THE *PATER NOSTER* AND THE LAITY IN ENGLAND

c.700 - 1560

WITH SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE CLERGY'S USE OF THE PRAYER TO STRUCTURE BASIC CATECHETICAL TEACHING

ANNA EDITH GOTTSCHALL

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At present no scholar has provided an in-depth study into the dissemination of the *Pater Noster* outside the clerical sphere. This thesis provides a detailed consideration of the ways in which the *Pater Noster* was taught to the laity in medieval England. It explores the central position of the prayer in the lay curriculum, the constitutions which played a fundamental role in its teaching, and the methods by which it was disseminated. Clerical expositions of the prayer and its tabular and diagrammatic representations are examined to consider the material available to assist the clergy in their pedagogical role. The ways in which material associated with the *Pater Noster* was modified and delivered to a lay audience provides an important component in the holistic approach of this thesis. The thesis itself proposes that the prayer was widely known and recited, drawing on a variety of mediums in which it was presented to the laity. These include sermon material, which would have been delivered in the vernacular; the recitation of Paternosters, an earlier version of the conventional rosary; the performance of the Pater Noster plays in the northern locations of York, Beverley and Lincoln; and representations of the prayer in wall paintings.


Ex Libris
Anna
Gottschall

This work is dedicated to the memory of my father

Karl Franz Gottschall

(26th April 1927 - 28th June 2000)

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

BIHR	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (York)
c.	*Circa*
d.	Died
f.	Folio
ff.	Folios
fl.	Flourished
MS	Manuscript
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PRO	Public Record Office (London)
TNA	The National Archive (Kew)

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

'Pastoralia' refers to the basic tenets of the Christian Church which were disseminated from the clergy, as part of their pastoral role, to the laity in numerous didactic works during the medieval periods.

'*Pater Noster*' refers to the Latin version of the prayer commonly known in the vernacular as the Our Father or Lord's Prayer. The Latin text is as follows:

> Pater Noster, qui es in caelis,
>
> sanctificetur nomen tuum.
>
> Adveniat regnum tuum.
>
> Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo et in terra.
>
> Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie,
>
> et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.
>
> Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo.
>
> Amen.

'Paternoster' refers to a string of beads used to count the recitation of certain prayers, usually the *Pater Noster* alone or a combination that may include the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Gloria Patri*.

'Table' refers to a diagram presented in a tabula form in a manuscript context.

'Tabulae' refers to tables mounted in religious buildings for visual display.

LIST OF PLATES AND FIGURES

PLATES

FIGURES

PREFACE

The *Pater Noster*, commonly known as the Lord's Prayer or Our Father, played a prominent role in medieval English religion between 700 and 1560. From early in the Christian Church's history theologians have frequently commented on the importance and significance of the *Pater Noster* in their writings. For example, Nicholas Ayo cites Tertullian, in his third-century commentary on the prayer, as remarking that it is a *breviarium totius evangelii*, 'a compendium [breviary] of the whole gospel'.[1] He also provides a translation of Augustine who, in a letter to Lady Proba, states 'whatever be the other words we may prefer to say…we say nothing that is not contained in the Lord's Prayer, provided of course we are praying in a correct and proper way'.[2] According to Morton W. Bloomfield, these sentiments are echoed by Richard of Wetheringsett in his English pastoral manual of the thirteenth century, *Qui bene praesunt*, in which it is proposed that the *Pater Noster* contains everything necessary for life.[4] This notion is further explored by Pope Innocent III (d.1216), who states, according to Bloomfield, that the prayer excels in the authority of its teaching, the brevity of its words, the sufficiency of its petitions and the fecundity of its mysteries.[5]

As one of the central texts of firstly the Catholic and then also the Protestant faiths, the prayer retained its orthodox and authoritative status during a period of constant religious change. Although the Latin version of the prayer formed the basis of the western Church's catechesis, the majority of the laity were not proficient in Latin and therefore their understanding of the prayer's message was severely restricted. This period saw the emergence of the first recorded vernacular versions of the prayer, and witnessed its limited evolution from the Old English manuscript texts dating from *c*.700, to the more standardised version of wording and spelling issued in the Book of Common Prayer in 1549.

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[1] Nicholas Ayo, *The Lord's Prayer: a Survey Theological and Literary* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), p. 5.
[2] Ayo, p. 6 cites Augustine, 'Letter to Lady Proba,' Epistle 130, *Fathers of the Church*, vol.18.
[4] Morton W. Bloomfield et al, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices 1100-1500* (Cambridge MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1979), 4583, taken from Oxford, New College, MS 94, fol. 33^{v}, and states that the work survives in at least 56 copies.
[5] Bloomfield, *Incipits*, 8386 taken from *PL*. 217: 897-906.

This thesis will examine the ways in which the Latin and vernacular *Pater Noster* were taught to a lay audience in England during the period 700 to 1560, and assess the evidence of lay acquisition and use. Furthermore, it will examine the relationship between the prayer and other elements of basic catechetical teaching, for example the septenaries (groups of sevens). It will also investigate the relationship between the theology connected to the *Pater Noster* in complex clerical religious manuals and diagrams, and expositions of the *Pater Noster* targeted at lay people in vernacular texts, drama and art.

To date no scholar has made an in-depth study of the *Pater Noster* and the ways in which it was disseminated outside the clerical sphere. Although recent scholarship has focussed closely on lay piety, lay education and the communication of clerical discourse to a lay audience, attention has not been paid to how the *Pater Noster* was taught to, and used by, the laity. Previous work that informs this thesis includes that on 'vernacular theology'.[7] Of principal importance to this thesis are the studies that have highlighted the relationship between Latin, the vernacular, literacy and the use of images, by describing and analysing basic catechetical texts and considering how religious teaching can be expressed in visual representations.[8] Further context for this study is provided by research that has considered how visual learning played an important role at a time when many members of the laity

[7] See Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822-864. Debate over the union of 'vernacular' and 'theology' as one concept can be found in Gillespie, 'Vernacular Theology', 401-420. See also Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995); Kate Crassons, 'Performance Anxiety and Watson's Vernacular Theology', *English Language Notes*, 44.1 (2006), 95-102 (p. 95); Katherine C. Little, '"Bokes Ynowe": Vernacular Theology and Fourteenth-Century Exhaustion', *English Language Notes*, 44.1 (2006), 109-113 (p. 109); and Ian Johnston, 'Issues: Vernacular? Theology? Vernacular Theology?', Geographies of Orthodoxy, (2008) <http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/discuss/2008/04/08/vernacular-theology-vernacular-theology/> [accessed 26 September 2013].

[8] See Shannon Gayk, *Image, Text and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-1580*, 2nd edn (London: Yale University Press, 2005); Richard Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text in the Late Medieval Parish Church', in Linda Clark, Maureen Jurkowski and Colin Richmond , eds., *Image, Text and Church, 1380-1600: Essays for Margaret Aston* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), pp. 162-202; Elizabeth Eisenstein, 'Seeing Images and Hearing Texts: Modes of Worship in Early Modern England', in Clark, Jurkowski and Richmond, pp. 203-213; Margaret Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993) esp. ch. 2 on Wycliffe and the Vernacular; Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984) esp. chs. 3-7; Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974); and Morton W. Bloomfield, 'Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century', *Speculum,*16 (1941), 494-496.

were unlettered, especially studies focussing on the ways in which images and drama were used to illustrate the teachings of the Church.[9] Furthermore, research into the clerical obligation to instruct the laity in the tenets of faith, and the Church legislation that created this momentum, inform the theories relating to the teaching of the *Pater Noster* that will be proposed in this thesis.[10] Taking previous scholarly work into consideration, it is clear that an interdisciplinary approach that considers art, literature, textual circulation, literacy, church history, drama, material culture and education theory is necessary to create a holistic picture of the ways in which religious teaching was disseminated and the pivotal role performed by the *Pater Noster* in this dissemination process. This thesis aims to encompass these schools of thought and provide a comprehensive insight into the central role of the *Pater Noster* in lay education in medieval England.

This thesis contains an introduction and is then divided into four sections. The introduction considers the biblical origins of the *Pater Noster* and provides an insight into the evolution of the prayer text during the timeframe for this study. It seeks to equip the reader with an understanding of

[9] See Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004); Sue Powell, 'Pastoralia and the Lost York Plays of the Creed and Paternoster', *European Medieval Drama*, 8 (2004), 35-50; Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (London: The British Library; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); T. A. Heslop, 'Attitudes to the Visual Arts: The Evidence from Written Sources', in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, eds., *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), pp. 26-32; Michael Camille, 'The Language of Images in Medieval England, 1200-1400', in Alexander and Binski, pp. 33-40; Peter Draper, 'Architecture and Liturgy', in Alexander and Binski, pp. 83-91; Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Alan J.P. Crick (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1968)*;* Michael Camille, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8.1 (1985), 26-49; Meg Twycross, 'Books for the Unlearned', in James Redmond, ed., *Drama and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 65-110; and Mary Désirée Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

[10] R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)*;* R. N. Swanson, *Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance Before the Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); William Abel Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Gerald R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961); John R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (New York: AMS Press, 1980); and Edward L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England* (London: SPCK, 1898).

the historical and religious context of the prayer and to provide the background information necessary to access the chapters that follow.

SECTION ONE: How did the Laity know their *Pater Noster*?

The first section, consisting of one chapter, focuses on the ways in which the laity would have encountered the prayer in their daily lives.

Chapter 1, 'Lay Knowledge of the *Pater Noster*' focuses on the ways in which the laity, both the unlettered and lettered, may have learned their prayers and how widespread knowledge of the *Pater Noster* may have been. It considers the role of the prayer in the sacraments, the religious experiences that marked the stages of lay life, and also its use in the Mass, the religious service that the laity were expected to attend regularly. Furthermore, this chapter explores some of the material that the lettered laity may have used to learn their prayers, including ABC books, horn books and primers. The use of the *Pater Noster* in popular culture, especially the vernacular poetry written by some of the major poets, including Chaucer, is also explored. This chapter will argue that the prayer was widely known and used by the laity in medieval England.

SECTION TWO: The Church and the *Pater Noster*

Section 2, consisting of three chapters, focuses on the constitutions of the Church which sought to enhance the religious education of the laity. It considers the reasons why programmes were perceived to be necessary to improve lay religious knowledge, the ability of the clergy to deliver these programmes, and the resources that were produced to disseminate the material to priests. Close attention will be paid to the role of the *Pater Noster* in these materials and it will be argued that the prayer was used as a device around which other catechetical material was structured for the use of priests.

Chapter 2, 'Church Constitutions and the *Pater Noster'*, questions the extent to which the Church proactively sought to teach the prayer to its congregations. It also questions whether the clergy were capable of implementing the programme of education proposed in constitutions, especially in

terms of their education and ability to read, and the effect that this could have had on lay access to the basic catechism. This chapter also considers the language in which the prayer was recited by the laity. It explores the Latin and vernacular versions of the prayer that were disseminated and questions how far each version could have permeated medieval lay society.

The third chapter, 'Written Teaching Resources for the Clergy: Expositions of the *Pater Noster*', examines the Latin and vernacular expositions, liturgical commentaries, and manuals created for a clerical and learned audience. It argues that these texts, providing interpretative elaborations of the *Pater Noster* in writing, enabled the prayer to be used to teach basic theology to the laity.

The next chapter, 'Visual Teaching Resources for the Clergy: the *Pater Noster* in Diagrams and Tables', identifies visual analogues of the expository texts considered in the previous chapter and argues that the prayer performed a central role in connecting the septenaries in an accessible visual, as well as written, format.

SECTION THREE: The *Pater Noster* and Material Culture.

The third section, consisting of three chapters, considers the ways in which the *Pater Noster* was represented in material culture. It argues that the surviving evidence testifies to the fact that the prayer was widely known and used by the laity in medieval England.

Chapter 5, 'The *Pater Noster*, Prayer Beads and Lay Devotion', considers the role of the prayer in wider devotional culture, especially personal intercession, arguing that its inclusion in prayer bead sets suggests that it was widely known. This chapter examines evidence from archaeological excavations and representations of prayer beads in personalised devotional images, including paintings, stained glass, sculpture, monumental brasses and other commemorative forms. It argues that the possible development of the rosary, through the addition of the *Ave Maria* and *Gloria Patri* to a form conventionally associated with the *Pater Noster*, can be seen as an example of how the prayer was exploited to teach additional material. It will also examine the standard epitaphic formulae '*Pater Noster*, *Ave* and *Credo*' found on funerary monuments and consider the impact of the Injunctions of the 1530s and 1540s upon such visual representations and inscriptions.

The sixth chapter, 'The *Pater Noster* in Dramatic Performances', examines the Pater Noster plays written by the clergy and performed in York, Beverley and Lincoln. According to surviving records, such as the return of 1389 sent by the gild of the Pater Noster in York to the King's Council in Chancery, these plays were performed for 'the health of souls' and to educate a lay audience in the key tenets of the faith, especially the *Pater Noster* and the septenaries.[11] Although the play texts have been lost, it is possible to analyse the extant evidence, mainly from city and gild records, to question how and why the *Pater Noster* and septenaries were combined in dramatic performances. It is argued that drama provided another medium in which the prayer was exploited by the clergy to transmit additional material to the laity. It also discusses the dramatic traditions relating to the catechism in the Reformation and post-Reformation period, with particular reference to John Bale's lost play on the *Pater Noster*.

Chapter 7, 'The *Pater Noster* and Wall Paintings and *Tabulae*', investigates whether the visual images available to a lay audience derive from the same traditions as the clerical analogues in chapter 4. Although there are no known examples of the *Pater Noster* in English parochial art, due to the abstract nature of the petitions rendering it less suitable for visual representation than, say, the *Credo*, this chapter questions if the wall paintings of the septenaries were employed as visual examples of the vernacular theology disseminated in sermons to the unlettered masses.[12] This chapter also considers the impact of Reformation-era legislation upon the use of scriptural inscriptions within the parish church environment, notably the use of Pater Noster tables.

SECTION FOUR: Counter Cultures and the *Pater Noster*

[11] TNA: PRO, Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle XLVI, no.454. Translation supplied by Lucy Toulmin Smith and Lujo Brentano, in *English Gilds: the original ordinances of more than one hundred early English gilds: together with ye Olde usages of the Cite of Wynchestre, the Ordinances of Worcester, the Office of the Mayor of Bristol, and the Costomary of the Manor of Tettenhall-Regis: from original MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, ed. by Joshua Toulmin Smith, EETS, OS, 40 (London: Trübner, 1870), p. 137. This is also noted in Robert Potter, *The English Morality Play: Origins, History and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 23.

[12] 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. 2.

The final section, consisting of two chapters, considers the ways in which the orthodox teaching of the *Pater Noster* was subverted or appropriated by heterodox groupings. It argues that the prayer was sufficiently known to be misused, both deliberately and unintentionally, in a non-religious context, namely in spells and charms. It also proposes that the Lollards used the expositions of the prayer in authorised vernacular manuals and commentaries as part of their own catechetical enterprise, interpolating their views within more orthodox material.

The penultimate chapter, 'Superstition and Inversions of the *Pater Noster*', argues that texts such as charms and spells for healing, cursing and protection are evidence of a counter-culture which emerged in opposition to the clerical teaching disseminated to the laity in the Anglo-Saxon period. It suggests that part of the reason for the Church reinforcing its teaching of the orthodox *Pater Noster*, through its amalgamation with other religious septenaries, derived from a perceived lack of control over the use of the prayer. It argues that widespread knowledge of the prayer enabled the possibilities of subversion and misuse, both accidental and deliberate. This chapter provides further substance to the argument that the prayer was widely known.

The final chapter, 'Heterodox Appropriations of the *Pater Noster*', considers the ways in which the Lollards may have responded to the orthodox teaching of the prayer and its amalgamation with the septenaries. It reassesses the material considered in the previous chapters from a Lollard perspective and then progresses to examine whether a distinct Lollard tradition of commenting on and explaining the petitions of the *Pater Noster* emerged.

This study as a whole considers the ways in which the *Pater Noster* was taught to a lay audience and argues that perceived knowledge of this prayer led to the clergy using it as a mechanism to teach other basic theology.

INTRODUCTION

One of the core religious prayers taught to the laity, prior to, during and after the medieval period, was the *Pater Noster*. The prayer's doctrinal authority stemmed from the biblical account of Jesus teaching it to his Apostles, as part of the discourse on ostentation during the Sermon on the Mount. Therefore, the prayer was commonly believed to be the word of God, disseminated to the Christian community through Jesus. Medieval Christians believed that Jesus was the bodily incarnation of the son of God sent to earth to expound his father's teachings, one of which was the *Pater Noster.*[1] The prayer is found in the gospels of Luke (11.2-4) and Matthew (6.9-13), although the accounts differ slightly.

According to Luke's gospel the prayer was delivered in response to a request for guidance on how to pray, 'Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples' (Luke 11.1). The text of the prayer in the Douay-Rheims bible states:

> Father, hallowed be thy name.
> Thy kingdom come.
> Give us this day our daily bread.
> And forgive us our sins, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us.
> And lead us not into temptation.

In Matthew's version the prayer is given as part of Jesus' teachings on how to pray to God. The relevant passage focuses on personal intercession rather than repeating words publically for all to hear. It suggests that public prayer, when it is only engaged in to demonstrate piety to others, is hypocritical, whereas private prayer, said in 'secret', creates direct intercession with God. It also suggests that prayer is not just the repeating of words publically in a manner similar to 'pagan' rites, but that some understanding and engagement with the meaning of the text is necessary (Matthew 6.5-7). The text of the prayer is as follows:

> Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.
> Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.
> Give us this day our supersubstantial bread.

[1] For a study focussing specifically on the *Pater Noster* see Maurice Hussey, 'The Petitions of the Pater Noster in Medieval English Literature', *Medium Ævum*, 27 (1958), 8-16. A fuller account is found in F. G. A. M. Aarts, ed., *The Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), pp. cii-cxiv; and Robert R. Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction', in Albert E. Hartung, ed., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-), VII (1986), pp. 2279-2282.

> And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.
> And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil.

It is this version that is used in the medieval and modern liturgy and for private devotion. The current version of the prayer in Matthew's gospel contains the doxology in addition to the seven petitions.[2] This was added as a result of its use in the liturgy of the early Church and is not part of the prayer in its earliest form.[3] It is unclear why the early Church adopted Matthew's version for use in the liturgy, but it is likely that its presence in the *Didache* or *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* was highly influential.[4]

Of course, clerical access to biblical texts during the medieval period was via Latin translations from the original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, initially through a collection of texts known as the *Vetus Latina* and later through the authorised version, the Vulgate, complied by Jerome in the late fourth century. The Vulgate was commissioned by Pope Damasus I in 382 in an attempt to revise the older Latin translations. This translation, which included the gospels containing the *Pater Noster* texts, provided the authorised version of the prayer, taken from Matthew's Gospel. The text is as follows:

> Pater noster, qui es in celis,
> Sanctificetur nome*n* tuu*m*.
> Adveniat regnu*m* tuu*m*.
> Fiat volu*n*tas tua,
> Sicut in celo et in terra.
> Pane*m* nostru*m* sup*er*substa*n*tiale*m* da nobis hodie,
> et dimitte nobis debita nostra,
> sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.
> Et ne nos inducas in temptatione*m*,
> Sed libera nos a malo.[5]

As the prayer was believed to contain the words of God, and therefore to have a superior quality to the words of man, its evolution in Latin was extremely limited. There are now only two Latin variants of the prayer text: whether to end the prayer with 'Amen' echoing the communal praying in the Mass;

[2] The doxology states 'For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever, Amen'.
[3] For further discussion see Ayo, pp.197-198.
[4] Jonathan A. Draper, 'The Apostolic Fathers: The Didache,' *The Expository Times*, 117.5 (2006), 177-181, describes this text as the first written catechism and dates it to the late first century or early second century.
[5] Transcription from London, British Library, Gutenberg Bible, paper copy (King's copy), fol.193^{r}. Copy dates from *c*.1450. For original text see 'Treasures in Full: Gutenberg Bible', British Library, <http://molcat1.bl.uk/treasures/gutenberg/pagemax.asp?page=193r&strCopy=K&vol=2> [accessed 17 October 2013].

and whether to use Jerome's 'supersubstantialem' instead of 'quotidianum' when referring to the bread. This inconsistency derived from the translation of the Greek word *epiousios*. Etymologically *epiousios* may be related to the Greek word s*epi* (on, over, at, against) and *ousia* (substance). Early writers connected this to Eucharistic transubstantiation, however, *epiousio*s can also be understood as existence, for example, bread that was fundamental to survival. Jerome seems to have perceived the use of 'quotidianum' meaning 'daily' by earlier writers as an inaccuracy and rendered the change to the text. Part of the reason for this change was that *epiousios* was not usually the word used for 'daily' in the Greek language and apart from the gospels it is hardly used in classical Greek literature.[6]

Running alongside these changes, there was a movement to translate basic religious texts, including the *Pater Noster, Ave Maria* and *Credo,* into the vernacular. As early as the seventh century, translations of these texts into the vernacular had been permitted under the auspices of the Catholic Church. One of the earliest extant examples of the *Pater Noster* in Old English can be found in the Lindisfarne Gospels:

> Fader uren ðu arð in heofnu*m*
> Sie gehalgud noma ðin
> To cymeð ric ðin
> Sie willo ðin suaels in heofne & in eorðo
> Half usenne of*er* wistlic sel us todæg
> &f*or*gef us scylda usna suae u*ae* f*or*gefon scyldgum usum
> & ne in laed usih in costunge uh gefrig usich fro*m* yfle.[7]

The translations of the prayer, not only from the Latin Vulgate but also from the original Greek, enabled a range of literary and linguistic variations which circulated both orally and in manuscript form. However, the overall sentiment and structure of the prayer remained constant.[8] The word order of this text, along with other early examples, is clearly reflected in contemporary and later translations, such as the multiple vernacular translations of the Latin text attributed to the followers of John

[6] Kenneth Stevenson, *Abba, Father: Understanding and Using the Lord's Prayer* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2000), p. 117.
[7] My transcription from London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D IV, fols 37^{r}-37^{v}. The Old English gloss supplied by Aldred the provost of Chester-le-Street (fl. *c.*970) accompanies the Latin text of Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne (*c.*700). For an identical translation see Ayo, p. 217; and George Lillie Craik and Charles McFarlene, *The Pictorial History of England*, 8 vols (London: Charles Knight and Co, 1837), I, p. 293.
[8] David Lawton, 'Englishing the Bible, 1066-1549', in David Wallace, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 454-482 (p.454), states that these texts became available through a process or 'spectrum of linguistic activity from translation through paraphrase to different kinds of imaginative substitution' and also through social processes.

Wycliffe, an early advocate of the Bible in English.[9] As part of this process of translation a vernacular version of the prayer was included in a text now known as the Wycliffite Bible which was created in 1382. Although the Church sought to destroy the text, there are still approximately 240 extant manuscripts, complete or partial. This survival suggests that the text was widely diffused in the fifteenth century. The text of the *Pater Noster* is as follows:

> Oure fadir þat art in heuenes
> halowid be þi name.
> Thi ki*n*gdom come to.
> Be þi will don as in heuen & in erþe.
> Ȝeue to us þis day oure breed ouer oþer substau*n*ce
> And forȝeue to us oure dettis:
> as we forȝeuen to oure dettours.
> And lede us not in to temptaciou*n*.
> Bute delyu*er*e us fro*m* yuel amen.[10]

Vernacular translations such as this created tensions for, although it was important for the clergy and the laity to understand the meaning of their prayers, the fear of Lollardy had made the Church authorities sceptical of translations of scripture, even of basic texts such as the *Pater Noster*.[11] It was feared that these texts might be used as a precedent for accessing other parts of the Bible in English.[12]

Although vernacular translations of the Latin *Pater Noster* were in circulation, an alternative version of the prayer originating from the first English translation of the Greek text by William Tyndale was also available. This was based on the critical edition of the Greek New Testament (1522) complied by Desiderius Erasmus with the accompanying Latin translation. The text is as follows:

> O oure father which arte in heven, halowed be thy name.
> Let thy kyngdo*m* come.
> Thy wyll be fulfilled, as well in erth as hit ys in heven.

[9] For further discussion on Wycliffe and Bible translation see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, esp. pp.198-199, 205-206, 228-277, 390-445. Hudson, in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 162, notes that 'Wyclif's name does not appear in early manuscripts of the Bible translation, nor does he ever claim responsibility for such a work in his own writings'. See also Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, 2nd edn, rev. by Richard A. Norris, David W. Lotz and Robert T. Handy (New York: Scribner's, 1959), p. 269.

[10] My transcription from London, British Library, MS Egerton 618, fol.3^{v}. See also William M. Smith and Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 'English Versions', *International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, 4 vols (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), II: E-J, p. 84; and Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001), pp. 173-174.

[11] Lollardy was a religious movement, originating during the mid-to-late fourteenth century, which followed the teachings of John Wycliffe and sought to reform the Western Christian Church, especially promoting the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. As the Lollards believed that the Catholic Church had become corrupted, they looked to Scripture as the basis for their religious ideas and practices.

[12] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 79.

> Geve vs this daye oure dayly breade.
> And forgeve vs oure treaspases, even as we forgeve them which
> treaspas vs.
> Leede vs not into temptacion, but delyvre vs from yvell.
> For thyne is the kyngedom and the power, and the glorye for ever.[13]

The use of to the word 'dayly' when referring to the bread suggests that Jerome's translation of the Greek word *epiousios* to the Latin word 'supersubstantialem', as used in the Vulgate, was not transferred into the vernacular translation.

As time progressed the desire to establish a common text for liturgical prayer resulted in a process of standardisation, although the prayer remained largely based upon Tyndale's translation. Standardisation was an urgent matter, as hardly any of the vernacular translations found in early manuscripts or early printed books agree on spelling or wording. By the mid-to-late sixteenth century, under the impetus of printing, the tremendous variety of spellings in written English stemming from regional variations had been reduced into a far smaller set of variants. Spelling and grammatical structures became much more normalised and the norms adopted by the translators and printers of versions of the Bible had an immense influence on the writers of the age, especially in terms of orthography. The Book of Common Prayer grew out of these efforts to create a standard version of the core prayers in the vernacular. The royal primer of Henry VIII, dating from 1545, did achieve some unification:

> Our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.
> Thy kingdom come.
> Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.
> Give us this day our daily bread.
> And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass
> against us.
> And let us not be led into temptation,
> But deliver us from evil.
> Amen.[14]

[13] *The New Testament: A Facsimile of the 1526 Edition Translated by William Tyndale* (London: British Library; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2008); James W. Thirtle, *The Lord's Prayer: An Interpretation Critical and Expository* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1915), p. 214.
[14] Edward Burton, ed., *Three Primers Put Forth in the Reign of Henry VIII: viz. I. A Goodly Prymer, 1535, II. The Manual of Prayers or the Prymer in English, 1539. III. King Henry's Primer, 1545* (Oxford: The University Press, 1834), p. 459.

The primer changed Tyndale's translation of 'thy will be fulfilled' to 'thy will be done'. Subsequently, the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, dating from 1549, proceeded to change 'let us not be led into temptation' to 'lead us not into temptation':

> Our father, whyche art in heaven, halowed be thy name.
> Thy kyngdome come.
> Thy wyll be doen in yearth, as it is in heaven.
> Geve us this daye our dayly breade.
> And forgeve us our trespaces, as wee forgeve them that trespasse
> agaynst us.
> And leade vs not into temptacion.
> But deliver us from evill.
> Amen[15]

In the later edition of the King James Bible, issued in 1611, the words 'trespaces' and 'trespasse' were replaced with 'debt' and 'debtors', and the doxology was added:

> Our father which art in heauen, hallowed be thy name.
> Thy kingdome come.
> Thy will be done, in earth, as it is in heauen.
> Giue vs this day our daily bread.
> And forgiue vs our debts, as we forgiue our debters.
> And lead vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill:
> For thine is the kingdome, and the power, and the glory, for euer.
> Amen.[16]

The reason behind this change again stems from the biblical origin of the prayer. In the original Greek text the word used in Matthew 6:12 is 'ὀφειλήματα', which translates into English as 'debts' and therefore, to be in line with the original manuscript version of the prayer, this is the correct word choice. This is also evident in the Latin translation where the words 'debita' and 'debitoribus' are used. However, in English the words 'debts' and 'debtors' usually refer to something being owed (such as money, goods or services) and therefore this translation was not perceived to be suitable for the moral message of the prayer. Later in the gospel of Matthew (6:14-15) it says:

> If you forgive others their transgressions, your heavenly Father will forgive you
> But if you do not forgive others, neither will your Father forgive your transgressions.

[15] Anon., *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, Section V: The Supper of the Lorde and the Holy Communion, Commonly Called the Masse (London: Dent, 1910).
[16] William Aldis Wright, ed., *The Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909) V: The New Testament.

This extract suggests that the purpose of the *Pater Noster* was to encourage the reciter to forgive the sins of others as they would like God to forgive their sins and transgressions. To make this clear, both prior to and following this edition, the word 'debts' is replaced with 'trespasses'.

As the period covered by this study progressed, these variations continued to circulate; however, local and temporary versions were superseded in due course, either because of the need for uniformity within the church, or because of the prevalence of one particular version following the introduction of printing. Towards the end of the period covered by this study, specifically the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, there were a growing number of vernacular paraphrases of the prayer, many of which were accompanied by some form of commentary explaining the meaning and function of each petition and expressing the benefits of its recitation. Therefore, the *Pater Noster* received consideration in many vernacular as well as Latin religious manuals and commentaries, an area examined further in chapter 3.[17]

From this brief consideration of the evolution of the prayer, in both Latin and the vernacular, it is evident that it experienced little alteration throughout the medieval period, with any subtle changes arising from the differing readings and interpretations of the translators. The fixed nature of the prayer, alongside its biblical origin, meant that it became an important part of the devotional life of the laity. The translation of the prayer into the vernacular, thus making it accessible to the laity in a language that was more familiar and more understandable than Latin, suggests that this prayer, with the *Ave*

[17] Surveys of vernacular manuals include Raymo, pp. 2279-2282; G. H. Russell, 'Vernacular Instruction of the Laity in the Later Middle Ages in England: Some Texts and Notes', *Journal of Religious History*, 2 (1962-1963), 98-119; Vincent Gillespie, '*Doctrina* and *Predicacio:* The Design and Function of Some Pastoral Manuals', *Leeds Studies in English*, N. S., 11 (1980 for 1979), 36-50; Fritz Kemmler, 'Synodalia and Vernacular Literature: A Note on Methods of Religious Instruction in Early Fourteenth-Century England', in G. K. Jember, ed., *Tuebingen Studies in Literature and Language: Language and its Manipulation* (Denver: Society for New Language Study, 1980), pp. 79-89; Fritz Kemmler, 'Exempla in Context: A Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne", *Studies and Texts in English*, 6 (1984), 24-59; Judith Shaw, 'The Influence of Canonical and Episcopal Reform on Popular Books of Instruction', in Thomas J. Heffernan, ed., The Popular Literature of Medieval England (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 44-60; Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology', in Heffernan, pp. 30-43; C. A. Martin, 'Middle English Manuals of Religious Instruction', in Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels, eds., *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh* (Edinburgh: M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels, 1981), pp. 283-298; Vincent Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion', in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall, eds., *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 317-344; and Alexandra Barratt, 'Works of Religious Instruction', in A. S. G. Edwards, ed., Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 419-420. Latin commentaries on the *Pater Noster* are listed in Bloomfield et al, *Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices*.

Maria and *Credo*, was to play an important role in both personal intercession and lay participation in the Mass and sacraments. The promotion of this prayer as an essential part of lay education, and the ways in which it was explicitly taught or disseminated, will be explored in the forthcoming chapters.

CHAPTER ONE

LAY KNOWLEDGE OF THE *PATER NOSTER*

This chapter examines how a lay audience in medieval England would have come into contact with the *Pater Noster*. It will firstly consider how they encountered the prayer in their daily lives, especially through the Mass. It argues that the laity heard the prayer in its Latin form during the celebration of the Eucharist, and therefore they would have been familiar with the words even if they did not fully comprehend their meaning. Secondly, this chapter explores the role of the prayer in the sacraments. It will assert that the *Pater Noster* formed part of the ceremonies used to mark each stage of life for the laity, proposing that this provides evidence for widespread knowledge of the prayer, while acknowledging that this does not indicate that the prayer was necessarily widely understood. It then focuses on the education of children, both informal and formal, considering the ways in which the prayer was used to support the development of reading skills. Again, it is argued that this implies the prayer was widely known in its Latin form. Finally, references to the prayer in some examples of vernacular poetry written by some of the major authors of this period receive consideration. These references also indicate that the prayer was widely known.

The issuing of Church statutes decreeing that the clergy needed to teach the *Pater Noster* to their parishioners, a topic examined in detail in the following chapter, indicates that sufficiently large numbers of the laity were unable to recite and / or understand the prayer at the time when these documents were issued. This may indicate a lack of religious knowledge on the part of the laity. However, the true picture is much more complicated than it may first seem.

Previous research has shown the religious experiences of the laity and the clergy were very different.[1] Whereas clerical education focussed on a deeper understanding of the Church's catechesis,

[1] For a detailed discussion see Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), esp. pp. 11-12. For a discussion of the later medieval period see Margaret Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), pp. 1-26. Both texts describe the difficulty in defining the differences between the clergy and the laity, especially in terms of social status and education. Aston also considers the ways in which a lay audience encountered the Christian faith through pilgrimage, preaching and other activities additional to church services.

lay piety was based on the basic texts of the Christian faith, including the prayers. It was thought that these prayers, especially the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo,* were necessary to enable the individual to engage in continuous communication with God.

It is likely that, regardless of age, gender and social grouping, both children and adults would have attended church services, albeit infrequently.[2] Therefore, as the recitation of the prayer was included in rituals at the centre of the liturgical life of the Church, the sharing of the Eucharist during the Mass, it is evident that the laity would have encountered the *Pater Noster* as part of their devotional life.

Although the laity were unable to participate directly in the celebration of the Mass, they were encouraged to recite the Latin *Pater Noster* aloud, along with the *Credo* and *Ave Maria*, at specific points during the service.[3] The *Pater Noster* was recited as part of the communion rite prior to the Breaking of the Bread, its central role in the most sacred section of the Mass suggesting its importance and significance. One of the minor poems in the Vernon Manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1) *c.*1390, in describing how a lay audience should hear Mass reverently, proposes that participation in the Mass through the recitation of the *Pater Noster* constitutes suitable behaviour:

> **...** ffor Men scholde to chirche gonge,
> To here Matins, Masse, and Euensonge,
> Heore pater noster to sigge, Aue Marie, & Crede.[4]

Those who heard Mass on a frequent basis would be familiar with the sound of the prayer and therefore over time, it is likely they may have been able to participate in its recitation.[5] However, this

[2] The frequency of services in different dioceses varied greatly and, therefore, it is difficult to ascertain how frequently an individual could have attended the Mass. For example, the *Injunctions* issued by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 compelled the faithful, under pain of excommunication, to receive the Eucharist at least once a year (c. *Omnis utriusque sexus*). For a detailed discussion on lay experiences of the Mass see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 109-121.

[3] For studies on the medieval Mass see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 90-130 (esp. p.117 which refers directly to the *Pater Noster*); P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross and Ann Rycraft, eds., *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York* (Reading: Spire Books, 2005); Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organisation and Terminology,* 2nd edn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 'Mass', pp. 81-99 (p.87); Swanson, *Religion and Devotion,* pp. 98-101; Swanson, *Catholic England,* pp. 78-91; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); J. Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution', *Past and Present*, 100 (1983), 29-61; and Thomas Frederick Simmons, ed., *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, EETS, OS, 71 (London: Trübner, 1879; repr. 1968), pp. 128-154.

[4] Carl Horstmann, ed., *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, EETS, OS, 98 **(**London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1892), p. xxxvii.

does not indicate whether they understood what they were saying or simply recited the words rote fashion. Nevertheless, having commented on the use of the *Pater Noster* in the Mass, and concluding that this may indicate widespread knowledge of the prayer, we will now turn to its use in the rituals associated with the sacraments.

The other sacraments (Baptism, Reconciliation, Confirmation, Marriage, Holy Orders and Anointing the Sick) provided additional instances in which the laity encountered the *Pater Noster.*[6] As the sacraments were perceived to 'touch all the stages and all the important moments of a Christian's life', they perhaps provided visible rites of passage for the laity.[7] The inclusion of the prayer within these rituals enabled it to feature in the major milestones of an individual's life.

Infants of all social stations were baptised at an early age to remove the stain of original sin, enabling them to become a member of the Christian community.[8] The formal rite of this sacrament contained injunctions which directed the godparents to teach the child their basic prayers, including the *Pater Noster.* In late medieval England, prior to the blessing of the font, the godparents were told, according to a late gloss in the Sarum *Manuale*, to 'lerne or se yt be lerned the Pater noster, Aue Maria

[5] For a discussion of the use of the *Pater Noster* in the Mass see Robert Bartlett, ed., *Medieval Panorama* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), p. 65; Stephen Pink, 'Holy Scripture and the Meaning of the Eucharist in Late Medieval England, *c.*1370-1430'(unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2012); Craig J. Fraser, 'The Religious Instruction of the Laity in Late Medieval England with particular reference to the Sacrament of the Eucharist' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1995).

[6] For studies on the medieval Sacraments see David Bourke, ed., *Summa Theologiae vol. 56 (3a. 60-65) The Sacraments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, pp. 30-34; Bartlett, pp. 62-64; Guido of Monte Rochen, *Handbook for Curates: a Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry* trans. by Anne T. Thayer (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011); and Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), esp. 'Life Course Rituals: Transforming the Body', pp. 181-189. For visual representations of the sacraments see Ann Eljenholm Nichols, *Seeable Signs: the Iconography of the Seven Sacraments, 1350-1544* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994); G. McN. Rushforth, *Seven Sacraments Compositions in Medieval Art* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1929); and Catechism of the Catholic Church, 'Part Two: the celebration of the Christian mystery, Section Two: the Seven Sacraments of the Church, no. 1210' <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p2s2.htm> [accessed 17 October 2013].

[6] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 'Part Two: the celebration of the Christian mystery, Section Two: the Seven Sacraments of the Church, no. 1113' <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p2s2.htm> [accessed 17 October 2013].

[7] Catechism of the Catholic Church, no. 1113.

[8] For further information on the Baptism service see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 280-281; Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: from the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c.200-c.1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Harriet M. Sonne de Torrens and Minguel A. Torrens, *The Visual Culture of Baptism in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval Fonts, Settings and Beliefs* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013); and John D. C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West: A Study in the Disintegration of the Primitive Rite of Initiation* (London: SPCK, 1965).

and Credo after the law of all holy churche'.[9] The importance placed on learning these prayers at a young age, is emphasised by a vernacular inscription on a fourteenth-century font in St George's Church, Bradley, Lincolnshire, which states 'Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Criede, / Leren ye chylde yt es nede'.[10] Knowledge of these prayers was thought to enable the child to communicate with God and also to lay the ground work for later engagement with more complex theological material in adulthood. The use of the *Pater Noster* in the rite of Baptism, especially in relation to the expectation that it should be taught to children from a young age, indicates that the prayer was considered to be an important part of lay religious education.

Archbishop Thoresby of York stressed the value of parental instruction, declaring in the prologue to his *Injunctions* of 1357 that clerics should remind parents to instruct their children in the faith and this, according to Moira Fitzgibbons, creates a parallel between the teaching role of the clergy and the laity.[11] Parents and god-parents were therefore made responsible for teaching their children the precepts taught to them by their parish priest. Their ability to understand what they were taught and their capability in clearly disseminating it to their children created a fundamental problem with this scheme. This suggests that apart from hearing the prayer during the Mass and during any of the sacraments they received or saw administered, these children would have had little or no exposure to the prayer.

Nicholas Orme, in 'Childhood in Medieval England, *c*.500-1500', asserts that one reason for the expectation that parents and god-parents were to teach the basic prayers in Latin to their children, was that children attended church very infrequently. He states that Church Law from the twelfth century onwards required few duties or obligations of children, and therefore they did not need to

[9] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 53 cites A. Jefferies Collins, ed., *Manuale ad usum Percelebris Ecclesia Sarisburiensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 91 (Chichester: Moore & Tillyer, 1960), p. 32. The Sarum Rite was developed in the early thirteenth century and gradually spread across England and central Europe by the fourteenth century.

[10] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 53; and F. Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1908), p. 113.

[11] Moira Fitzgibbons, 'Disruptive Simplicity: Gaytryge's Translation of Archbishop Thoresby's Injunctions', in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson and Nancy Warren, eds., *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 39-58 (pp.45-46).

participate in church activities.[12] Thus the role of providing an elementary level of religious education seems to have been attributed to secular adults rather than to a chaplain or parish priest.

This importance of the prayer continued in the sacrament of Confession (also referred to by the modern day Roman Catholic Church as Reconciliation), where knowledge of the *Pater Noster* was considered to be essential.[13] The introduction of a new religious obligation, annual confession to a parish priest, by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (*Omnis Utriusque Sexus*) put greater emphasis on the significance of the prayer in an individual's salvation.[14] According to Leonard Boyle, this development, in principle, gave the parish clergy a 'valuable pastoral and educational tool' to 'explore not only the moral condition of his parishioners, but also their knowledge of [the] Catholic faith and practice'.[15] As Grosseteste and others affirmed, the sacrament of confession enabled the Church to test

[12] Nicholas Orme, 'Childhood in Medieval England, *c*.500-1500' (post-2006) <http://www.representingchildhood.pitt.edu/medieval_child.htm> [accessed 5 November 2013].

[13] For further information on this sacrament see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 54, 60-62; and Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), pp. 19-32; For a discussion on the conditions in which confession was heard see L. G. Duggan, 'Fear and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation', *Archiv für Reformations Geschichte*, 75 (1984), 153-175; Ann Eljenholm Nichols, 'The Etiquette of Pre-Reformation Confession in East Anglia', *Sixteenth Century Journal,* 17 (1986), 145-163.

