on the first folio enumerating the repairs made (restoring the edges of the pages to a consistent width). The

¹⁰⁶¹ The early pages have repairs made by adding paste and paper to form a straight edge to torn or worn edges.

most critical repair is the replacement folio for May/June in the calendar.¹⁰⁶² The calendar contains annotations in February, October, and November. One user made annotations in the margins of Introits and Collects ('note this' and 'this good', in addition to numerous '+'s).¹⁰⁶³ The margins contain numerous flourishes, likely pen tests. Many of the initials that begin paragraphs are woodcuts, ranging in size and containing content from small plant or leaf motifs to larger depictions of Biblical stories. This particular copy allows us to see the BCP in its complete state with some of the additions made by active users.

YML XI.F.26

Church of England Book of Common Prayer

London: Richard Grafton, March 1549

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: 17th century (?)

291 x 204 x 38mm, 186 folios

Content: Matches DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56.

Observations: This copy has seen some hard use: in the rebinding process at some point several of the pages at the back of the text were misordered; in particular, the Litany and Suffrages have been moved to the end instead of just after Communion. The images are still decorated and figured letters, as had been used in the Sarum books. There are numerous sixteenth-century signature practices and pen trials. A *manicula* was added to the Angelic Salutation in the Introits. Other *maniculae* found in the Baptismal section draw attention to the Exorcism of the infant and a final prayer of introduction of the baptismal candidate. Additionally, the phrase on fol.184v 'from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities' has been crossed out. In conjunction with the copy above, this book offers insight into personal use of the BCP.

¹⁰⁶² The paper of this folio feels less dense than the folios of the rest of the book and the dirt patterns that show wear (which are consistent on the surrounding folios) are non-existent.

¹⁰⁶³ On folio 25v St Stephen's Day, 33r First Sunday after Epiphany, 34r Second Sunday after Epiphany, 41r Sunday of Quinquagesima, 42r First Day of Lent (Ash Wednesday), 45v Second Sunday of Lent, and 79v Fifth Sunday after Easter.

YML XI.F.21(5)

Church of England Book of Common Prayer

London: Edward Whitchurch, 16 June 1549

Materials: Paper; black and red for text; woodcuts

Binding: 18th century

274 x 173 x 84mm, 472 folios (bound with six additional texts), ff. 142-308 1549 BCP

Content: Matches DCL ChapterLib F.IV.56.

Observations: This copy has been bound up into a larger compilation volume with six other texts.

The contents of the full volume are: Longland's Sermons for Henry VIII (printed), the 1548 Order of the Communion (printed), a list of BCP compilers (handwritten), Edward's first Ordinal (handwritten), the 1549 Book of Common Prayer (printed), the 1552 Book of Common Prayer Book (printed), and a commentary on Edward VI's service books (handwritten). These texts all together appear to act as a reference book on the history of the Church of England. The frontispiece and Table of Contents of the 1549 BCP are substituted by handwritten copies, as are folios 203-204 (in the midst of the Introits) and folio 299 (part of the Order for the Burial of the Dead). Comparison of the handwritten pages with other copies shows that the insertions are accurate. This copy is covered in various signature practices, pen flourishes, and Latin writing exercises from later users. The evidence of use and comparison with other print runs are informative for this study.

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