[14] The ability to recite the *Pater Noster* was a requirement for receiving the host during the rite of Communion. As annual Communion at Easter was made obligatory, the prayer played a more fundamental role in lay religious access to religious services and ceremonies. For the text see H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), pp. 236-296. Canon 21 is most relevant (translation from Schroeder): 'All the faithful of both sexes shall after they have reached the age of discretion faithfully confess all their sins at least once a year to their own (parish) priest and perform to the best of their ability the penance imposed, receiving reverently at least at Easter the sacrament of the Eucharist, unless perchance at the advice of their own priest they may for a good reason abstain for a time from its reception; otherwise they shall be cut off from the Church (excommunicated) during life and deprived of Christian burial in death. Wherefore, let this salutary decree be published frequently in the churches, that no one may find in the plea of ignorance a shadow of excuse. But if anyone for a good reason should wish to confess his sins to another priest, let him first seek and obtain permission from his own (parish) priest, since otherwise he (the other priest) cannot loose or bind him. Let the priest be discreet and cautious that he may pour wine and oil into the wounds of the one injured after the manner of a skilful physician, carefully inquiring into the circumstances of the sinner and the sin, from the nature of which he may understand what kind of advice to give and what remedy to apply, making use of different experiments to heal the sick one. But let him exercise the greatest precaution that he does not in any degree by word, sign, or any other manner make known the sinner, but should he need more prudent counsel, let him seek it cautiously without any mention of the person. He who dares to reveal a sin confided to him in the tribunal of penance, we decree that he be not only deposed from the sacerdotal office but also relegated to a monastery of strict observance to do penance for the remainder of his life'. Alexander Murray, 'Confession Before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 3 (1993), 51-80 (pp. 63-65) proposes that literature testifies to the fact that annual confession was already in place by the twelfth century and Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 305-306 suggests that secular law also confirms that penances were performed and that those who refused their penance could be excommunicated. See also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 54; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion,* p. 26; Boyle, 'Fourth Lateran Council', pp. 30-43; and Pantin, pp. 189-243.

[15] On the production of manuals for the clergy and laity in the medieval period see Boyle, 'Fourth Lateran Council', pp. 30-43; and Pantin, pp. 189-243. Boyle suggests that many of the manuals that were produced to assist the clergy in ministering to their parishioners had a strong focus on the sacrament of confession. He suggests that 'the bulk of

adult penitents on their knowledge of the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*.[16] For example, Mirk in his *Instructions to Parish Priests* questions 'Const ȝow þy pater and þyn ave / And þy crede, now telle ȝow me' (917-918).[17] If the respondent cannot, they are to be given a penance which will encourage them to learn it. As a result of this process, it became apparent that many members of the congregation were unable to recite the prayer, spearheading a movement by bishops and church councils in England to improve lay religious education, a movement which will be discussed in detail in chapter 2. The importance placed on the ability to recite the *Pater Noster* clearly suggests that this text was perceived to be central to lay religious learning.

The sacrament of Confirmation was seen as a continuation of the induction into the Christian Church which began during the baptism service. According to Kim M. Phillips, from the fourteenth century, it was recommended by the Church that the sacrament should only be administered to children over the age of seven.[18] Phillips also states that, by the time of the issuing of the English Prayer Book in 1549, a child needed to demonstrate their religious knowledge and understanding before this rite of passage to adulthood could be administered.[19] It is not known how frequently or successfully this sacrament was administered to the laity as it was the responsibility of a bishop rather than a parish priest. Based on the evidence cited by Daniel Bornstein which describes the situation in Italy and France, it is extremely unlikely that Confirmations were frequent.[20] The limited records of this sacrament suggest little about the content of the service, including whether the recitation of the *Pater Noster* was necessary.

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pastoralia … [was] largely taken up with penance and confession', since he sees 'manuals on virtues and vices, both in Latin and the vernacular, as aids to contrition and confession' (p.32). See also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 54.

[16] Spencer, p. 210.

[17] London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A II, fols 129^{r}-154^{v}. For an edition see E Peacock, ed., *John Myrc: Instructions for Parish Priests*, EETS, OS, 31 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902), p. 28.

[18] Kim M. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, c.1270-c.1540* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 31.

[19] Phillips, p. 31.

[20] Daniel Bornstein, 'Administering the Sacraments', in Robert N. Swanson, ed., *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity, 1050-1500* (Oxon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 133-146 (p.135), states that, in Italy, the size of each diocese meant that the bishop was hardly ever seen and either failed to Confirm people or performed Confirmations on a mass scale. He also proposes that the sacrament had fallen into 'disuse' in fourteenth century France as it was not considered to be important in salvation.

In comparison to our limited understanding of the role of the prayer in Confirmation, its recitation as part of the sacrament of Matrimony is more clearly documented.[21] After the declaration of consent was made by both parties and then ratified by the priest, and the rings had been blessed and exchanged, the ceremony was followed by the Nuptial Mass in which the *Pater Noster* was said before the solemn blessing.[22] This suggests the prayer continued to play a role during the fundamental milestones of a lay individual's life and helped to mark the transitions from infant to child, and then from child into adulthood.

After the birth of a child, the *Pater Noster* was recited as part of the ritual of purification or the churching of the mother. Although there are regional differences in this ceremony, such as its location within or outside of the church building, all of the records suggest the prayer was recited either by the priest or the mother at some point during the rite. As part of the fourteenth century Use of Sarum rite, which was used by most of the English dioceses by the mid-fifteenth century, the priest recited Psalms 123 and 128, the *Pater Noster,* prayers and collect, and concluded by sprinkling holy water over the woman before leading her by the hand into the building.[23] This ritual sought to give thanks for a safe delivery and to ask for God's blessing in the raising of the child. Although the ritualistic elements of this rite, such as the wearing of a veil, changed during the period of this study, the recitation of the *Pater Noster* remained constant.[24] Again, this suggests that the prayer played an important part in the religious experiences of lay women. Having examined the use of the prayer in the sacraments that marked the stages of life for the laity we will now turn to consider the sacrament that marked their transition from this world into the next.

[21] For a detailed discussion of marriage in medieval society see Christopher Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); and John Witte Jr., *From Sacrament to Contract: Marriage, Religion and Law in the Western Tradition*, 2nd edn (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012).
[22] Paul F. Bradshaw, *New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (London: SCM Press, 2013), pp. 300-301; Chris Given-Wilson, *An Illustrated History of Late Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 62.
[23] Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p. 184.
[24] For a more detailed discussion of the ritualistic elements of the practice see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 59-61. For a medieval perspective see Leland H. Carlson, ed., *The Writings of John Greenwood, 1587-1590: together with the joint writings of Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, 1587-1590* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962). For a discussion on the evolution of the rite of Churching see Bradshaw, pp. 117-118.

The Anointing of the Sick, or Extreme Unction, was administered by the priest to the lay individual on their deathbed.[25] This last rite encouraged the penitent to engage in confession to ask for the forgiveness of their sins and to enable them to receive Holy Communion.[26] Theoretically, during the Anglo-Saxon period there were several ways for a sick individual to substitute singing psalms or praying for the prescribed penance of fasting. In practice, it is unlikely that many individuals who were close to death were willing or physically able to (for example) say two hundred and twenty psalms, or to kneel and bow to the earth sixty times saying the *Pater Noster*, or to say Psalm 118 (one hundred and seventy-six verses long) six times and the *Pater Noster* six times, or to lie prostrate and say Psalm 50 fifteen times and the *Pater Noster* fifteen times, all of which were considered to be equivalent to just one day's fast.[27] From these examples, it is apparent that recitation of the prayer was offered, perhaps for the less educated as well as the less able, as a simpler alternative to the more complex theological and literary tasks that were expected as part of an individual's final confession. Therefore, from the consideration of the sacraments, it is evident the *Pater Noster* was recited during each of the formal rites of passage available to a lay audience.

The prayer was also used during personal intercession. As the repetition of sin was perceived to be unavoidable, and baptism, intended to remove sin, could only occur once in a person's lifetime, further forms of repentance and penance were necessary.[28] St Augustine (354-430) describes the recitation of the *Pater Noster* as a *quasi quotidianum baptismum vestrum*, which is translated by Avril Henry as 'a personal daily baptism'.[29] Henry proposes that the prayer was 'accorded almost

[25] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 310-313 (p.313) explains the fear that many lay people felt towards this sacrament. He explains that the anointing of the senses which was administered as part of this sacrament could only occur as death was imminent and this finality made individuals fearful, not only as death was now inevitable but they also feared that if they did survive they would be cut off from participating in 'normal activities'. See also William Maskell, ed., *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London: William Pickering, 1846-1847). Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 466 explains how the rituals associated with this sacrament change during the Tudor period.
[26] Peacock, pp. 53-59.
[27] Allen J. Frantzen, ed., 'The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database', *Old English Handbook 15.18.01*, <http://www.anglo-saxon.net/penance/index.php?p=LAUD482_42a> [accessed 8 September 2014].
[28] Augustine, *Sermones Ad Populum*, *PL* 38. 1064, ed. by J. P. Migne (Paris, 1841).
[29] Avril Henry, '"The Pater Noster in a Table Ypeynted" and Some Other Presentations of Doctrine in the Vernon Manuscript', in Derek Pearsall, ed., *Studies in The Vernon Manuscript* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), pp. 89-113 (p.97).

sacramental power' as a form of penance.[30] Such a use for the prayer, and also the employment of prayer beads in this process, enabled the laity to ask forgiveness for their sins outside of the confessional. This implies that some members of the laity, at least, had learned the Latin prayer and were capable of its recitation.

The evidence considered so far testifies to the fact that members of the laity were exposed to the *Pater Noster* through the sacraments and the Mass, but it does not establish whether they understood the meaning of the words or whether they were actively taught the prayer by the clergy. In the Mass and in each of the sacraments discussed, the prayer was recited in Latin and there is no evidence to suggest that vernacular translation or teaching occurred. This implies that, although the laity may have learned to recite the prayer during their religious experiences, it is unlikely that many could access its meaning, and therefore they repeated the text through rote learning rather than understanding.

As well as hearing, and perhaps remembering and reciting the words of the prayer during the Mass, there were several other ways in which a lay individual may have learned the *Pater Noster*. For some members of the laity a basic knowledge of the prayer developed as part of the process of learning to read. This was often one of the first texts they encountered as many of the basic texts available were of a religious nature.[31] It is plausible that such texts were deliberately chosen to educate the unlettered in the core elements of the faith, while simultaneously facilitating the acquisition of reading skills. The presentation of the *Pater Noster* and the alphabet can be found in the Horn-book, a form created as a learning aid for children. Here the text is either embossed or incised on a small tablet of wood, usually of oak, with the Latin prayer written below the alphabet.[32] One late twelfth-century

[30] Henry, p. 97.
[31] M. Denley, 'Elementary Teaching Technique and Middle English Religious Didactic Writing', in Helen Phillips, ed., *Langland, the Mystics and the Mediaeval English Religious Tradition* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), pp. 223-241 (p.224).
[32] W. J. Frank Davies, *Teaching Reading in Early England* (London: Pitman, 1973), pp. 94-95, 97-98. This mechanism developed from the need to include more material than would fit on the limited space allotted to the criss-cross row, the alphabet arranged in the shape of a cross with A at the top and Z at the bottom. Davies stated that the formation known as the 'Christ-cross, Criss-cross row, Chriss-crosse or Christ's cross' was presented in a variety of arrangements including the first nine letters of the alphabet in the form of a cross with the rest of the letters strung in

example from Hastings consists of a piece of slate incised with the alphabet and the opening words of the *Pater Noster* in Latin.[33] Another example is evident in the depiction of Saint Anne teaching the Virgin to read, in the north aisle of Saint John the Evangelist's Church, Corby Glen, Lincolnshire, dating from *c.*1325.[34] Both of these examples demonstrate the use of the horn book, and subsequently the alphabet and the *Pater Noster*, in teaching medieval children their letters.

ABC books frequently contained the *Pater Noster* as this was usually the first prayer to follow the alphabet, and thus to be learned.[35] This method of teaching individuals to read was most likely successful as the format of presenting the alphabet followed by a Latin *Pater Noster* was later copied into the design of primers, or 'anthologies' of essential prayers and liturgical devotions. These primers and 'anthologies' started with a small cross placed at the beginning of rows of letters written in lineal style. They then proceeded to contain the Latin text of the *Pater Noster*.[36] Although the evolution of the primer emerged in response to the Fourth Lateran Council and subsequent Episcopal constitutions

bead-fashion on a frame, or the capitals along one arm of the cross and the small letters along the other arm with numerals down the centre piece.

[33] Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 57. For further treatment of the early alphabet and hornbooks see Andrew White Tuer, *History of the Horn Book*, 2 vols (London: Leadenhall Press, 1897).

[34] Anne Marshall, 'St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read, Corby Glen, Linconshire (‡*Lincoln*). *c.*1325', *Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church: a developing catalogue*, (2012) <http://www.paintedchurch.org/corbysan.htm> [accessed 17 July 2012]. The representation of St Anne teaching the Virgin to read appears to have been invented in England during the early fourteenth century and remained extremely popular until *c.*1375 when the depictions of this image declined in frequency. For a list of representations in wall paintings, stained glass and manuscripts see Christopher Norton, David Park and Paul Binski, eds., *Dominican Painting in East Anglia* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), p. 51. In two notable examples Anne and the Virgin are shown with a child's alphabet book: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 231 fol.3, a Book of Hours dating to *c.*1325-1330 (here the capital letters separated by ruled lines spell Domini) and the now destroyed wall painting at Mentmore, Buckinghamshire, assigned to the thirteenth century (Anne holding a scroll inscribed with the letters ABC). See Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385* (London: Harvey Miller, 1986) no.87, p. 95; and E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Paintings: The Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 579.

[35] Orme, *Medieval Schools*, pp. 61-62, 343. This practice according to Orme was already established by the fourteenth century and continued well after the Reformation.

[36] Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p. 58; and Davies, p. 94. See also Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling, 1340-1548: Learning, Literacy, and Laicization in Pre-Reformation York Diocese* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); and Denley, pp. 223-241. An unusual surviving example of the alphabet followed by the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo* in the vernacular can be found in New York, Columbia University Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 258, fol.1^{r}, dating from *c.*1400. It is more common, however, to find Latin examples such as an English Book of Hours of Sarum Use dating to *c.*1490 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.487, fol.1^{r}) which contains an ABC and proceeds to a series of basic prayers such as the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo* and 'Confiteor' cited in Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: the Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1997), p. 12. This example is particularly soiled and testifies to children's fingers tracing and pointing to the letters on the page.

to develop religious knowledge, the inclusion of the alphabet as a mnemonic framework to enable access to the following texts suggests that a certain amount of literacy was required.[37]

It is plausible that lettered, but perhaps not Latinate, lay individuals obtained vernacular translations of Latin religious manuals, initially created to educate the clergy, which were in circulation in England from the thirteenth century onwards. Although their original purpose was to enable the priest to 'communicate the Christian faith' and become 'intermediaries' disseminating the teachings and injunctions to their congregations, their translation into the vernacular may have concurrently enabled some members of the laity to access the texts.[38] Some of these vernacular manuals deliberately preached a simplified Christian doctrine appropriate for a wide and unevenly educated audience.[39] Therefore, the simple pedagogical processes that were encountered at the elemental stages of medieval education both influenced and spurred on the creation of these didactic texts.[40] The desire to provide texts suitable for the laity led to the proliferation of instructional manuals, sermon collections and treatises steeped in canon law and moral theology. Many of the vernacular manuals, created to develop both lay and clerical religious understanding, contained expositions of the petitions of the *Pater Noster* and therefore it is likely this enabled wider circulation and understanding of the prayer. These manuals will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.

In addition to the ways in which the prayer may have been learned in the home setting, from the fifteenth century onwards it is possible that children from all social groups may have received some formal education.[41] Although basic schooling was provided by monasteries and nunneries during the seventh century, especially formal education for the teaching of reading and the learning of the

[37] Denley, p. 225.
[38] Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, p. 59.
[39] Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350-1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 43-44. Surveys of vernacular manuals include Raymo, pp. 2255-2378; Russell, 98-119; Gillespie, '*Doctrina* and *Predicacio',* 36-50; Kemmler, 'Synodialia and Vernacular Literature', pp. 79-89; Kemmler, 'Exempla in Context', 24-59; Shaw, pp. 44-60; Boyle, 'Fourth Lateran Council', pp. 30-43; Martin, pp. 283-298; Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books', pp. 317-344; Alexandra Barratt, 'Works of Religious Instruction', pp. 413-432 (pp.419-420). Latin commentaries on the *Pater Noster* are listed in Bloomfield et al.
[40] Denley, p. 223.
[41] For a detailed discussion of the evolution of schooling during the medieval period and into the Reformation see: Orme, *Medieval Schools*, esp. pp. 187-336 on the History of Schools; Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973); John N. Miner, *The Grammar Schools of Medieval England: A.F. Leach in historiographical perspective* (Montreal: McGills-Queen's University Press, 1990).

basic prayers, both in Latin, this schooling was usually for individuals who were to become a monk, nun or a member of the 'secular' clergy who ministered to the lay community in local parishes.[42]

During the fifteenth century, evidence suggests that a number of schools included religious education in the curriculum. It is highly likely that children entering grammar school at approximately seven years of age would have already been able to read, and since many of the initial texts they may have encountered contained the *Pater Noster*, it is also likely that they would have been able to recite the basic prayers fluently, especially in Latin. John Drury, for example, a schoolmaster from Beccles (Suffolk) *c.*1434 implemented religious studies in his school primarily to support the teaching of grammar.[43] Drury, a teacher and priest, is known to have used 'grammatical and didactic treatises' as part of his curriculum.[44] It has been suggested by Robert Swanson that the basic curriculum of religious teaching remained relatively static: 'at the most basic, the content could be reduced simply to mnemonics, like those recounted by Drury: a technique which takes things back to the rote-leaning of the Creed, Our Father and Ave'.[45] Therefore, it is likely that these familiar basic texts were chosen to facilitate a greater understanding of grammar whilst simultaneously enhancing or consolidating the pupil's ability to recite their prayers. This enabled the students to move on to more structured and advanced content at the age of fourteen when they left grammar school to attend university.

There is additional evidence to suggest that the prayer was also taught in the vernacular. For example, William Fettiplace proposed, in his will dated 20 July 1526, that the children attending his

[42] Orme, 'Childhood in Medieval England' (esp. 'Education' section).
[43] Marjorie Curry Woods and Rita Copeland, 'Classroom and Confession', in David Wallace, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 376-406 (pp.402-403), state that Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 2830 contains the middle English treatise *De Modo Confidendi* written by the schoolmaster John Drury of Beccles *c.*1434. They suggest that this work, an anthology of twenty-eight Latin and English teaching texts, consists of the texts used to constitute the curriculum taught by Drury. This is suggested by evidence left by the scribe, named as Hardgrave, in the collection. Woods and Copeland state that this collection is representative of the 'tradition of lay confessional instruction and its assimilation to formal pedagogy' (p. 403). They also state that the function of the 'miscellany of grammatical and religious texts' attributed to Drury, both 'pedagogical and catechetical', are 'interchangeable' (pp.403-404). This suggests that the reader may have been able to develop their religious education whilst simultaneously developing their understanding of grammar. See also Maureen Jurkowski, 'Lollardy and Social Status in East Anglia', *Speculum*, 82 (2007), 120-152; J. S. Ringrose, *Summary Catalogue of the Additional Medieval Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library Acquired before 1940* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), p. xiii; David Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1979), pp. 169-178; and Sanford B. Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings', *Speculum,* 9.1 (1934), 70-83 (p.70).
[44] Woods and Copeland, p. 403.
[45] Swanson, *Catholic England*, pp. 115-116.

chantry school in Childrey, Berkshire, should be taught the alphabet, the three basic prayers (*Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*) and all things necessary for serving the priest at mass, as well as the collects, the psalm *De Profundis,* prayers for the dead, and graces at mealtimes in the vernacular before proceeding to learn the articles of the faith.[46] This was then followed by the Commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven sacraments and other useful precepts. The importance of the *Pater Noster* as part of the basic religious education of children is evident as it was perceived as a text that was necessary to master before proceeding to more complex teachings. Indeed, according to the timetables for Tudor grammar schools in Eton and Ipswich dating from 1528, the basic prayers, including the *Pater Noster*, continued to be recited at elementary level, even for boys aged from approximately thirteen years.[47] Although these examples testify to the desire on the part of parents and schools to teach the *Pater Noster* to young children, they fail to indicate whether their pupils were simply taught to read the words rather than to understand their meaning.

For the children and lay adults who were unable to read and who had received no schooling, there were still ways in which they could have encountered the *Pater Noster.* All of the social classes in medieval England were able to access devotional culture. For the unlettered, access was primarily visual and aural (it should be noted that these two methods of dissemination equally supported and enhanced the understanding of those who were lettered). The majority of aural learning was facilitated by the delivery of sermons by the parish priest and also in the confessional. The laity were heavily reliant on the clergy for religious guidance and although there is abundant evidence for clerical ignorance, it should be remembered that it was only scholars and those who were highly educated in the Church who were concerned about a priest's inability to use or understand Latin.[48] To the

[46] TNA: PRO, PROB 11/23, fols.42^{v}-45^{r}. See also Davies, p. 100 and Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p. 62. For further information see A. F. Leach 'Childrey School', in P. H. Ditchfield and William Page, eds., *The Victoria History of the County of Berkshire*, 4 vols (London: Archibald Constable, 1906-24), II (1907), 275-276; and Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 181, fn.21.
[47] For Ipswich see John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials relating chiefly to religion and the reformation of it, and the emergencies of the Church of England under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary I*, vol. 1.2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822), pp. 139-143. For Eton see William Page, ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Sussex*, 9 vols (London: Archibald Constable, 1905-2009), II (1907), 417-419.
[48] Moorman, p. 93.

unlettered, however, the parish priest was the source of religious knowledge, disseminating and interpreting the scriptures and offering access to God.

This knowledge and interpretation was imparted to the laity through vernacular sermons, perhaps the most fundamental instructional medium of the period. Sermons provided the main opportunity for dissemination of the faith to the laity in their own language and enabled lay access to Biblical stories and scripture.[49] The material that was delivered in the sermon had a strong link to the confessional and penitential functions of the Church. This is suggested by the tendency to define and condemn sins, to present a call for repentance and penance (through the recitation of the *Pater Noster* and other basic prayers), and to propose a plan for salvation which stresses an acceptance and enactment of the requirements of Christianity.[50] Sermon material also consisted of simple explanations of the core prayers and the teaching of more complex theology including the seven deadly sins or the sacraments.[51]

Drama also provided another medium by which the *Pater Noster* could be taught to the laity between *c.*1397 and the mid-1530s. Although it is likely that the plays were commissioned by the Church, their performance occurred in the secular rather than ecclesiastical sphere. The religious focus of many medieval plays sought to educate the laity through their didactic nature and representations of morality and the Christian struggle against evil. The so titled Pater Noster plays from York, Beverley and Lincoln evidence the role allotted to drama in the transmission of clerical discourse to a lay audience, a topic which will be addressed in more detail in chapter 6.

Once an individual was able to recite the core prayers it is possible they would have possessed a devotional aid, such as a string of prayer beads. Such items were used during religious services and in a domestic setting to assist with personal intercession. As the repetition of the core prayers remained the 'fundamental spiritual exercise of the period' the development of these items sought to remind the user to recite the basic prayers that they had been taught, including the *Pater Noster*, rather

[49] Moorman, p. 12.
[50] Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, p. 66.
[51] Cutts, p. 215.

than any of the numerous additional prayers.[52] This enormous category of evidence will be explored in chapter 5.

This chapter has suggested that the *Pater Noster* was frequently encountered by the laity. It was recited during the administering of the sacraments, during the churching of women and also as part of the Communion rite in the Mass. The prayer was also used as part of both the formal and informal education of children, providing one of the most basic texts to teach them their letters and ultimately to enable them to develop the ability to read. Although the prayer is found in a teaching or educational context, it has been impossible to establish whether the laity were actively taught the meaning of the *Pater Noster* as well as to recite it by rote. This question will be addressed in the forthcoming chapters.

Although there is little evidence to suggest that individuals understood the meaning of the prayer, there is some evidence to suggest that lettered members of the lay audience were able to identify and understand references to the prayer or phrases from its petitions in secular writing. For lay individuals who could read in the vernacular, the material delivered in sermons to a wider social audience was paralleled in manuals, poems, analyses of the virtues and vices, explications of the *Pater Noster* and Commandments, and the material used for satire and complaint in popular texts written by some of the major vernacular poets including Chaucer and Langland.[53] This material is significant as it implies that phrases from the *Pater Noster* were recognisable to a more learned and literate audience, suggesting that the prayer permeated secular texts. To illustrate this point, several examples have been included which contain no explanation when the prayer is referred to, again suggesting that the author expected the reader to be aware of the prayer and able to identify its petitions. In 'The Miller's Tale' from Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales,* the carpenter John, his wife Alison and the clerk Nicholas all recite the *Pater Noster* whilst waiting for the flood to commence (lines 3637-3642) and in 'The Parson's Tale' the focus is on the contents of the prayer and its encapsulation of the most essential

[52] Swanson, *Catholic England*, p. 20.
[53] Pantin, p. 238. For further discussion see Owst, esp. 'Fiction and Instruction in the Sermon Exempla', pp. 149-209, and 'Preaching of Satire and Complaint', pp. 210-286.

Christian beliefs (lines 1037-1040).[54] In *Piers Plowman,* Langland's fascination with the prayer is clear, so much so that Will asserts in the A and B texts that many clerks have lived to curse the time that they ever knew more than their *Credo* and *Pater Noster* (B. X. lines 463-465).[55] The A Version of *Piers Plowman* provides two particular examples which connect the *Pater Noster* to the performance of penance and the forgiveness of sins. The first example is found in passus eleven, in which the *Pater Noster* is described as capable of piercing heaven and therefore making direct contact with God. The reference to penance in the following line suggests that the *Pater Noster* can operate as a mechanism to achieve eternal bliss if no atonement is possible during a deathbed confession (A.XI. lines 309-313).[56] The second example proposes that the relationship between the *Pater Noster* and the desire to obtain forgiveness should be the main motivation for hard work rather than a longing to amass material goods and wealth. This relates to the temporality of this world when compared to the eternal nature of the next (A.XIV. lines 193-198). There are two further references which are relevant here in the B text. The first relates to a lack of knowledge of the prayer by Sloth, one of the seven deadly sins, suggesting that lazy and indifferent individuals did not learn their devotions (B.V. line 395) and the second example focuses upon Haukyn's preoccupation with material things and his careless attention to prayer (B.XIII. lines 396-398). There are also three references to the *Pater Noster* that are worthy of mention within the C text. The first presents Will's interpretation of the *Pater Noster* as providing one of the mechanisms by which he earns his daily bread (C.V. lines 45-46).[57] Will believes that his 'literal bread is supplemented by supersubstantial bread' which consists of the benefits of the prayer both

[54] Larry D. Benson, et al., eds., *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rdedn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 74, 326.
[55] A. V. C. Schmidt, ed., *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of the B-Text based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*, 2ndedn (London: Dent; Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1995). All subsequent references to the B-text of the poem are to this edition. For a detailed discussion of the references to the *Pater Noster* in Piers Plowman see Vincent Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done: Piers Plowman and the Pater Noster', in A. J. Minnis, ed., *Middle English Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of Ian Doyle* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 95-119 (p.95).
[56] George Kane, ed., *Piers Plowman. The A version: Will's visions of Piers Plowman and Do-well: an edition in the form of Trinity College Cambridge MS. R.3.14 corrected from other manuscripts with variant readings* (London: University of London: Athlone, 1960). All subsequent references to the A-text of the poem are to this edition.
[57]Derek Pearsall, ed., *Piers Plowman: the C-text* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994). All subsequent references to the C-text of the poem are to this edition.

spiritually and in providing sustenance.[58] He proposes in self-defence to Reason and Conscience that prayers and penance are the most suitable and precious form of labour in the service of God and that man does not live from the produce of the soil but through the provisions granted by God. He proposes that man does not live on bread and food as the *Pater Noster* makes clear but through God's will (C.V. lines 84-88). Will's dedication and commitment to the *Pater Noster* are illustrated in one final passage from the C text. This episode describes a visit to church in which the penitent kneels at the foot of the cross and engages in the recitation of the *Pater Noster*, and other outward shows of devotion, as a way of giving honour to God (C.V. lines 105-108).

The title ascribed to the prayer, as well as the quotation and paraphrase of its petitions, is found in extant passages of medieval English poetry and prose. These references not only draw attention to a perceived commonplace knowledge of the prayer from the point of view of the authors, but also suggest that it was accepted as part of their contemporary culture. This acceptance was fuelled by the fact that life in medieval England was permeated with religious references, and therefore these examples of intertextuality, the inclusion of elements of the prayer in other texts, suggests that they may have served to aid understanding and memory.[59] This technique is similar to those employed in illustrations, diagrams and wall paintings and also in the design of material objects, such as prayer beads, all of which generated an increased awareness of the prayer, and all of which are discussed in the forthcoming chapters.

[58] Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done', p. 96.
[59] Douglas Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 40.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *PATER NOSTER* IN THE CHURCH'S LAY CURRICULUM *c.*700-1500

It has been established in the first chapter that the *Pater Noster* was recited in the administering of the sacraments; in the celebration of the Eucharist during the Mass; and as part of the process of learning to read in both formal and informal education. These examples show that the prayer may have been encountered by all levels of lay society, by the non-Latinate and unlettered as well as those who were capable of reading. This chapter will consider whether there is any evidence to suggest that lay individuals understood the meaning of the words they recited. One of the ways in which this evidence emerges is in constitutions issued by the Church. These documents testify to a desire, on the part of the Church hierarchy, to educate the laity in the basic tenets of the faith and to go beyond the simple recitation of the words during formal services. It will examine some of the most fundamental constitutions which indicate a deliberate movement from the thirteenth century onwards to proactively teach the prayer to lay congregations.

After a consideration of these statutes and constitutions, this chapter will turn to the question of whether the clergy were capable of implementing the programme of education proposed in these documents, especially in terms of their own education and ability to read. It will examine the potential effect that a low level of clerical education had on their ability to teach the laity accurately. From this consideration, it will then assess how this impacted on lay access to the basic catechism. Finally, the language in which the prayer was to be taught to the laity and recited by them, according to the statutes and constitutions, will be examined to assess how far each version could have permeated medieval lay society.

To gain an appreciation of the Church's desire to educate the laity in the basic catechism, it is necessary to consider some of the measures introduced in an attempt to standardise this process. The fostering of lay learning became such an important element in Church legislation that many constitutions were issued detailing what the laity were expected to know whilst simultaneously

providing a structured approach to pedagogical practices. These included the statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the Council of Lambeth (1281) and numerous directives issued by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and at diocesan level by bishops such as those of Exeter, Salisbury and Durham.

The Fourth Lateran Council issued one of the earliest sets of statutes which instructed priests to teach the *Pater Noster*, *Credo*, articles of the faith and the value of the sacrament of confession to their parishioners, in the vernacular.[1] This sought to give the congregation a basic knowledge of the core prayers and emphasised the importance of confession and repentance, two concepts frequently connected with the *Pater Noster* (see chapter 1 above). A minimum syllabus containing the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*, and in some cases the proper way to make the sign of the cross, was all that was required by many of the thirteenth-century bishops up to and including John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury (1279-1292).[2]

Pecham convened the Council of Lambeth in 1281 which devised a schema of lay instruction entitled *De informacione simplicium*, commonly known by its opening words *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*.[3] In this schema he ordered his parish priests to teach the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo* alongside the articles of the faith, Ten Commandments, works of mercy, seven deadly sins, seven virtues and seven sacraments. They were to teach this information to their congregations in the vernacular four times per year.[4] The instruction to teach in the vernacular and to reiterate this process quarterly demonstrates a deliberate attempt to educate lay congregations in a language which was more accessible than Latin. It is certainly plausible the Church had realised that teaching the prayer in the mother tongue was likely to enable the laity to pray much more effectively. Although this was not a

[1] See Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett and Christopher N. L. Brooke, eds., *Councils and Synods: with other Documents Relating to the English Church. 1: A.D. 871-1204* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 1057-1058, 1070-1071.
[2] Spencer, p. 206.
[3] The text of *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* is provided in F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, trans., *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church: vol. ii: (A.D. 1205-1313)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 900-905. For a discussion on Pecham's syllabus see P. Hodgson, "Ignorantia Sacerdotum': a Fifteenth-Century Discourse on the Lambeth Constitutions', *Review of English Studies*, 24 (1948), 1-11; Pantin, pp. 189-195, 211-212; Spencer, pp. 201-227; and Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 53.
[4] Woods and Copeland, pp. 376-406 (p.396).

new realisation, for the friars had been preaching in the vernacular in England since the 1220s, it signalled a change in the Church's pedagogy. The Church now wanted the laity to access the moral and didactic message contained in the text, rather than reciting the Latin prayers with little understanding of the words. It is evident the Church supposed that a greater understanding of the prayer may improve the moral conduct of a lay audience and it is certainly plausible that lay individuals may have understood the vernacular teachings and attempted to apply them in their daily lives.

As part of this pedagogical change, Pecham proposed that the basic catechetical teachings listed above should comprise the minimum theological knowledge necessary for the laity to acquire. This suggests that a more structured and coherent pedagogical process for lay education was developing. This development is evidenced by the collation of this material in the *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* and also by its later adaption and translation into the vernacular verse version, known as *The Lay Folks' Catechism,* for the Northern Provinces.

The Lay Folks' Catechism was commissioned by Archbishop John Thoresby of York in 1357.[5] For Thoresby, simplicity was necessary to teach the basic tenets of the faith to the laity so that they could understand and remember the most fundamental teachings. He also anticipated 'that with the help of a simply written vernacular text, lay people will apprehend fully and unambiguously their subordinate position within the Church'.[6] Therefore, although he sought to widen the social audience for theological material through the use of the vernacular, he also sought to maintain control over spiritual instruction. The translation of the original Latin text into the vernacular by John Gaytryge, transformed this document from a pastoral manual into a compendium of lay instruction. In his edition of the text Henry Nolloth proposes that the 'translation is really a wide expanse of the original text'

[5] Woods and Copeland, p. 396. The text is provided in Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Nolloth, eds., *The Lay Folks' Catechism; or, the English and Latin versions of Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction for the people; together with a 'Wycliffite adaptation' of the same, and the corresponding canons of the Council of Lambeth*, EETS, OS, 118 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1901). Gaytryge produced the verse version translation from the Latin in the same year. The part dealing with the *Pater Noster* is found in Wycliffe's version and not in Thoresby's text. It is similar in style and content to Wycliffe's writings on the subject. See also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* pp. 53-54.

[6] For the text see Simmons and Nolloth; and Fitzgibbons, pp. 40-43.

suggesting that Gaytryge sought to give the laity greater authority and to enable them to play a more active role in their salvation than perhaps Thoresby intended.[7]

The Lay Folks' Catechism, like many of its predecessors and the other manuals that proceeded from Church regulations, set out what the laity were expected to know of the rudiments of the faith. However, one of the most notable features of this text, for the purposes of this study, is the absence of the basic prayers, including the *Pater Noster.* The absence of such fundamental material is difficult to explain. Perhaps Thoresby, and later Gaytryge, assumed that clerics would be able to teach this material without having it recorded and therefore refrained from its inclusion. This does not seem to have been a popular decision, for Ralph Hanna proposes that three extant manuscripts of northern origin import 'freestanding extraneous texts on the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Creed*'.[8] This suggests that 'the compilers of these books found the absence of instruction in the basic prayers a debility of the catechism'.[9] This suggests a desire, on the part of the copiers and compilers of these texts, to ensure a full understanding of them rather than the simple repetition of the words necessary during the mass and sacraments. There is also evidence to suggest that three southern dialectal versions of the *Catechism* contained additional texts of the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*. In Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.19 (*c*.1400-1425) the *Pater Noster* is included as an extra tenet, making seven in total. Alternatively, in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 408 (fourteenth century) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng.th.e.181 / Douce 274/ Douce 273 (*c*.1400-1425) the prayers are included as interpolations which are inserted after the preface and before the six tenets (the text continues to refer to only six tenets).[10]

[7] Simmons and Nolloth, p. 70; and Fitzgibbons, pp. 39-58 (pp.40-43).
[8] Ralph Hanna, *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XII: Manuscripts in Smaller Bodleian Collections* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), p. xx. These manuscripts are Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd. Xii. 39 (*c*.1380); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789 (1400-1450); and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 3390 (fifteenth century).
[9] Hanna, p. xx.
[10] Sue Powell, 'The Transmission and circulation of *The Lay Folks' Catechism*', in A. J. Minnis, ed., *Late Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), 67-84 (p.81). For a discussion of the relationship between the three manuscripts which form one text see Anne Hudson, '*A New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism*', *Viator*, 16 (1985), 243-258.

The desire to include the *Pater Noster* is also evident in the Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 91), dating to *c*.1430-1450, which contains the 'sermon that Dan John Gaytryge made' on ff.213v-218v.[11] This manuscript provides evidence for lay gentry ownership, for Robert Thornton was a Yorkshire landowner who copied and compiled texts. The version of the *Catechism* in this compilation is particularly interesting as it contains the name of Gaytryge, but unusually any references to Thoresby have been removed. On f.217r the word '*Pater Noster*' is written in the margins of the text in a contemporary hand, alongside 'Prayse the lorde o ye children pr[ay?]'.[12] As Elisabeth M. Dutton has proposed that the 'inclusion of a sermon by Gaytryge is considered evidence of lay people taking responsibility for teaching themselves their 'catechism", it is likely that the copier or compiler of this text could also have been concerned about the absence of the basic prayers in a collection which sought to provide a lay individual with core religious teachings.[13]

Regardless of this deficit, *The Lay Folks' Catechism* seems to have been a popular initiative, and indeed remained so, as it continued to circulate into the late fifteenth century. For example, John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1425, had the manual translated into 'modern' English and put in every church in his diocese, with provision for all parish priests to receive a subsidised copy.[14] There is also evidence for the enduring appeal of this approach as these statutes were reissued by Archbishop George Neville for the Northern Provinces after 1465 and also by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey in 1518.[15]

Although the constitutions produced by the Lambeth Council mark a decisive point in formulating guidelines for the religious education of the laity, it has been argued by Helen Leith Spencer that the minimum requirement of knowledge of the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo* was

[11] N. F. Blake, *Middle English Religious Prose* (London: Arnold, 1972), pp. 73-87.
[12] Geographies of Orthodoxy, Description of the Thornton Manuscript, (2008) <http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy/resources/?section=manuscript8_id=67 /> [accessed 18 May 2015].
[13] Elisabeth M. Dutton, *Julian of Norwich: The Influence of Late-Medieval Devotional Compilations* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), p.18.
[14] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 53-54. For a discussion on Stafford's advocacy of vernacular religious learning see Shannon McSheffrey, 'Heresy, Orthodoxy and English Vernacular Religion 1480-1525', *Past and Present*, 86.1 (2005), 47-80 (p.56).
[15] McSheffrey, 'Heresy', p. 56. See also Pantin, pp. 189-195, 211-212; Hodgson, '*Ignorantia Sacerdotum*', 1-11; and Hudson, '*Lay Folks' Catechism*', pp. 243-258.

already dated by 1281.[16] There are numerous extant Church statutes which detail the importance of teaching the *Pater Noster* to the laity prior to the Lambeth Constitutions. In the pre-Conquest period, for example, the Venerable Bede expressed his concern that many priests could not read Latin and recommended the teaching of the *Pater Noster* and *Credo* to the unlearned in the vernacular. This resulted in his translation of these prayers from Latin into Old English in a letter written to Archbishop Egbert of York in 734.[17] Such a notion, the teaching of prayers in the vernacular, was adopted by the tenth-century monastic reform movement which sought to establish a more regular (and specifically Benedictine) form of life in Church communities. The Benedictine monasteries drove this reform movement, placing a particular stress on lay education and pastoral care, something which is demonstrated in the literature of the second generation of reformers in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. These reformers were connected with the circles of Ælfric and Wulfstan especially in their notable insistence on lay knowledge of the *Pater Noster* and *Credo*.[18] This evidence indicates the *Pater Noster* was a fundamental part of the desired religious education of the laity, a tradition that was already long standing.

Further evidence for the belief that knowledge of the prayer was essential for a lay audience can be found in additional Church statutes. For example, the responsibility of teaching and learning

[16] Spencer, p. 206.

[17] For a translation of the text of Bede's Letter to Egbert of York see *Ecclesiastical History of the English People, with Bede's Letter to Egbert and Cuthbert's Letter on the Death of Bede* trans. by Leo Sherley-Price, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 340; J. A. Giles, ed., *The Historical Works of the Venerable Bede, II: Bibliographical Writings, Letters and Chronology* (London: James Bohn, 1845), pp. 138-155; and Albert S. Cook and Chauncey B. Tinker , eds., *Select Translations from Old English Prose* (Boston: Ginn, 1908), p. 252. Original text found in three manuscripts according to Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse, eds., *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture A.D. 600-900* (London: British Museum, 1991), p. 131 including London, British Library, MS Harley 4688, fols.89-97 dating to the twelfth century and of Durham provenance. See also Davies, p. 26; and Scott De Gregorio, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 11.

[18] For example, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 includes an Old English version of the *Pater Noster* (123 lines); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 265 contains liturgical material; London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A I (B) contains the 'Institutes of Polity' and homilies; and the York Gospels have writings by Wulfstan bound into the back. For further examples see Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century, I: Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001); Peter Clemoes, ed., *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series*, EETS, SS, 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), I.19, I.20, II.1-2 pp. 325-334, 355; Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983), pp. 160-161; Roger Fowler, ed., *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, EETS, OS, 266 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 6-7,17, 22; and Dorothy Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), VIIa pp. 166-168.

the *Pater Noster* is emphasised in the so-called 'Canons of Edgar' (l005-l008), which stated 'And riht is þæt ælc cristen man his bearn to cristendome geornlice wenige, and him pater noster and credan getæce'.[19] This was later reaffirmed in the laws of Cnut (1 Cnut cap. 22, § 3, Christmas 1020-1022) which require every true Christian to understand and learn the *Pater Noster* and *Credo*. These laws state that 'he who recites it [the *Pater Noster*] from the depths of his heart inwardly makes supplication thereby to God himself for everything of which a man has need, both for this life and the life to come'.[20]

Later evidence is also available to confirm the continuing desire of the Church to teach the laity their prayers. Stephen Langton, in his diocesan statutes for Canterbury of 1213-1214, for example, specified that each adult ought to know the *Pater Noster* and *Credo*.[21] This part of his legislation was copied by Bishop William Briwere of Exeter between 1225 and 1237 and was later modified by Richard Poore during his term as Bishop of Durham (1228-1237) through the addition of the *Ave Maria*.[22] The fact that this legislation was copied and reissued testifies to this continuing drive to teach the laity their prayers. These examples demonstrate that the *Pater Noster* was viewed as a prominent part in religious education and ultimately in the salvation of the laity.

Such a prominent role is further emphasised by the number of statutes which assert how frequently the prayer should be recited each day. Alexander of Stavensby, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1224-1237), for example, ordered that each man and woman in his diocese should repeat the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* seven times a day and the *Credo* twice.[23] The expectations of William of Blois, Bishop of Worcester, were slightly higher; in 1229 he increased the number of repetitions of

[19] My translation: 'And it is right that every Christian man zealously accustom his children to Christianity, and teach them the *Pater Noster* and Creed'. For the text see Fowler, pp. 321-322.
[20] For the text and translation see A. J. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), p. 171. It is worth noting that the motivation of Cnut was to guard against paganism and to convert the Danes to Christianity rather than to improve spiritual knowledge for educational purposes. This law code, however, is still very similar to the earlier code written by Archbishop Wulfstan.
[21] For the text see Powicke and Cheney, p. 31.
[22] For the texts see Powicke and Cheney, (Exeter) p. 223 and (Durham) p. 61. See also Spencer, p. 206.
[23] For the text see Powicke and Cheney, p. 213.

the *Pater Noster* to eight.[24] He also proposed that during confession the priest should remind his penitents to recite the *Pater Noster* and *Credo* seven times a day and once at night. This desire for frequent intercession was echoed in church services. In the Constitutions of the Diocese of Norwich (1257), for example, priests were instructed to say the *Pater Noster* and *Credo* daily with their parishioners at Prime and Compline.[25] The idea that the prayer was to be repeated so frequently indicates, not only its importance as a core text of the faith, but also that the laity were expected to be capable of its recitation.

Although the constant repetition of Latin prayers in the liturgy and in primers was encouraged, this did little to address misconceptions and misunderstanding. The instruction to say either a number of *Pater Nosters* or *Ave Marias* after every Latin devotion set out in a primer, is perhaps an indication that the readership needed to supplement their lack of engagement with the more complex material through the repetition of more familiar prayers.[26] This may suggest they were not expected to have full comprehension of the longer Latin texts, but some understanding of the basic prayers.

The desire to teach adults was paralleled by the need for children to learn prayers. Bishop Robert Grosseteste, of the diocese of Lincoln (1235-1253), issued statutes in which the clergy were instructed to teach the children of their parish the *Pater Noster*, *Credo*, *Ave Maria* and the sign of the cross.[27] This need for a threefold instruction of the laity is also reaffirmed by Grosseteste in his treatise the *Templum Domini* which states the 'Creed ad fidem, the *Pater Noster* ad caritatem, and the *Ave* ad spem'.[28] Similarly, a set of statutes issued by Bishop John de Pontissera at the Diocesan Synod of Winchester in 1295 stated that priests should teach the boys in their parish the *Pater Noster*, *Credo* and *Ave Maria* and also how to read the Psalter.[29] These statutes suggest that the pastoral role of the

[24] For the text see Powicke and Cheney, p. 172.
[25] Moorman, p. 74.
[26] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 219
[27] Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Roberti Grosseteste, episcopi quondam Lincolniensis, epistolae* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861), p. 155. See also Moorman, p. 81.
[28] Spencer, p. 206. For the text see London, British Library, MS Harley 3244, fols.138-145. This is after *c.*1236.
[29] Arthur F. Leach, *A History of Winchester College* (London: Duckworth, 1899), p. 40. See also Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling 1340-1448: Learning, Literacy, and Laicization in Pre-Reformation York Diocese* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 143.

Church was evolving to include the religious education of children, a role initially left to parents and god-parents as discussed in chapter 1 (above). The Church, who perceived the prayers as the core of lay religious education, sought to enable all members of the laity to recite and understand these texts.

The success of this educational enterprise was however, according to Eamon Duffy, based on a two-way process of transmission and appropriation.[30] Although these measures highlight the Church's desire to increase lay religious knowledge, they do not indicate whether the catechetical programme was successful with regard to either the clergy or laity. The expectation that all lay individuals would be capable of reciting the core prayers does not seem to have been fulfilled prior to the Lambeth Constitutions. If all members of the laity could recite the prayer, this would have been evident during the sacrament of Reconciliation and therefore, there would have been no need to continue to reissue constitutions instructing the clergy to teach the same basic catechism. The fact that lay individuals were unable to accurately recite the prayer as part of the process of Confession, and the continuation of statutes and constitutions stressing the importance of the *Pater Noster* for lay piety, could indicate the Church was unsuccessful in teaching the prayer. This may have resulted from clerical ignorance: their inability to understand or disseminate this material. Equally, it could indicate that some members of the clergy were unwilling to engage in these practices. These suggestions could explain why greater emphasis was placed on checking the abilities of the clergy and emphasising their pedagogical duty, to directly teach the laity their prayers rather than expecting them to learn through exposure alone.

As well as the perceived deficit in lay religious knowledge, some clerics were also considered to be ignorant and to lack the knowledge and understanding necessary for them to effectively teach their congregations. Therefore, part of the motivation behind the catechetical programme was also to address the lack of biblical and theological understanding of some parish priests.[31] This ignorance was

[30] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 53-87.
[31] See Denley, pp. 223-241; William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Moran; Davies; and Orme, *English Schools*, for a detailed discussion of education and literacy in the medieval period.

of growing concern to the Church hierarchy since it impeded the dissemination of accurate and structured Christian teaching to the laity. For example, Roger Bacon, author of *Compendium Studii Philosophiae* (1271), describes the clergy as follows:

> It makes no odds even if they do much studying, and read and argue and preach, and become even quite famous…for then they will only recite the words of others without knowing in the least what they mean, like parrots and magpies which utter human sounds without understanding what they are saying.[32]

He also remarks that the clergy are similar to the choir boys who sing the words of the Psalter with little or no understanding of their meaning, for they recite the divine offices like 'beasts'.[33] This suggests that if a priest was unable to understand the basic elements of the faith he would be incapable of teaching this material to a lay audience and therefore unable to test the accuracy of the laity's knowledge during confession.[34]

Part of the reason for this inability stemmed from a lack of any formal or systematic training for the clergy. Priests either obtained their familiarity with religious doctrine through a university degree, gaining practical experience, or through reading.[35] Practical experience could be acquired either by attending a cathedral school, grammar school or school of the friars, or from assisting a senior priest in their role. With regard to reading, knowledge could be obtained from both Latin and vernacular manuals created for the instruction of the clergy. The vernacular manuals in particular instructed priests in how to behave, what to learn and how to transmit this learning to the laity.[36] Although there were three main ways in which a cleric could be educated in the tenets of the faith, none of them would be sufficient in isolation.

Therefore, it is plausible that some members of the English clergy in the thirteenth century were only partly educated and partly lettered. Being unlettered or having a limited ability to read

[32] Translation supplied by Moorman, p. 90. For the full text see London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C V fols.120-151; and John Sherren Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon: Opera Quædam Hactenus Inedita vol. i (Opus tertium; Opus minus; Compendium philosophiae)*, Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, XV (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859), pp. 393-519. See also G. G. Coulton, *A Medieval Garner: Human Documents from the Four Centuries Preceding the Reformation* (London: Constable, 1910), p. 413.
[33] *Fr. Rogeri Bacon*, p. 413.
[34] Moorman, p. 231.
[35] Moorman, pp. 90, 94-95.
[36] Pantin, p. 29.

would have seriously hampered the capability of such clerics to teach. They would have been unable to make use of the new guidelines and vernacular handbooks created to improve their theological knowledge and to enable them to present this material to the laity. In response to these difficulties several dioceses made conscious efforts to raise standards of clerical education and thus to improve their ability to teach. Robert Grosseteste (Bishop of Lincoln), for instance, refused to institute a kinsman of John Blund, Chancellor of York, on the grounds that he was not sufficiently educated.[37] Another youth was declined as he was only 'in his Ovid', whilst still more were rejected for having advanced no further than the ABC.[38] Although some individuals were declined prior to their ordination, others were removed from office if they were found to be incapable of performing their duties. For example, Walter de Kirkham of the diocese of Durham in 1255 and Peter Quinil of Exeter in 1287 ordered their archdeacons to seek out all who were considered to be ignorant and suspend them from office.[39] Not only do these statutes testify to the identifiable ignorance of some priests but they also demonstrate the growing importance placed by the Church on a cleric's ability to understand and thus to disseminate the basic religious teachings to the laity.

After examining the constitutions and statutes issued by the Church during the medieval period, it is clear that they provide valuable evidence for the expectations of lay religious knowledge, especially of the basic prayers including the *Pater Noster*. These documents give some indication of the spread of the prayer, in terms of the perceived ability of the laity to recite the words, and also in terms of the church's realisation that a more coherent and pedagogical approach was necessary to rectify the deficit in lay religious knowledge.

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[37] Luard, pp. 68-69. Transcription provided in *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, trans. by F. A. C. Mantello and Joseph Goering (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 99-100. Letter 20 – To John Blund, chancellor of York Cathedral: 'I hope you will not be angry with me for not admitting N., that clerical relation of yours, to the Church of B. My reason is that his admission cannot escape the stain of sin under canonical regulations that direct that those who are insufficiently educated are not to be admitted to a pastoral charge. This N. is insufficiently educated: indeed, I would say that he is almost totally illiterate'.

[38] Luard, pp. 63-65. Transcription provided in Mantello and Goering, p. 95. Letter 17 – To William of Raleigh, treasurer of Exeter: 'I am not admitting W. of Grana to a pastoral charge for this reason alone: he is a minor and not sufficiently educated, still a boy, in fact, who thinks Ovid the greatest letter-writer!'

[39] For Durham see David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols (London: Sumptibus R. Gosling, F. Gyles, T. Woodward, et C. Davis, 1737), I, p. 704; and Moorman, p. 92. For the Exeter text see Powicke and Cheney, p. 1076. See also Wilkins, II, p. 144.

This chapter will now progress to consider the role of language in the transmission of the prayer. Long before the Reformation reached England, there had been a movement to translate fundamental religious texts into the vernacular and this had been achieved including the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*.[40] It is clear that during the medieval period the dissemination of the *Pater Noster* was actively encouraged by the Church authorities, however, the language in which it was to be taught by the clergy to the laity seems less clear. The language in which it was taught, either Latin or the vernacular, would have a profound impact on how the prayer was recited in daily life, during personal intercession and even during the celebration of the Eucharist in the Mass. Not only would the choice of language influence the recitation of the prayer, but also the individual's ability to understand the words they recited. As education was sporadic and the majority of the laity, as well as some members of the clergy and religious orders, were non-Latinate, it is questionable how far this version of the prayer could have permeated medieval lay society and whether it continued to remain inaccessible.

Extant evidence shows that during the early medieval period the laity learned to recite their prayers, including the *Pater Noster*, in Latin. According to Nicholas Orme, after the Norman Conquest of 1066, it became customary to use Latin when praying formally, whether for clergy or laity, literate or illiterate.[41] Although he concedes that informal prayer may be said in English or French, structured prayer, including the *Pater Noster*, continued to be in Latin.[42] The reason that Latin became the preferred language for prayer stemmed from the fact that it was the language of the Church and therefore the Mass, the majority of scripture, legislation and Episcopal administration were in this language.[43] Therefore, it is likely that the dissemination of the prayer, due to its Biblical origin, was also in Latin.

[40] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 80.
[41] Orme, *English Schools*, p. 59.
[42] Orme, *English Schools*, p. 59.
[43] Latin was adopted by the Church during its early history and thus specialist "Christian" terminology and symbolism emerged. Latin became the language of sacred texts, the liturgy, the Bible, the teaching of the Church fathers, its ecclesiastical administration and also its education system. See Swanson, *Catholic England*, p. 44 and Keith Sidwell, *Reading Medieval Latin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 5.

As the available 'models of prayer' used in the liturgy and recorded in books of hours were in this language throughout the medieval period, it is possible that tradition led to the continued use of Latin for the prayer.[44] Another reason, as Duffy has argued, is that Latin was perceived as 'higher and holier' than the vernacular and the retention of its use meant that the most sacred religious teachings did not have to be 'communicated to the 'lewed" but reserved for the Latinate.[45] Moreover, since the words of the scriptures and the liturgy came from God and were presented in Latin, as they were translated from the Greek and Hebrew versions by Jerome, they were believed to convey power and influence over those who did not fully comprehend them. In seeking to preserve the sacred nature of the words, however, ignorance and misunderstandings were created. John Moorman has suggested that irreverence in Church during the thirteenth century stemmed from the laity's lack of understanding and limited engagement with the Latin Mass.[46] By the fourteenth century the gap between the clergy and the laity was narrowing due to the growth of literacy and lay devotion. Gerald Harriss has proposed that this change was a result of the laity learning to follow the 'choreography' of the Mass through the use of texts including John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* and *The Lay Folks' Mass Book* (1357), which enabled them to follow the routine and ritual of the service; the promotion of private devotion in the vernacular to supplement the Mass; and the instructions which were given to the laity to sit, stand or kneel at particular points in the service.[47]

As time progressed there were a growing number of ways for the laity to gain an appreciation of the Latin words spoken. One way was through the use of the proliferation of prayers and meditations in the vernacular which paraphrased, glossed or elaborated upon the devotional themes characteristic of the Latin primers.[48] This paraphrasing sought to assist the laity in absorbing texts

[44] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 217-218.
[45] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 217-218.
[46] Moorman, p. 71.
[47] Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England 1360-1461* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 364. For an edition of Mirk's *Instructions* see Peacock and for an edition of the *Lay Folks Mass Book* see Simmons.
[48] Alexandra Barratt, 'The Prymer and its Influence on Fifteenth-Century Passion Lyrics', *Medium Ævum*, 44.3 (1975) 264-279 (pp.264-271); Shaw, p. 52.

rather than encouraging them to 'ruminate', 'reflect' or 'reinterpret'.[49] For the few among the laity who were lettered, paraphrasing provided one form of help, but this was of no use to the vast majority of unlettered worshippers, something that sermons and the confessional may have attempted to remedy.

As a consequence of this perceived lack of understanding of the core prayers, a number of thirteenth century bishops, including Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253); Roger de Weseham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1245-1256); and John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury (1279-1292), gave explicit recommendations for vernacular prayers to be used as substitutes for their Latin counterparts.[50] This suggests that the Church was responding to this perceived deficit and, therefore, the vernacular began to play an important role in the religious life of the laity. It helped the uneducated towards a better appreciation of the basic tenets of faith and facilitated a greater understanding of the church service.[52] This deeper comprehension was seen as essential for the laity to participate fully in the sacrament of confession.[53] Salvation could no longer be secured by repeating Latin words without understanding their meaning, a concept aptly stated by John Mirk in his *Festial*:

> Hit ys moch more spedfull [profitable] and meritabull to you to say your 'Pater Noster' yn Englysche, þen yn suche Latyn as ȝe doþe. For when ȝe spekyth yn Englysche, þen ȝe knowen and vndyrstondyn wele what ȝe sayn; and soo, by your vndyrstondyng, ȝe haue lykyng and deuocyon forto say hit.[55]

The importance of the clergy in teaching the prayer to the laity in the vernacular is again emphasised by Mirk, this time in his *Instructions for Parish Priests*. He states that:

> The pater noster and þe crede,
> Preche þy paresche þ*o*u moste need;
> Twyes or þryes in þe ȝere
> To þy paresch hole and fere,

[49] Swanson, *Catholic England*, p. 11.
[50] See Marion E. Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform 1215-1272: with special reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 42; Spencer, p. 207; and Luard, pp. 155 and 219.
[52] Shaw, p. 51.
[53] Shaw, p. 52.
[55] Theodor Erbe, ed., *Mirk's festial: a collection of homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk)*, EETS, ES, 96 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905), p. 282. See also Susan Powell, ed., *John Mirk's Festival: edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.II*, 2 vols, EETS, OS, 335 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), II.

> Teche hem þus, and byd hem say
> Wyþ gode entente eu*er*y day.[56]

He then includes a vernacular version of the prayer text, alongside the *Ave Maria,* before moving on to discuss the questions that should be asked of a penitent during confession.[57] He also discusses the prayer in his consideration of the Seven Deadly Sins as he proposes that it can be recited as a remedy to the sin of 'Slowthe' if it is said 'In morowe & midday & euentyde'.[58]

Although there were some attempts, especially during the mid-thirteenth century, to promote the saying of the three basic prayers in the vernacular, these subsided after the emergence of Lollardy in the 1380s.[59] The word 'Lollard' was used to describe the individuals who followed the teachings of John Wyclif, a term derived from the medieval Dutch word meaning 'to mutter'. Wyclif's followers were critics of the established Church. They believed that religious authority derived directly from the scriptures and therefore it did not need to be mediated to the laity by a priest or cleric.[60] As these views were in opposition to the established Catholic Church, Lollard beliefs were considered to be heretical, especially the promotion of the use of the vernacular for religious texts which would have removed the need for clerical involvement in an individual's access to the word of God. This resulted in the issuing of Archbishop Thomas Arundel's *Provincial Constitutions* (drafted in 1407 and issued in 1409) which sought to prevent the translation of the scriptures into the vernacular. Therefore, it became dangerous to pray in English and as a consequence most people in the fifteenth century would have said their basic prayers in Latin.

These constitutions also inhibited the development of 'vernacular theology' as well as 'the vernacular commentary tradition in general'.[61] This created a culture of 'control and repression' in which debates concerning the language considered to be most suitable to effectively transmit religious

[56] Peacock, p. 13, lines 404-421.
[57] Peacock, p. 28, lines 918-922.
[58] Peacock, p. 52, lines 1711-1722.
[59] Orme, *English Schools*, p. 59
[60] Richard Rex, *The Lollards* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 34-35.
[61] Alastair Minnis, 'Absent Glosses: A Crisis of Vernacular Commentary in Late-Medieval England?', in *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 20 (2004), 1-17 (p.7). The 2003 Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association.

teaching led to disagreements.[62] This resulted in tensions, for the fear of Lollardy had made the Church authorities sceptical of translations of scripture, even of basic texts such as the *Pater Noster*.[63] Permission to access the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in translation could be viewed as a precedent for learning other parts of the Bible in English.[64]

However, Spencer suggests that even in the late fifteenth century, when knowledge of the *Pater Noster* in the vernacular might be alleged as evidence of a suspect's Lollardy, theological miscellanies still included English translations of the prayer.[65] Although Wycliffites might reject some of the principles of the Church's teaching, especially in relation to the sacraments, they too appreciated the need for the laity to be taught about the vices, virtues, Ten Commandments, works of mercy, *Credo*, *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, even though they disagreed on specific interpretations of these items.[66]

As the fear of Lollardy subsided, during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the culture of vernacular paraphrasing and elaborating on devotional themes re-emerged. According to Lawton these sacred texts were made available in the vernacular through a process or 'spectrum of linguistic activity from translation through paraphrase to different kinds of imaginative substitution' and also through social processes.[67] The translation of the *Pater Noster* spawned a range of literature and linguistic variations which circulated both orally and in manuscript form, and later in print.

To conclude, after an examination of the constitutions which directed the clergy to teach the laity their *Pater Noster*, whether in Latin or the vernacular, it is clear that this prayer was seen as one of the fundamental texts of the Christian Church. Therefore, in response to the realisation that many members of the laity were unable to accurately recite or understand their prayers, the Church sought to remedy this perceived deficit. Through the statutes and constitutions that were issued, it is evident that

[62] For the text see Wilkins, III, p. 314-319 (p.317 - VII Constitutio. Ne quis texta S. Scripturae transferat in linguam Anglicanam). For a comprehensive discussion on the effects of Arundel's 1409 Constitutions see Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change', 822-864.
[63] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 79.
[64] Transcription provided by Spencer, p. 200; and Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 79.
[65] Spencer, p. 207
[66] Spencer, p. 199
[67] Lawton, p. 54.

the Church actively encouraged the teaching of the *Pater Noster* to their congregations, however, what is yet to be ascertained is whether they were successful in teaching the prayer to a lay audience.

CHAPTER THREE

WRITTEN TEACHING RESOURCES FOR THE CLERGY: ORTHODOX EXPOSITIONS OF THE *PATER NOSTER*

This chapter builds on a large collection of earlier scholarly work which focuses specifically on the proliferation of Latin and vernacular manuals and the dissemination of their content from a clerical to a lay audience. William Pantin, for example, proposes that the prescribed structure of many of these devotional and instructional works resulted from the thirteenth-century pastoral legislation focussing on lay education (see chapter 2 above).[1] Indeed, Judith Shaw proposes that a clear connection between the Latin manuals created for the Church hierarchy, and the vernacular texts given to priests is evident.[2] She asserts that these vernacular texts became one of the most effective means of combating ignorance, enabling both less educated members of the clergy and their congregations to access the Church teachings in their mother tongue.[3] These statements are particularly true of manuals containing expositions of the *Pater Noster.*

There are two main ways in which the material contained in these vernacular manuals could be taught to the laity by their parish priest: through the delivery of sermons and also through the testing of the penitent during the rite of Confession. For example, sermon 2, entitled 'Gracias ago Deo meo', edited by Woodburn O. Ross from London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B XXIII (*c.*1450), praises the merits of the recitation of the *Pater Noster.*[4] It states that the seven petitions of the prayer 'putteþ owte þe vij deadly synnes *and* purchaseþ þe vij ȝeftes of þe Holy-gooste'.[5] This suggests that

[1] Pantin, pp. 189-191. Although the teaching of the *Pater Noster* was not originally part of the Lambeth Constitutions issued in 1281, it was included in a range of earlier synodal statutes. For example, the statutes issued by Bishop Richard Poore of Salisbury in 1217 and 1219; Peter des Roches of Winchester in *c.*1224; William de Blois of Worcester in 1229; Walter de Cantilupe also of Worcester in 1240; Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln in *c.*1239; and Stephen Langton of Canterbury, all instructed the clergy to teach their congregations the *Pater Noster*. See Aarts, p. cv, Gillespie, p. 100, and Anna Lewis, 'Textual Borrowings, Theological Mobility, and the Lollard Pater Noster Commentary', *Philological Quarterly*, 88 (2009), 1-23 (p.3, fn.14).
[2] Shaw, pp. 44-45.
[3] Shaw, pp. 44-45.
[4] This manuscript was compiled *c.*1450 and has a southern English provenance. For an edition see Woodburn O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons*, EETS, OS, 209 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 9-12. Ross has stated that the actual date of composition is earlier, somewhere between 1378 and 1417. The vernacular sermons contain exempla which, according to Ross, explain in simple language the benefits of living a moral and Christian life. He suggests that these sermons were 'in all probability designed for delivery to lay audiences' (p.iv).
[5] Ross, p. 10

the material contained in vernacular manuals, an area which will receive detailed consideration later in this chapter, was being used to inform sermon material, as the same themes and topics were explored across a range of written and aural texts.

A priest should also be able to disseminate teachings on the prayer through the testing of the penitent's knowledge of the basic catechism during the rite of confession. John Mirk (fl.1403), for example, in his *Instructions for Parish Priests*, provides a simple vernacular verse version of the prayer stating that the priest should 'Teche hem þus, and byd hem say / Wyþ gode entent eu*er*y day'.[6] He then proceeds to include a translation of each of the seven petitions to enable the priest to teach it correctly to his congregation. In several manuscripts of the *The Lay Folk's Catechism*, another text initially created for a clerical readership, Lollard interpolations of the *Pater Noster* are added (this prayer was absent from the original text, see previous chapter).[7] Here, the first petition addressed to the Father states that lay individuals should love one another as if they are brethren, as the Trinity is described as the father of mankind and the Church as the mother; the second petition, addressing the Son, states that Jesus was made man, suffered and died so that individuals would be able to go to heaven after their death; and the final petition of the prayer, asking for deliverance from evil, is directly linked to the importance of the sacrament of confession as:

> The werst synne ys þe deuelys synne
> Þat man deyes yn w*ith*out repentau*n*ce.
> Þat euyr schal be punyschyd.[8]

The reference to a lay brotherhood which united individuals in their faith, and the need to make recompense for their sins in order to ascend into heaven after their deaths, were prominent messages in the lay catechism of the Church. Therefore it is unsurprising to find such references in texts created to aid the priest in their didactic and pedagogical duties.

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[6] Peacock, p. 90.

[7] This late fourteenth century Middle English translation of the *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*, commissioned by Archbishop John Thoresby and completed by John Gaytrydge, a Benedictine monk from York, sought to provide a manual of elementary religious education. There is also evidence of lay ownership of this text. It is extant in 28 manuscripts, twelve of which are complete and another eight expanded or re-worked versions, suggesting that this text was widely circulated, especially in the Northern provinces. For an edition of the text see Simmons and Nolloth, pp. 7-11 (lines 59-161).

[8] Simmons and Nolloth, lines 156-158. Text taken from London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 408.

Furthermore, the availability of clerical and theological texts in the vernacular enabled educated lay individuals, who could read but were not Latinate, to access these texts first hand. This may have enabled them to gain a greater understanding of religious doctrine and also to interpret texts without a priest acting as an intermediary, thus removing the barrier between the clergy and the laity traditionally preserved through the use of Latin. Kenneth Stevenson proposes that an increasing emphasis on the importance of free will, an approach derived from Augustine's recognition of the need to accept different kinds of interpretation, influenced many writers from the twelfth century.[9] This observation is of particular interest to this chapter as he proposes the freedom to read and interpret texts was deliberately being created. Stevenson also proposes that the Church began to load the *Pater Noster* with more and more Christian teaching as part of a theological shift in the twelfth century. He suggests that the Church was deliberately using the prayer, something which was known to the laity, as a foundation to facilitate the learning of additional religious material.[10] Therefore, it is to these texts this chapter will turn in order to examine the expositions created to disseminate the *Pater Noster* to a clerical and lay audience.

These expositions, created in response to the Church's constitutions, were not a new phenomenon. From early in the Church's history the petitions of the prayer were combined with the deadly sins, the virtues, the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the beatitudes (reduced from eight to seven petitions to fit into this pattern).[11] From the third century onwards a formula emerged which consisted of a brief examination of each petition of the *Pater Noster*. This formula was frequently modified and reproduced both prior to and during the medieval period.[12] Avril Henry proposes that although the combination of material based on precise numerical groupings was established prior to Augustine, it

[9] Kenneth W. Stevenson, *The Lord's Prayer: A Text in Tradition* (London: SCM Press, 2004), p. 118.
[10] Stevenson, *Lord's Prayer*, p. 118.
[11] Katzenellenbogen, pp. 83-91.
[12] Tertullian's (*c.*160-*c.*225) account in Tertullianus, *Liber de Oratione*, *PL*. 1. 1251-1269, translated in Ernest B. Evans, ed., *De Oratione Liber: Tertullian's Tract on the Prayer* (London: SPCK, 1953), is refined by Cyprian, Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Liber de Oratione Dominica*, *PL*. 4. 519-555, translated in Thomas Paynell, ed., *A Sermon of S. Cyprian made on the Lordes Prayer* (Londini: In ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impress, 1539). Cyprian (d. 258) in turn is quoted extensively by Augustine (354-430) in *De Sermone Domini in Monte, book II* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), chs. 10-11.

was left to him, in *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, to indicate a more specific relationship.[13] Here, he connected the petitions with seven (out of eight) beatitudes and the gifts of the Holy Spirit (also described as the steps of wisdom).[14] For example, 'If piety is that by which blessed are the meek since they will inherit the earth, let us pray that his kingdom may come. If knowledge is that by which blessed are they that mourn for they will be consoled, let us pray that his will be done on earth'.[15] This schema, derived by Augustine, was followed by a multitude of other groupings of seven. His influence continued, not only amongst those who cite his writings directly, but also through those who develop the sevenfold structure of the prayer such as Amalar of Metz (d. *c.*850) and Hugh of Amiens (*c.*1085-1164).

Such expositions also frequently included ideas, teachings and schemata which originated in an earlier commentary tradition evident in the writings of the Church Fathers. Henry provides a list of these 'other groupings of seven' which were combined with the *Pater Noster* in a range of text by earlier theologians. These include Primasius Adrumetanus (d.*c.*560) who linked the beatitudes, gifts and the virtues with the Apocalyptic seven seals;[16] Radbertus Paschasius (*c.*785-865) and Anselm (*c.*1033-1109) who present the Augustinian pattern of petitions, beatitudes and gifts but treat the petitions in reverse order;[17] Peter Abelard (1079-1142) who related the four cardinal virtues to the last four petitions of the prayer;[18] Hugh of St Victor (*c.*1096-1141) introduces the problem of interdependence among the groups of seven, starting from the capital sins whose first remedy is the *Pater Noster*, he then treats the schemes systematically combining the virtues, vices, beatitudes, petitions and gifts;[19] Richard of St Victor (d.1173) whose schema is the same as Hugh's except that it

[13] Henry, p. 98.
[14] For a copy of the text see Augustinus Hipponensis, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*; Augustinus Hipponensis, *Contra Faustum, book XIII* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), ch. 15; Augustinus Hipponensis, *De Doctrina Christiana, book II* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), chs 7, 9-11; Augustinus Hipponensis, *De Sermone Domini in Monte libri II*, *PL*. 34. 1276-1308. Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Homily II*, *PL*. 158. 595-597, reverses the order of the beatitudes.
[15] Henry, p. 98 cites *PL*. 34. 1286.
[16] Though not with the *Pater Noster*. See Henry, pp. 98-99.
[17] Henry p. 99. For an edition of the texts see *PL*. 158. 595-596; Anselmi Laudunensis, *Enarrationes in Matthaeum*, *PL*. 162. 1284; Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matthaeum*, *PL*. 120. 217-220. Initially Paschasius relates the virtues and vices with the petitions, beatitudes and gifts in his commentary in Matthew but this is not developed.
[18] Henry, p. 99.
[19] Henry, p. 100. For a copy of the text see Hugo de S. Victore, *De Quinque Septenis Seu Septenariis Opusculum*, *PL*. 175. 405-414; Roger Baron, ed., *Hugues de Saint-Victor: Six Opuscules Spirituels*, Sources Chrétiennes, 155, Série

adds the districts of Israel;[20] Gunter the Cistercian (*c.*1150-*c.*1220) who when writing on the beatitudes mentions the virtues and relates them to the first three petitions of the prayer;[21] Albertus Magnus (*c.*1193-1280) who presents the relationship between the petitions of the *Pater Noster*,[22] gifts of the Holy Spirit, words of Christ on the Cross,[23] sins,[24] and the theological and cardinal virtues;[25] the *Speculum Ecclesiae* (1216) of Gerald of Wales which prefaces the prayer with the statement 'septem ergo petitiones in Dominica Oratione untuntur, ut septem dona mereamur Spiritus sancti, quibus recipiamus septem virtutes per quas septem vitiis liberati ad septem perveniamus beatitudines' but also adds a sequence of the seven deadly sins in the Latin order established by Pope Gregory;[26] and Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1221-1274) who unites the petitions of the *Pater Noster* with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, beatitudes, virtues and vices.[27]

Before this chapter proceeds to a detailed discussion of the vernacular manuals which combine the *Pater Noster* and the septenaries, it is necessary to briefly explain the various ways in which the prayer was elaborated upon in these texts. Firstly, many of the earlier Latin expositions, as well as some of the more contemporary vernacular versions listed above, were 'quarried and reformulated' by contemporary and later writers as Vincent Gillespie proposes.[28] This suggests that many of the features of these texts are interchangeable. There are also a number of features which are common across the majority of *Pater Noster* expositions. According to Anna Lewis, there is evidence to suggest that key phrases 'originating among both patristic and medieval commentators became standard characteristics' of *Pater Noster* expositions.[29] For example, most commentaries start with a recognisable formula which praises the superior quality of the prayer, usually due to its biblical origin,

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des Textes Monastique d'Occident, 28 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1969), p. 38, observes that this is distinct from Hugh's *De septem donis Spiritus Sancti* although the two are fused in *PL*. 175.

[20] Henry, p. 100. For a copy of the text see *PL*. 175. 400-405.

[21] Henry, p. 99. For a copy of the text see Richerus S. Remigii, *Anglo-Saxonum Regum Leges Ecclesiasticae*, *PL*. 138. 492; Guntherus Cisterciensis, *Liber Nonus* and *Liber Decimus*, *PL*. 212. 172-200.

[22] Christianus Druthmarus, *Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistam*, VI. 9, *PL*. 106. 1261-1504; Albertus Magnus, *Evangelium Secundum Matthaeum Luculenta Expositio*, Opera omnia, ed. by Auguste Borgnet, 38 vols, (Paris: apud Ludovicum Vivès, 1890-1899), XX and XXI (1893-1894).

[23] Joannes Scotus, *De Divisione Naturae - Liber Tertius*, *PL*. 122. 718.

[24] Albertus Magnus, 'Sermo XV de Tempore', in *Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis*, Opera omnia, XIII (1891).

[25] Magnus, 'Sermo XLIII de Tempore'.

[26] Hugo de S. Victore, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, *PL*. 177. 371-373.

[27] Henry, p. 100, fn.33.

[28] Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done', p. 97.

[29] Lewis, p. 5.

and proposes that, to use Fiona Somerset's words, 'its brevity makes it easy to learn' as it contains everything necessary for a Christian to remember.[30] Usually three particular qualities are praised, often comprising a combination of 'dignite', 'profit', 'auctorite', 'sotelte', 'goodnesse' and 'worthynesse'.[31] In both *The Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte* and *The Mirror of St Edmund,* for example, the prayer is credited with being able to deliver all believers from evil and to bring them to goodness. These 'pithy formulations', as Gillespie describes them, 'achieved widespread penetration' into the 'vernacular didactic and homiletic literature of fourteenth-century England' and thus into the 'devotional lives of its people'.[32]

Secondly, the saving power of the prayer is frequently contrasted to the deadly sins, a tradition which developed from the habit of prescribing the recitation of the *Pater Noster* as a way of performing penance after the sacrament of confession.[33] The *Ancrene Riwale,* dating to *c.*1225, for example, clearly states that the prayer is an effective remedy against the sins. Here, the sins are classified as the ghostly and fleshly sins of the devil (pride, envy and wrath), sins of the world (covetousness) and sins of the flesh (lechery, gluttony and sloth).[34] This division became popular and can be located in late *Pater Noster* tracts, especially the anonymous text found in Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4g.5 (1400-1450), ff.58v-88r, and London, British Library, MS Harley 1197 (*c.* 1450), ff.28v-48v.

Thirdly, extant evidence suggests that schematisations combining the prayer and the septenaries became a familiar device in medieval England. It is likely that this schematisation was recognisable to a medieval audience, so much so that some writers cite the tradition of combining the

[30] Fiona Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2014), p. 117.
[31] There are numerous examples including *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, *The Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte*, *The Mirror of St Edmund* (Francesca M. Steele, ed. (London: Burns and Oates, 1905)), Wycliffite treatises 1 and 2, in Thomas Arnold, ed., *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1868-1871), III (1871), and in F. D. Matthew, ed., *The English Works of Wyclif, Hitherto Unprinted*, rev. edn, EETS, OS, 74 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902).
[32] Lewis, p. 8. Lewis cites Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done', p. 100 in her article.
[33] For a more detailed discussion of the evolution of this tradition from early in the Church's history see Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952), pp. 83-84.
[34] For a detail consideration of this text see Yoko Wada, ed., *Companion to Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003).

prayer with the virtues in opposition to the sins without explaining it. Some even claim that their commentaries will explore the relationship between the septenaries, but this is unsubstantiated. For example, *The Book of Vice and Virtue* describes the interconnected nature of the septenaries in one sentence at the start of the text, as Anna Lewis states, - 'the petitions purchase the gifts of the Holy Spirit which defeat the seven sins and nurture the seven virtues, bringing man to the seven rewards – but does not explain these links during the exposition of the prayer'.[35]

Finally, there are a range of texts which combine theological material into one tract without presenting connections between the different groupings. For example, the vernacular translation of the Speculum, or Mirror of Holy Church, written by Edmund of Abingdon (d.1240), contains a discussion of the relationship between the prayer and the septenaries in the discussion of the second degree of knowledge of God entitled Contemplation of God in Holy Scripture.[36] Here an exposition of the prayer is presented alongside the sins, beatitudes (seven), gifts of the Holy Spirit, virtues, sacraments, works of mercy, pains of hell, and the joys of the body and joys of the souls in heaven.[37] Although this compendium does not make explicit connections between these categories, it contains all of the basic theology that the laity were expected to be taught by the clergy.[38]

This chapter will now proceed to explore the schematisations which were complex and encyclopaedic in nature, combining the seven petitions of the prayer directly with other religious septenaries, most frequently the seven vices, or deadly sins, and the seven virtues.[39] William Pantin

[35] Lewis, p. 4. Lewis cites W. Nelson Francis, ed., *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of The Somme le Roi of Lorens D'Orleans / edited from the three extant* manuscripts, EETS, OS, 217 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1942), p. 104.

[36] Cate Gunn, 'Edmund of Abingdon's Mirror of Holy Church' (2013) <http://categunn.com/?p=176> [accessed 21 October 2014].

[37] This text is extant in twelve manuscripts in the vernacular including Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.6.43 (1400s); London, British Library, MS Harley 2398 (*c.*1375-1400); and Oxford, Queen's College, MS 234 (1400s). It also existed in Latin and French versions.

[38] Gunn, 'Edmund of Abingdon's Mirror of Holy Church'.

[39] For a detailed discussion of number symbolism see Christopher Butler, *Number Symbolism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970); and Vincent Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938). Number symbolism played a significant role in the ways in which the Jewish and Christian traditions subdivided the bulk of its theology into categories. Understanding of the meaning of numbers was based on the notion that maths and digits could provide an absolute value, which was therefore perceived to add credibility and a fixed nature to religious teachings. This was not a new concept, but built upon established learned traditions including Platonic philosophy, Pythagorean lore and Babylonian astronomy (Butler, p.39). The number seven was extremely significant in the Old Testament and its frequent references 'amplified and solidified' its place in the Hebraic tradition (Hopper, pp.24-25). Its primary importance

asserts, in his consideration of the *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, that 'an ingenious attempt was made to link together' these 'various "sevens"; vices and virtues, gifts of the Holy Spirit, petitions of the Lord's Prayer'.[40] He proposes one reason for their combination: to provide a mnemonic framework which would make the material more manageable, accessible and memorable.[41] Vincent Gillespie, in his seminal work on the *Pater Noster*, develops this theory further, proposing that the prayer was the pivotal text in the combination of this material.[42] Perhaps the septenaries were grouped around the prayer, partly because of the importance of this text in lay education but also partly because of its seven-fold structure. This fixed structure provided a solid and established basis upon which additional content could be built. As the prayer was one of the most fundamental texts a lay individual should know for their salvation, it is likely that it was held in higher regard and held a superior position over the somewhat less important septenaries.

This notion is reinforced by the proposal of Helen Leith Spencer that knowledge of the *Pater Noster*, alongside the *Ave Maria* and *Credo,* was perceived to be more important for the welfare of the laity than the sacraments or other septenaries, or material grouped together in sevens.[43] The combination of this material clearly reflects a desire, on the part of the Church, to influence the moral behaviour of the laity and to ultimately increase their devotion, thus providing an explanation for the loading of the prayer with almost all of the religious training the laity needed. This is aptly described by Gillespie, who states that 'spiritual health' was clearly the 'governing metaphor' for the connection between the prayer and the septenaries.[44]

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stemmed from the biblical story of creation in which God made the world in seven days and thus created the seven-day week. The symbolism associated with seven derives from its perceived mystic significance in a long established tradition of number symbolism in theological thought. For example Alcuin, during the late eighth century, described it as a perfect number, 'septenarius...numera perfecta est' (Butler, p.34). Seven was considered to be a 'virgin' number as it was 'neither generated nor generating within the decade, that is, it is neither the product of numbers below 10, nor will it multiply with a number below 10 to produce a number below 10, except of course unity' (Butler, p.34). The number seven was also seen as a universal symbol of 'totality' as it represented the union of divinity and earth through the three spiritual principles of God and the four temporal principles of man (Hopper, p.84). Furthermore, seven was deemed important in astrology as it was thought that the soul descended to earth through seven planetary spheres before re-ascending after death to the eighth heaven (Butler, p.39).

[40] Pantin, p. 191.
[41] Pantin, p. 191.
[42] Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done', p. 99
[43] Spencer, p. 205.
[44] Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done', p. 101.

There are several examples worthy of a detailed discussion, namely the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, *The Speculum Vitae* and *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen.* The confessional prose work, the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (also known as the *Remorse of Conscience* or the *Prick of Conscience*) (*c.*1340) written by Dan Michel, of Northgate in Kent, and *The Book of Vices and Virtues* (*c.*1375) are both vernacular translations of the popular French treatise, *Somme le Roi* (also known as the *Somme des Vices et des Vertus* and *Li Livres roiaux des Vices er des Vertus*), compiled in 1279 by frère Lorens.[45] The *Somme* combined the petitions of the *Pater Noster* with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven deadly sins following the Gregorian sequence, the seven 'remedial' virtues (which were presented in opposition to the sins) and the seven beatitudes and their associated rewards. This text achieved an authoritative status, according to Ralph Hanna, as it was a 'well organised' and 'exemplified (through the provision of sermon 'figurae') [French] vernacular example of 'septenary instruction" which arranged the basic Christian catechism in an easily recognisable mnemonic order through the linked pattern of sevens.[46] The fact that it was widely circulated, replicated, translated and rearranged in later texts all over Europe provides some evidence of this.

In the opening of Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt* he reflects on the biblical origin of the prayer before suggesting that its petitions lead the reader or hearer towards the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the cardinal virtues, and away from the vices. The text states:

> þet wes þet pater noster. huerinne byeþ zeue bezechinges
> be huichen we bezecheþ oure guode uader of heuene
> þt he ous yeue yefþes of þe holi gost
> þet hi ous delyuri of þe zeue dyadliche zennes
> and hise screpe of al of oure herten. and ine hare stede:
> zette and uorþdraȝe
> þe zeue uiryues
> þet ous lede to þe zeue blissinges of perfeccion.[47]

In his exposition Michel connects each petition with one of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. For example, he states that *sanctificetur nomen tuum* enables the reciter to ask for the 'principal yefþe

[45] Two of the manuscripts of this translation include additional treatises on the *Pater Noster*.
[46] Ralph Hanna, ed., *Speculum Vitae: A Reading Edition*, EETS, OS, 331 and 332 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 331, p. lxx.
[47] J. M. Cowper, ed., *Meditations on the Supper of our Lord and the Hours of the Passion*, EETS, OS, 60 (London: Trübner, 1875), p. 98 (fol. 29^{b}).

of þe holy gost / þet is þe yefþe of wysdom'; the second petition, *Adueniat regnum tuum*, encourages the casting out of sin and vice as the Holy Spirit cleanses the heart as part of the gift of understanding; the third petition, *Fiat volunbtas tua / sicut in cello & in terra,* 'þe yefþe of red' or good counsel; the fourth, *Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie*, gives 'conforteþ and strengþeþ þe herte'; the fifth, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*, requests the 'þe yefþof connynge' or knowledge; the sixth, *Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem,* asks for help from God in our battle and for 'þe yefþe of pité'; and the seventh, *Sed libera nos a malo'* the recite asks for 'þe yefþe / of drede'.[48] In the text there is only one reference to the sins which is explicitly linked to the prayer's first petition: 'tekþ to hatye þri þing nameliche. Prede. wreþe. and auarice'.[49] The remainder of the sins, and also the seven cardinal virtues, are treated as separate entities at the end of the text and show no direct connection to the prayer. The treatment of both of these septenaries is allegorical, with both groupings bringing forth elaborated subdivisions.

In the postscript, Michel explains that the *Ayenbite of Inwit* was intended to provide a confessional treatise that would be accessible to 'lewede men' for the good of their souls.[50] Although the purpose of this text is made particularly clear by the scribe, there is only one extant manuscript: London, British Library, MS Arundel 57. It has been proposed that this is most likely the original text which suggests that its circulation, readership and reception would have been extremely limited.[51]

The readership of *The Book of Vices and Virtues* appears to have been somewhat different. Although there are only three extant copies (San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 147; London, British Library, Additional 17013; and London, British Library, Additional 22283 (Simeon)), the focus on pastoral concerns and the large quantity of confessional material suggests that it may have been developed as a text to aid priests in the cure of souls. The fact that there are three copies, in comparison to the single copy of the other less familiar translations of *Somme le Roi*, suggests that it

[48] Cowper, pp. 105-118.
[49] Cowper, p. 102 (fol. 30^{b}).
[50] Cowper, p. 102.
[51] Elaine Treharne, ed., *Old and Middle English c.890-c.1450: An Anthology*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 526.

attained a wider circulation.[52] This text, like the *Anyenbite of Inwit*, was constructed at a time of pastoral reform and clearly reflects the traditional concerns about pastoral care.[53] The pastoral and educational nature of this text may provide one explanation for the suggestion that the *Pater Noster* consists of seven shorter prayers which:

> ... purchasen þe seuene ȝiftes of
> þe Holi Gost, þt destroien þe seuene heuded wikked-
> nesses of herte and setten & noreschen þe seuene
> vertues, bi whiche a man comeþ to þe seuene blessed-
> nesses.[54]

In this text it is explicitly suggested that the *Pater Noster* is the most fundamental part of the equation, drawing the reader towards the gifts and the virtues and steering them away from vice and sin. It is unsurprising, due to their common descent, that this text follows an identical schema to the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* in its association between the petitions and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Here too, the first petition is connected to the gift of wisdom; the second to understanding; the third to counsel; the fourth to strength; the fifth to cunning or science; the sixth to pity; and the seventh and final petition to dread and fear of God.

The text states in its introduction that there is a direct relationship between the prayer, the deadly sins, the virtues, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit:

> delyuere vs of þe seuene dedly synnes, skoure hem out clene
> fro oure hertes, and in here stede sette and sowe
> þe seuene vertues þat mowe lede vs to seuene blessed-
> nesses of parfiȝtnesse and to holy lif, wher-bi we
> mowe haue þe seuene bihestes þ he bihoteþ to his
> chosene, in þe seuene wordes þat beþ seid to-fore.[55]

However, it then proceeds to a discussion of the sins and their opposing virtues which are never directly connected to the individual petitions. There is one exception to this, within the discussion of

[52] Francis, p. ix.
[53] For a more detailed discussion of the context see Cate Gunn, ‘‘Vices and Virtues’: A Reassessment of MS Stowe 34’, in Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard, eds., *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: the Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins*, (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2012), pp. 65-84 (p.70).
[54] Francis, p. 104 (fol.40^{b})
[55] Francis, p. 96 (fol.37^{b})

the first petition, which states that 'Þis word 'oure' techeþ vs to hate þre þinges, namely: pride, hate, couetise'.[56]

Also of particular interest to this thesis is the vernacular verse manual entitled the *Speculum Vitae* as it uses the petitions of the *Pater Noster* and associated septenaries to structure its huge volume of material. The *Speculum,* a translation and re-arrangement of selective material drawn from the *Somme le Roi,* Richard Rolle's *Form of Living* and other sources, was composed during the late fourteenth century and is attributed to William Nassington.[57] It contains a 'lengthy formulation of septenary catechesis', an exposition of the *Pater Noster* which combines the prayer's petitions with a range of additional septenaries, in the same way in which many Middle English translators were inspired to create.[58] The *Speculum* restructures the material taken from *Somme le Roi* as here the translator chooses, as Hanna states, to 'unify the entire work as a discussion of the basic prayer *Pater Noster*, and manages to provide full explication of all Christian responsibilities by analysing the prayer twice in different ways'.[59]

The first exposition in the *Speculum* begins with a discussion on the spiritual worth of the prayer, in which it explains that the recitation of the *Pater Noster* can remove the seven deadly sins from the soul and replace them with the seven virtues, which then lead to the seven beatitudes and the seven heavenly rewards:

> And specially of þe seuen askynges,
> Þat on þe Pater Noster hinges;
> And of þe seuen Giftes of þe Haly Gast,
> Þat þe seuen askynges may to vs hast;
> And of seuen syns þat mast may smert
> Þat þe seuen Giftes puttes out of hert;
> And specially of vertus seuen
> Þat may be sette in þair stede euen;
> And of the seuen blissedhedes
> To whilk þe seuen vertus vs ledes;
> And of þe seuen medes alle
> Þat to þe blissedhedes suld falle.[60]

[56] Francis, p. 101 (fol.39[b])
[57] For a discussion of other sources see Hanna, 331, pp. lxxii-lxxiii.
[58] For an edition see Hanna, p. xiii; and Raymo, pp. 2255-2378 (p.2261).
[59] Hanna, 331, p. lxxii.
[60] Hanna, p. 8 (fol.1[r]).

The poem then engages in an extremely lengthy opening commentary on the first petition. For example, *Pater* suggests that a child should be aware of the six 'thynge þt Godde askes of vs' which comprise life, fear, obedience, service, honour and reverence, whereas *Noster* encourages an individual to hate the three most disruptive sins: pride, hatred and avarice, and *in celis* elaborates upon the demonstration of 'Mekenes in mouth' in which 'Wreghyng in Shrift of ille', namely of the 'Hede-synnes Seuen' listed as pride, envy, ire, sloth, lechery, gluttony and covetousness is explored in detail.[61] The final phrase *in celis* is also used to discuss the three theological ('Trouth', 'Hope' and 'Charyte') and four cardinal virtues ('Warnes', 'Methefulnes', 'Strengthe' and 'Rightwisnes'),[62] the 'seuene manere of Blissedhedes' and the seven works of mercy:

> Þat es þe hungry and þe thristy to fede,
> To lene and frist þam þat has need,
> To clethe þat naked bene and bare,
> To viset þe seke þat feles sare,
> To herber in house with gode hert
> Pouer men þat comes ouerthwert,
> To help þat in prisoun er bunden,
> To biry þam þat dede er funden;
> To counsaylle þam þat er redeles,
> To teche vnconande al þat gode es,
> To amende misdoars and chasty,
> To comfort þam þat bene sary,
> To forgif with gode wille sone
> Trespas and wranges þat es done,
> To rewe on þam þat angre has,
> To pray for frendes and for faas,
> To acorde þa, þat bene at debate,
> To do penaunce arely and late - [63]

From this brief consideration of the first text it is extremely clear that the structure of the work is heavily reliant on the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster* and other groupings of seven.[64] This reliance continues in the second tract. The remaining three-quarters of the work the author discusses the seven vices and corresponding virtues in detail, alongside the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the beatitudes, and again connects them to the seven petitions of the prayer. The text states:

> Þe Seuen Giftes of þe Haly Gast,

[61] Hanna, 331, pp. 16-81 (fol.3^{r}-15^{r}).
[62] Hanna, p. 65 (fol.12^{r}).
[63] Hanna, pp. 74-75 (fols.13^{v}-14^{r}).
[64] Pantin, pp. 228-229.

> Þat puttes out of þe hert euen
> Þe principall Dedely Synnes Seuen,
> With alle þair braunches þat may be sene,
> And mas þe hert of alle synnes clene;
> And in þair stede withinne settes right
> Seuen manere of vertus of myght,
> Þe whilk vertus a man right ledes
> Vnto þe Seuen Blissedhedes
> And to Seuen Medes þat to þam lys,
> Als I sal shewe yhow on sere wyse.[65]

The first asking *Sanctificetur nomen tuum* is linked to the gift of wisdom which draws the sin of gluttony out of the heart and replaces it with the virtue of measure and soberness which then leads to the beatitude 'Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God'. The second, *Adueniat regnum tuum*, brings the gift of understanding which drives out the sin of lechery and replaces it with the virtue of chastity which then leads to the beatitude 'Blessed are the pure in heart'. The third petition, *Fiat uoluntas tua sicut in cello et in terra*, wins the gift of counsel which puts out the sin of avarice and replaces it with the virtue of mercy which then leads to 'Blessed are the merciful'. The fourth, *Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie*, brings the gift of strength which removes the sin of sloth and replaces it with the virtue of prudence which then leads to the beatitude 'Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness'. The fifth petition, *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*, brings the gift of knowledge which leads to the removal of the sin of wrath and its replacement with the virtue of 'Equyte' (justice or righteousness) which then leads to the beatitude 'Blessed are those that mourn for they shall be comforted. The penultimate petition, *Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem*, wins the gift of pity which removes the sin of envy and replaces it with the virtue of friendship which then leads to the beatitude 'Blessed are the meek for they will inherit the earth'. The final petition, *Sed libera nos a malo*, requests the gift of fear which then tackles the sin of pride and finally replaces it with the virtue of humility which then leads to the beatitude 'Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'. The exposition then continues to subdivide each branch of the vices and virtues into additional groupings of seven which are again related back to the petitions of the prayer.

[65] Hanna, p. 114, lines 3362-3372 (fol.21ᵛ).

This text is extant in more than forty manuscripts, most of which provide full renditions of the 16,100 line text, which may suggest that the poem was 'widely influential'.[66] Perhaps the perceived widespread circulation of this text was a result of the poem succeeding in presenting the complete Christian catechesis in the guise of a 'book of vices and virtues'.[67]

The prose version of the *Speculum Vitae, A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen*, was written in the latter half of the fourteenth century and survives in four manuscripts from the fifteenth century. Similarly to the *Speculum Vitae*, and unlike many of the other translations and derivations of the *Somme le Roi,* this text presents a double commentary on the *Pater Noster*, described by Venetia Nelson, the editor of the facsimile edition of London, British Library, MS Harley 45, as the first 'theological in emphasis, the second moral'.[68] The first section contains the *Pater Noster* tract from the *Somme le Roi* but includes, in the exposition of the phrases *qui es* and *in celis*, tracts on the Ten Commandments, *Credo*, seven sacraments and the divine and cardinal virtues. This text states that the word *Pater* from the first petition leads to six of the virtues: love, fear, obedience, service, honour and reverence; that *in celis* enables the strength of will gained through the divine virtues of faith, hope and charity and the four cardinal virtues of prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice; and finally the seven petitions are aligned with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit as follows: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum* – wisdom, *Adueniat regnum tuum* – understanding, *Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cello et in terra* – counsel, *Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie* – strength, *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris* – knowledge, *Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem* – pity, and *Sed libera nos a malo* – fear of the Lord.[69]

The second tract, in comparison, aligns the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster* with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, sins, remedial virtues, beatitudes and the seven heavenly rewards and therefore follows the more traditional ways of uniting this material. The groups of seven are connected in the following way:

[66] Hanna, 331, p. xiii and xiv.
[67] Hanna, p. lxxii.
[68] Venetia Nelson, ed., *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen: A Prose Version of the Speculum Vitae* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1981), p. 11
[69] Nelson, pp. 12-13

Petition	**Gift**	**Vice**	**Virtue**	**Beatitude**	**Reward**
I	Fear	Pride	Humility	Beati paupers	Spiritual poverty
II	Pity	Envy	Friendship	Beati mites	Meekness
III	Knowledge	Anger	Evenhead	Beati qui lugent	Weeping
IV	Strength	Sloth	Prowess	Beati qui esuriunt	Hunger and thirst
V	Counsel	Avarice	Mercy	Beati misericordes	Mercy
VI	Understanding	Lechery	Chastity	Beati mundo corde	Cleanness of heart
VII	Wisdom	Gluttony and wicked tongue	Soberness	Beati pacifici	Peacefulness

Nelson has proposed that the first tract contains the theological items that 'fall outside' the schematisation of the septenaries and therefore their inclusion represents the 'importance of the catechesis'.[70] The importance of combining and disseminating the basic teachings of the faith is paramount to this thesis, and therefore the ingenious attempt to unite diverse material that is not commonly associated with the *Pater Noster* in the first tract of both the *Speculum* and the *Myrour* clearly demonstrates the desire to present new ways of combining religious material.

Additional examples which also combine the prayer with the septenaries are also evident. For example, P. S. Jolliffe identifies another late Middle English *Pater Noster* tract in *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*, dating to the early fifteenth-century, which is worthy of consideration. This anonymous tract, found in Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4g.5, ff.58v-88r, and London, British Library, MS Harley 1197, ff.28v-48v, differs from the most common *Pater Noster* expositions of the period.[71] It has been described by R. Raymo as 'a considerably more ambitious commentary on the *Pater Noster* than the Standard Exposition' as the text deals with the explanation of the seven petitions of the prayer, connecting them in turn with the seven deadly sins, the seven virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the beatitudes and the two precepts of love.[72] This text, as Elisabetta Lonati in her edition states, 'introduces a more complex and articulate form of

[70] Nelson, p. 11
[71] For an edition of the text from the Harley manuscript see E. Lonati, "Ffor God wolde þat alle men ferde weel & were sauid': A Late Middle English Pater Noster Tract', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano*, vol. 53.1 (2000), 83-138 (pp.101-119).
[72] Raymo, p. 2280.

religious instruction; it links a series of arguments considered as fundamental for the Christian soul. Sometimes they are in contrast with one another, such as the seven petitions and the deadly sins'.[73]

This tract opens with a eulogy of the prayer, as many tracts do, which describes it as a complete prayer containing everything necessary to meet the needs of a Christian soul. The author then details his plan for the tract: the explanation of the seven petitions, their power to fight against the seven deadly sins and to conquer the seven virtues by the gifts of the Holy Spirit in order to reach the heavenly beatitudes.[74] It is evident that the aim of this commentary was to impart further knowledge of the faith rather than to teach the practicalities of praying. For example, on ff.29r-29v of the Harley manuscript the text states:

> þis preyere is most of myȝt & most profyȝtable for it conteyneth seuene petyciouns & preyeris aȝens þe seuene dedly synnes & enformeth vs whiche ben the seuene ȝiftis of the holy gost, & whiche þe seuene vertues of the gospel, & bryngith men to þe seuene blissis þat arn knytte þerto in þe gospel.

A concise explanation of each petition follows before a more thorough and comprehensive exposition of the petitions which extends for more than half of the tract. This is then followed by the seven deadly sins, the virtues, the gifts, the beatitudes (presented as a group of nine, with three of them connected to the seventh petition so that the symmetry of the plan is assured) and the two precepts of love (the first three petitions refer to the first precept and the last four to the second), each of which is linked in turn to the respective petition.[75]

Also, the vernacular prose treaties, *Þe Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte*, attributed to (although not written by) Richard Rolle, during the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century is also worthy of mentioning.[76] This text begins with a dedicatory epistle to a 'dear sister in God', proposing that the text has been complied for a woman who would like to be able to understand and not to merely repeat the *Pater Noster*. This text, as Nicholas Watson states, aims to provide a clause-by-clause 'vndirstondynge' of the *Pater Noster*, something which was available only to 'men of religioun and

[73] Lonati, p. 90.
[74] Lonati, p. 95.
[75] Lonati, p. 95.
[76] For an edition of the text see Aarts.

oþr clerkis'.[77] The remainder of the long exposition, however, is much more complex than the simplicity proposed in the introduction. It is plausible, therefore, that the proposed reader is a fictional construct as the remainder of the text disassociates itself systematically from the female reader.[78] This notion is echoed by Watson who suggests that although the text was written for a nun, the author was clearly aware of the educational needs of the laity and envisioned a wider audience which would include women in religious orders, but this would not be the sole audience.[79] Out of the six extant manuscript copies (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 74 (1425); Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.29 (1500); Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.6.40 (*c*.1450); Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.iv.22 (1425); London, Westminster School, MS 3 (1450); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 104 (1500)) Catherine Innes-Parker has proposed that at least two of the copies show evidence of a wider readership.[80] She states that Westminster School MS 3 was owned by a lay man, Richard Cloos, in 1472 and Trinity College MS O.1.29 was owned by Johannes Levell, who she presumes was a parish priest.[81]

Another example of a text which attempts to equate the various septenaries with the petitions of the prayer can be found in Anselm's homily on the beatitudes, *In Evangelicum Secundum Matthaeum*. Here the beatitudes and gifts of the Holy Spirit are equated with the petitions of the *Pater Noster* as follows:

> Fear of God (gift) gives happiness to poor (beatitude) combines with 'Hallowed be thy name'
> Pity (gift) gladdens the humble heart (beatitude) combines with 'Thy kingdom come'
> Knowledge (gift) gives joy to those who mourn through consolation (beatitude) combines with 'Thy will be done'
> Fortitude (gift) brings happiness to those who hunger and thirst as it satisfies them (beatitude) combines with 'Give us this day our daily bread'.

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[77] Nicholas Watson, 'Ancrene Wisse: Religious Reform and the Late Middle Ages', in Yoko Wada, ed., *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 197-226 (p.212).
[78] Kathryn Vulic, 'Þe Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte and the Topos of the Female Audience', *Mystics Quarterly*, 34.3/4 (2008), 1-43 (p.1). For a more detailed discussion of this text see Kathryn Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing in Late-Medieval England' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, 2004), especially chapter one.
[79] Watson, p. 204.
[80] Catherine Innes-Parker, 'The Legacy of Ancrene Wisse: Translations, Adaptations, Influences and Audiences, with Special Attention to Women Readers', in Yoko Wada, ed., *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 145-174 (pp.155-156).
[81] Innes-Parker, p. 156.

> Counsel (gift) gives joy to the merciful (beatitude) combines with 'Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us'.
> Understanding (gift) delights the pure in heart with the vision of God's love (beatitude) combines with 'And lead us not into temptation'.
> Wisdom (gift) brings happiness to the peace-makers (beatitudes) combines with 'Deliver us from evil'.[82]

Robert Grossteste, in his pastoral manual *Templum Dei* (written before 1235), also connects seven septenaries in an elaborate *tabula curas pastoralis.* Grossteste uses a medical allegory in which the vices are the infirmities of the patient and the petitions of the *Pater Noster* are the patient's complaints to the doctor (representing the priest). He then presents a schematic tabular diagram in which the moral habits and beatitudes are applied as medical preparations which culminate in the seven virtues restoring the health of the patient.[83]

Some of these more comprehensive texts, were again 'quarried', to use Gillespie's analogy, by members of the clergy to formulate vernacular sermons. For example, another sermon edited by Ross from London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B XXIII, provides a more detailed exposition of the prayer. In sermon 9, entitled 'Vigilate et orate, Mathei vicesimo sexto', it states that 'I þenke be Godd*es* g*ra*ce to shewe you how þe vij deadly synnes ben contrarye to þe vij preyours of þe holy P*ate*r N*oste*r ... And þise ben þo: pride, envie, wrathe, slowthe, couetyse, gloteneye, and þe synne of lecherye', which clearly suggests that the prayer was perceived to act as a counter to the sins and to perhaps offer some protection from them.[84] The sermon then proceeds to list the sins before connecting each one with a petition from the prayer. The first petition protects against pride; the second against envy; the third against wrath; the fourth against sloth; the fifth against covetousness; the sixth against gluttony; and the seventh against lechery.[85] These connections are expounded and explained within the sermon, demonstrating how two septenaries can be combined together, in a simple and yet effective form. The ways in which the sins and the petitions are connected in this sermon, however, are not necessarily repeated in other texts as their combination is not fixed. In his

[82] *PL*. 158. 595-597. For a discussion on Anselm's homily on the beatitudes and the tradition of their combination with the gifts of the Holy Spirit see Servais Pinckaers, *Sources of Christian Ethics* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), pp. 156-157.
[83] For a detailed discussion see Kemmler, pp. 39-45.
[84] Kemmler, p. 49.
[85] Kemmler, pp. 49-57

consideration of the vernacular sermon collection, Ross proposes that 'a medieval preacher could show that any of the prayers of the *Pater Noster* (described as 'petitions' in this thesis) was an antidote to any of the deadly sins', something which is equally evident in expositions as well as sermons.[86]

The fluid nature of the relationship between the *Pater Noster* and the sins, and also the other septenaries meant that the same teachings and ideas were borrowed, adapted or reformulated in various schematisations and presented in a wide range of texts. These texts provided a 'storehouse' of *Pater Noster* material which could be drawn upon by other authors or copyists, a concept I discuss in more detail in chapter 9, which focuses explicitly on the heterodox appropriations of these texts. This fluidity resulted from a *Pater Noster* tract providing a discrete but separate unit which was frequently combined with other similar units as part of a longer commentary, including the Articles of the Faith and the Ten Commandments, to create a holistic elaboration on the whole lay catechism. These separate units were transferable between texts, perhaps providing an explanation for the inconsistencies or deliberate differences between versions of the same texts, as individuals modified the basic material to suit their own purposes and audiences.[87] This transferability also extends to some of the key phrases which were specifically connected to the *Pater Noster*, as I have previously mentioned, as well as the schemata and teachings conveyed in the expositions.

Maurice Hussey proposes that, whether the exposition was simplistic or complex, the 'extreme adaptability' of the schema made it an effective tool which was capable of conveying 'almost the whole religious training that the laity were given or needed to assimilate'.[88] This also meant that as the commentary tradition evolved, there was no fixed approach to uniting the septenaries together. Therefore, many of these examples provide evidence for the development and rise of vernacular theology. They demonstrate the trajectory from academic Latin works, through the translations to support priests in their pedagogical role, to vernacular versions created specifically to cater for devout

[86] Ross, p. 346.
[87] See Lewis, pp. 6-7 for a discussion of the similarities between sermon 9 in London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B XXIII (Ross, pp.48-49) and Wycliffite treatise 1 (Arnold, pp.93-94); and the similarities between *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen* (Nelson, p.102) and C. Horstman, ed., *The Mirror of St Edmund (Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole: an English Father of the Church, and his Followers*, 2 vols (London: Sonnenschein, 1895-1896)).
[88] Lewis p. 4, cites Hussey, p. 8.

lay individuals or semi-religious groups. Vincent Gillespie proposes that the process of vernacularisation was cultural and spiritual as well as linguistic. He states that 'few acts of translation into medieval vernaculars are what could be called "simple".[89] Therefore, vernacular theology is, as Gillespie proposes, 'ultimately more about the pragmatic and devotional literacies of different target audiences than about the status or cultural worth of the different languages in which it is performed.' [90]

The different ordering among the septenaries could be explained by the personal choice of the author, what he knew and wanted to stress about the septenaries and their relationship to the prayer, as the petitions of the prayer were permanently fixed. The evident variations may also be influenced by the changes in society which perhaps needed to be acknowledged and regulated through the teachings of the Church. It is possible that the emphasis on *Avaritia*, for example, evolved during the later medieval period and corresponds to the emergence of the middle class in which wealth and ostentatious goods were more prevalent. This suggests that the greater danger to an individual at this time was the coveting of his or her neighbours' goods. Also at this point, it is possible that the need to warn individuals against the sin of sloth was declining as the increase in social mobility meant that wealth could be earned through hard work, rather than inheritance, and this may have encouraged people to refrain from laziness.[91]

What is evident from these examples is that the same concepts are infrequently linked together, making it extremely difficult to provide a definitive list of the connections and the perceived relationship between these groupings. This issue forms the backbone of Vincent Gillespie's pioneering article on the subject, 'Thy Will be Done: *Piers Plowman and the Pater Noster*'.[92] Gillespie illustrates the relationship between the third petition, *fiat voluntas tua,* and the septenaries. He states that commentaries on the *Pater Noster*, such as the Latin *Glossa Ordinaria*, generally link the third

[89] Gillespie, 'Vernacular Theology', p. 402.
[90] Gillespie, 'Vernacular Theology', p. 402.
[91] For a more detailed discussion on the evolution of the sins, in relation to the late Middle English Pater Noster tract in Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4g.5, fols.58^{v}-88^{r}, and London, British Library, MS Harley 1197, fols.28^{v}-48^{v}, see Lonati, pp. 96-99.
[92] Vincent Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done', pp. 95-119.

petition to the sin of wrath because it 'lettiþ a man knowe goddus wil'.[93] This combination is also evident in a range of other expositions, including Hugh of St Victor's commentaries on the prayer,[94] the *Speculum Ecclesiae* written by Honorius of Autun;[95] and the late fourteenth century Middle English manual, the *Pore Caitif*.[96]

Furthermore, Gillespie states that several alternative interpretations exist as commentaries on this petition consistently see patience as the virtue which counteracts the anger and envy addressed by the petition.[97] For example, Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* links petition three with *odium* or ill-will, stating that wrath is counteracted by patience and envy by charity.[98] From his examination, Gillespie concludes that the inclusion of this petition invokes 'not only the immediate context of the Lord's Prayer but also the submerged matrix of interacting moral and psychological imperatives encoded within it by the catechetical tradition'.[99] This suggests that these connections were recognisable to a lay readership during the mid-fourteenth century and may provide evidence, not only for the success of the Church's desire to teach the *Pater Noster* to the laity, but also for the continuation of this tradition of uniting the septenaries with the prayer throughout the medieval period as a way to broaden lay religious knowledge.

P. S. Jolliffe has suggested that the majority of extant medieval commentaries on the *Pater Noster* simply offer 'a brief, impersonal exposition which is not directed to the needs of the individual and is of little assistance to him while he is praying'.[100] Although it is clear that the material is simplified, in comparison to the more heavy weight theological tracts found in ecclesiastical manuscripts, I argue that their purpose was not to assist with prayer but to enable the reader or hearer to begin to forge connections between the religious material they were being taught. Part of the reason

[93] Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done'; J. H. L. Kengen, ed., *Memoriale Credencium: a Late Middle English Manual of Theology for Lay People edited from Bodley MS Tanner 201* (self-published doctoral thesis, Katholieke Universiteit te Nijmegen, 1979), p. 198.
[94] *PL*. 175. 400-401, 405-414.
[95] *PL*. 177. 371-373.
[96] Mary Theresa Brady, 'The 'Pore Caitif': An Introductory Study', *Traditio*, 10 (1954), 529-548.
[97] Brady, 529-548.
[98] Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, eds., *Templum Dei*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, 14, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), p. 48.
[99] Goering and Mantello, *Templum Dei*, p. 114.
[100] P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), p. 29.

for these compilations, I propose, is to impart additional religious knowledge, using the known *Pater Noster* as a foundation to build other material upon. Therefore, the aim of these texts was not to aid the recitation of the prayer, as it is likely through the expounding of the prayer in the vernacular four times per year and the testing of the penitent's knowledge of the prayer in confession that the wording was already known, but perhaps the purpose of these texts was to encourage contemplation and meditation.

Following my consideration of these examples, I agree with Gillsepie that the *Pater Noster* is the central text within this framework. I propose that the *Pater Noster* may have been the central text around which the other septenaries were grouped, partly because of the fixed structure of its petitions, and also as it was seen as one of the most fundamental prayers for a lay individual to learn. This previous knowledge could assist them in accessing, understanding and remembering additional information. Perhaps the Church thought that the prayer was capable of acting as a vehicle for almost all of the religious training that the laity were given. During the early medieval period the relationship between the *Pater Noster* and the septenaries became embedded in theological teachings, partially, I propose, because of the symbolic nature of the number of petitions it comprises. Although the statutes issued by numerous archbishops sought to promote frequent and simple expositions of the prayer, in reality these texts were often complex combinations of the septenaries.

Plausibly, these more complex combinations may have been disseminated to clerics, and ultimately a lay audience, to encourage individuals to interpret the texts and to forge their own connections between the septenary groupings. This notion links to Stevenson's idea that an increasing emphasis was being placed on the importance of free will during the twelfth century, as I have mentioned earlier.[101] The growing emphasis that was being placed on an individual's free will, enabling them to make decisions guided by their own conscience, could perhaps be paramount in explaining why the connections between the septenaries do not follow a definite pattern. If authors were presenting different interpretations to their readers, something which is clearly evident in the examples that have been discussed in this chapter, it is possible that the readers were encouraged to contemplate principles which were mutable rather than fixed.

[101] Stevenson, p. 118.

This may suggest the interpretation of religious material was now to be encouraged, rather than a simple acceptance of the didactic teachings of the Church, especially as many of these manuals were created in response to the constitutions issued by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. This may suggest that the instruction to teach the laity their *Pater Noster* in the vernacular opened the floodgates for understanding, combining and forming individual interpretations of basic religious material.

Perhaps the result of this greater freedom can be seen in the oppressive constitutions issued by Archbishop Arundel in 1409 which sought to limit the circulation of vernacular material amongst the laity.[102] As I have already mentioned in chapter 2 (above), these rulings sought to control the perceived spread of heresy by forbidding either preaching on theological matters in the vernacular or reading the Bible in English without permission from a bishop. The authorities were aware that different interpretations of scriptural and theological material were circulating and aimed to restrict the ways in which the laity could access and engage with their faith. As a consequence, according to Nicholas Watson, in his influential article on these constitutions, a very different kind of writing was produced in the climate of censorship in the fifteenth century.[103] This resulted in, as Eamon Duffy has suggested, writers attempting to distance themselves from any suspicion of heresy.[104] According to Kirsty Campbell, this led to the fading out of 'vernacular theology' and the limiting of the kinds of vernacular material recorded in books as the Church 'tightened its grip on dangerous ideas'.[105]

[102] For a comprehensive discussion on the effects of Arundel's 1409 Constitutions see Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change', 822-864.
[103] Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change, 822-864.
[104] Eamon Duffy, 'Religious Belief', in Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod, eds., *A Social History of England 1200-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 293-339 (pp.330-331).
[105] Kirsty Campbell, 'Vernacular Auctoritas in Late Medieval England: Writing after the *Constitutions*', in Steven Partridge and Erik Kwakkel, eds., *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp. 178-197 (p.179).

CHAPTER FOUR

VISUAL TEACHING RESOURCES FOR THE CLERGY: THE *PATER NOSTER* IN WHEEL DIAGRAMS AND TABLES

The tradition of representing religious material in a tabular or circular format was ingrained in educational practices by the medieval period and, as it has already been established the *Pater Noster* was one of the core prayers taught to the laity, it is unsurprising that this text played a pivotal role in some of these compositions. Although these structures were not solely used to elaborate on the *Pater Noster*, as the representation of theoretical principles in diagrammatic and tabular forms was common throughout the medieval period in England, and also on the continent, there are many extant examples of tables and wheels of seven which link this prayer to additional religious septenaries. I propose that these diagrams were designed to visually illustrate the connections between the prayer and the septenaries and to inform the reader, or viewer, of the significance of the *Pater Noster* in an individual's quest for salvation and forgiveness. The relationship between the *Pater Noster* and forgiveness is clearly evident in the penitential and confessional practices and texts and, therefore, it is plausible that its inclusion in this visual format, illustrating how the prayer steers the reader away from sin, served a similar purpose.

This chapter seeks to address four fundamental questions. Why is the *Pater Noster* used as the basis for the extant schematisations of the septenaries in wheel diagrams and tables? What is the relationship between the wheel diagrams and tables, and the commentary tradition? Is there any evidence for lay access and use? And finally, what was their purpose, was it to teach individuals how to pray, to encourage them to contemplate and meditate on the connections that were presented between the septenary groupings or a mixture of the two? To do this I will be using two main examples, the Pater Noster table located in the Vernon Manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a.1) and the wheel of sevens diagram in the De Lisle Psalter (London, British Library, MS Arundel 83 II) to illustrate my points (plates 1 and 2 respectively). These two examples have been

chosen on the grounds that they are the most likely extant examples to have been read by a lay audience or at least commissioned by a lay patron.

Plate 1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a.1, f.231v.

Plate 2: London, British Library, MS Arundel 83 II, f.129v.

I will also make reference to a Pater Noster *tabula* which was once displayed in York Minster. Although little information is available on the content and composition of this *tabula*, it is likely that it followed a similar schematisation to the examples of wheel diagrams and tables that will be considered in this chapter. I propose that this *tabula* may have provided another way in which such schematisations could be displayed for a lay audience to see, taking material from a manuscript context and displaying it on a column within the lay area of a church.

As I have established in chapter 3 (above), the *Pater Noster* was frequently combined with the septenaries in a variety of textual formats. In visual representations of these groupings the prayer continues to be the starting point, the foundation on which the additional septenaries are attached. In the Pater Noster table on f.231v of the Vernon manuscript dating to *c*.1390, for example, the prayer is situated to the left of the table and is given visual dominance through the use of large illuminated initials which emphasise its importance.

Figure 1: Here you can see the left alignment of the *Pater Noster*. The prayer is written in Latin and each petition is accompanied by a vernacular gloss in a roundel.

Its position suggests that it operates as the primary text, as when reading from left to right the prayer is the first thing we see.[1] If the table is read in vertical columns the prayer can be viewed in its entirety in both Latin and English, whereas if the table is read horizontally the remainder of the columns present the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the virtues and finally the vices, with vernacular connective phrases linking the columns together.

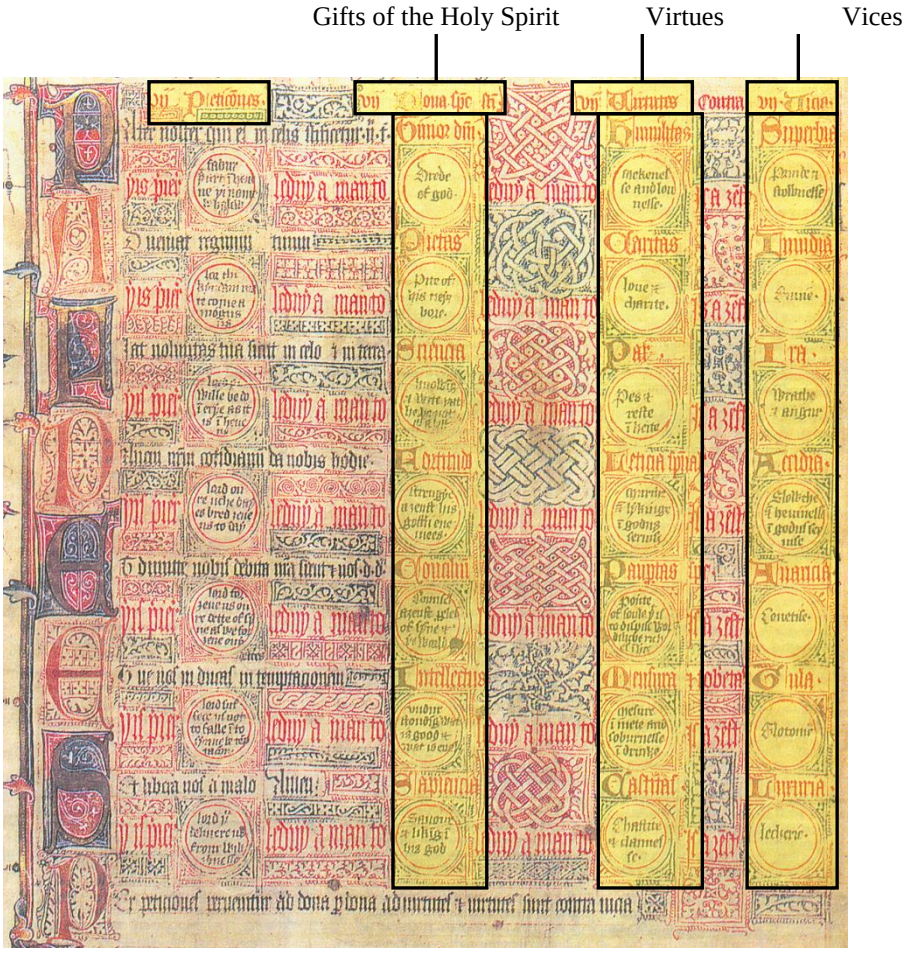

Figure 2: The Pater Noster table unites three additional septenaries with the prayer. This table presents each septenary in its entirety when reading in vertical columns and it also presents short vernacular narratives, suggesting links between each grouping, when read horizontally.

The importance of the prayer to this particular table is evident in the inclusion of these repetitive connective phrases which seek to link the vernacular expositions of the petitions to the vernacular glosses of the theological concepts. For example, the first horizontal line of the table reads 'Þis prier -

[1] Kathryn Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing in Late-medieval England' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, 2004), p. 111.

fadur þat in heuene þi nome is blessed - leduþ a man to - Drede of god - leduþ a man to - mekenesse and louenesse - is aȝenst - Priude & sownesse'.

Figure 3: The vernacular connective phrases clearly link the petitions of the prayer to the remaining septenaries, creating individual narratives which I argue highlight the consequence of praying the *Pater Noster.*

Each petition then reads '[the Lord's prayer] leduþ a man to [a gift of the Holy Spirit]' which 'leduþ a man to [a virtue]' which 'Is aȝenst [a vice]'. Viewed horizontally the table illustrates the consequences of praying the *Pater Noster*.

In the De Lisle example on f.129v, dating from *c*.1310, the wheel contains seven concentric rings with seven radial segments.

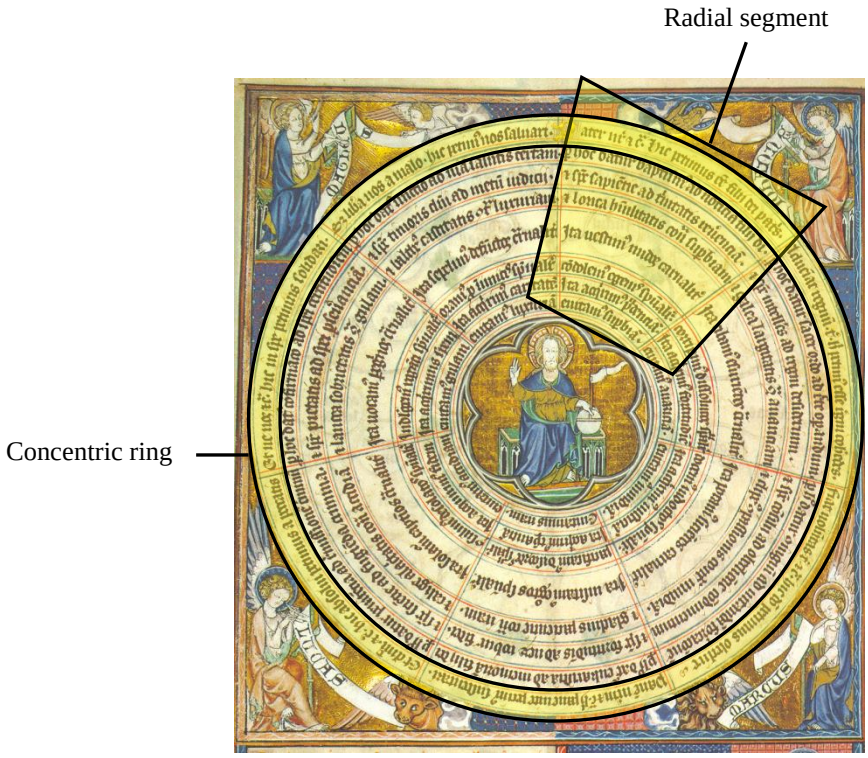

Figure 4: The wheel of sevens diagram in the De Lisle manuscript presents the relationship between seven religious septenaries. Here the wheel can be read in concentric rings which present each septenary in their entirety or in radial segments, starting from the outer ring and progressing to the inner most ring, which suggest connections between the groupings.

The rings contain, from outside to in, the *Pater Noster*, seven sacraments, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven spiritual weapons of the virtues, seven works of mercy, seven virtues and seven vices. As it is the petitions of the prayer that occupy the outer ring this may indicate its importance as a starting point for the spiritual exercise. Again the *Pater Noster* propels the clockwise reading of the diagram as the Majescule P of 'Pater Noster' indicates the starting point for reading.[2]

Figure 5: The use of gold for this letter indicates that it is the starting point for the text.

The remaining septenaries offer a gloss on the *Pater Noster* when the wheel is read as radial segments. Therefore the petition becomes the defining category by which a variety of different concepts – drawn from ecclesiastical sacraments, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, etc. – are united. This suggests that the concepts in the inner rings are presented both as consequences and also as elaborations on the meaning of those petitions.

The suggestion that the wheel encourages the viewer to understand the consequences and elaboration of the prayer is also indicated by the positioning of a conjunction (hic, et, sic or ita) at the beginning of each septenary segment. The repetitive nature of these conjunctions also suggests that the interpretation of each of these segments is encouraged through the recurrence of the following: hic (here, in this verse), et (and), sic (thus), and ita (therefore).[3]

[2] Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 1999), p. 54. In other versions of the wheel of sevens the starting point is often marked by a row of red crosses.
[3] Sam Spears, 'The Visual Dynamics of the Wheel of Sevens in the Speculum theologiae', *The Speculum Theologiae in Beinecke MS 416* (2006) <http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/speculum/2v-wheel-of-sevens.html> [accessed 11 November 2007] (paragraph 10 of 15).

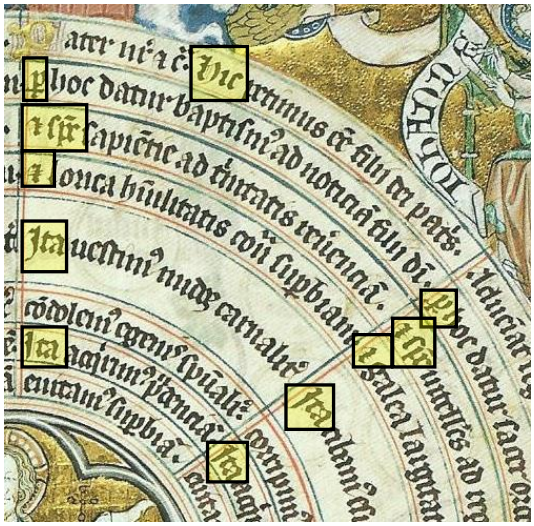

Figure 6: Examples of connective phrases between radial segments.

These conjunctions help to create conceptual links between the septenaries which suggests they may have been deliberately included to aid the viewer in the negotiation of the diagram and to encourage them to interpret the theological material that is presented.

The creation of conceptual links to assist the viewer in the negotiation of the diagram is also evident in other examples including Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.4.32, f.12v.

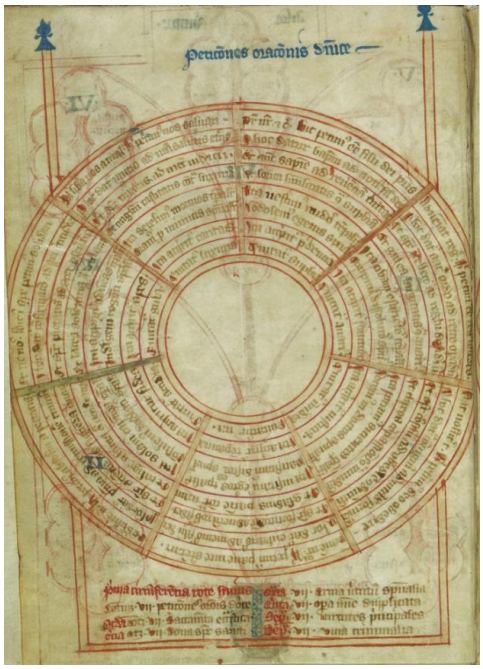

Figure 7: This wheel of sevens diagram also indicates that the *Pater Noster* is the primary text due to its position in the outer radial circle. Also, the use of repetitive connective phrases creates similar narratives between the septenaries to those found in the De Lisle example.

This example dates from *c*.1317 and is contained in a miscellany which also includes a manual for the use of priests and a *Speculum Theologiae* (added later in the fourteenth century).[4] The wheel is composed of seven rings (from outside to in: seven petitions of the *Pater Noster*, seven sacraments, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven arms of justice, seven works of mercy, seven virtues and seven vices) and seven radial segments and is accompanied by explanatory material. Here, the radial segments also offer a gloss of the *Pater Noster*, with the inner rings of each radial segment contributing the example from their own lists of seven concepts that best correspond to the verse of the prayer in the outer ring. For example the first radial segment reads from outer to inner ring:

> *Pater noster et cetera. Hic petimus esse filii dei patris - Hoc datur baptisma ad noticiam filii dei - Et spiritus sapiencie ad reuerenciam trinitatis - Et lorica humilitatis contra superbiam- Ita vestimus nudos temporaliter - Condolemus egenis spiritualiter - Ita accipitur prudencia - Euitatur superbia*.
>
> [Our Father and others. In this place he seeks to be the Son of God the Father – Here we are given notice of the baptism of the Son of God – And the spirit of judgement from the holy Trinity – And the fortification of the humble against the proud – Therefore clothes are stripped temporarily – Empathise with the poor of spirit – Therefore accept prudence - Shun pride]

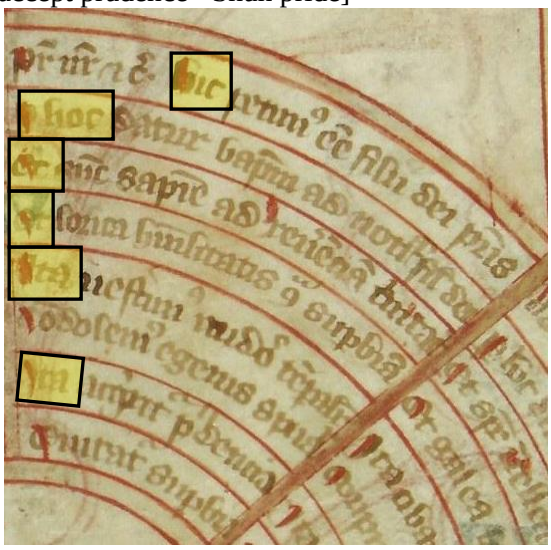

Figure 8: Examples of connective phrases between radial segments.

It is also clear in this diagram that the prayer's petitions are the category used to unify a variety of concepts together as, similarly to the De Lisle example, the theological concepts in the inner rings are presented as consequences of the prayer's petitions and also as expansions on their meaning.

[4] Sandler, p. 108, no. 2.

In these examples it is clear that the *Pater Noster* is the starting point not only for reading the table and diagram, but also for the reader to access, understand and engage with the theology that is presented. I argue that the prayer is given the most prominent and fundamental position in these combinations of septenaries as it is one of the core texts that all Christians were expected to learn. Therefore, it is likely that the designers of the diagrams chose to use a text familiar to the reader as a basis on which to construct further learning.

This chapter will now consider the relationship between the textual commentaries that sought to connect the septenaries to the *Pater Noster* (see previous chapter) and the visual schematisations that were also used to present similar information. To do this it will question whether tables and diagrams originated as summaries of the more lengthy theological material found in manuals and commentaries, and whether they provide any evidence for this material being simplified and adapted to suit the needs of a lay audience. Alternatively, it will also consider whether these diagrams may have evolved as a more sophisticated visual pedagogical tool for the laity, seeking to articulate the theology found in the more lengthy commentaries in a visual format rather than attempting to simplify the teachings. Although Niamh Pattwell, in her article on London, British Library, MS Burney 356, discusses a manual created for learned clerics, it is possible that her conclusions could be applied to theological manuscripts made for educated lay individuals. Pattwell discusses whether a vernacular manual of religious instruction, the *Sacerdos Parochialis* (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century), was adapted to meet the needs of a more theologically sophisticated reader through the inclusion of schemata and diagrams.[5] This manuscript contains diagrams which are far more comprehensive and sophisticated than the material found in the main body of the text, and in this instance they supplement rather than summarise the text.[6]

Moving on to consider my specific examples, in the Vernon Manuscript the table is located between two texts: *The Pope's Trental* (ff.231r-231v) and the *Speculum Vitae* (ff.231v-265r). *The Pope's Trental* is a text which focuses on the salvation of the soul, in this case the soul of Pope

[5] Niamh Pattwell, 'Providing for the Learned Cleric: Schemas and Diagrams in *Sacerdos Parochialis* in British Library MS Burney 356', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 10 (2007), 129-149.
[6] Pattwell, p. 131.

Gregory's mother, which is saved through the delivery of a 'trental' of thirty masses over ten chief religious feasts.[7] In the story, Gregory's mother failed to honestly confess her sins before her death, so that the murder of her illicit child would remain secret. She then appeared to Gregory, in a ghost-like or disfigured form, as he was celebrating the mass, confessed her crime and asked for forgiveness for the sin she was too ashamed to confess. She finally asks Gregory to deliver a series of masses to free her soul from purgatory.[8] Although there is a tenuous link between the treatment of the themes of forgiveness, prayer and the remission of sin in this text and also in the table, there is no direct correlation. There are some similarities, however, between the table and the *Speculum Vitae* which addresses a lay audience and gives them guidance on matters of faith and morality. Although the table does not operate as an illustration of either of these texts, perhaps it precedes the *Speculum Vitae* as this text analyses the words of the *Pater Noster* before proceeding to consider each of its seven petitions.[9] The connection between this text and the table is also suggested by the border and illumination of the initials. As Henry states:

> The diagram and *Speculum Vitae* are distinct, but linked. The columnar effect ... is further emphasised by the extension of the usual ascending flourish of a decorated initial, right up the left-hand edge of the text area. The extension, forming a visual part of the Pater Noster, is to the 'A' beginning *Speculum Vitae.* This common device indicates the beginning of major manuscript elements.' Strictly speaking, then, the left-hand bower of the Pater Noster diagram on 231v belongs to *Speculum Vitae.* The extension runs the height of the margin and then along the top and bottom margins, partially enclosing the whole text of the page (the end of *The Pope's Tental,* the whole Pater Noster, the start of *Speculum Vitae).*[10]

In the *Speculum Vitae* the petitions of the prayer, similarly to the table, are related to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the sins and their opposing virtues, however, the *Speculum* also briefly considers

[7] For an edition see Horstmann, pp. 260-267. See also Mary C. Flannery and Katie L. Walker, eds., *The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2013), p. 85.
[8] See the following for a copy of the poem called St Gregory's Trental: London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A II, fol.84^{v}; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 306, fol.110; F. J. Furnivall, ed., *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, EETS, OS, 15 (London: Trübner, 1886), p. 83.
[9] Henry, pp. 90-91.
[10] Henry, p. 91.

seven out of eight beatitudes at the end of each section on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which is unlike the table. Both the text and the table differ in the terms associated with the virtues. For example, the *Speculum* replaces 'Peace' with 'Evenhead', 'Wirth' with 'Prouwesse' and 'Poverty of Spirit' with 'Merci'.[11] The order in which the concepts from each of the septenaries are united is also different. In the *Speculum* the sins (and their contrary virtues) relating to the last two gifts of the Holy Spirit are presented in a different context to the table: 'Vndurstondyng' (f.250v) is set against 'Lechery' which is opposed by 'Chastite', and 'Wisdom' (f.258v) is set against 'Gloteny' which is counteracted by 'Soburnes'.[12]

Perhaps the diagram sought to provide a mental framework by which the theology employed in the 16,000 lines of the *Speculum Vitae* could be memorised and therefore perhaps the extended discussion in the text could be seen as an expansion of the summarised theology in the table. On the other hand, the table is most likely to be an independent item which, although it contains similar content to the text, seeks to provide its own gloss on the petitions through the roundels containing vernacular expositions. There are many instances in this particular manuscript where a guide is included to help the intended reader or worshipper to use elementary devotional tools and this table can be seen as one of them.[13]

The inclusion of devotional tools is also evident in the De Lisle Psalter, although it is impossible to establish how these diagrams could be associated with the commentary tradition as this manuscript does not contain any textual extracts, due to its incomplete nature. Perhaps the origins of these diagrams will shed some light on their relationship with the manuals and commentaries that also presented this theology. These diagrams are not original: they are copies of a group of 'pictures' devised towards the end of the thirteenth century by a Franciscan friar, John of Metz. The group was called the *Speculum Theologiae* or in England *The Orchard of Consolation*, names which suggest both

[11] Henry, p. 91.
[12] Henry, p. 91.
[13] Kathryn Vulic, 'Devotional Consequence of Medieval Graphic Design: The Vernon Paternoster Diagram' (unpublished paper delivered at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo MI, Sunday 8th May 2005).

the encyclopedic intention of the maker and their contemplative purpose.[14] The wheel of sevens in the *Speculum Theologiae*, for example, was designed to aid monastic study, which suggests that it originated from the monastic sphere. Its purpose was most likely mnemonic, as the cyclical structure was capable of organising theological concepts into an accessible visual programme. This particular set of diagrams (in this case a series of eleven) was 'generally attached to a scientific, historical or theological text, forming one section of a miscellany or a compendium' rather than located in a devotional manuscript (the genre accepted by scholars for the De Lisle manuscript).[15] It is unclear how, or indeed if, these diagrams linked to the content of the psalter or related in any way to the surviving miniatures as this manuscript is extremely fragmentary in nature and contains an unusual combination of material.[16]

From my limited consideration of these two manuscript examples, I suggest that the development of commentary texts and diagrammatic representations of similar material may have followed a comparable evolutionary process, although it is unclear whether diagrams evolved as a way of summarising or elaborating on these more lengthy texts. I would propose that the diagrams descended from a tradition of their own and evolved directly from the monastic practice of representing elements of the catechism in visual schematisations. Although these diagrams were initially designed to facilitate monastic study and learning, they were gradually disseminated to a lay audience, especially to the more wealthy and learned members of the laity. The growing desire of a lay audience to access the more complex Christian theology and to have the opportunity to view or possess richly decorated devotional manuscripts provided the momentum for the transmission of this material from the monastic to the clerical and finally to the lay sphere.

Pattwell's study suggests that the dissemination of religious theology was by no means a one-way process and, as Vincent Gillespie argues, the pattern of transmission from manuscript to *tabula*

[14] Sandler, pp. 22-23.
[15] Sandler, p. 20.
[16] Sandler, p. 11.

could equally be seen as *tabula*e influencing the religious contents of commentary texts.[17] This process of assimilation (manuscript texts informing the composition of diagrams and vice versa) may have succeeded in strengthening the impact of religious teaching through the continual presentation of the same message in a variety of forms.

To establish whether a lay audience is likely for either of my chosen examples, it is necessary to consider their provenance and any textual evidence. There are several extant examples of Pater Noster tables, the majority of which are in Latin, but there is only one example that contains the Latin titles of the septenaries accompanied by a vernacular gloss and that is the table in the Vernon Manuscript.[18] As Vincent Gillespie states, in relation to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century treatises, 'the older Latin expositions were reformulated for the needs and abilities of the new and expanding audience for vernacular didacticism'.[19] This idea, of Latin meanings being re-modelled to suit expanding vernacular audiences and their desire for moral instruction, could also be applied to the design and contents of the Pater Noster table, so much so that Avril Henry argues, in her influential article 'The Pater Noster in a Table Ypeynted', that the table could be followed in Latin or English alone.[20] The use of the vernacular is prominent in this manuscript, making it the largest extant collection of Middle English religious and didactic texts in one codex.

I agree with Gillespie's argument that Latin expositions were being reformulated for an expanding vernacular audience on the grounds that this table represents exactly that. Due to the vast scale of this manuscript, each page measuring 544mm by 393mm and the entire volume weighing 22 kg, it is likely that it was used as a coucher or ledger book on a lectern or desk.[21] This has led scholars to suggest that the most likely readership of this manuscript may have been nuns. A. I. Doyle proposes

[17] Vincent Gillespie, 'Medieval Hypertext: Image and Text from York Minster', in P. R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim, ed., *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays presented to M. B. Parkes* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), pp. 206-229 (p.221).
[18] The manuscript consists of five main sections. Sections one, two and three contain material from liturgical ceremonies, devotional items and prayers, all in verse. Section four consists of devotional items in prose, while the final section is made up of twenty-seven religious lyrics. The table is located in section three and does not occupy a whole page.
[19] Gillespie, 'Thy Will Be Done', pp. 96-98.
[20] Henry, p. 93.
[21] A. I. Doyle, ed., *The Vernon Manuscript. A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. poet. a.1* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), p. 11; Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', p. 107.

that an 'amply grounded presumption...would be that any collection of vernacular religious literature of comparable scope was probably made for nuns or other devout women' due to the number of items included arguably having been composed for, or addressed to, a woman. These include Aelred of Rievaulx's letter to his sister, Richard Rolle's English Epistles and Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* and *On Mixed Life*.[22] This idea has been accepted by Derek Pearsall, although Doyle concedes that some items, including texts on how to hear mass, were couched specifically for lay listeners or readers.[23] It is these lay listeners and readers, and not nuns, who I propose would have been given accesses to this table. It may have been used as a teaching aid to enable them to understand the connections between the septenaries, using their previous knowledge of the *Pater Noster* as the basis for this further theological learning. In contrast to the possible monastic audience for this manuscript, as suggested by Pearsall and Doyle, Wendy Scase, in her recent publication *The Making of the Vernon Manuscript*, proposes that 'the relations between clergy and lay patrons' could suggest that the manuscript may have been commissioned by a lay individual.[24] She suggests that the 'West Midlands clergy in the service of lay patrons were the social group most likely to be closely associated with a taste for vernacular material and that they had means of accessing exemplars and obtaining copies'.[25] If Scase is correct in her speculation, it is possible that the patronage and tastes of a lay individual could have been paramount in the production of this extensive volume, including the bilingual septenary table.

If a lay audience is possible for the Vernon manuscript this may explain why the same colour of ink (in this case brown) is used for both the Latin prayer text and the vernacular glosses. The use of brown ink for Latin texts is extremely unusual during the medieval period, as Latin quotations from

[22] Doyle, *Vernon Manuscript,* pp. 14-15.
[23] A. I. Doyle, 'Codicology, Palaeography, and Provenance' in Wendy Scase, ed., *The Making of the Vernon Manuscript: The Production and Context of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 3-26 (p.16); Derek Pearsall, ed., *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), pp. ix-xi; Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', p. 108; Doyle, *Vernon Manuscript,* pp. 14-15.
[24] Wendy Scase, 'The Patronage of the Vernon Manuscript', in Scase, ed., *The Making of the Vernon Manuscript,* pp. 269-294 (p.288).
[25] Scase, p. 270.

the Bible were conventionally written in red, and also in comparison to the remaining Latin texts in the Vernon manuscript.[26]

Figure 9: The same colour ink is used for the Latin prayer and the vernacular gloss.

The fact that the English glosses are written in the same colour as the Latin *Pater Noster* suggests that they may have acted as an extension of the meaning and intent of the prayer. Here, the vernacular does not seek to displace the Latin but to support in its interpretation.

Also, when the script of the English phrases between roundels is compared to the script of the Latin *Pater Noster* it is clear that the English phrases are written in a large red textura, the same type of script we would have expected to see used for the prayer.

Figure 10: Note the script and colour used for the Latin prayer text and the vernacular connective phrases.

The designer of the diagram seems to have inverted the hierarchy of script to elevate the English connective phases, relegating the text of the *Pater Noster* to smaller lettering. There may be several reasons for this, but the most plausible is that the content of the *Pater Noster* may not be limited to the exact words of the prayer and that the connections to the septenaries are also part of the inherent structure of the prayer. Furthermore, the glosses are expansive and rather specific in their interpretation of the Latin items in the diagram. These translations or paraphrases seek to shape the

[26] Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', p. 166. Vulic argues that words from the Bible, and more specifically from Jesus' mouth, are conventionally written in red. She argues that this rubrication is a standard feature of medieval textual production and artistry as noted by the Pardoner in his prologue 'in Latyn I speke a wordes fewe, / To saffron with my predicacioun, / And for to stire hem devocioun' (II.344-346). For the remainder of this passage see Benson, p. 194.

meaning of the Latin prayer and suggest how to use the prayer to avoid sin. For example, the fifth and sixth petitions are expanded to include a stronger focus on sin and thus, this repetition enhances the viewer's awareness of the dangers and the role that the *Pater Noster* can play in its avoidance.[27] I argue that the use of the vernacular to shape the readers understanding of the Latin text may indicate that the table could have been created to enhance the religious knowledge of a more sophisticated and wealthy lay audience who may have been capable of reading and thinking about the connections presented in the tabular form. It may also have been used by a priest to inform their sermon material, providing a simplified way in which these groupings could be defined, explained and linked together to suit the more practical needs of a lay congregation.

Another reason why this table may have been created for a lay audience is evident in its contents, especially the list of virtues. This list, as Kathryn Vulic states, differs greatly from the classical list (three Pauline virtues and the four Cardinal virtues) with only a single term, *Caritas,* being reproduced.[28] Unlike the other septenaries in this table which follow pre-existing traditions, the virtues chosen for inclusion (*Humilitas, Caritas, Leticia Spiritualis, Paupertas Spiritus, Mensura & Sobrietas, Castitas*) are idiosyncratic – even to the point of including eight terms (with the doubling of *Mensura & Sobrietas*).[29] The translator also gives vernacular alternatives to the original Latin words through the doubling of terms (*Castitas* becomes 'chastite & clannesse').[30] These concepts are more practical, and less abstract in nature than the traditional list, suggesting that the table may have been designed to meet the needs of a lay audience. Here the Latin concepts are explained in more simplistic and practical terms in the vernacular translations, sometimes accompanied by an example, to enable a lay viewer to understand how to physically act in a virtuous way.

The treatment of the vices may also indicate that the manuscript was designed for a lay readership. The vices, unlike the virtues, remain fairly stable and do not vary from the list prescribed by Gregory the Great. Here the vernacular translations are minimal and contain little explanation,

[27] Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', pp. 127-128.
[28] Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', pp. 138-139.
[29] Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', p. 139.
[30] Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', p. 139.

apart from the translation of *Accidia* which is defined with the double nouns 'slowthe' and 'heuinesse' and expanded to refer to 'godus seruise'.[31] Perhaps this minimal treatment sought to turn a lay viewer away from the vices, as little elaboration on how to act sinfully was provided, and to encourage them to focus on the prayer, the gifts and the virtues.

Of the De Lisle Psalter only the drawings are now extant. The wheel of sevens is part of a collection of eleven devotional diagrams which are accompanied by a cycle of illustrations from the life of Christ, and preceded by a Sarum calendar (ff.117-122v).[32] The remaining content of this manuscript is unknown, however, it has been proposed, and generally accepted by scholars, that these diagrams are thought to have preceded a psalter made for an English lay individual. Lucy Freeman Sandler has proposed that this Southern English psalter was created specifically for a layman, Robert de Lisle, even though all of the extant diagrams are in Latin. Although the use of Latin may suggest that a clerical or monastic readership is more likely, de Lisle (1288-1344) was a wealthy baron who served both King Edward II and Edward III in their parliaments and by undertaking overseas missions, and, therefore, it can be assumed that he would have been an educated individual and likely to have been able to read Latin. Sandler comments that this serious and 'even learned book whose theological diagrams in particular echo the thinking of the great Franciscan St Bonaventura ... could scarcely have found a more suitable owner'.[33] De Lisle's affinity with the Franciscan order is clearly indicated by his entrance into the Franciscan convent in London, Greyfriars, three years prior to his death. Sandler argues that these elements – 'his wealth, service to the king and his devotion to the Franciscan Order – are all reflected in the psalter'.[34]

The proposal that the De Lisle Psalter was owned, and possibly commission by Robert de Lisle is also supported by the survival of his wife's book of hours. Kathryn Smith proposes that 'Robert de Lisle [also] ordered for his wife [Margaret de Beauchamp] a book of hours [*c*.1320-1325] that reconfigured the major moralising and devotional themes and echoed the courtly style of his own

[31] Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', p. 146.
[32] Sandler, p. 20.
[33] Sandler, p. 13.
[34] Sandler, p. 13.

psalter'.[35] This presumption is based on the surviving book of hours belonging to Margaret de Beauchamp (De Lisle Hours, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS G. 50) which has a 'mendicant flavour that accords with her husband's close association with the Franciscan order'.[36] This manuscript suggests that de Lisle had 'clear, specific ideas concerning the contents and emphases' of the volume he commissioned', and also provides evidence for the 'tend towards lavishly illustrated devotional manuscripts for the laity, and flowering of books of hours in early fourteenth-century England'.[37] Smith suggests that the purpose of these books of hours was to mediate 'the religious experience' and to embody 'the social values of their owners'.[38] This indicates that the wealthy, literate and educated members of the laity sought a more sophisticated and complex presentation of the theology of the Church and therefore this may indicate that the inclusion of some of the religious diagrams associated with the *Pater Noster* sought to provide one format in which this was possible.

In this chapter I will now consider whether the structure of both tabular forms and wheel diagrams was specifically chosen by the diagram's designer to encourage the reader (or viewer) to examine the connections between the septenaries that were displayed and perhaps to contemplate or meditate on these relationships. This is certainly plausible as the schematisations produced by different authors and traditions presented variations in structure, layout, and most importantly, in contents. Frequently the petitions are united with different virtues and vices dependent upon the theological understanding of their designer or the tradition from which they may have evolved. Also, these schemata needed to be negotiated independently by the reader as there was little guidance on how to read or follow the structure of the diagrams, especially as they did not follow a single linear narrative. Therefore, there were many ways in which they may have been read, interpreted or understood by clerics and learned members of the laity. These diagrams and tables became important

[35] K. Smith, p. 295.
[36] K. Smith, p. 18.
[37] K. Smith, p. 295.
[38] K. Smith, p. 1.

ancillary elements in the medieval educational process, as they were specifically developed to 'facilitate learning' and to encourage the reader to contemplate and meditate on scriptural material.[39]

Ulrich Rehm, in his influential consideration of medieval diagrams, has argued that 'rota' or wheel diagrams were the preferred *figura* for the illustration of expositions of the *Pater Noster,* as this layout enabled the scribe to present the most comprehensive contents.[40] In this instance the septenaries, usually seven groupings, were presented in a relatively compact and easy to negotiate compilation in which each individual septenary was presented as an entity as well as in connection to the other septenaries. This schema seems to have developed as a recognisable device during the eleventh century and extant evidence suggests that the seven deadly sins were added to this diagrammatic composition after *c*.1200.[41] The evolution of the contents of this device clearly echoes the combination of the petitions and the sins in theological manuals and commentaries. This is supported by the ways in which the two groupings were united together with each petition offering protection against a particular sin. For example, 'Our Father which art in heaven' protected against pride, because it expressed the idea that we are all equally God's children. This mirroring of manuals and commentaries is also evident in the Pater Noster tables which belong to an additional subset of septenarian diagrams. In these tables the septenaries are also connected together to show the benefits of the recitation of the *Pater Noster* and how this may counteract vice and sin. Here the material is usually presented in a grid-like formation although some examples are more decorative and less rigid in their composition, such as the diagram on f.4r of London, British Library, MS Royal 1 B X (figure 11) and f.11 of Oxford, St John's College, MS 58 (figure 12).[42]

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[39] 'The Speculum Theologiae in Beinecke MS 416' (2006) <http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/speculum> [accessed 11 November 2007] (paragraph 2 of 5).

[40] Ulrich Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunser-Erklärungen des Mittelalters* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1994), p. 27.

[41] Rehm, pp. 55, 92.

[42] An earlier example of a *Pater Noster* table which again relates the petitions to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, virtues and vices can be found in London, British Library, MS Royal 1 B X, dating from the thirteenth to fourteenth century. The manuscript consists of a Latin Bible of St Jerome's Version with several later additions made during the fourteenth century including a collection of tables. These tables, all penned by the same scribe, include the virtues and vices; genealogical tree of Anna; the ten plagues of Egypt and the Ten Commandments; the twelve prophets, articles of faith and apostles; canonical hours; winged Seraph; tree of virtue; tree of vice; and 'peticiones', with the virtues resulting and the contrary vices. Although the tabular layout containing the *Pater Noster* appears more diagrammatic than the Vernon example, it still uses repetitive connective phrases to add a horizontal logic to a columnar framework, but contains no vernacular gloss or explanation. The use of colour and layout, with linear and circular shapes, is also

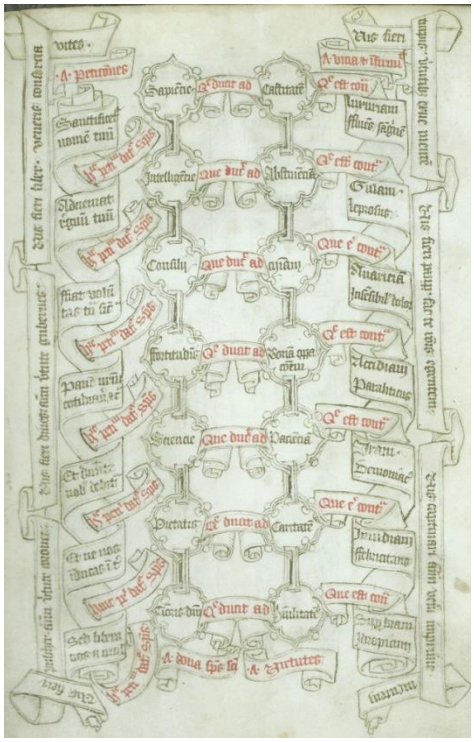

Figure 11: London, British Library, MS Royal 1 B X, f.4r.

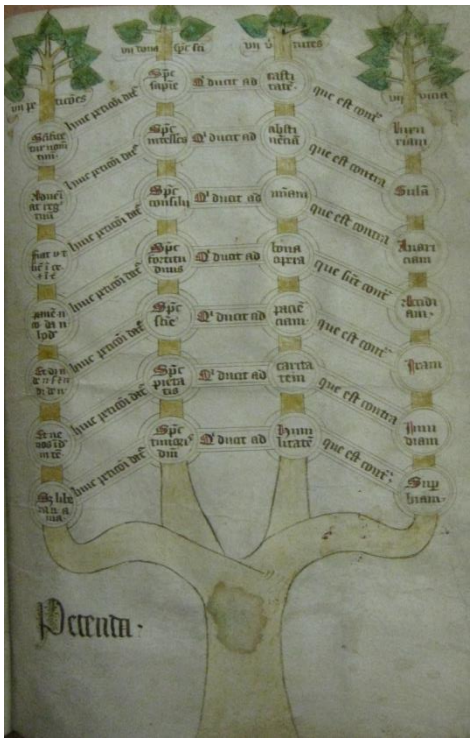

Figure 12: Oxford, St John's College, MS 58, f.11.

Despite their more fluid nature the relationship between the *Pater Noster* and the concepts in the septenaries continues to be represented in a formulaic way.

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reminiscent of the Vernon table. For more information see Sandler, p. 109, no.10; and G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, eds., *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (London: British Museum, 1921). Oxford, St John's College, MS 58 is an English fifteenth-century manuscript, which was in the possession of St John's College in Oxford by 1618, contains Peter of Poitiers' Genealogy from Adam to Christ and the *Speculum Theologiae.* Lucy Freeman Sandler states that a table of the seven requests of the *Pater Noster*, gifts of the Holy Spirit, virtues and vices is contained on fol.11 (Sandler, p.114, Add.3). Although Sandler has described this folio as containing a table, the layout of this particular diagram is very similar to the depictions of the trees of virtues and vices.This manuscript contains five tree diagrams which according to Ralph Hanna outline a complete Christian instructional programme (Ralph Hanna, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St John's College, Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 77-79). All of these diagrams have labelled branches and leaves and Hanna states that the reason behind the collection of these is clearly explained: 'Dicit apostolus primo corinthiorum**.** In ecclesia volo quinque verba sensu meo loqui etc. Ista quique verba possunt dici quinque documenta vtilia in quinque arboribus hic scripta scilicet fugienda querenda credenda seruanda petenda fugienda sunt vicia virtutes sunt querende credende sunt articuli fidei seruanda sunt mandata domini et petenda sunt dona spiritus sancti'. These tree diagrams include the seven deadly sins (fol.1^{v}); the four cardinal and three theological virtues (fol.2); an alignment of the twelve prophets and the twelve articles of the Creed (fol.10); connecting the ten plagues of Egypt, the denial of a commandment, the decalogue, a vice each command counteracts, and an action opposed to each commandment, the only text being the labels (fol.10^{v}); and finally a standard septenary alignment of petitions of the *Pater Noster*, gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven virtues, and the deadly sins each extirpates. In addition, the MS includes a number of other diagrams including the forty resting places of the Hebrews (fol.4^{v} col.b); a circular map of the Hebrews' camp (fol.4^{v} col.b); a map of Jerusalem (fol.8^{r} col.a); and the elements and spheres (fol.9^{r} col.b). This diagram mirrors the representation of the septenaries in the Vernon manuscript example, clearly stating that the petitions of the father request the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which then lead or guide an individual to the virtues, which are used to counteract the vices.

Although it is likely that these diagrams are derived from the textual tradition which united the septenaries, they are more complex than simply providing an image which reflects or summarises the theology in the text in pictorial form. Due to the variety of ways in which both tabular and wheel diagrams could be read and negotiated, I propose that their purpose was, not to summarise or act as an illustration for a lengthy theological text, but to enable the viewer to engage with the theology and to perhaps contemplate or meditate on the relationships between the *Pater Noster* and the septenaries.

The Vernon Pater Noster table provides a good example of a diagram which could be read in multiple ways. The table is ruled into nine vertical columns which consist of five columns of decoration which alternate with four columns of text. The vertical columns are then divided into sixteen horizontal rows. The top row of the table contains the title for each column, reading left to right horizontally these are the 'vii peticiones' of the *Pater Noster*, 'vii Dona spiritus sancti' ('gifts of the Holy Spirit') (Isaiah 11:2), 'vii Virtutes' ('virtues'), 'contra' ('against'), and the 'vii Vicia' ('vices'). The bottom row summarises the relationship of the columns of texts to one another, listing the items again from left to right. Each column of the table contains seven pairs of rows, the first row of each pair containing the Latin text in rectangular form and the second containing the English paraphrase in a roundel. Between the four main columns repetitive connective phrases are written to link the theological concepts together horizontally. This creates a grid-like entity which, as Vulic proposes, enabled the viewer to skip from frame to frame looking for other sorts of patterns and organising principles.[43]

The table initially appears to be organised in columns due to the visual effect of the closely-spaced columns of roundels, but the connective phrases between the columns also suggest a horizontal reading. The tension between the two axes generates a reading experience that is more than the 'sum of its individual parts'.[44] Therefore, according to Vulic, 'the vertical reading establishes order by grouping related concepts together, while the horizontal reading connects these concepts by showing their relationships, as if in small narratives'. Viewed horizontally, I argue, the structure and layout

[43] Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', pp. 110-111.
[44] Vulic, 'Devotional Consequence'.

demonstrates that the design of the Pater Noster table deliberately focuses the reader's attention on the consequences of reciting the prayer. This is evident as a horizontal reading links a single parallel theological concept from one column to another, through the connective phrases, to form an individual sequence which tells its own story independently from the rest of the table.

Whereas Vulic argues, in her doctoral thesis entitled *Prayer and Vernacular Writing in Late-Medieval England*, that the 'large expansive translations... reveal a consistent view of the methods of praying envisioned by the table's creators, thereby emphasising the process of praying rather than the ultimate goals that prayer could conceivably attain', I would suggest that the opposite is true.[45] I propose that the table sought to educate its readers in how to develop as moral individuals, steering them away from sin and guiding them towards the virtues and Gifts of the Holy Spirit, rather than instructing them in 'the process of praying'. The table does not tell the viewer how or when to pray but visually depicts the benefits of reciting the *Pater Noster* and understanding that religious concepts could be evident in actions as well as words. I also argue that the creator of this table, as well as the creators of the other extant tables and wheel diagrams, sought to encourage their readers to forge links for themselves and to explore and examine how the prayer could be used as a deterrent or means of avoiding sinful behaviour. These ideas are also articulated by Lucy Freeman Sandler when she discusses the didactic purpose of diagrams. Sandler states that:

> The themes constantly reiterated are the morality of man, his sinfulness and the efforts he can make through good conduct and piety to achieve his reward in heaven.[46]

This again suggests that the diagrams sought to influence the behaviour of the reader, educating them in moral conduct and piety rather than seeking to educate them in the 'process of praying'. Sandler goes on to explain that the information is presented in a 'form which attempts to make [it] more vivid and memorable, that is, in the shape of columnar tables, concentric or radial circles, trees, towers and human figures.'[47] She explains that these frameworks adhere to one specific function, 'to spell out the

[45] Vulic, 'Prayer and Vernacular Writing', p. 107. For further discussion of the translation of the Latin into the vernacular see pp. 125-155.
[46] Sandler, p. 23.
[47] Sandler, p. 23.

relationship which may be simultaneous or consecutive, metaphorical or historical'.[48] It is the spelling out of the relationship between the prayer and the septenaries that she proposes is the fundamental purpose of these diagrams.[49]

This idea of each petition starting an independent narrative in its own right is also evident in the radial segments of wheel diagrams. As I have already established, the De Lisle wheel of sevens can either be read in a 'cyclical fashion', with the rings providing a 'hierarchy of concepts' proceeding from the outer to innermost ring, or radially, where each radial segments provides a 'continuum'.[50] The radial effect of the diagram focuses, not on the division of the material into a table of equal parts, but on the presentation of ideas in a parallel form whose visual arrangement mirrors their conceptual relationship.[51] The notion of individual narratives is also suggested by the prevalence of concepts associated with death and salvation being situated in the final radial segment of each ring. These concepts correspond to where the end of each phrase returns, geometrically, to the beginning.[52] Therefore the death of each phrase coincides with its rebirth in the cyclical nature of the diagram. This could perhaps be interpreted as mirroring the progress of the life of an individual from birth to death, with the *Pater Noster* serving as both a boundary and an intermediary between the two worlds.

What I hope this chapter has highlighted is not only the longevity of the *Pater Noster* but also its pivotal role in transmitting additional religious theology to a wider social audience. In the same way that manuals and commentaries united the septenaries with the prayer, using its sevenfold structure as a mechanism on which to attach components, these tables and diagrams follow a similar format and therefore perform a similar function.

Although the traditions of presenting the *Pater Noster* and other septenaries in wheels and tables are beyond the remits of this current study, it must be noted that these traditions were not unique to England and the similarity of the continental examples, especially French and German, to the

[48] Sandler, p. 23.
[49] Sandler, p. 23.
[50] Spears, (paragraph 3 of 15). See also Michael Wingfield Evans, 'The Geometry of the Mind', *Architectural Association Quarterly*, 12.4 (1980), 32-55 (pp.39-42).
[51] Spears, (paragraph 8 of 15).
[52] Spears, (paragraph 5 of 15).

English examples is striking. This suggests that certain forms of depiction were accepted, recognised and understood across the Christian world, and supports the notion that tables and diagrams expounding the *Pater Noster* were an established part of the Church's catechetical programme during the medieval period. Future research into the circulation of religious literature throughout Europe, during the medieval period, may shed further light on the origins of these traditions and the widespread nature of their employment.

The exact origin, both in terms of date and provenance, of the prayer tables and septenaries may never be known, but this thesis has highlighted that they played a considerable role in visually recording prayer in the medieval period. Their function, perhaps as decoration, literary record or creative artwork - seems to have been constrained by accepted forms of how to display and encode information. Although stylistic differences are evident in both the extant wheels of sevens and the tabular representations of the prayer as time progresses, the overall structure, content and associations between the concepts remains unchanged. Perhaps this suggests that these mechanisms were successful as learning tools or became entrenched in religious tradition, so much so that they continued to be used, with little modification, for over 100 years.

Like any other diagram, the Pater Noster table in the Vernon Manuscript was perhaps primarily a pedagogical or mnemonic tool designed to organise a variety of Christian theological concepts into an easily accessible visual programme. Its more profound purpose, however, was not to group these concepts together but rather to suggest abstract relationships between them. The interpretation of such a diagram could have been a spiritual exercise, whose purpose, paradoxically, would be to free the mind from its reliance on external images to enable self-exploration. These comments are also relevant to the extant wheel diagrams as perhaps they could be described as tabular composition that have been twisted into a circular shape, in which concepts are stratified and aligned, but lack the directional element of the table or tree.[53]

If tables and diagrams had a pedagogical function in a manuscript context, it is unlikely that their composition was solely restricted to this sphere. A. S. G. Edwards has proposed that *tabulae*

[53] Spears, (paragraph 3 of 15). See also Evans, p. 42.

(boards, planks, painted panels and / or writing tablets) were frequently used as a medium for lay and monastic religious instruction in medieval churches and cathedrals and therefore it is certainly plausible that manuscript tables and diagrams may have been transferred into an alternative medium.[54]

It is evident that a *tabula* displaying the *Pater Noster,* and perhaps its relationship to the virtues and vices, was once displayed in York Minster. There is a single reference contained in the Return sent to the King's Council in Chancery dated 21 January 1389 by the Pater Noster gild of York which states:

> Item tenentur gubernare et quotienscumque necesse fuerit renouare quamdam tabulam de toto processu vtilitatis Orationis Domini factam pendentem super vnam columpnam in ecclesia cathedral predicta prope candela predictam.[55]
>
> Upon a column near these lights [the Gild was responsible for providing a candle-stick with seven lights in the Cathedral of York on Sundays and feast-days in honour of the seven petitions of the Pater Noster] the Gild undertook to maintain a *tabula* on which the merits of the Pater Noster were set forth in writing.[56]

What is evident from this brief description is that during the year 1389 a *tabula* presenting the *Pater Noster* was displayed on a column in York Minster and that its maintenance was the responsibility of the Pater Noster gild. In terms of display, it is most likely that it was exhibited in the nave, built in the Decorated style between 1280-1350, or possibly in either of the transepts, built in the Early English style between 1220-1260. This suggests that the laity were the intended audience of the *tabula* as these two areas, the nave and the transepts, were areas of the building which were open for lay access. The positioning of the *tabula* by a seven-armed candelabrum which was also to be maintained by the same gild suggests that its content was to be highlighted by the candles' glow.

Although this description gives us little indication of the content and composition of the tabula it suggests that its function was to teach the viewer the 'vtilitatis' or merits of the *Pater Noster*. The

[54] For a discussion of inscriptions and images in religious and secular contexts see A. S. G. Edwards, 'Middle English Inscriptional Verse Texts', in John Scattergood and Julia Boffey, eds, *Texts and their Contexts: Papers From the Early Book Society* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1997), pp. 26-43.
[55] TNA: PRO, Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle XLVI, no. 454.
[56] Translation found in Karl Young, 'The Records of the York Play of the Pater Noster', *Speculum,* 7.4 (1932), 540-546, (p.543).

word 'vtilitatis', in this context, could indicate the teaching of the words of the prayer, in either Latin or the vernacular, but it could also imply the teachings associated with the prayer, namely the septenaries. Therefore, it is plausible that the *tabula* may have represented a further step in the chain of disseminating basic catechetical material to the laity: taking representations from a manuscript context and presenting them in a more public sphere. As the gild stated that the purpose of the Pater Noster plays was 'for the health of souls and for the comfort of the citizens and neighbours', as well as to provide entertainment, it is possible that the principal motivation behind the *tabula*, like the plays, was the intention to disseminate Church teachings to a lay audience.[57]

Perhaps then, the *tabula* contained similar contents to the tables and diagrams we have encountered in this chapter, uniting the petitions with the virtues and contrasting them against the opposing vices. This notion is supported by Sue Powell, in her influential article entitled 'Pastoralia and the Lost York Plays', in which she proposes that it is likely that this *tabula* used the same schema that was employed in the Pater Noster plays as the phrase 'vtilitatis oracionis dominice' echoes the description of the plays given earlier in the same Return.[58] The Pater Noster plays receive a detailed discussion in chapter 6, however, it is necessary to state here that they presented the supplications of the *Pater Noster* (utilitas), scorned the vices and sins (vicia et peccata) and praised the virtues (virtutes commendantur).[59]

It is possible, however, that the *tabula* also simultaneously served an alternative function: to promote and advertise the contents and performance of the Pater Noster plays and perhaps even to encourage membership of the gild. Drawing on contemporary analogies, namely the *Magna Tabula Glastoniensis* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. hist. a. 2) and the *tabulae,* depicting the legend of

[57] Lucy Toulmin Smith and Lujo Brentano, in *English Gilds: the original ordinances of more than one hundred early English gilds: together with ye Olde usages of the Cite of Wynchestre, the Ordinances of Worcester, the Office of the Mayor of Bristol, and the Costomary of the Manor of Tettenhall-Regis: from original MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, ed. by Joshua Toulmin Smith, EETS, OS, 40 (London: Trübner, 1870), p. 137; Tempe E. Allison, 'The Paternoster Play and the Origin of the Vices', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 39 (1924), 789-804 (p.789); and Robert Potter, *The English Morality Play: Origins, History and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 23.

[58] London, British Library, Additional MS 15237, a collection of *pastoralia,* includes a 'tabula de vtilitate oracionis dominice sum ejus demoracionis expositione' on fol.78; Sue Powell, 'Pastoralia and the Lost York Plays of the Creed and Paternoster', *European Medieval Drama*, 8 (2004), 35-50 (p.48).

[59] Young, p. 543.

Stone and its refurbishment after the Conquest, at Stone Priory, it is certainly plausible that the York *tabula* served a duel function. J. A. Bennett, for example, proposes that the *Magna Tabula Glastoniensis*, a Latin history and of the Abbey and saints of Glastonbury, was not merely intended as a historical record.[60] He proposes that the *tabula*, commissioned by the monks, sought to encourage pilgrimage to, and burial in, the Abbey grounds, and thus to increase the Abbey's revenue.[61] Similarly, G. H. Gerould proposes that the *tabulae* at Stone operated as a form of advertisement that sought to inform visitors about the history of the Priory and its patron saint, but also to encourage donations and bequests.[62] Therefore, in light of these examples it is highly likely that the York *tabula* also sought to promote the gild, its performances of the plays and also to encourage donations to support its enterprises, as well as displaying teachings on the *Pater Noster.*

These contemporary examples may also shed some light on the language used in the table: Latin, vernacular or perhaps a combination of both. From a brief consideration of the examples it seems likely that this *tabula*, like those in Stone and Glastonbury, was written in Latin. It is also equally plausible, however, that the text was written in the vernacular as this was the language used in the Pater Noster plays performed by the gild and also, in contrast to my previous examples, the *tabula* was produced by a lay gild rather than a religious authority.

The duration of display for this *tabula* is also a precarious subject. We know that it was in existence in 1389 but not when it was commissioned, nor how long it remained in the Minster. Information on the life span of this object would add to our understanding of whether displays of religious doctrine were changed on a relatively frequent basis to comply with Church legislation or to represent current fashions, and whether its demise occurred prior to or during the Reformation.

The only piece of information that may shed any light on these considerations is a reference in the York Fabric Rolls which states that *tabulae* displaying the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo* were commissioned for display in the Minster in 1538. This document stated that 5d was paid:

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[60] J. A. Bennett, 'A Glastonbury Relic', *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*, 34 (1888), 117-122.
[61] Bennett, pp. 118-119.
[62] G. H. Gerould, 'The Legend of St Wulfhad and St Ruffin at Stone Priory', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 32 (1917), 323-337 (pp. 325-326).

> pro j. les table, habente oracionem Dominicam, et Salutacionem angelicam, et Simbolum apostolorum Super ea fixa.[63]
>
> [tables of the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Apostles Creed were to be mounted]

These *tabulae* were probably commissioned in response to Archbishop Edward Lea's injunction, *c*.1536-1538, which stated that 'curates' and other religious officers were to teach their parishioners the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in English 'at Mattens time, and between Mattens and Laudes'.[64] This injunction prompted the visual display of the *Pater Noster* and perhaps implies that the *tabula* mentioned in the gild account of 1389 was no longer in existence or that it was written in Latin and needed to be replaced in order to adhere to the new rulings on vernacular religious teachings.[65] Whether the *tabula* was removed or fell into disrepair after the final performance of the Pater Noster plays in *c*.1572, and the subsequent decline of the gild, remains unknown.[66]

As the *tabula* was commissioned and maintained by a lay gild, it could be argued that the laity were responding to the Church's instructions to teach everyone the prayer, and also may demonstrate an acceptance that this prayer was pivotal in their salvation. Although it is extremely difficult to draw any definite conclusions on the nature of this table, the fact that it was displayed in a prominent position in one of the largest cathedrals in medieval England suggests that the teaching of the *Pater Noster* to a lay audience was deemed to be important.

[63] Gerould, pp. 325-326.
[64] Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*, (London: Methuen, 1904), p. 285.
[65] For examples of contemporary vernacular *Pater Noster* texts displayed on boards within churches see chapter 7.
[66] For a discussion on the Pater Noster plays in York, Beverley and Lincoln, and also the Protestant play penned by John Bale, see chapter 6.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE *PATER NOSTER*, PRAYER BEADS AND LAY DEVOTION

The *Pater Noster* was recited as part of personal intercession, something which was advocated by the clergy during the rite of Confession as a way of atoning for sin. As the need to seek forgiveness was a fundamental part of Christianity, it is unsurprising that ways of remembering to pray or to count the number of prayers that needed to be recited emerged. Sets of prayer beads, sometimes of different shapes, materials and sizes, provided one possible solution. From the surviving evidence, it is clear that the form recognisable as the Rosary descended from an earlier model which traditionally encouraged the recitation of the *Pater Noster*, by lay individuals, in imitation of the 150 psalms recited by the monastic orders in the Liturgy of the Hours.[1] The popularity of this method of combining prayers is evident as sets of prayer beads became increasingly standard possessions during the fourteenth century and it was not uncommon for members of the laity, as well as monks, nuns and friars, to own one. This popularity stemmed, most likely, from their usefulness as devotional tools.[2]

There are several important questions that this chapter will seek to examine. Firstly, it will examine the significance of the evolution of prayer beads from a simple string of beads encouraging the recitation of the *Pater Noster*, to a form including additional prayers. Secondly, it will consider how these beads were perceived by a lay audience and what they were thought to represent. Finally this chapter will ask whether these sets of beads, both as actual artefacts and in their representation in memorial culture, represented useful items which assisted with the counting of prayers and / or whether they became symbols of prayer, piety, faith and / or devotion.

This chapter will now examine the first consideration, the evolution of pray bead sets. When we visualise prayer beads as a modern audience our impression is heavily reliant on the Rosary (a set of beads containing four decades of Hail Marys, each of which is divided by a bead requiring the

[1] John D. Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in the History of Devotion* (London: Burns & Oates, 2002), pp. 7-15.
[2] According to Swanson, *Catholic England*, p. 20, personal intercession of the core prayers, especially using the repetitive formula provided by prayer beads appears to have been a fundamental spiritual exercise.

recitation of the Lord's Prayer), however, this is the end product rather than the beginning of the tradition. For a medieval audience the structure and contents of prayer beads was much more fluid.[3] Anne Winston-Allen proposes that the use of prayer beads clearly 'predate[s] the Hail Mary', their original purpose being to facilitate the recitation of other devotions, namely the *Pater Noster*.[4] This is clearly apparent in the popular name derived for these bead strings, paternoster beads or simply 'paternosters'.[5] Winston-Allen states that the term 'paternoster' had already become a more general title for prayer beads by the mid-thirteenth century, suggesting that these simple strings had now started to include additional prayers.[6] The origin of this structure is particularly significant for this thesis, as it has already been established that the first prayer medieval Christians were taught to recite was the *Pater Noster* (see chapters 1 and 2 above). Therefore, it is plausible that an object which could be used to count prayers would initially have this particular focus.

I have proposed in the previous two chapters that the *Pater Noster* was explicitly used by the Church to teach other basic religious material to the laity, most notably the septenaries. In this chapter I propose that the combination of material was also evident in material culture, however, this time the prayer was combined with additional core prayers, namely the *Ave Maria* and *Gloria Patri*. The practical function of prayer beads, as a portable mnemonic aid that was accessible to all members of the laity regardless of their social status or educational abilities, seems to have been successful. This success was due to the fluidity of the form, as the content and structure of bead strings could be easily modified to include additional prayer beads.

This section will now progress to ascertain whether the evolution of bead strings and loops, through the addition of the *Ave Maria* and the *Gloria Patri*, sought to combine the core prayers into a simple physical form for the laity. To do this it will consider when the inclusion of additional prayers

[3] In the Marian Rosary at the end of the loop of beads there is usually a crucifix (on which the Apostles Creed is recited) and four beads representing one *Pater Noster* and three *Ave*s symbolising Hope, Faith, and Charity before the recitation of the Glory Be in the remaining space.
[4] Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 15.
[5] Winston-Allen, p. 15.
[6] Winston-Allen, p.15. 'Paternoster' meaning 'set of Rosary beads' was first recorded in the mid-thirteenth century.

first emerged and whether the evidence suggests that this form evolved in response to the Church Constitutions, issued during the thirteenth century, which stipulated that the basic prayers should be taught to the laity (see chapter 2 above).

Evidence suggests that by the mid-twelfth century beads representing the *Ave Maria* had been added into paternoster sets, a development which corresponds to the promotion and increasing acceptance of the Marian cult. Although devotion to the figure of Mary is evident as early as the fourth century, her character became a figure to be emulated as a model of virtue and faith during the medieval period. The presentation of Mary as a character who was chaste and obedient was frequently contrasted to the sinful disobedience of Eve as a way of suggesting how Christian individuals should behave. One of the most important developments of the Marian cult, in relation to this thesis, was the doctrine promoting Mary as a mediator between man and Christ, enabling her character to become an intermediary for prayer. Perhaps this provides an explanation for the inclusion of beads reminding an individual to recite their *Ave*s as well as their *Pater Noster*s as the figure of Mary was now believed to intercede on the penitents behalf, a concept which could again be linked to the teachings on confession and repentance.

By the 1540s prayer beads were no longer solely for the recitation of the *Pater Noster.* Prayer beads had become 'predominantly an accessory of Marian devotion, with the recitation of a number of Aves… being merely supplemented by a Pater Noster'.[7] These bead sets started to develop a more standardised structure, comprising the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Gloria Patri*, a structure which became conventionally known as the 'Rosary' (a term dating to the mid-fifteenth century and originating from the Latin rosarium or 'rose garden').[8] It is possible that this standard form, consisting of groupings of ten *Ave Maria*s followed by one *Pater Noster*, provided an effective means of

[7] Ronald W. Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery: with a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1992), p. 343; Eithne Wilkins, *The Rose Garden Game: A Tradition of Beads and Flowers* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), p. 26.

[8] Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds., *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547* (London: V&A Publishing, 2003), item 222. The sense of 'series of prayers' dates to the 1540s and originates from medieval French. This sense is transferred during the 1590s to refer to a string of beads used as a memory aid in reciting the collection of prayers known as the Rosary.

presenting a collection of basic prayers to a wide social audience.[9] The main focus of prayer beads had clearly shifted to encourage the learning and reciting of an additional core prayer alongside the *Pater Noster*. As the *Pater Noster* continued to be included at regular intervals in prayer bead sets, this may imply that it retained its importance. It may also indicate that the prayer is again used as a starting point, to which additional material is added, in the same way that it was used in commentaries and diagrams (see chapters 3 and 4 above).

Evidence for the evolution of prayer beads can be located in a range of sources, including portraiture; extant sets of beads; testamentary evidence and archaeological reports. What is apparent from these sources is that there is clear evidence for the emergence of physical differences in the structure of bead strings from the mid-twelfth century onwards. The sources depict or describe a series of small beads representing the *Ave Maria* which are then divided by a larger, and often more elaborate bead, representing the *Pater Noster*. One example from a manuscript context, British Library, MS Royal 17 D. VI, f.93v, dating to *c*.1430-1440 depicts Geoffrey Chaucer with a string of beads hanging from his hand.

Figure 13: British Library, MS Royal 17D.VI, f.93v.

Here there are twenty smaller beads, possibly representing *Ave Maria*s, which are divided into two decades by two larger beads, possibly for the recitation of the *Pater Noster*. This suggests that prior to

[9] Winston-Allen, p. 27.

the mid-fifteenth century there was a clear distinction between the beads representing the two prayers, and also that the *Ave* was now the more dominant within the set.

An additional source of evidence comes from portraiture. There is a string of prayer beads in the background of the Arnolfini Portrait by Jan van Eyck, an exponent of the school of Early Netherlandish painting, which was produced in 1434, for example.[10]

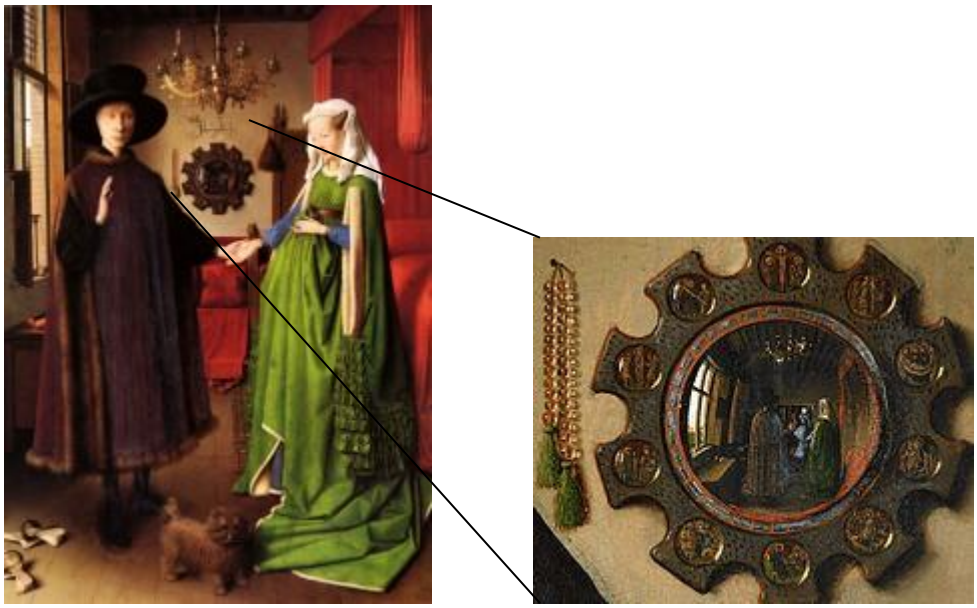

Figure 14: *Arnolfini Portrait* by Jan van Eyck housed in The National Gallery in London.

This portrait is particularly significant as it is one of the earliest secular paintings depicting prayer beads. Here the string consists of twenty-nine amber-coloured glass beads with tassels at either end, each preceded by a larger bead. It is hung from a nail on the wall behind the couple perhaps as a token of their betrothal.[11] It is possible that the two larger beads are meant to represent the *Pater Noster* and

[10] Also known as *The Arnolfini Wedding*, *The Arnolfini Marriage*, *The Arnolfini Double Portrait* or the *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife.*

[11] The beads are presented to the left of the convex mirror with a frame containing ten spherical glasses representing scenes from the Passion of Christ. These two items play a significant part in the composition due to their central location and both are clearly symbols of Christianity - the beads reflecting a sequence of prayers and the mirror depicting images of the suffering and death of Christ. These images may represent Christian piety and honesty in terms of the merchant's business activity or they may have simply formed part of the obligatory wedding present from the groom to his bride, representing a good Christian household. It is interesting to note that the light from the window is falling on the wrong side of the beads in this composition. Perhaps the light is being reflected back from the mirror. If the mirror is interpreted as the eye of God or as a symbol of Mary as the immaculate conception then the reflection on to the prayer beads maybe significant. Perhaps the beads offer salvation for those reflected on the mirror's surface. Also, the representation of the brush on the right-hand side of the mirror could present the dual Christian injunctions *ore et labora* (pray and work) when viewed in conjunction with the prayer beads.

the twenty-seven smaller beads signify the Ave *Maria*. The combination of *Pater Noster*s and *Ave*s in these two examples show one similarity: the beads for the *Ave Maria* are considerably more in number than those representing the *Pater Noster*. This testifies to the changing focus of prayer beads. What is also clear is that the combination and number of beads is different in the two examples. This may indicate that a conventional form of presenting the core prayers in combination with one another had not yet been established.

A further example, this time produced by the English school, depicts a lady (sometimes described as Margaret of Tewkesbury) with a set of prayer beads hanging from an elaborate belt and wrapped around her hands (*c*.1529).[12] In this oil painting measuring 66cm x 51.4cm the lady holds a set of approximately forty-six visible red beads divided by two visible gold paternosters. The exact number of beads is difficult to decipher due to way in which they are wrapped around her joined hands, however, it is plausible that four decades of *Ave Maria*s are represented by the red beads and therefore perhaps four paternoster beads should be envisaged to complete the set.

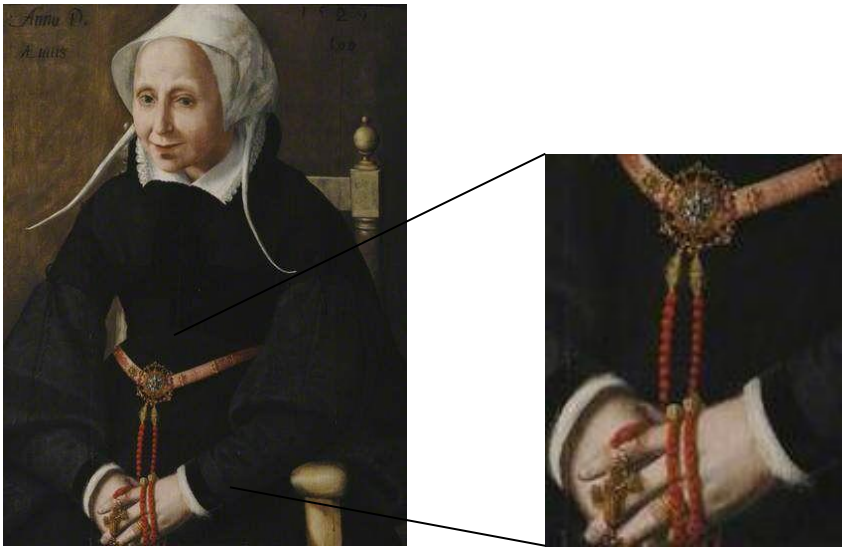

Figure 15: A portrait dating to *c*.1529 (possibly of Margaret of Tewkesbury) housed in Oxford College Anon II, University of Oxford.

Such images, however, need to be treated with caution as paintings and illustrations often show strange numbers of prayer beads or a range of different sized beads and therefore it is hard to tell

[12] Located in Oxford College Anon II, University of Oxford.

whether these represent different devotions or whether it is merely artistic licence. Furthermore, it is possible that artists or illustrators may have had little concern with the realistic representation of prayer beads. They may have simply chosen a familiar motif to represent the piety of the sitter and / or to remind the onlooker to recite their prayers. Perhaps then, the number of beads represented may have been significant, with the greater the number suggesting the greater piety of the individual. In addition, it is likely that the representation of the materials used to create the beads commented on the wealth and taste of the sitter, especially when more expensive materials are depicted.

Whereas portraiture and illustrations provide an insight into the materials used for prayer beads and their possible arrangement, the evidence is not necessarily reliable. Therefore, this chapter will now turn to consider the evidence provided by extant sets. Beads are frequently identified in the archaeological record of the medieval period, but the decomposition of the stringing material (usually silk, linen or wool thread) makes it difficult to decipher the order in which the beads were strung.[13] Also, when a collection of beads are found together, unless it is alongside the burial of an individual belonging to a religious house, it is difficult to decipher whether the beads once formed a necklace, bracelet or set of prayer beads. Consequently, the identification of prayer beads from the archaeological record, especially British examples, is problematic. There are only three sets of beads, which have been described as rosaries, that have been recovered from the graves of religious houses in mainland Britain (their context suggesting their religious purpose), and only one of which contains beads of different sizes.[14] The excavation catalogue from Carlisle Blackfriars describes an adult burial

[13] Elisabeth Crowfoot, Frances Pritchard, and Kay Staniland, *Textiles and Clothing, c.1150 - c.1450* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 135, 151-153.

[14] See Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London: Museum of London Archaeological Service, 2005), pp. 93-94 and M. R. McCarthy, *A Roman, Anglian and Medieval site at Blackfriars Street, Carlisle* (Kendal: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Archaeological Society, 1990), p. 195. The other two examples are as follows: the earliest example perhaps belonged to Ela, Countess of Salisbury, who was buried in 1261 at the Augustinian nunnery of Lacock, Wiltshire. Her body was accompanied by a cross and beads (J. F. Hodgson, On 'Low Side Windows', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 2nd Series, 23 (1902), 42-235 (p.108). A later example was found in an elaborate grave, found in the nineteenth century at the Benedictine nunnery of St Mary Rusper, Sussex. The grave consisted of a stout oak coffin in which a skeleton accompanied by twenty-four beads, fourteen of amber and ten of jet, a small silver gilt crucifix, a gold ring set with emeralds and amethysts, and a silver brooch were found. The amber and jet certainly once formed a rosary. The grave, most probably that of a prioress, was dated to the later fourteenth or fifteenth century (Albert Way, 'On an Enamelled Chalice and other Reliques found at Rusper Priory, 1840', *Sussex Archaeological Collections relating to the History and Antiquities of the County*, 9 (1857), 303-312 (p.304).

of unknown sex found with twenty-nine beads of blue, white, yellow, amber and turquoise glass, in both annular and cylindrical shapes (dated between the mid thirteenth century and the Dissolution). Although this example suggests different bead shapes and colours, it is unclear how these beads were strung together and whether they provide precise evidence for the evolution of prayer beads.

Nevertheless, some extant examples of prayer beads can clearly testify to the inclusion of the *Ave* into a form traditionally associated with the *Pater Noster*. For example, one of the earliest complete sets of amber prayer beads, dating from *c.*1250, was discovered during the Waterford city centre excavations in Ireland, undertaken from 1986-1992. This set is complete and consists of seventy-four small, flattened, circular beads and nine large, shaped, square beads with bevelled corners forming lozenge sides, and measuring 24.8cm in length.[15]

Figure 16: Amber prayer beads excavated from Waterford city centre.

[15] Two amber paternosters dating from *c.*1250 were discovered during the Waterford city centre excavations in Ireland, undertaken from 1986-1992. These beads, found loose and restrung after discovery, were excavated from the backfill of a substantial stone-lined cesspit (E406:2003:Hs~:l14: M-L13 C). This backfill overlay a collapse of timber which is dendrochronologically dated 1223 +/-9, and contained pottery of late thirteenth to fourteenth century date). According to the report, the first set is incomplete and consists of sixteen beads of various types (One large half-round bead, i.e. domed with a flat base; two square beads with bevelled corners, so that the sides are lozenge shaped; one large flat circular bead, pierced, and lightly incurved; two small flattened circular beads), whereas the second set, which is of most interest to this thesis, is described above. These two paternosters are amongst the earliest medieval amber sets discovered, with a third complete set excavated in Cork (dating from *c.*1260). See Terry Barry, Rose M. Cleary and Maurice F. Hurley, ed., *Late Viking Age and Medieval Waterford: Excavations 1986-1992, based on excavation and stratigraphic reports by A. S. R. Gittins [et al]* (Waterford: Waterford Corporation, 1997), especially p. 520 in Ronald W. Lightbown, 'The Jewellery' from Section 15: iii.

This example supports the notion that the evolution of prayer beads to include additional prayers was clearly underway by the mid-thirteenth century due to the assorted bead sizes and shapes that have been recorded.

Excavation evidence for the production of prayer beads in areas surrounding religious buildings, especially the Paternoster Row area of London (surrounding St Paul's Cathedral), also provides confirmation of the changing composition of prayer bead sets.[16] Although there are limited records of the size and shape of the beads that have been excavated in England, evidence from the continent, especially from Constance (Germany) suggests that two sizes of bead were frequently being produced.[17] The excavated evidence, dating to the fourteenth century, shows huge quantities of small bone beads (4-5mm in diameter) and a smaller amount of larger bone beads (6-12mm in diameter) were being produced. The apparent discrepancy between the quantities produced suggests that the smaller beads may have been used to represent the *Ave Maria* and the larger beads the *Pater Noster*. There is also evidence to suggest that the methods for the production of prayer beads were changing from small scale to a more systematised and large scale manufacture. This not only indicates that prayer beads were popular items but also demonstrates that a range of bead sizes were being mass produced, suggesting that this method of combining prayers in a simple and yet well-established form was extremely common. This is also suggested by the changes in production methods which brought

[16] According to the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) bead production and manufacture was undertaken at several site codes in the city, all of which are in the Paternoster Row area. At BC72 (Baynard's Castle, Baynard House, Queen Victoria Street, Upper Thames Street, EC4) there were wood, bone, natural resin, amber (late 1400s), glass and stone beads excavated. The materials excavated from TL74 (2-3 Trig Lane, Upper Thames Street, EC4) have been dated to 1066-1485 and consist of a high concentration of natural resin beads, but also bone, coral, stone, glass and wood. SWA81 (Swan Lane Car Park, 95-103 Upper Thames Street, EC4) had fewer beads discovered, although types include stone, natural resin, glass and lead alloy. BIG82 (Billingsgate Market Lorry Park, Lower Thames Street, EC3) had a high concentration of glass beads dating from 1485-1714, and several ceramic, natural resin and bone beads, but also one ivory bead. In terms of production, COT88 (Cotts House, 27-29 Camomile Street, EC3) contained animal bone waste dating from 1485-1714 which was indicative of bone bead production. Museum of London Archaeological Services (2008) <http://www.molas.org.uk/pages/siteDetails.asp?siteid=ngt00&section=3> [accessed 10 July 2011]. See also Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories c.1150 - c.1450, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London*, vol. 3 (London: HMSO, 1991); Vanessa K. Mead 'Evidence for the Manufacture of Amber Beads in London in 14th - 15th Century', *Transactions of London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, vol. 28 (1977) pp. 211-214 (p.211); John Schofield and Cath Maloney, eds., *Archaeology in the City of London, 1907-1991: A Guide to Records of Excavations by the Museum of London and its Predecessors,* The Archaeological Gazetteer Series, vol. 1, (London: Museum of London, 1998).

[17] India Ollerenshaw, 'The Medieval Rosary', Stowe Faire Collegium (2005) <http://www.sca.org.au/stow/rosary.pdf> [accessed 12 May 2011].

about an increase in efficiency and a move towards production on a greater scale, perhaps indicating an increase in the demand for inexpensive sets of prayer beads.

Evidence of the ownership of cheaper, more mass produced sets of prayer beads can be found in the surviving objects excavated from the Mary Rose, the Tudor carrack warship which sank outside Portsmouth harbour on 19th July 1545. According to the Telegraph newspaper ten sets of prayer beads have been found on the ship. These include a wooden set located in a closed cabin belonging to the ship's carpenter (figure 17) and a larger set, containing forty-nine boxwood beads (four decades of smaller beads and five larger beads) and three conical shaped beads which were used to form a cross, which was found on the main deck (figure 18).[18] These examples testify to the longevity of prayer beads and show the continued use of beads representing the *Pater Noster* dividing the decades of *Ave*s.

Figure 17: Wooden prayer beads found in the carpenter's cabin on the Mary Rose.

Figure 18: Boxwood prayer beads found on the main deck of the Mary Rose.

Finally, documentary evidence also provides verification of the combination of the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria* in prayer bead sets. In the will of Roger Flore Esq. of London and Oakham in Rutland (1424-1425) for instance, it stipulated 'I will the Maister of Manton haf my pair of bedys

[18] Telegraph Newspaper, 'The Mary Rose Sails Back to Life' (30th May 2013) <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/museums/10088376/The-Mary-Rose-sails-back-to-life.html> [accessed 21 July 2015]. The prayer beads found in the closed cabin are described on the BBC 'A History of the World' website – 'Object: Mary Rose Rosary or 'Paternoster' (2014) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/24z-QVr6QPeTUugJaQcbMg> [accessed 21 July 2015]. The rosary found on the main deck is described on the Mary Rose website – 'Story of the Ship' (2013) <http://www.maryrose.org/discover-our-collections/story-of-the-ship/image-galleries/?nggpage:2> [accessed 21 July 2015].

þat I vse my self, with þe x aues of siluere, and a pater noster ouer-gilt'.[19] From this evidence, it is clear that the original form created to enable monastic, clerical and lay individuals to count their recitations of the *Pater Noster* evolved to include additional prayers. Despite the continual changes to the structure and contents of prayer beads, the *Pater Noster* continued to be integrated and divided the four decades of *Ave*s that needed to be recited. This structure received support from Pope Leo X in his Apostolic Constitution 'Pastor Aeterni' dated 6th October 1520 and finally official approval was given by Pope Pius V in 'Consueverunt Romani' on 17th September 1569.[20] The promotion of this formation by the Catholic Church suggests the development of the structure that we recognise as the Rosary today was clearly in process by the end of the medieval period despite the changes advocated by the Reformation in England in the 1530s and 1540s.

The Henrician and Edwardian Injunctions of the late 1530s and 1540s sought to challenge the Catholic practice of praying with beads. The Royal Injunctions of 1538, issued by Henry VIII, for example, condemned the practice of 'saying over a number of beads, not understood or minded on'.[21] This injunction targeted individuals who were thought to use their beads to engage in mindless or inattentive repetition of prayers in a mechanical fashion. Although this injunction sought to re-focus their attention on prayer rather than to condemn the continued use of prayer beads, these injunctions as a collection, however, could still be interpreted as representing an indirect attack on prayer beads and also on Marian devotion.[23] For example, it was proposed that honour was due to Christ alone, and as prayer beads encouraged the recitation of the *Ave Maria*, the denouncement of the Marian cult directly affected their devotional value although the use of beads was not yet illegal. The excavation evidence from the Mary Rose, mentioned earlier, suggests that prayer beads continued in use, perhaps as part of the survival of Catholic practices or as a part of a tradition or habit that was difficult to break. It is

[19] TNA: PRO, PROB 11/3, fol.69[r] reproduced in Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London, AD 1387-1439; with a Priest's of 1454*, EETS, OS, 78 (London: Trübner, 1882; facs. edn. Boston: Elibron Classics, 2005), pp. 55-59 (p.58).
[20] Miller, pp. xii and xiii respectively.
[21] Walter Howard Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. II (1536-1558) (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910) pp. 34-43 (esp. p.37). These injunctions also condemned the veneration of images and relics, disapproved of the lighting of candles before images, and criticised pilgrimages.
[23] See Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 450-451; and Miller, pp.111-112.

perhaps surprising that such items were found in this context due to Henry's break with Rome and abandonment of the Catholic faith, but it may suggest that some of the crew on board Henry VIII's ship continued to be devout Catholics, carrying prayer beads as one of their few personal possessions to protect them and guide them during their endeavours.

The initial indirect attack on the use of prayer beads issued in 1538 was strengthened in the Royal Injunctions of Edward VI (1547). Here the qualifying phrase which stated 'not understood or minded on' was omitted, condemning the practice of using beads outright rather than criticising those who used them without thinking or meditating. The text also stated that: 'praying upon beads … [had] no promise of reward in scripture for doing them…[as] they be the things tending to idolatry and superstition'.[24] The connection that was presented between prayer beads, image worship and superstition, meant that something which had once been seen as a useful devotional object across all echelons of society was now something to be condemned and avoided.

Although the practice of praying with beads had been condemned, evidence suggests that they continued to be produced and used in England during the reigns of the Protestant monarchs Edward VI (1547-1553) and Elizabeth I (1558-1603).[25] For example, a Durham woman who was brought before the courts in 1570 accused of reciting the rosary told the magistrates that she 'occupied her gaudes as many thousand did'.[26] Also, the issuing of anti-Catholic legislation during the reign of Elizabeth I (especially in 1571 after the Pope's deposition of Elizabeth) threatening to confiscate property or imprison anyone found guilty of bringing prayer beads into the country suggests that the desire to own and use prayer beads continued regardless of the legislation.[27] John D. Miller cites examples of the production of prayer beads in England and the importation of them during the 1590s which suggest, as

[24] Frere, pp. 114-130 (esp. p.115).
[25] Catholicism and papal supremacy were briefly restored to England in 1554 by Mary I (1553-1558), a devout Catholic who had defied the injunctions issued by her father and brother restricting the use of prayer beads. This is evident as on her entry into London on 15th March 1551, during Edward's reign, she and each individual accompanying her carried 'a pair of beads of black'. See Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009), esp. chapter 32. Catholicism, as the state religion in England, lasted until her death and the accession of Elizabeth I, when the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy passed in 1559 proclaimed Elizabeth as Head of the Church of England.
[26] Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp.179-180; and Miller, p.112.
[27] Miller, p. 112.

Anne Dillon proposes, that prayer bead sets at the end of the Elizabethan era were not 'merely a spiritual remnant of pre-Reformation times' but may represent a 'subtle piece of counter-Reformation social and spiritual engineering'.[28] For many, it would have been difficult to move away from the traditional ways of thinking about and engaging in devotional activities and therefore it is likely that the use of prayer beads would have continued across England during the decades following the Reformation.

The continued use of prayer beads can perhaps be explained by considering how they were perceived by a lay audience and what they were thought to represent prior to the Reformation. It is possible that prayer beads were more than a devotional item used to facilitate the recitation of prayer, becoming symbols for faith, piety and devotion as well as being decorative items of jewellery.

Among the earliest mentions of prayer beads in extant English records is the gift of 'a circlet of gems that she had threaded on a string, in order that by fingering them one by one as she recited her prayers, she might not fall short of the exact number' made by Godgifu, wife of Leofric Earl of Mercia (*c*.1041), to the statue of Our Lady in the monastery she had co-founded with her husband.[29] This passage focuses on the purpose of prayer beads and demonstrates that individuals knew how they were to be used as functional objects. Later testamentary documents, however, have a more precise focus on prayer bead composition and materials rather than their function. This may be due to the fact that instructions on how to use items, including prayer beads, were rarely included in wills as this medium was mainly to bequeath objects of worth and / or sentimental value.

Many examples in late medieval probate copies of testamentary texts focus on the decorative and valuable nature of prayer beads. Elyn Gillot (1459), for instance, left to her son 'j pair of beads set

[28] Miller, p. 114; Anne Dillon, 'Praying by Number: the Confraternity of the Rosary and the English Catholic Community', *History*, 88 (2003), pp. 451-471 (p.471).

[29] Wilkins, p. 25. See William of Malmesbury, 'Gesta Pont', Rolls Series 311. Godgifu later became widely known as Lady Godiva. This document is described as a 'will' by Wilkins although it would not have been an instrument of bequest as its popularly understood but a gift made during her lifetime. She outlived Leofric and was recorded as a landholder after 1041. She died sometime between the Norman Conquest of 1066 and the Domesday survey of 1086 (Ann Williams, 'Godgifu (d. 1067?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

with gauds of silver and j crucifix',[30] Janet Caudell (1479) left Alice Biller 'a pair beads of coral gauded with silver with a knop [ornamental boss] of pearl'[31] and Joan Heryng left 'a pair beads of amber langets [droplets]' to her daughter and granddaughter.[32] The use of the word 'gaud' in these examples refers to a 'marker' bead which is somehow different in size, colour, shape, material etc. from the other beads.[33] The reference to a 'pair' of beads is also a common occurrence in Middle English legal and literary texts. Here the word 'pair' refers to a set of identical or similar objects which are grouped together. In this instance they refer to the grouping of a series of beads of similar shape and size to form a set of prayer beads or a Rosary.[34]

Expensive sets of prayer beads are also listed in inventories. For example, the inventory of Henry VIII contains numerous entries describing a string of beads 'gauded' with a bead made of a different material, including pearls gauded with gold and white beads gauded with blue. Due to the way in which these descriptions are formulated it is possible each one refers to a set of prayer beads, especially as these descriptions are unusual for any other forms of beaded necklaces.[35] Henry VIII also possessed an ostentatious and expensive string of Flemish carved boxwood beads that was given to him by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey before Wolsey's death in 1530 (figure 19).[36] This set is particularly unusual as it culminates in a large bead representing the *Pater Noster* (also known as a prayer nut) which is hinged and opens to reveal two carved biblical scenes inside.

[30] BIHR Prob. Reg. 2, fols 421^{r}-421^{v}.
[31] BIHR Prob. Reg. 5, fols 154^{v}-155^{r}.
[32] Bury St Edmunds Archive R2/1/155
[33] Medieval English Dictionary (MED) (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001) - "gaud" or "gaude" from Middle English noun 'gaudi' (large ornamental bead in a Rosary). This meaning is evident in wills dating to *c.* 1322.
[34] MED – a 'pair' or 'paire' is described as a set of identical or similar objects, namely a rosary, when it is combined with the word 'bedes'. The earliest reference is found in a will dating to 1351. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED32195> [accessed 01 September 2014]
[35] David Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, 3 vols. (London: Harvey Miller for the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1998).
[36] Also known as the 'Chatsworth paternoster' and currently owned by the sixth Duke of Devonshire. For a more detailed description see Duchess of Devonshire, *Treasures of Chatsworth: a Private View* (London: Constable, 1991), p.232.

Figure 19: Boxwood prayer beads belonging to Henry VIII.

The survival of this set, especially after the Royal Injunctions issued in 1538 by Henry himself criticising the use of prayer beads, suggests that sets may have held monetary and sentimental, as well as religious, significance for their owners.

Whereas many wills and inventories focussed on worldly goods, some testaments instructed the recipient to remember the testator in their prayers. For example Roger Flore, who was also cited earlier, left a set of beads to the Master of Manton, 'preying him to have mynde of me sumtime whan he seith oure lady sawter on hem'.[37] This text indicates that prayer beads bequeathed in wills not only demonstrate the transference of items of value but also sought to encourage the recipient to pray for the soul of the testator to lessen their time in purgatory.

Although prayer beads were considered to be items of faith, it is also possible that they were popular as pieces of jewellery. It is likely that prayer beads were the most common item of jewellery, if they are to be viewed as such, possessed by all ranks of society in medieval England, regardless of gender (both men and women are depicted in portraiture with prayer beads) or age (certain materials were believed to have been used to make prayer bead sets for children).[38] During this period it was thought that jewellery not only served to adorn the individual but also to glorify God, in a similar way

[37] TNA, PRO PROB 11/3 fol. 69^{r}, reproduced in Furnivall, pp. 55-59 (p.58).
[38] Even children were expected to possess and use their prayer beads, and Joan Evans, *A History of Jewellery, 1100-1870*, 2ndedn (New York: Dover, 1989), pp. 50-51, notes that 'cheap sets' of beads were produced for children. They were usually made of maple wood or white bone, but coral was also favoured for children despite its expense as it was thought to provide protection against evil.

to the elaborate decoration found inside the Church building. For example, the Book of the Apocalypse states that jewels and precious materials reflect the beauty and splendour of heavenly Jerusalem (21:18-21) and Abbot Suger, writing during the twelfth century, suggests that the spiritual connotations associated with precious materials provided one way for mankind to understand the beauty of God.[39] These teachings suggest that the materials used for the production of prayer beads may have been of equal importance to their function.

The Church clearly considered expensive sets of prayer beads to be devotional items, as they, alongside other pieces of religious jewellery, were often exempt from taxes and the sumptuary laws which attempted to restrict rich clothing during this period.[40] Therefore, it is likely that their purpose was devotional, both as a functional item and as a representation of piety, rather than an ostentatious display of wealth. However, beads were capable of indicating the social status and wealth of the owner in a highly visible way while still being acceptable to the authorities. Although excesses of expenditure were frowned upon at different times by the Church, generally prayer beads, regardless of their composition, were regarded as suitable expressions of religious feeling.

As I have established, prayer beads were a common feature in the life of the laity. They were used as devotional items, depicted in portraiture, perhaps worn as items of jewellery, bequeathed in wills and on occasions buried with individuals. This expression of religious feeling did not end at

[39] The Authorised King James Version of *The Holy Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Revelation 21. 18-19a, states 'And the building of the wall of it was of jasper: and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones'. Erwin Panofsky, ed., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Treasures* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 65, has the text as follows: 'When my whole soul is steeped in the enchantment of the beauty of the house of God, when the charms of many-coloured gems lead me to reflect, transmuting things that are material unto the immaterial, on the diversity of the holy virtues, I have a feeling that I am really dwelling in some strange region of the universe which neither exists entirely in the slime of the earth, nor entirely in the purity of Heaven; and that by God's grace I can be transported from this inferior to that higher world in an anagogical manner.' Although Abbot Suger is referring to the elaborate items in his abbey church rather than to individual pieces of jewellery in this extract, it is possible that jewellery and the representation of jewellery in prayer books had a similar impact on the reader and was therefore thought to encourage the meditation and consideration of God.

[40] Sumptuary laws sought to regulate habits of consumption through the restriction of luxury and extravagance in the matters of apparel, food, furniture, etc. They sought to regulate and reinforce the social hierarchy. During the late Middle Ages these laws provided a way for the nobility to 'cap the conspicuous consumption of the prosperous bourgeoisie of medieval cities' and this continued until well into the seventeenth century. Laws date from 1309, 1336, 1337, 1363, 1420, 1463, 1477, 1574, etc. See Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (London: Batsford, 1986), pp. 12-16.

death, for there are countless examples of individuals, couples and families being represented as holding or wearing prayer beads in memorial culture.

The corpus of medieval monuments in English churches contains numerous examples of the representation of prayer beads in the pseudo-portraiture of stained glass, brass plaques, monumental sculpture and other commemorative forms.[41] These representations constitute one of the largest bodies of personalised devotional images from pre-Reformation Europe and therefore they provide a valuable source of evidence for the religious beliefs of the laity. A selection of examples have been chosen to assess whether the representation of prayer beads sought to reflect an individual's devotion in life and / or whether their purpose was to remind onlookers to engage in intercession, on their behalf, after death. Also, I will consider whether the frequent occurrence of prayer beads in memorial culture suggests that prayer beads had successfully permeated all echelons of society and had become a prominent part of lay religious life and death.

Of particular interest to this study is the representation of lay individuals with prayer beads in monumental brass.[42] These memorials, far more numerous in England than in any other country, were unobtrusive, affordable and, due to their composition, they were capable of being located where people walked and therefore they caught attention.[43] As a form of commemoration, brasses were available to most echelons in society including the minor gentry, craftsmen, small traders, priests and yeomanry which is unusual in comparison to European monumental brasses.[44] This is one of the main reasons for the inclusion of brasses in this study as they provide the widest social overview of how prayer beads were perceived by a lay, as well as a clerical, audience.

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[41] Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 9. The depiction of figures offered stylised representations of human frailty and not portraits of the deceased individual. For a more detailed discussion see Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London: Faber & Faber, 1978).

[42] The majority of English figures were civilians and their wives or women alone. These constitute 1820 out of 7616 examples recorded in Norris, p. 52.

[43] Prior to 1500 a greater quantity of brasses were found in the Home Counties and on the east side of the country. This was due to these areas being the wealthiest, most populous and due to their coastal location (import of plate and ready carved brasses). The distribution of brasses does not show regional differences due to national centres having a wide area of distribution. See Norris, p. 44; and Jerome Bertram, ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1996), p. 3.

[44] Norris, p. 56.

The monumental brass of Alice Cobb (d.1522), her husband and their son, from Sharnbrook, Bedfordshire, for example, shows each individual recumbent and with their hands joined in prayer (figure 20). Alice has a long loop of approximately twenty-two prayer beads hanging from her belt with a gaud and tassel at the end whereas her husband and son have shorter strings of approximately twelve beads hanging from their belts and visible under the cowl of their sleeves.[45] Here we have a married couple and their child represented as devout individuals and wearing different styles of prayer beads.

Figure 20: Alice and William Cobb and their son.

There are countless other examples of women holding prayer beads including: the widow of Sir Richard Byngham, Dame Margaret, who is represented with a prayer bead loop consisting of approximately forty beads, ending in a tassel, and hanging from her wrist as her hands are joined in prayer (1476);[46] the wife of Thomas Pownder, Emme, who is depicted as having a long loop of approximately fifty prayer beads, including four gauds, hanging from her belt, the exact number being

[45] Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p. 173 fig. 119. See also Thomas Fisher, *Monumental Remains and Antiquities in the County of Bedford* (Bath: lithographic press of D. J. Redman, 1828) no. 21.
[46] Middleton, Warwickshire. See M. W. Norris, ed., *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), pl. 208. All subsequent plate references are to Norris, *Portfolio of Plates.*

difficult to specify as the bottom of the loop is concealed by the female mourners (1525) (figure 21);[47] the wife of Andrew Evyngar, Ellyn, who also has a long loop of approximately sixty beads, including four gauds, hanging from her belt, (1533) (figure 22);[48] Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Fromond Esq., who has a loop of approximately twenty-five beads, ending in a tassel, hanging from her belt and draped over the panelled bench in front of her (1542);[49] and Letys Terry, wife of John, has a loop of approximately fifty-four beads, including four gauds, hanging from her belt in the Norfolk brass commemorating her death (1524) in St John Maddermarket, Norwich (figure 23).[50]

Figure 21: Thomas and Emme Pownder.

Figure 22: Andrew and Ellyn Evyngar.

Figure 23: Letys Terry.

From these examples it is clear that women were frequently represented with relatively long loops of beads. Perhaps it was the fashion amongst women to have these more lengthy sets of beads, symbolising their piety but also conceivably displaying their wealth.

In contrast to the loops of prayer beads associated with women in memorial culture, men were consistently represented as wearing or holding a string of prayer beads. Katherine French, in her article on 'Genders and Material Culture', proposes that prayer beads were 'gendered: women tended

[47] Christchurch Mansion Museum, Ipswich, Suffolk (ex. St Mary Quay) (pl. 3). Norris states that the brass is Flemish and also notes that the leading lady mourner also has a loop of thirty-four visible prayer beads hanging from her belt (six female and two male mourners kneel at the bottom of the memorial).
[48] All Hallows, Barking, London (pl. 319).
[49] Cheam, Surrey (pl. 267).
[50] St John Maddermarket, Norwich (pl. 228).

to have long sets of beads while men's were shorter'.[51] These shorter linear strings usually contained ten beads (Tenners), although the inclusion of fifty and even one hundred and fifty beads are not unknown. The simple string structure generally ended in a tassel and on occasions a cross and a tassel. Examples include: John Lambard, buried with his wife Amy, who has a string of twelve beads hung over his belt and ending in a tassel on each side (1487) (figure 24); Richard Amondesham, buried with his wife Katherine, who also has twelve beads hung over his belt which end in two tassels (*c.*1490) (figure 25) John Ceysell who has approximately fourteen beads again ending in tassels and hung over his belt (1493) (figure 26); John Rusche who has twelve beads hung over his belt (1498); and Richard Wakehurst, buried with his wife Elizabeth (*c.*1504), has a short string of beads, partially covered by his sleeve, hanging over his belt.[52]

Figure 24: John Lambard.

Figure 25: Richard Amondesham.

Figure 26: John Ceysell.

Further examples include the London made brass of Nicholas Deen (d.1479, engraving *c.*1490), and his wife, who has a short string of beads hanging from his belt; and the Norfolk brass of Mayor John Wellys who also has a string of thirteen beads which end in a tassel hanging from his belt.[53] Perhaps men were represented with shorter strings hanging from their belts as a symbol of their masculinity as well as their piety. Here, the prayer beads were often accompanied by purses, daggers and other

[51] Katherine L. French, 'Genders and Material Culture', in Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 197-212, (p.201).
[52] Lambard is buried in Hinxworth, Hertfordshire (pl. 229); Amondesham in Ealing, Middlesex (pl. 238); Ceysyll in Tormarton, Gloucestershire (pl. 243); Rusche is buried at All Hallows, Barking, London (pl. 250) and Wakehurst in Ardingly, Sussex (pl. 269).
[53] Deen is buried in Barrowby, Lincolnshire (pl. 91); Wellys is buried in St Lawrence's Church, Norwich (pl. 226).

objects which suggested that the man was the provider and protector as well as a devout and faithful individual.

From a brief consideration of these examples it is likely that their function was to elicit intercessory prayers for the dead to reduce their time and punishment in purgatory rather than as commemorative items, as few examples record the date of death, lineage or status of an individual. [54] In this context the representation of prayer beads may have been to act as an aide-mémoire to prayer, not only for the soul of the deceased but to also remind the living of their mortality and the importance of engaging in their prayers before it is too late. These representations also suggest that prayer beads were common items across all classes of society and that they were viewed as a significant endorsement of an individual's faith and piety in life and the need to be remembered in the prayers of the living after death.

The need for intercessory prayers for the deceased is also echoed in the instructions left by individuals who commissioned their tomb prior to their death. For example, John Milborne, a draper and Mayor of London in 1521, had a tomb erected in the Church of the Crutched Friars (Chicheley) and left instructions for:

> a solemn Obit to be kept there, during the Life of himself and his Wife Dame Johan; and after his Decease to be also kept in the said Church by the said Friars for their Souls.
>
> And his thirteen Bedemen, dwelling in his Almeshouse hard by, were to come daily unto this Church, where they should in some convenient Place, near unto the said Tomb, abide and continue while the Service of God, or at the least until such time as a whole Mass, which daily should be begun in the said Church by the Hour of eight of the Clock in the Morning or thereabouts, should be sung or said for evermore, at the Altar called Our Ladies Altar in the middle of the said Church, founded by the said Sir John Milbourn. To the Intent that the said thirteen poor Bedemen afore the beginning of the said Mass, one of them standing right over against the other, about and encompassing the same Tomb or Burial Place of Sir John Milbourn, shall severally two and two of them together say the Psalm of De profundis, and a Pater Noster, Ave and Creed, with the Collect thereunto belonging. And such of them as could not say the Psalm of De profundis, were to say a Pater Noster, Ave and Creed. Which Prayers (as the Will directs) they should especially say for the good and prosperous Estate of the said Sir John, and Dame Johan, their Children and Friends now living: and after their Decease, for the Souls

[54] Saul, pp. 120-121.

> of the said Sir John and Dame Johan, and Margaret his first Wife, their Fathers and Mothers, Children and Friends Souls, and all Christen Souls.[55]

The medieval preoccupation with reducing the amount of time an individual spent in purgatory is clearly evident here due to the request for the core prayers to be used to intercede on the deceased's behalf and also in the request for an orbit, an anniversary mass for the deceased, to encourage remembrance and to remind onlookers to pray for their soul.

The reference to 'Bedesmen' in the instructions provides another category of evidence for individuals requesting intercessory prayers. Bedesmen were pensioners or almsmen whose duty it was to pray daily at the tomb of their benefactor and who were frequently represented in carving alongside the effigies of the deceased. The carvings of the Bedesmen, usually small males wearing distinctive clothing and either holding or wearing a set of prayer beads for their belt, again sought to remind onlookers to pick up their beads and pray. As the Milborne tomb no longer exists, three alternative examples of Bedesmen flanking the effigy, occupying niches and sitting at the feet of the deceased have been included.

Figure 27: John Willoughby.

Figure 28: Ralph Fitzherbert.

Figure 29: Henry Vernon.

[55] Waters, Robert Edmond Chester, *Genealogical Memoires of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley* (London: Robson and Sons, 1878), p. 26.

Nigel Saul proposes that 'where the funeral theme is picked up on in English monuments it is … achieved through the representation of Bedesmen' rather than mourners.[56] Perhaps this is because the need for remembrance and grief was perceived to be less important than the need to encourage people to pray for you. At Spilsby, Lincolnshire, the tomb of Lord John Willoughby (*c.*1372) has Bedesmen placed in horizontal shafts flanking the figure (figure 27).[57] Later examples from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tend to have Bedesmen housed in niches around the side of the tomb chest or sometimes below the feet of the effigy.[58] For example, the tomb of Ralph Fitzherbert (d.1483) in Norbury, Derbyshire, has a Bedesman seated on a carved lion positioned under the soles of his feet (figure 28). He is represented with a large loop of prayer beads hanging from his right hand and an open book on his lap. Finally, Henry Vernon's tomb, located in Tong, Shropshire, is more contemporary with the Milborne example, dating to 1515 (figure 29). The niches around the tomb chest are filled with shields alternating with Bedesmen, some of which have prayer beads hanging from their belts. Although these tombs reflect the status, lineage and wealth of the deceased, they also suggest that to a medieval audience money was unable to benefit you after death whereas the encouragement to prayer through praying hands, prayer beads and Bedesmen could be of benefit in the afterlife.

According to Saul, by the thirteenth century there was an increase in inscribed or painted texts accompanying an effigy or monumental brass, some of which encouraged the recitation of the core prayers.[59] This increase occurred for a variety of reasons, including the spread of literacy making onlookers more likely to be able to read the text (and thus to engage in intercessory prayers), the growing popularity of burial within a church building and the need for identification, and the practice of offering pardons for intercession for the dead.[60]

[56] Saul, p. 168.
[57] Saul, p. 168.
[58] Saul, p. 168.
[59] Saul, p. 341-342.
[60] Saul, p. 341-342.

Sally Badham, proposes that 'various devices were used to make the appeal for prayers attractive, notably the promise of a grant of indulgence (remission of time to be spent in purgatory) to anyone saying prayers on behalf of the dead'.[61] This is evident in inscriptions from the thirteenth century onwards, where a reduction of time in purgatory could be granted for the recitation of the core prayers.[62] For example, the central inscription of the indulgence slab of Robert de Hungerford (d.1352) engraved in Norman French and located in the Chantry of the Holy Trinity in Hungerford Church, Berkshire, which he founded in 1325, grants 550 days of pardon for the recitation of the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* (figure 30).[63]

Figure 30: Indulgence slab of Sir Robert de Hungerford

> [Whosoever shall pray for Sir Robert de Hungerford during his lifetime, and for his soul after his death, shall have 550 days of pardon, granted by 14 bishops while he was alive. Wherefore in the name of charity [say] a Pater[noster] and Ave.][64]

[61] Sally Badham, *Monumental Brasses* (Oxford: Shire, 2009), p. 37.
[62] For a comprehensive discussion on indulgences in England from 1300 until the Reformation see Robert N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[63] Church Monument Society, 'Monument of the Month January 2011, Hungerford, Berkshire' (2002) <http://www.churchmonumentssociety.org/Monument%20of%20the%Month%20Archive%20/2011_01.html> [accessed 29 July 2015]; Hungerford Virtual Museum, 'Sir Robert de Hungerford' (2014) <http://www.hungerfordvirtualmuseum.co.uk/People/Landowners_-_Gentry/Sir_Robert_de_Hungerford/sir_robert_de_hungerford.html> [accessed 29 July 2015].
[64]Hungerford Virtual Museum, 'Chantry of the Holy Trinity' (2014) <http://www.hungerfordvirtualmuseum.co.uk/Places/Chantries/Chantry_of_Holy_Trinity/chantry_of_holy_trinity.html> [accessed 29 July 2015].

Another example of an indulgence being granted for the recitation of the *Pater Noster* can be found underneath a brass picture of the Resurrection accompanying the tomb of Thomas Barnardiston and his wife, Dame Elizabeth, in Great Cotes, Lincolnshire and dating to 1503. The text stated 'of your charity, say a Pater Noster [and] six Credos. Ye shall have a hundred days pardon to your name'.[65]

Finally, a more extreme example, in terms of the indulgence granted, can be seen inscribed on Roger Leigh's brass in Macclesfield, Cheshire, dating to 1506, which promised twenty-six thousand years and twenty-six days of pardon for anyone saying five *Pater Noster*s, five *Ave*s and a *Credo* (figure 31).[66]

Figure 31: Roger Leigh.

These three examples serve to highlight the ways in which the *Pater Noster* was used in a memorial context, not only to benefit the soul of the deceased, but also to benefit the souls of the living at the time of their death. The strong bond between the worlds of the living and the dead in medieval England meant that many indulgences were approved and recorded in episcopal registers, as well as on tomb stones, and many of these granted a pardon of forty days for the recitation of standard

[65] Transcription from Barbara J. Harris, 'The Fabric of Piety: Aristocratic Women and the Care of the Dead, 1450-1530', *Journal of British Studies*, 58, no. 2, 308-335 (pp.308-309).
[66] Badham, p. 37.

prayers, including the *Pater Noster*, in memory of the dead. For example, it was requested that an individual needed to say 'at least a Lord's Prayer and a Salutation of the Blessed Virgin' for the soul of Edward I (d.1307) to receive forty days indulgence.[67] The evidence from the registers and also from the tombs which have indulgences inscribed on them, or displayed nearby, suggests that the prayer continued to play a prominent role in an individual's salvation, assisting with the remission of their sins in death as it did during penance in their lifetime.

The importance placed on prayer is also evident in inscriptions which ask for intercession for the dead but do not have the reward of any indulgence recorded on the memorial. In a pre-Reformation context, according to Peter Sherlock, words gave visitors to the grave the information necessary to pray for the departed soul whilst the images attracted attention through the representation of the dead themselves pleading for salvation through their beads and praying hands and also giving a sense of their status and degree.[68] For example, the brass of Hugh Hastings in Elsing, Norfolk, dating to 1347, requested onlookers to recite the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* to free him from worry. The text states:

> Ymodum fari potuit, petijt tumulari
> Luce ter x mense Julij mors hinc terit ense
> Anno fertur in M ter C quater x quoque septem.
> Vos qui transitis Christum rogitare velitis
> Hunc ut saluet a ve Finis sit cum pater Ave.[69]
>
> [Here lies interred Hugh Hastings the revered,
> In the style in which he said he wanted to be buried.
> On the thirtieth day of July his time came to die,
> Aspiring to heaven in 1347.
> You who are here today be so good as to pray
> For him to be free from worry say an 'Our Father' and 'Hail Mary']

A simple rhyme found on two tombs created 40 years apart (1500 and 1540), appeals to the onlooker to release them from the torments of purgatory, again through the recitation of the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*. It states:

[67] Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 23.
[68] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 202.
[69] Bertram, p. 68. Vernacular translation also supplied by Saul.

For Jhus love pray for me
I may not pray nowe pray ye
With A pater noster ande ave
That my paynes Relessyd may be.[70]

Finally, the second inscription on the tomb of Henry Nevill (d.1564), Earl of Westmoreland, and two of his three wives in Staindrop, Durham, states 'All you that come to the church to praye, sa paternoster and a crede for to have mercy of us and all our progenye' whilst the first simply gives the year of the construction of the tomb as 1560.[71]

From these examples of inscriptions it is clear that the Church emphasised the role played by the *Pater Noster* in reducing the time a deceased person could spend in purgatory. This role is also emphasised in wall paintings in which prayer beads are represented in the context of St Michael weighing the souls of the dead at the day of Judgement. Here, the Virgin Mary places her beads on the scales in favour of the soul of the deceased, interceding on their behalf and thus weighing the scales more towards heaven than purgatory and hell. Examples can be seen opposite the south door of St Peter's Church in Barton, Cambridgeshire, dating to *c.*1320;[72] St Botolph's Church in Slapton, Northamptonshire, dating to the mid-fourteenth century (figure 32); over the chancel arch in All Saint's Church in Lathbury, Buckinghamshire, dating to the late-fourteenth to early-fifteenth century (figure 33); and the palimpsest at St James the Great Church in South Leigh, Oxfordshire, dating to the fifteenth century.[73]

[70] Sherlock, p. 76 states that the rhyme can be found on tomb of John Tame (d.1500) in St Mary's Church, Fairford, Gloucestershire, and also on the tomb of John Paynter (d.1540) in St Margaret's Church, Rainham, Kent.
[71] Sherlock, p. 60.
[72] Date given on church notice board.
[73] Anne Marshall, 'Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church' (2001-12) <http://www.paintedchurch.org> [accessed 26 August 2012].

Figure 32: St Botolph's Church, Slapton.

Figure 33: All Saints Church, Lathbury.

An alabaster panel depicting St Michael weighing souls, similar to the representation in wall paintings, possibly produced in Nottinghamshire and dating to the fifteenth century can be seen in the Chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge (figure 34).[74] Here the Virgin Mary shelters a soul beneath her cloak and lays her prayer beads on the scales to weight it in favour of heaven whilst a devil tries to pull the scale down in favour of hell. This focuses on the intercessory nature of prayers to the Virgin and therefore encourages the viewer to recite their Marian Psalter for the benefit of their soul.

Figure 34: Pembroke College, Cambridge.

[74] University of Cambridge Faculty of English, 'Medieval Imaginations: Literature and Visual Culture in the Middle Ages' (2002) <http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/medieval/zoomtest.php?id=147> [accessed 26 August 2012]

Two further examples of panels of St Michael weighing souls with the Virgin Mary interceding dating to the fifteenth century can be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[75] One of these examples was produced in England in *c.*1430-1470 and due to its large size it is likely that it was intended as a single devotional image which sought to attract and focus prayers. The symbolism of the Virgin Mary and her prayer beads again emphasises this function and highlights the importance placed on the role of prayer in reducing the length of time the soul lingered in purgatory.[76]

Perhaps then, the representation of prayer beads in memorial culture could link to the rites of death-bed confession and the notion that praying for the soul of the dead helped them to move from limbo to heaven. This indicates that the representation of prayer beads on monumental brasses sought to encourage prayer for the deceased, a theme clearly expressed in the decoration of the building and also in the liturgy.

Misericords, stained-glass windows and wall paintings also depict images of individuals holding prayer beads. In these examples the individual is usually a donor or patron who is giving money, property or objects to the church. The function of these representations could be to demonstrate a lay individual's faith, as well as their wealth, and to elicit prayer. For example, a misericord in Norwich Cathedral shows John Clere and his mother Denise Wichingham; Clere is depicted wearing robes and gloves and displaying a dagger at his girdle, whereas Wichingham is presented as praying with her hands clasped around prayer beads at her belt (figure 35).[77] The pious and devout nature of the female figure may be represented by the set of beads hanging from her belt whereas the dagger, a symbol of masculinity and suggestive of male sexuality, adorns the male's

[75] See F. Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters: With a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Oxford: Phaidon-Christie's, 1984), p. 133, no. 62, and p. 134, no. 63. Similar panels in the Louvre are identified by Walter L. Hildburgh, 'Further Notes on English Alabaster Carvings', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 10 (1930), 34-45 (pp. 34-35, pl. V, fig. 3) and in the Cluny Museum, Paris (p.35).

[76] Victoria and Albert Museum, 'Saint Michael Attacking the Dragon and Weighing a Soul' (2014) <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O84717/saint-michael-attacking-the-dragon-relief-unknown/> [accessed 26 August 2012]; Walter L. Hildburg, 'An English Alabaster Carving of St Michael Weighing a Soul', *The Burlington Magazine*, 89, no. 530 (1947), 129-131; Cheetham, p. 134, no. 63; Marjorie Trusted, ed., *The Making of Sculpture: The Materials and Techniques of European Sculpture* (London: V&A Publishing, 2007), p. 110, pl. 195.

[77] The shields of the Clere (left) and Wichingham (right) arms are clearly visible. For more information see 'The web's primary resource for misericords' (2012-2014) <http://www.misericords.co.uk> [accessed 31 July 2012].

belt.[78] Although the representations of the male and female reflect different aspects of their gender, it is clear that the two individuals sought to be remembered for their generous benefactions and to encourage prayers from the Benedictine monks who may have used the misericord as a seat in the choir stalls.

Figure 35: Misericord from Norwich Cathedral showing John Clere and his mother Denise Wichingham.

An additional example can be seen in part of the east stained glass window of St Peter Mancroft Church, Norwich. One of the four representations of the window's donors shows Thomas and Margaret Elys (figure 36). They are kneeling at a panelled bench with heraldic arms on the side and an open prayer book on the top (1526-1533).[79]

Figure 36: Thomas and Margaret Elys, St Peter Mancroft Church, Norwich.

[78] French, p. 201.
[79] David King, *Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. clxiii, 15, col. pl. 22.

Thomas is in the foreground with his arms spread open above the book, and his wife, Margaret, is behind wearing a ruby dress and fur skirt with a gold set of prayer beads with silver gauds hanging from the fastening at the front. The prayer beads are not neatly drawn but represent a string with gauds consisting of approximately forty beads (twenty on each side) and ending in tassels. Again, their desire to be visually recorded as part of the window they contributed towards suggests their desire to be recognised as devout and faithful individuals.

A final example in monumental brasses can be seen on the north wall of the chancel in St George's Church, Fovant, Wiltshire (1492) (figure 37). Here, a small devotional brass (38cm x 32cm) of London origin shows the deceased, Rector George Rede, as a 'donor' kneeling at the side of an Annunciation scene with a loop of beads, ending in a tassel, draped over the wrist of his praying hands.[80]

Figure 37: George Reed, St George's Church, Fovant.

Rede kneels to the right of the devotional scene with a scroll supplicating 'O blessed mother of pity, pray to thy son for me'. This suggests that Rede asked for the intercession of the Virgin Mary in the salvation of his soul as well as the prayers of onlookers. This example is slightly different as Rede was responsible for the building of the tower in 1492 and from the inscription (translated here), 'Pray for

[80] Bertram, p. 154, fig. 22.

the soul of George Rede, formerly Rector of the Church of Forvant at the time of the building of the new tower there, AD 1492, on whose soul God have mercy. Amen', it is likely that he commissioned the plaque at around this time rather than it being produced by his executors after death.

The majority of the examples of memorial culture that have been described in this chapter sought to encourage onlookers to prayer for the dead. This process of requesting prayers for the dead, however, changed with the Reformation. For example, the *King's Book* of 1543 had started to sow the seeds of doubt about the value of intercessory prayer. It stated that 'it is not in the power or knowledge of any man to limit and dispense how much, and in what space of time, or to what person particularly the said masses and exequies do profit and avail'.[81] Then in 1547 chantries, the main focus of intercessory prayers, were abolished by Edward VI and it was suggested in the preamble to the statute that purgatory was 'a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture'.[82] Finally, the rejection of papal authority and the abolition of the purgatory doctrine in 1549 meant that brasses and stone memorials should now only serve as a way to remember the dead as the efficacy of prayer for the departed was denied.[83] These changes represented a considerable shift in theological thinking and changed the ways in which individuals were remembered and represented in memorial culture.

From my consideration of the pre-Reformation evidence of prayer bead use and symbolism I argue that prayer beads had become something more than a functional item to recite prayer: they had become physical manifestations of piety. This is clearly suggested by their depiction with donors and their representation in memorial culture. There is an additional group of evidence that also testifies to the link between prayer beads and piety in pre-Reformation England: the frequent representations of gossiping women in misericords and wall paintings which feature neglected sets of prayer beads. In these depictions the individuals are shown engaging in frivolous chatter instead of focussing on their prayers. They are distracted by Tutivillus who records their sins in preparation for the day of

[81] Saul, p. 366, cites T. A. Lacey, ed., *The King's Book* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1932), pp. 163-165.
[82] Saul, p. 366.
[83] Norris, *The Craft*, p. 61; Saul, p. 49.

Judgement, whilst their prayer beads lie idly in their laps. For example, a wall painting of a warning against idle gossips can be seen in the nave of All Saints' Church, Little Melton, Norfolk, dating to *c*.1370 (figure 38). Here two women are depicted seated on a church bench; each has a set of prayer beads in her hands which she holds out towards the other, perhaps for admiration of their composition or workmanship. The women are clearly engaged in idle chatter and not prayer and this is evident in the remaining traces of a devil figure standing at the right hand end of the bench.[84] Additional examples on misericords can also be found in: St Mary the Virgin's Church, Enville, dating to the fifteenth century, in which a woman holding a set of beads and a man holding a missal are seated together in a pew with Tutivillus standing behind them with this wings outspread and eavesdropping (figure 39); Ely cathedral, dating to the sixteenth century, in which the scene is of two women, one wearing a chaplet and with prayer beads and the other with a book, both of which lie idle in their laps, with Tutivillus in the centre with his arms around their necks and a devil on the right recording their gossip on a scroll; and at St Mary's Church, Gayton, where two human figures, one wearing their prayer beads, are confronted by a large devil clothed in feathers and with cloven hooves.[85] An additional example from stained glass can be seen in the tracery light in St Nicholas's Church, Stanford-on-Avon, Northamptonshire, dating to *c*.1325-1340 (figure 40).[86]

[84] Marshall. E. W. Tristram, *English Wall Paintings of the Fourteenth Century*, 2 vols (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955), p. 222, noted that a larger devil could be seen standing behind the bench and embracing the two women although this is no longer visible.

[85] <http://www.misericords.co.uk> [accessed 31 July 2012]. For further details on the Ely example see Paul Hardwick, *English Medieval Misericords: The Margins of Meaning* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), p. 96.

[86] This is the only certain example of this topic in stained glass although it is commonly depicted in wall paintings. See Richard Marks, *The Medieval Stained Glass of the County of Northamptonshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), Summary Catalogue 4; Roger Rosewell, 'When Devil's Prowled: Jangling and Idle Gossip in Medieval Churches', *Vidimus*, 47 (January 2011) < http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-47/panel-of-the-month/> [accessed 12 August 2014]; Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 80.

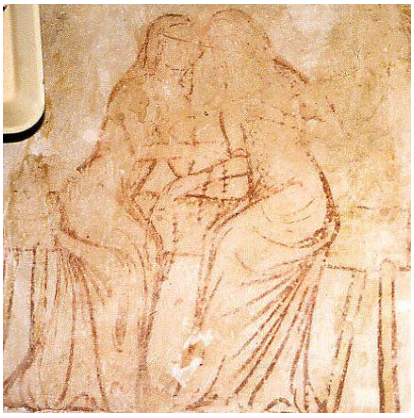

Figure 38: All Saints Church, Little Melton.

Figure 39: St Mary's Church, Gayton.

Figure 40: St Nicholas's Church, Stanford-upon-Avon.

Although these images are used to remind the clerks, clerics and congregations of the dangers of being distracted from prayer and engaging in idle gossip during church services, they also demonstrate that these individuals would recognise bead sets as symbols of prayer, that some individuals may have used beads to assist them with prayer during the Mass and also that the Church was trying to explain that prayer was essential to ward away evil and sin. This is very similar to the manuals, tables and diagrams which sought to depict the importance of prayer in an individual's salvation and also to encourage them to behave in moral and honourable ways. From a post-Reformation viewpoint these images may have testified to the dangers of 'saying over a number of beads, not understood or minded on', as I have cited earlier from Henry VIII's Injunctions in 1538, suggesting that the lack of focus and thought when praying was to be criticised and condemned.

I also propose that prayer beads, both actual artefacts and representations, are indicative of widespread knowledge of the prayer. From the vast amount of extant evidence, it is clear that prayer beads were extremely common items in medieval England. I would also suggest that the majority of lay individuals who owned a set of beads would have used them as functional items to physically count their prayers, and their desire to be represented with these items after their death indicates that they believed in the power of prayer to reduce their time in purgatory, with the beads acting as a visual reminder for the viewer to pray for the soul of the departed. As the *Pater Noster* had been included in prayer bead strings since at least the thirteenth century, and continues to be represented up to the

modern day, it is highly likely that the individuals who owned these sets of beads would have been familiar with this prayer, even reciting it using their beads during religious services and private intercession, and this suggests that the prayer was commonly known by a lay audience.

To conclude, prayer beads were popular items during the medieval period. This gives us an idea of the centrality of the *Pater Noster* to everyday life, something (arguably) aided by the Rosary. This item enabled the owner to engage more actively in the Mass and to recite prayers as a private activity at any location.[87] Therefore, for those who were interested in the care of souls, prayer beads became an 'important instrument of evangelical outreach'.[88] This is particularly important as neither knowledge of Latin nor literacy was a requirement for the owner to participate in prayer. It is possible that the growing popularity of prayer beads and their simple and yet effective presentation of the core prayers supports Patrick Diehl's argument that religious practice outside the official liturgy was increasing during the late Middle Ages.[89] The effects of these beads on extra-liturgical piety were far-reaching, with their popularity being endorsed by items including Rosary books, testimonial anecdotes, exempla, legends, songs and poems.[90] This increase in personal devotion may have been, at least in part, a response to the inability of the congregation to understand Church services, the resultant feeling of disengagement being remedied by the possibility of personal intercession facilitated by the use of prayer beads.[91] On the other hand, however, Eamon Duffy argues that the laity were able to engage with the liturgy and to appropriate the rituals used in religious services to suit their own uses.[92] One example of this engagement was the continuous recitation of the core prayers in the vernacular during the Mass, potentially with the support of prayer beads. This notion of appropriation to maintain the status quo is supported by Winston-Allen who states that the Rosary was not thought of as an instrument of reform but as a 'mechanical attempt to achieve grace by quantitative

[87] Winston-Allen, p. 29.
[88] Winston-Allen, p. 79.
[89] Patrick S. Diehl, *The Medieval European Religious Lyric: an Ars Poetica* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 42.
[90] Diehl, p. 4.
[91] Diehl, p. 42.
[92] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 2, 5, 7.

means'.[93] Both of these opposing interpretations highlight the fact that prayer beads played an increasingly important role in teaching and facilitating the use of prayer during the medieval period. Their popularity testifies to the success of these objects in appealing to a wide social audience and also to the integration of religious concepts into a suitable and practical form.

[93] Winston-Allen, p. 79.

CHAPTER SIX

THE *PATER NOSTER* IN DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES

This chapter will consider how drama can add to our understanding of the ways in which the *Pater Noster* was used as a visual and literary aid in religious teaching. Extant records from the medieval period indicate that the *Pater Noster* was incorporated into three series of plays or pageants performed in the northern towns of York, Beverley and Lincoln. The developmental sequence of these plays corresponds with the Church's attempts to teach the basic tenets of the Christian faith to the laity to such an extent that Susan Powell argues that there is a discernable relationship between drama and contemporary teaching.[1] This chapter will argue that the Church's educational programme and resultant teachings had a strong influence on the contents and structure of these northern plays. This is evident in the possible source material (sermons, commentaries, religious diagrams, wall paintings, contemporary religious drama etc.), the presentation of the prayer in the plays and also in the ways in which the prayer is specifically united with the septenaries with the apparent aim of teaching. It is possible that the plays could have been seen as a suitable mechanism for the dramatisation of elements of Church teaching, thereby reinforcing the catechism in a similar way to the visual representations of the virtues and vices found in the wall paintings and stained glass of religious buildings (something that will be discussed in the following chapter). This dramatic material clearly testifies to the popularity and widespread importance of the prayer as it is included in leisure activities which seek to entertain as well as to educate. The prayer was, therefore, seen as a fundamental tool, one that was capable of encroaching into all elements of social life and reaching all echelons of society.

Evidence from the Tudor period also indicates that a final play based on the petitions of the *Pater Noster* was penned, most likely in 1534, by John Bale (1495-1563), a former Carmelite friar who converted to Protestantism during the 1530s.[2] 'On the Lord's Prayer' is recorded in Bale's own list of plays, *Anglorum Heliades*, in 1536 but fails to be mentioned in his list, the *Summarium*, of

[1] Powell, 'Pastoralia and the Lost York Plays', p. 35.
[2] Peter Happé, *John Bale* (New York; London: Twayne Publishers; Prentice Hall International, 1996) pp. 5-6.

1548.[3] A consideration of the content of this play and the possible reasons for its removal from the playwright's later list will be presented at the end of this chapter.

One question of particular relevance for this study is how the relationship between the petitions of the prayer and the other septenaries, especially the virtues and vices, is presented in the three northern plays. Perhaps the plays exemplified the categories of the virtues and vices by means of exposition and explanation of the prayer, something which served to educate the audience in the qualities and moral teaching contained in the selected septenaries. The focus on moral teaching may also have been the driving force behind Bale's play.

A particular difficulty encountered in assessing the educational message of the Pater Noster plays is the scarcity of relevant primary sources. This has made it difficult to draw firm conclusions on how the *Pater Noster* was presented in these plays, the ways in which it might have been united with the septenaries, and whether there is any evidence that the prayer was used to teach additional material to a lay audience.

I. YORK

From York the most useful and important sources for the production of the Pater Noster plays are the 1389 Return and the Pater Noster gild's 1399 Account Roll. There are also references to the plays in the York City House Books, held in the York City Archive, and the Records of the Municipal Government in York which include the Proceedings of the City Council.[4] These references indicate that the Pater Noster plays were performed as a series of separate pageants which presented the petitions of the *Pater Noster* in conjunction with their associated virtues and vices. Each pageant united one petition of the prayer with its equivalent virtue and contrasting vice, suggesting that seven individual dramatic performances were staged. Each performance can be seen to echo one radial

[3] Happé, *John Bale*, pp. 5-6.
[4] For a full list of references see Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979). This source is also cited by Alan H. Nelson, *The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) and Angelo Raine, *Mediaeval York: A Topographical Survey Based on Original Sources* (London: J. Murray, 1955), pp. 91-92.

segment of a wheel diagram (reading from the circumference to the core) or a horizontal row in a Pater Noster table, as previously discussed in chapter 4 (above). Here, the virtues and vices are clearly united with the petitions of the prayer, alongside additional septenaries, to create individual narratives in which the consequences of reciting the *Pater Noster* are represented. It is likely that the individual pageants followed a similar narrative.

From the extant evidence it is clear that the Pater Noster gild was responsible for the production of the Pater Noster plays in York. The majority of evidence for the contents and performance of these plays is found in documents connected with the gild. Like many other gilds, the Pater Noster gild was formed for religious and social purposes, including the observation of religious festivals, the gild feast and assisting one another both in spiritual and temporal necessities. The principal purpose of this particular gild, according to the return or certificate sent by the gild to the King's Council in Chancery dated 21 January 1389, was 'the controlling of that [Pater Noster] play for the glory of God'.[5] The evidence contained within this return suggests that the *Pater Noster* was united with the septenaries.[6] This document was created in response to a royal writ of 1 November 1388 which requested that masters and wardens of all English gilds send a description of their association's 'foundations, constitutions, customs and properties' to the Royal Chancery before 2 February 1389.[7] Karl Young provides a comprehensive study and edition of the material, which shows that the return contains information on how the *Pater Noster* was integrated with the septenaries in the plays and also on the gild's responsibility for presenting the *Pater Noster* as a *tabula* in York Minster (see chapter 4 above). The information in the return includes six key points as identified by Young:

1) The gild's main function was to stage a performance of the Pater Noster.

[5] Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: the Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play', *Speculum*, 50 (1975), 55-90 (p.87). For a more detailed discussion of the gild, especially their accounts and demographic see Philippa M. Hoskin, 'The Accounts of the Medieval Paternoster Gild of York', *Northern History*, 44 (2007), 7-33.

[6] TNA: PRO, Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle XLVI, no. 454.

[7] The first abbreviated English translation of this document is provided by Smith and Brentano, *English Gilds*, p. 137. Extracts from this translation are used and reproduced by H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England* (London: SPCK, 1919), pp. 36-48; E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903), II, pp. 403-404; Allison, p. 789; and Potter, p. 23 alongside further analysis. Young, pp.541-544, provides the first transcription of the original Latin document alongside a summary of the key points relating to dramatic performance.

2) The play presented the supplications of the *Pater Noster* (*utilitas*), scorned the vices and sins (*vicia et peccata)* and praised the virtues (*virtutes commendantur)*.
3) When the play was performed certain gild members, on horseback or foot and wearing matching livery, were to accompany the performers through the streets to preserve order. It may be assumed that the play was performed on pageant wagons as the players and guards passed 'per certas principales stratas civitatis'.
4) The gild was to provide a candlestick with seven lights in the Cathedral of York on Sundays and feast-days in honour of the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster*.
5) Upon a column near these lights the gild was to maintain a *tabula* on which the merits of the *Pater Noster* were written.
6) In 1389 the gild owned the equipment for the play and a wooden chest for storage.[8]

From this document it is clear that the gild was created to engage with and present the *Pater Noster* through a variety of means, whether dramatically or in a more tangible and lasting form. Their main role was to perform plays representing the petitions of the prayer alongside the virtues and vices. This was supported by the provision, in York Minster, of a *tabula* which praised the *Pater Noster* and a candelabrum with seven lights to honour the seven petitions of the prayer. For this study the most important element of this evidence is the second point raised by Young attesting to the dramatic presentation. Not only does this state the basic principles represented in the plays - namely the *Pater Noster*, virtues and vices - but it also tells us something about the relationship between these principles. To scorn vice and to praise virtue represents a deliberate attempt to influence the ways in which the laity were encouraged to perceive these concepts. This sought to provide a moral education which was structured around the *Pater Noster* in a form similar to that in which this material was presented in tables, diagrams, manuals and commentaries.[9] According to Lucy Toulmin Smith and Tempe E. Allison the return sent by the gild also declared that the plays were performed 'for the health of souls and for the comfort of the citizens and neighbours'.[10] In addition, the return stated that this was 'the whole and sole cause of the beginning and fellowship of the brethren of this brotherhood'.[11] This again suggests that the plays were educational, seeking to improve the moral condition of the audience and players. Unfortunately this document does not indicate whether the plays were performed in Latin or the vernacular, or how these elements were united together to create a narrative

[8] Young, p. 543.
[9] See chapter 3 for an in-depth discussion of this material.
[10] Smith and Brentano, p. 137; Allison, p. 789; and Potter, p. 23.
[11] Smith and Brentano, p. 137; Allison, p. 789; and Potter, p. 23.

or script. If the plays were performed in Latin, the language of the Church, they would have entertained only the educated rather than instructed the unlearned.

Two further pieces of evidence assist in addressing these questions. The first, an earlier reference to the plays, indicates that they were performed in the vernacular. Again, this evidence is briefly discussed by Young, who suggests that the prayer was incorporated in a vernacular form. This interpretation is supported by a reference contained in the vernacular version of Wyclif's *De Officio Pastorali* (*c*.1378)[12] which states that 'herefore freris han tauȝt in englond þe Pater Noster in engliȝsch tunge, as men seyen in þe pley of ȝork'.[13] This document appears to offer contemporary evidence that plays were performed in York which contained the *Pater Noster* in English and it is likely, in view of the title and known contents of the drama that this refers to the Pater Noster plays. According to Robert Potter, the fact that Wyclif did not denounce the play may be an indication that he was satisfied with the translation of the *Pater Noster* that had been given and so may further indicate that the translation of the prayer appealed to Lollard values.[14] The Lollards were interested in making biblical texts available in the vernacular to improve the religious understanding of the laity, however, they disapproved of the idolatry in plays, 'the transfer of visual symbols onto the stage' and therefore the lack of criticism of the play is surprising.[15] Perhaps the play, through the medium of the vernacular and the conjunction of the prayer with the septenaries, was viewed as a suitable means of transmitting a religious message to a lay audience in a way that they could understand rather than as an act of entertainment.

The second document is the compotus or gild roll which belonged to the Pater Noster gild between 1399 and 1400.[16] This roll was recovered in 2006 after being mislaid in the 1880s.[17] Philippa Hoskin, who has investigated and transcribed the text, uses it to address a discrepancy that occurs in

[12] Young, p. 540.
[13] Matthew, p. 429.
[14] Potter, p. 22.
[15] Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 99.
[16] BIHR RB2/4/1/1.
[17] The roll was shown to Smith and Brentano, p. xxix by James Raine whilst they were writing on the York plays. Young concluded that the roll was lost in 1928. This was confirmed by Johnston and Rogerson, p. xxxiv who were also unable to locate the document. A brief description of the Roll's contents was published by Angelo Raine, pp. 91-92 although it was based on earlier notes.

previous transcripts of this document relating to the 'dramatic content and performance of the play'.[18] This discrepancy was highlighted by Alexandra Johnston in her article 'The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: The Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play', which states that there is an inconsistency between the transcripts made of this document by Smith and Angelo Raine.[19] Both of these transcripts assert that one pageant constituted part of the Pater Noster plays but name different pageants. Smith, in her version, notes a reference to John Downom asking for his debt of 2s 1d to be laid against his work *ex parte Ricardi Walker* for the 'Play of Sloth' (*ludum accidie*).[20] Raine, on the other hand, states that there is only one reference to a play, that of the 'Play of the Doctors' (*ludum doctororum*).[21]

Although Johnston leaves the question unresolved, examination of the original text makes it possible to remedy this, since it is clear that both pageants are mentioned rather than only one as Smith and Raine had stated.[22] The 'Play of the Doctors' is mentioned on the obverse of the Roll whereas the 'Play of Sloth' is on the reverse of the Roll, among the gild's debts.[23] The fact that two 'plays' or pageants are listed individually again supports the theory that the Pater Noster plays may have consisted of more than one dramatisation. This supports Johnston's assertion that the plays were based on a sequence of pageants, each reflecting one of the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster*, matched against one of the seven deadly sins.[24] Furthermore, I argue that in addition to combining the petitions with the sins, as Johnston suggests, they might also have been matched to their corresponding virtues. Johnston uses Smith's interpretation of the 'Play of Sloth' to support her argument and proposes that this play may have depicted the sinful opposite of the fourth petition 'give us this day our daily bread'.[25] The uniting of this petition with Sloth, or laziness and an aversion to work in God's service, is also represented in the Vernon Manuscript Pater Noster table (f.231v) which was discussed in chapter 4 (above). If Sloth was contrasted with a virtue, it is most likely to have been diligence or mirth and liking in God's service as it is presented in the Vernon example. This suggests one way in

[18] Hoskin, p. 12.
[19] Johnston, pp. 70-71. These two readings are presented as alternatives in Johnston and Rogerson, pp. 12, 868.
[20] Smith and Brentano, p. xxix.
[21] Angelo Raine, p. 92.
[22] Hoskin, pp. 12-13.
[23] Hoskin, p. 13.
[24] Johnston, pp. 70-80.
[25] Smith and Brentano, p. xxix.

which the prayer may have operated as a catalyst for a demonstration of the pitfalls of the human condition and how to aspire to become a better Christian.

Another example is given by Raine. He suggests that the 'Play of the Doctors' may have consisted of a dramatisation of the incident between Christ and the doctors in the Temple and that this may have explored the fifth petition, 'forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us' when matched against the sin of Wrath.[26] The remedy to this anger may be seen in the virtue of meekness, an element presented as peace and rest in the Vernon example. Through the forgiveness of trespasses, anger is removed and replaced with inner peace. On the other hand, this explanation is contradicted by Johnston who proposes that Raine's interpretation of the 'Play of the Doctors' would not be the customary way of depicting this scene,[27] although Johnston does reaffirm Raine's suggestion that the prayer can be broken down into individual petitions which could be used to explain and teach other religious material.

One suggestion for the literary source of the plays is made by Powell and supported by A. I. Doyle. Powell contends that the play may have been based on the *Speculum Vitae,* a text previously discussed in chapters 3 and 4 (above).[28] The *Speculum Vitae* is described as the 'standard pabulum'

[26] Angelo Raine, pp. 91-92.

[27] Johnston, p. 79; Angelo Raine, pp. 91-92. The Play of the Doctors is incorporated into the Mystery Plays recorded in York. For a more detailed discussion see Pamela King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), pp. 40-41; Clifford Davidson, *From Creation to Doom: The York Cycle of Mystery Plays* (New York: AMS Press, 1984), p. 76; Richard Beadle, *The York Plays* (London: Arnold, 1982), pp. 176-181, 438-439; Lucy T. Smith, *York Plays: Performed by the Crafts, or Mysteries of York on the Day of Corpus Christi in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries Now First Printed from the Unique Manuscript in the Library of Lord Ashburnham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), pp. 156-171, as well as those from Chester (Kevin J. Harty, *The Chester Mystery Cycle: A Casebook* (London: Garland, 1993), pp. 78, 94-97) and from Wakefield (Martial Rose, *The Wakefield Mystery Plays* (New York: Norton, 1969), pp. 283-291). In the York example the episode of Christ and the doctors is turned into a lesson on the Ten Commandments as part of the educational drive to extend self-examination beyond the process of confession (King, p.38). This was also appropriate to the liturgical season to which the episode belongs, for King argues that Lent was the period traditionally associated with the acceptance of new coverts to the faith and also the season for atonement and to refresh Christian knowledge (King, p.40). This is also the case in the Wakefield example (Rose, pp.283-291). Since the play was used as a suitable mechanism to teach the Commandments, then I would suggest that it could have been used by the Church in a similar form to teach the *Pater Noster*, virtues and vices within the York Pater Noster plays sequence. The Chester play, by contrast, dramatises the development of a misunderstanding and fear of Christ, with the doctors questioning whether he will challenge and threaten their power (Harty, pp.94-97). This fear of losing worldly power is orientated around their materialistic tendencies and this notion could quite easily be employed to tackle the vice of greed/gluttony and promote the virtue of temperance if connected to the seventh petition 'And lead us not into temptation'. Their anger at Christ's ability to debate and challenge traditional religious law may have been influential in Raine's interpretation.

[28] Powell, 'Pastoralia and the Lost York Plays', p. 46; A. I. Doyle, 'A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and Early 16th Centuries with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy therein', 2 vols, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1953), p. 88.

[intellectual nourishment] due to its contents and schematic method, and it is also described as 'the most complex summa of the *Pater Noster* in Middle English literature'.[29] It presents groupings of seven which are interconnected and embedded within one another to form a complex and interwoven display of intellectual and devotional material. This material both sought to reaffirm and to explain the catechism through the forging of similar connections to those presented within the play. The plays may therefore be interpreted as another mechanism of religious dissemination, one which provided an alternative means of transmitting and teaching the septenaries and built upon the laity's previous knowledge of the *Pater Noster*.

Another possible type of source material for the York Pater Noster plays may have been sermon collections. The influence of preaching on plays concerned with the types of topics that were regularly expounded from the pulpit seems likely.[30] Allison, in her research, considers a possible connection between the Pater Noster plays and sermons based upon the *Oratio Domini* contained within the treatises of Hugh of Saint Victor.[31] She argues that the treatise may have given rise to the idea of staging the dramatic conflict between the petitions of the prayer and the deadly sins, especially columns 400-410 and 767-790 as everything necessary for drama, except dialogue, is present.[32] Within these extracts the virtues and vices are personified. Each vice character is defeated by a combination of a virtue and an individual petition from the *Pater Noster*. For instance, Humility, which comes with the first petition 'Our father who art in heaven hallowed be thy name', conquers Pride.[33] Allison argues that in sermons there is 'a precedent not only for the connection of specific sins with the petitions of the *Pater Noster*, but also for the association of special virtues and gifts as well'.[34] This clear association may, as Allison states, allow us to regard Hugh's sermon as an 'important influence

[29] Aarts, p. cxiii.
[30] Owst, p. 542.
[31] Allison, pp. 789-804.
[32] *PL*. 175. 400-401; *PL*. 175. 767-790; and Allison, p. 792.
[33] *PL*. 175. 780.
[34] Allison, p. 793.

upon the conception underlying the play'[35] for according to the York Records, the plays dealt with virtues as well as vices.

Both of these possibilities seem equally likely as I propose that both written and oral forms of religious teaching informed the contents of the plays. This is supported by Powell who states that the plays were closer to 'pastoral instruction illustrated by written text and tableau' than to a 'fully-fledged dramatised performance'.[36] Her evidence for this assumption stems from the likelihood that conventional pastoral teaching would be provided through teaching aids including banners, which would in turn serve a 'similar didactic purpose to the *tabulae* within York Churches', especially the Pater Noster *tabula* mentioned in Young's account. She justifies this suggestion by referring to the fact that the return or certificate of 1389 states that the vices are condemned and the virtues commended and not that players were to undertake these specific roles.[37] She also notes that no mention is made of props or costumes and therefore argues that the plays consisted of a dynamic lecture accompanied by a series of banners rather than the previously accepted procession of actors. In addition to the format of the presentation the role of banners in the Church building and in dramatic performances is also discussed by Powell. She highlights the possibility of a relationship between banners, *tabulae* and other display items in medieval churches to show how the pedagogical process was capable of employing material culture to teach the catechism.[38]

The suggestion that the play consisted of some form of lecture is challenged by Miriam Gill in an unpublished paper entitled 'Sequential Sinners: What can visual art tells us about the lost Pater Noster Plays?'[39] In this paper she proposes that few props would be necessary if the Pater Noster plays consisted of a procession of actors, since specialist stage goods would not be required. Instead items such as mirrors, knives and bowls may have been supplied by the actors as these are the properties usually associated with the sins. This procession of sins was an established visual and didactic topos which may have provided the context in which the plays were experienced. The similarity of the

[35] Allison, p. 794.
[36] Powell, 'Pastoralia and the Lost York Plays', p. 43.
[37] Powell, 'Pastoralia and the Lost York Plays', p. 22.
[38] Powell, 'Pastoralia and the Lost York Plays', p. 50.
[39] Supplied during personal email correspondence.

contents (and perhaps the presentation of the plays) to the style of sermons and visual representations suggests a common heritage. The replication of didactic material within drama provides one way in which, similar to manuscripts and prayer beads, the religious message is taken out of the arena of the Church and presented in a social sphere. This enabled the audience to learn, although not from the priest or religious representative but from the organised performances given by their peers.

Potter proposes that the Pater Noster plays in York may have been an allegory of the prayer because of their dramatic presentation and the 'shriving', or confession and absolution, of the seven deadly sins. This would have conformed to the didactic and ritualistic nature of the morality plays (allegorical dramas in which moral lessons are taught using characters who personify moral qualities (such as charity or vice) or abstractions (such as death or youth)), presenting the sacrament of penance through the acknowledgement and confession of sins rather than a simple treatise on virtue.[40] He also proposes that this may have been similar to the Liège play and *Piers Plowman*.[41] The Liège play is a fourteenth-century French morality which dramatises the effectiveness of the sacrament of penance.[42] In the play the seven deadly sins are represented by ladies emblematically dressed and carrying symbols of their nature; for example Wrath carries a sword. Their sins are written down by Lucifer so that they are on record for the last judgement. The angel Gabriel descends and challenges the deadly sins to confess and be saved. They follow his advice and their sins are miraculously erased from the book of judgement. This suggests that the vices may have been presented in a similar format in the Pater Noster plays.

The conversion of the sins is also presented in the confession scene of *Piers Plowman*.[43] Following the sermon given by Reason, Repentance invites the seven deadly sins to confess and allocates suitable acts of penance and restitution for them to achieve forgiveness. In this episode the importance of the *Pater Noster* may be inferred as the scene contains several references to the

[40] Potter, p. 16.
[41] Potter, pp. 23, 63.
[42] Potter, p. 26.
[43] A. V. C. Schmidt, ed., *Piers Plowman: a parallel-text edition of the A, B, C and Z versions* (London: Longman, 1995).

prayer.[44] It begins with the poet falling asleep over his beads and concludes with 'þi wille' and 'owre fader' (B Text, Passus V). The *Pater Noster* is also discussed in the C text, although it is presented in two contrasting ways. Initially, the prayer is presented as part of the devotions that complement the labours of the faithful Christian:

> The lomes þat y labore wirh and lyflode deserue
> Is pater-noster and my prymer, *placebo* and *dirige*,
> And my sauter som tyme and my seuene psalmes'
> (C text, Passus V, lines 45-47).

In contrast, it is later presented as obsolete by the sins who are incapable of its repetition or of understanding its doctrinal significance. For example Gluttony 'pissed a potel in a pater-noster while' (C Text, Passus VI, line 399) and Sloth explains that he cannot confess because 'I can nouȝte perfitly my paternoster, as þe prest hit syngeth' (C Text, Passus VII, line 10). In both of these versions man is not tempted into sin, but is already presented in a fallen state which can only be altered through repentance. In this situation the vices are presented as representative of the human manifestations of sin whereas the virtues are advocates of repentance.[45] According to Potter these assumptions are confirmed by the evidence supplied by both Beverley and Lincoln, which he describes as 'proto-moralities'.[46]

Potter proposes that the plays in York did not 'die out naturally', and that they were deliberately quelled by Archbishop Edmund Grindal who was appointed by Queen Elizabeth *c*.1569 to extirpate 'the last remnants of Papist superstition in the north'.[47] This is borne out by a record stating that on 30 July 1572, the Lord Mayor announced to the Council:

> My Lord Archebisshop of York requested to have a copie of the bookes of the Pater Noster play, whereupon it was agreed that His Grace shall have a trewe copie of all the said bookes even as they weare played this yere.[48]

[44] Potter, pp. 26-27.
[45] Potter, p. 28.
[46] Potter, p. 219. Potter uses the term 'proto-moralities' to refer to plays which contain the basic concepts from which a morality is built upon. These plays are earlier than those which comply with Potter's definition of a morality.
[47] Potter, p. 24. Also cited in Robert Davies, ed., *York Records of the Fifteenth Century. Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York, during the Reigns of Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1843), pp. 269-270; and Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300 to 1660, vol. 2: 1576 to 1660, Part 1* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 75-90.
[48] Davies, p. 270.

Surviving evidence suggests that the books containing details of the plays and possibly the scripts, were accordingly delivered to Archbishop Edmond Grindal, but there is no evidence to show that he or his successor, Archbishop Edwin Sandys, ever returned them, or that the Pater Noster plays were performed again.[49] The fact that the books were not returned is clear from a request, dated 8 July 1575, for their restoration to the gild.[50] One reason for this, and for the decline of the play, is suggested by Potter who proposes that the play may have featured the use of prayer beads. Potter states that Grindal issued instructions banning praying, whether in Latin or the vernacular, using any form of beads or knots and also forbidding the wearing of prayer beads. Perhaps this may have had implications for the plays, which could have contained or advocated prayers for the dead, one of the main functions of religious gilds.[51] It is certainly possible that beads were used as a prop during performances as Potter cites the 'dramatic use' of the *Pater Noster* and prayer beads within the morality play *Mankind* (1464-71) to draw a contemporary parallel.[52] For example, Mankind begins to recite the *Pater Noster* but is distracted by Titivillus (lines 549-554) and leaves his prayer beads behind as he leaves the stage (561-564).[53] Titivillus removes the beads and proceeds to tempt Mankind into sin (565-575). Therefore, as Potter points out, the dramatisation of the custom of praying with beads was not unknown in early drama.[54] The moral of this episode, that prayer would have helped Mankind to live a good Christian life and to refrain from sin, could therefore be applied equally to the pageants that constituted the Pater Noster plays. These pageants may have used the prayer as a vehicle to promote virtuous living and to encourage the audience to turn away from sin. Both *Mankind* and the Pater Noster plays taught the notion that salvation is attainable through prayer.

Drawn together, the evidence presented in this section suggests that the *Pater Noster* was dramatised in the following ways. In the first place, dramatic examples were used to illustrate the tenets of the Christian faith. Each petition of the prayer was dramatised, possibly using contemporary

[49] Davies, pp. 270-272.
[50] Smith and Brentano, p. xxix; and Nelson, p. 64.
[51] Potter, p. 24.
[52] Potter, p. 24.
[53] G. A. Lester, ed., *Three Late Medieval Morality Plays* (London: Black, 1990).
[54] Potter, p. 24.

local examples or scenes from everyday life, to help the performers and audience to associate with and understand the significance of the examples.[55] The dramatisation of the vices would show how sin is capable of permeating everyday life and would help the audience to understand the dangers of sin and the lax moral behaviour associated with it. This would then be complemented by the dramatisation of the corresponding virtue providing a remedy for the sin or vice through prayer. Through the performance and acting out of each scene the association between the *Pater Noster* petitions and the related septenaries were explained to the audience. The audience was then able to learn how the prayer could assist in combating vice and promoting the virtues which would ultimately lead to heavenly salvation. Furthermore, the apparent aim of the plays was to promote and reiterate the Church's teachings on the use of prayer in repentance. This is evident in the petitions operating as a remedy against sin and temptation and as a means to encourage Christian living.

II. BEVERLEY

Records indicate that Pater Noster plays were also performed in the Yorkshire town of Beverley, a town with a particularly strong ecclesiastical focus during the medieval period, although the extant records are extremely limited.[56] The records do indicate, however, that the local Pater Noster plays were performed as a collection of pageants. Alan Nelson states that records are only available for two years: 1441 and 1467.[57] From these records we know that in 1441 the plays were performed on 23 June and that each pageant was in the hands of a separate gild.[58] The record for 1467 states that the plays were performed on 2 August (one day after St Peter ad Vincula).[59] This record contains a list of the titles of the pageants, places assigned for performances and a list of the gilds or crafts involved in

[55] Such a technique is employed in other medieval plays including Mankind which mentions the names of villages around Cambridge and Bishop's Lynn which coincides with the provenance of the play text manuscript. See Walter Smart, 'Some Notes on 'Mankind'', *Modern Philology*, 14.1 (1916), 45-58.
[56] The major ecclesiastical centre focused around the relics of St John of Beverley who became a popular saint and site of pilgrimage. This was compounded by the ecclesiastical force of the Archbishop of York and the more immediate power of the clergy of Beverley Minster. East Riding of Yorkshire Archive Service, BC/II/7/1, fols.49^{v}, 204^{r}-204^{v}.
[57] Nelson, p. 97.
[58] East Riding of Yorkshire Archive Service, Governor's Minute Book, fol.49^{v}. Transcription in Arthur Leach, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Corporation of Beverley* (London: printed for HMSO by Mackie, 1900), pp. 128-129.
[59] Governor's Minute Book, fols.150, 204^{r}-204^{v}. Transcription in Leach, *Report on the Manuscripts*, pp. 135, 139, 142-143; and Arthur Leach, ed., *Beverley Town Documents*, Selden Society, 14 (London: Quaritch, 1900), pp. 33-35, 37.

the production of the pageants. What is clear is that each pageant was named after a vice and not titled using the petitions of the prayer. This suggests that the prayer may have been used as a remedy employed by the virtues to combat particular sins but by no means diminishes the prayer's involvement in the pageants since the collected pageants are still gathered under the title of Pater Noster. The record also demonstrates that participation in these pageants was a popular activity, with eighteen crafts agreeing to assist. It also details which crafts were involved with each particular pageant. The document reads as follows when rendered into modern English:

> On 29 May 1467, the various crafts of the town of Beverley agreed to perform the Pater Noster play within Beverley on Sunday, 2 August 1467. Those agreeing: merchants, glovers, sailors, barbers, barkers, tilers, smiths, coopers, fletchers, walkers, weavers, tailors, leather-workers, dyers, bakers, labourers, cellarers, brewers.
> Records were delivered to: the barbers, glovers, sailors, tanners, fletchers, coopers, fishermen, butchers, bakers, weavers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, leather-workers, fullers, dyers, tilers, labourers, cellarers, brewers, merchants.
> Places assigned for performances: first at the North Bar, the Bullring, at the threshold of Richard Conton's house, in the High Street, at Cross Bridge, the Wednesday Market, Minster Bow, and Beckside.
> Plays: Pride, Envy, Anger, Avarice, Sloth, Gluttony, Lust, Cruelty.
> The crafts and misteries were assigned to perform the said play. All the venerable men and craftsmen were assigned to perform different pageants within Pater Noster, as shown below:
> To the pageant Cruelty: gentlemen, merchants, clerks, and yeomen; Roger Kelk and John Copy have been appointed aldermen of that pageant.
> To the pageant Pride: shoemakers, goldsmiths, glovers, glasiers, skinners, and fishermen; William Downes has been appointed alderman.
> To the pageant Lust: dyers, walkers, weavers, pinners, cardmakers, wire-drawers; Robert Johnston has been appointed alderman
> To the pageant Sloth: watermen, husbandmen, labourers, saddlers, ropers, creelmen, millers, and furbishers; Richard Bliton has been appointed alderman.
> To the pageant Gluttony: bakers, vintners, brewers, cooks, tillers; John Spaldyng has been appointed alderman.
> To the pageant Envy: butchers, wrights, coopers, fletchers, pateners; John Wood has been appointed alderman.
> To the pageant Avarice: tailors, masons, braziers, plumbers, cutlers; Nicholas Gedney has been appointed alderman.
> To the pageant Anger: tanners, barbers, smiths, and painters; John Robynson has been appointed alderman. [60]

The information supplied in the 1467 record implies that the production of the play required a high-level of co-operation and social cohesion. Each pageant was distributed to the gild that was most

[60] Governor's Minute Book, fol.150. Transcription in Leach, *Beverley Town Documents*, pp. 33-35 and 37 and Leach, *Report on the Manuscripts*, pp. 135, 139, 142-143.

suited to its undertaking. For example, the pageant of Gluttony is allocated to those who produce food and drink, while Anger is associated with trades that produce weaponry and Pride is linked to the production of clothing. Such a distribution may be associated with the particular skills of a craft to promote and market their wares, to enable them to provide their own props, to poke fun at the stereotypes associated with the trade or to remind the craftsmen of the sins that their merchandise could lead people into.

According to Allison evidence preserved in the Minute Book of the town indicates that the Beverley Pater Noster plays were also performed in 1469, in addition to 1441 and 1467.[61] The preparation for the plays states that they were scheduled for the Sunday following St Peter ad Vincula, that seven stations were specified for its performance, and that the plays consisted of eight pageants distributed among thirty-nine crafts from the town. This differs from the performance of 1467 when the plays were shown at eight stations along exactly the same route as the Corpus Christi play.[62] It is likely that the pageants were intended to be viewed in sequence, their titles following the order of the elements in the prayer, suggesting a progression of the vices from Pride through to Anger. Perhaps each pageant would have built upon the moral message of the previous, reiterating and exemplifying how the *Pater Noster* could be used as a weapon against vice and sin, and as a mechanism for achieving salvation.

Nelson suggests that there may have been only one player per pageant, citing the Governor's Minute Book as evidence.[63] The Minute Book states that eight players – lusores - were needed to perform the pageants, which Nelson interprets as suggesting a range of sermon-like monologues orated by individuals rather than a dramatic performance.[64] This implies that only one player would perform in each pageant, with eight pageants being recorded rather than the conventional seven. This suggestion is certainly plausible as the source material for these plays was most likely sermons, and

[61] Allison, p. 790, cites Arthur F. Leach, 'Some English Plays and Players, 1220-1548', in W. P. Ker, A. S. Napier and Walter W. Skeat, eds., *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. 205-234 (p.221).
[62] Nelson, p. 97 cites Governor's Minute Book, fols.204^{r}-204^{v}.
[63] Nelson, p. 97.
[64] Governor's Minute Book, fols.204^{r}-204^{v}; Leach, *Report on the Manuscripts*, pp. 142-143.

these were usually written to be delivered to a lay audience by an individual. In view of the large number of gilds involved with each pageant, however, I argue that it is highly unlikely that each one would be performed by an individual. I propose that an interlocutor may have been used to introduce and explain the actions performed by the cast of each pageant. In this case, the material delivered may have taken the format of a sermon, especially the sermons that linked the prayer to the septenaries, and the action may have replicated some of the scenes depicted in wall paintings (see chapter 7).

Pageant cycles, with each episode performed on a wagon which was transported to different designated stations, were a usual way of presenting religious material, especially the so-called mystery plays. These stations are listed in the records for Beverley (see above) and it is also likely that the York Pater Noster plays would have been performed using this method and staged at the same stations as the local mystery plays. What is particularly unusual here is the fact that the Beverley Pater Noster plays consisted of eight pageants although there are only seven petitions in the *Pater Noster*. The evidence indicates that seven of these pageants represented the canonical seven deadly sins and the eighth dramatised 'Viciouse' or Cruelty. Modern interpretations of this eighth pageant describe it as a 'pageant of vices' or the 'pageant of the vicious ones'. It has also been thought, especially by R. L. Ramsay, that the 'Viciouse' pageant may have been performed first.[65] Perhaps this pageant sought to depict how mankind might be tempted into sin by the vices and dramatised how resistance to sin is broken. Mankind's gradual fall into sin and depravity could then be illustrated by the individual episodes depicting the seven deadly sins. This interpretation is supported by patristic theology, which argues that the roots of vice are found in the weakness of human nature, and it is this weakness that precedes the action of sin. In this situation salvation is only accessible through divine aid and is achieved through recognition of sin and reconciliation with God.[66] Considering this interpretation of 'Viciouse' it seems likely that this pageant was performed first, with the petitions of the *Pater Noster*

[65] Robert Lee Ramsay, ed., *Magnyfycence: A moral play by John Skelton*, EETS, ES, 98 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1908), pp. cliii-cliv.

[66] Human weakness, according to St Augustine, descends from his formulation of the doctrine of original sin. He proposed that, as sinners, human beings are depraved in nature and cannot respond to the will of God without divine grace (Justo L. González, *A History of Christian Thought, 2, From Augustine to the Eve of the Reformation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), pp. 105-352). This links back to the Garden of Eden and mankind's deception, suggesting that all humanity is prone to sin and it is only through intermediaries including the Church and prayer that man can learn to live in a manner acceptable to God.

being incorporated as a way of asking for divine grace, reciting knowledge of Church teachings and demonstrating to the audience that humans have the free will to choose between good (virtues) and evil (vices).

Another interpretation of 'Viciouse' has been proposed by Bernard Spivack.[67] He suggests that 'Viciouse' may have been the term supplied to the leader of the seven deadly sins, with this character undertaking a similar role to the 'Vice' character in the *Assembly of Gods* (*c*.1450-1500) which was originally attributed to Lydgate. In the *Assembly of Gods* the 'Vice' character assembles an army to fight against the army of 'Virtue'. This results in a 'psychomachian' battle in which the army of 'Virtue' is victorious and may provide another example of the triumph of good over evil and illustrates how sin can be defeated through Christian living.

Ramsay, too, refers to the 'psychomachian' element in the *Assembly of Gods* and suggests that it may have been replicated in the Pater Noster plays. He proposes that the plays may have resembled the allegorical battle between the virtues and vices in Prudentius' *Psychomachia* as a way of dramatising their relationship with the *Pater Noster*.[68]

The initial depiction of the fall of man, whose weak resolve made him prone to sin, highlighted for the audience the idea that all humans are liable to be tempted to sin and therefore the important message of the pageants was that divine aid was necessary to complement repentance and aid salvation. The emphasis on divine aid reinforced the important position of the Church, which acted as an intermediary between man and God, and promoted the value of confession.

III. LINCOLN

Evidence for the performance of Pater Noster plays also exists in Lincoln. There are a small number of references to these plays on the single register roll surviving from Bishop Lexington's episcopate (Lexington was Bishop of Lincoln 1254-1258). These references can be found in a list of Mayors and

[67] Bernard Spivack, *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil: The History of a Metaphor in Relation to his Major Villains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 100, 108-109.
[68] Ramsay, pp. cliii-cliv.

Bailiffs and a set of brief local annals.[69] These annals include notices of play performances including a *Ludus de Pater Noster*, possibly the same as the one which was subsequently performed four times 1397/8 (21 Richard II), 1410/11 (12 Henry IV), 1424/5 (3 Henry VI) and 1456/7 (35 Henry VI)[70], a period of approximately sixty years. Potter notes that the annals state the *Ludus de Pater Noster* was performed on five occasions, as opposed to two performances of Corpus Christi and four Saints' plays, adding 1521/2 to the list given by Hardin Craig. Potter, however, cites secondary material for this interpretation rather than consulting primary sources.[71]

After examination of the annals and based upon the findings of Nelson and J. W. F. Hill, I would also agree that there were five performances listed, although the fifth date is 1458/9 rather than 1521/2 as given by both Nelson and Hill.[72] Further to these five occasions the Lincoln Cathedral Account Books from 1480-1495 show that the Corpus Christi play was performed three times and the Pater Noster plays twice.[73] This adds another two performances, suggesting that seven productions of the Pater Noster plays occurred over a period of approximately sixty years. Despite the discrepancy in dates this evidence shows that the Pater Noster plays were one of the oldest, although it is clear that they enjoyed a relatively short period of popularity. Perhaps this demonstrates that the play retained its suitability and popularity over a long period, although the length of time between performances may indicate that the play was not deemed as important as other depictions such as the Corpus Christi plays.

Sadly, no details remain of the contents of the plays and therefore it is very difficult to draw any conclusions on how they may have employed the *Pater Noster* mentioned in the title. It is also difficult to ascertain whether the prayer was united with any of the septenaries. One interpretation of the evidence from Lincoln is proposed by Craig in his article 'Morality Plays and Elizabethan

[69] Lincolnshire Archives, Episcopal registers, Misc Rolls. Leach, 'English Plays and Players', p. 223 has published an inaccurate list of the plays which is replicated by J. W. F. Hill, 'Three Lists of the Mayors, Bailiffs, and Sheriffs of the City of Lincoln', *Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural and Archaeological Societies*, 39.2 (1929), 231-238 and Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 66. A corrected version can be found in Nelson, pp. 113-115.
[70] Craig, p. 66.
[71] Potter, p. 23.
[72] Nelson, pp. 113-114; Hill, pp. 231-238.
[73] Nelson, p. 114. Nelson cites Lincolnshire Archives, MS D&C/Bj/5/7 (1473-1474, 1474-1475, 1475-1476, 1477-1478); D&C/Bj/3/1 (1478-1479); D&C/Bj/3/2 (1480-1495).

Drama'.[74] He states that the Pater Noster plays should not be categorised as morality plays. He bases this assertion on the *Orationes Domini* of the city of York dating from 1389, which notes that all manner of vices are held up to scorn and virtues held up to praise (see chapter 4 above).[75] He interprets this text as indicating that each supplication is a direct address to the welfare of the soul, to promote salvation and protect against the sins.[76] He puts forward a theory that the plays were part of a group of miracle or Saints' plays[77] which are 'clearly and ingeniously' linked to the *Pater Noster* theme through the warfare between the seven deadly sins and the seven Christian virtues.[78] In order to support this he uses the information recorded in the Lincoln Annals and refers to the *Ludus Sancte Susanne* performed in 1447-1448 (26 Henry VI) which represents the saint overcoming the sin of Lechery and *Ludus Sancte Clara* staged in 1455-1456 (34 Henry VI) depicting the saint overcoming Gluttony.[79] He notes that the grouping together of sin-resisting saints occurs on about the tenth Sunday after Trinity Sunday, according to the *Sanctorale* of the Breviary, suggesting that there were cycles of Saints' plays which warned successfully against the seven deadly sins.[80] This interpretation may also be linked to the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius in which biblical figures are used to exemplify certain virtues. For example, Job is used to illustrate patience.

Craig's proposal has been contested by Allison who argues that his theory cannot be 'plausibly established'. She states that although medieval records frequently mention Saints' plays, they are never identified directly with performances of the seven deadly sins.[81] She also supports her argument through a reference to Leach (unidentified) which purports to state that the Lincoln records indicate the performance of the Pater Noster plays alternated with those of the Saints' plays and Corpus Christi plays.[82] Mary Anderson also disputes Craig's theory stating that contemporary church

[74] Craig, pp. 64-72.
[75] Craig, p. 65.
[76] Craig, p. 65.
[77] A miracle play, also called a Saint's play, presents a real or fictitious account of the life, miracles, or martyrdom of a saint.
[78] Craig, p. 66.
[79] Craig, p. 66.
[80] Craig, p. 67.
[81] Allison, p. 791.
[82] Allison, p. 791.

art indicates no tradition of uniting the saints with the sins. She also stated that Craig failed to explain the relationship between the plays and the *Pater Noster* prayer itself.[83]

Having examined the limited records I would argue that it is unlikely that the Pater Noster plays were a form of Saint's play, however, the combination of hagiography with the teaching of the basic tenets of the Christian faith (e.g. *Pater Noster*, virtues, vices) would provide another example of the successful uniting of the *Pater Noster* with other religious material. This would operate as a mechanism for the dramatisation of the battle between sin and salvation using characters known to the laity through sermons and symbolic and physical depictions in churches, for example in rood screens and wall paintings.

IV. 'ON THE LORD'S PRAYER' BY JOHN BALE

Very little is known about the content of the play entitled *Super Oratione Dominica* or 'On the Lord's Prayer' which was, according to Martin Wiggins, most likely written in 1534 as Bale describes the play as 'having been written for the Great Chamberlain'.[84] Here Bale is describing his patron, John de Vere, the fifteenth Earl of Oxford (1482-1540), who patronised a company of players and commissioned Bale to write plays between 1534 and 1536.[85] De Vere was a prominent figure at the Tudor court and his Protestant beliefs are thought to have motivated his commission of Bale to pen 'anti-Catholic propaganda plays' for Richard Morison's campaign against the Pope in 1537.[86] It is possible, therefore, that the play based on the *Pater Noster*, although of an earlier date, may have expressed anti-Catholic sentiments. This is particularly likely when the contents of his five extant

[83] Anderson, pp. 60-71.
[84] Martin Wiggins, *British Drama 1533-1642: a Catalogue*, vol. 1 (1533-1566) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p. 17.
[85] Ian Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p. 407.
[86] Lancashire, pp. xxviii, 64. Morison encouraged Henry VIII to suppress the popular Robin Hood plays and to replace them with productions presenting anti-Catholic propaganda. In *A Discourse Touching the Reformation of the Lawes of England* written in 1535 he states 'Howmoche better is it that [their] plaies shulde be forbodden and deleted and others dyvysed to set forthe … lyvely before the peoples eies the abhomynation and wickedness of the bishop of Rome, monks, friers, nuns, and suche like ... Into the commen people thynges sooner enter by the eies, then by the eares: remembryng more better that they see then that they here' (London, British Library, Cotton MS Faustina C II). See Sydney Anglo, 'An Early Tudor Programme for Plays and other Demonstrations against the Pope', *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtnay Institute*, 20 (1957), 177-178 (p.178).

plays and the titles of some of the remaining nineteen lost plays, including 'Papist Sects', 'Against Fools and Critics' and 'Betrayals of the Papists', are considered, as all of them strongly attack the teachings, ritual and foundations of the Catholic Church and promote the values of Protestantism in contrast.[87]

It has been proposed by Paul Whitfield White that during the Tudor period plays 'carried out a propagandist function of advancing their patrons' ideological interests'.[88] As Bale was also patronised by Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's chief minister during the 1530s, his plays were full of protestant zeal and his personal animosity towards the Catholic faith which was fuelled by his previous career as a Carmelite. The publicising of the reformed doctrine through the use of morality and scriptural plays enabled playwrights and their patrons to convey their own religious beliefs to the populous in an entertaining but also educational form and thus supporting the reformist agenda.

It is possible, according to Peter Happé, in his biography of Bale, that the 'Lord's Prayer' play 'could conceivably have been written in a traditional mode influenced by the medieval genres of the *Pater Noster* and the morality plays.'[89] This is likely as Bale would have been exposed to the production of morality plays during his time as a Carmelite friar (from 1507 at the Carmelite house in Norwich to his conversion to Protestantism in 1533-1534).[90] It has also been proposed by Alexandra Johnston and Margaret Rogerson that during his time as Prior of the Carmelite house in Doncaster, from 1534, he may have had access to or seen the performance of the York cycle of plays.[91] This is particularly notable as in 1536 the cycle of plays was replaced with a performance of the Pater Noster play and therefore it is possible that Bale's play on the same theme was inspired by or written in response to witnessing this production.[92]

It is also plausible that similarly to his three extant biblical plays, the play 'On the Lord's Prayer' was perhaps designed to subvert the traditional modes and themes' and to present them from a

[87] His five surviving plays are entitled: 'King Johan', 'God's Promise', 'John's Preaching', 'The Temptation of Our Lord' and 'Three Laws'.
[88] Paul Whitfield White, *Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage, and Playing in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
[89] Happé, *John Bale*, p. 6.
[90] Peter Happé, 'John Bale and the Practice of Drama', *Reformation*, 18, no.1 (2013), 7-20 (p.10).
[91] Johnston and Rogerson, p. 161.
[92] Johnston and Rogerson, p. 161.

'Protestant viewpoint'.[93] Perhaps this play was an unsuccessful attempt at the same process of modification and subversion. It has been proposed by Martin Wiggins that the play may have been:

> a protestant variation on the earlier traditional 'pater noster play', which ridiculed sins and vices and praised virtues. Bale claimed that he exhorted people to learn the Lord's Prayer in English, but spoke against saying it for the souls of the dead; this may reflect the tenor or content of the play.[94]

Whether this play text represented a direct challenge to the traditional ways of presenting the prayer in combination with the septenaries is unlikely. Ernst Gerhardt has argued that the transition between medieval and Tudor plays was a gradual process of adaptation rather than grounded in 'absolute antagonism to tradition'.[95] He has suggested that due to the complex religious situation in the country, the transitional drama productions presented an uneasy mix of traditional religious values and more free thinking and radical ideas. Part of the reason for this was the fall of the moralities plays during the Reformation as individuals such as Archbishop Grindal, as I have previously mentioned, were impounding drama texts, and campaigning to stop dramatic productions completely. This made it difficult for playwrights to decide on the type of texts that could be performed and to negotiate the changing relationship between religion and drama.

This may provide one reason for the omission of this play from the later list provided by Bale in the *Summarium*.[96] Perhaps its content no longer suited the protestant outlook of its author or England as a whole. If the text was written prior to his conversion or it contained teachings which could have been interpreted as sympathetic towards the Catholic faith, continuing to associate with the text could have been extremely risky and therefore it may need to have been suppressed or disowned. It is also possible that its content may have been politically dangerous as Henry VIII wavered over the extent to which he favoured the beliefs associated with either religion.

V. CONCLUSION

[93] Happé, *John Bale*, p. 6.
[94] Wiggins, p. 17.
[95] Ernst Gerhardt, 'John Bale's Adaptation of Parish-and Civic- Drama's Playing Practices', *Reformation*, 19, no. 1 (2014), 6-20 (p.8).
[96] Happé, *John Bale*, p. 6.

Through its consideration of the three northern plays, this chapter has highlighted a mechanism by which both non-Latinate and unlettered members of society could obtain access to the transmission and meaning of the septenaries through the *Pater Noster*. The Pater Noster plays would have enhanced lay religious knowledge and reinforced those basic tenets of the faith that were required to engage effectively in confession. Potter suggests, in *The English Morality Play: Origins, History and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition,* that religious drama functions as a 'mechanism of repentance' and it is highly likely that the Pater Noster plays performed a similar function.[97] Potter also suggests that the aim of morality plays was to encourage confession and penance through the representation of salvation being achieved and culminating in the removal of sins, a statement which could be equally applied to the Pater Noster plays of York, Beverley and Lincoln and also to the play by Bale.[98] I would argue, in addition, that the northern plays operated as another mechanism by which the septenaries were taught, their connection to the *Pater Noster* providing a means of transmitting the basic Christian knowledge needed for repentance. This need for repentance and the central theme of moral living presented through these plays is also evident in the later Bale play. Perhaps its similarities to the Catholic tradition that preceded it explain its abandonment, not only due to the changing beliefs of its writer but also the changing religious nature of England both during and after the Reformation.

[97] Potter, p. 25.
[98] Potter, p. 28.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE *PATER NOSTER* AND WALL PAINTINGS AND *TABULAE*

This chapter considers whether the stylised representations of the *Pater Noster* and the septenaries in manuscript tables and diagrams may have been replicated, albeit in a simplified form, in wall paintings. According to Robert Swanson, one of the functions of murals was to 'provide guidance to doctrinal knowledge and interpretation, thus in some ways providing a form of preaching'.[1] Therefore, these paintings may have contributed to the repertoire of educational and devotional visual aids employed by the medieval Church to indoctrinate the laity and may have complemented and reinforced the didactic message delivered through sermons, drama and manuscript texts.

The first question this chapter considers is why there are no extant *Pater Noster* depictions in medieval English wall painting. It questions whether this paucity is reflected across other visual mediums, including stained glass and carvings, and whether this lack of extant evidence is unusual in comparison to the other numerological groupings that comprised the basic religious teachings for the laity, including the *Credo* and the Ten Commandments. It then considers the ways in which the prayer could have been visually depicted, questioning whether its petitions were suitable for representation. The next question this chapter focuses on is whether the large number of extant depictions of the seven deadly sins, seven vices and the seven virtues can provide one explanation for the absence of *Pater Noster* examples. It is possible that these images were used to exemplify the benefits of reciting the petitions when the prayer was expounded and explained in sermon material. Finally, this chapter assesses the role played by wall paintings in the dissemination of religious material associated with the *Pater Noster* to a lay audience. To address each of these questions English wall paintings are considered alongside a brief discussion of continental examples and manuscript sources to provide contemporary context.

As the *Pater Noster* was one of the core texts that a lay individual was expected to be able to recite as part of the rite of Confession it is particularly surprising that there are no extant wall

[1] Swanson, *Catholic England*, p. 12.

paintings which represent this subject. Firstly, perhaps images associated with the prayer do exist but modern researchers cannot see the connection between these images and the *Pater Noster* as clearly as those relating to the *Credo* or the Ten Commandments. This is certainly plausible when dealing with the abstract principles that are expressed in the prayer as, for a medieval audience, frequently the prayer was connected to the septenaries in sermon material, commentaries, drama and tables and diagrams and therefore we may, as a modern audience, look upon images of the septenaries and accept them at face value rather than considering whether a link to the prayer could be established. Secondly, it is also plausible that there are no particular images that can be drawn directly from the text and used to illustrate its meaning and importance. Although the prayer was given to the Apostles in response to a request for guidance on how to pray, it is very difficult to think of ways of depicting the petitions as part of a visual schematisation. The only exception to this, perhaps, is the prospect that the prayer may have been depicted in connection with the Sermon on the Mount, although this would only illustrate the prayer's biblical context rather than its connection to the additional septenaries.

This paucity of extant medieval examples (as noted by Mary Anderson and others) not only relates to wall paintings but also to any other visual media, including carvings and stained-glass windows.[2] Both Susan Powell and Gordon Rushforth note that no *Pater Noster* windows are extant, although they may have once formed part of a *pastoralia* series together with the *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, the Ten Commandments and the seven sacraments in the north aisle of the Benedictine priory at Great Malvern.[3] This suggestion is based upon the observations made by Thomas Habington (1560-1647) in his *Survey of Worcestershire*, which states that:

> And passeing over [to] the north Ile sydeing the Quyer, there are set forth the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the Creed, the Commandments, the Masse, the Sacraments issuing out from the wounds of our saviour; my memory fainteth. But to conclude all in one, there is the whole Christian doctrine and the fower doctors of the Latiaine Church.[4]

[2] Anderson, p. 147.
[3] The priory was founded in 1085 but underwent considerable rebuilding and expansion during the fifteenth century. See Powell, 'Pastoralia and the Lost York Plays', pp. 38-39; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, p. 65; Gordon McNiel Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery: as Illustrated by the Painted Windows of Great Malvern Priory Church, Worcestershire: Together with a Description and Explanation of All the Ancient Glass in the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. 347-349.
[4] John Amphlett, ed., *A Survey of Worcestershire by Thomas Habington*, 2 vols (Oxford: James Parker, 1899).

This description is exceptionally vague and provides extremely limited information on the representation of the prayer as part of this schematisation. It does not even explain whether the prayer was represented visually or whether it may have been a copy of the text. What it does tell us, however, is that the core prayers and the basic tenets of the faith were represented in an area accessible to a lay audience which suggests that their depiction may have been a deliberate attempt to remind the laity of the basic catechetical teachings. Heather Gilderdale-Scott has proposed that this monastic community demonstrated an acute awareness of their mission to instruct the laity on the rudiments of the faith, so much so that it influenced the decoration of the stained glass in the northern sector of the church.[5] The notion of presenting the 'whole' of Christian doctrine through visual compositions is something which is replicated in manuscript tables and diagrams and it is therefore plausible to suggest that a similar formulaic presentation may have been used, albeit on a larger scale, in the decoration of Church buildings.

In comparison with the other numerological groupings which were also part of the basic catechism, including the Ten Commandments and the *Credo*, the lack of evidence for the depiction of the *Pater Noster* is quite striking. In stained glass windows, for example, the Ten Commandments and the septenaries were frequently represented and therefore the presentation of the *Pater Noster* is certainly feasible as other mnemonic groupings were successfully employed in this medium. Anderson suggests that the nearest extant equivalent to the lost *Pater Noster* window at Great Malvern priory (discussed above) is possibly the Decalogue window at St Laurence's Church, Ludlow, Shropshire, which illustrates six of the commandments being broken by man's sinful actions.[6] For example, a castle under siege by armed men is used to represent the ninth commandment 'thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods' and the purse of a man is stolen whilst he meditates upon the words of the seventh

[5] Heather Gilderdale-Scott, 'The Stained Glass of Great Malvery Priory (Worcs) *c*.1430-1501', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 11 (2005), 36-39 <http://www.york.ac.uk/media/borthwick/documents/publications/MRB11.pdf> [accessed 3 August 2014].
[6] Gilderdale-Scott, pp. 36-39.

commandment 'thou shalt not steal'.[7] Here individual narratives are displayed which visually demonstrate the meaning of each Commandment, a technique which could perhaps be applied to the seven petitions of the prayer.

In comparison to the frequent representations of the *Credo* in religious institutions, the lack of *Pater Noster* imagery is equally unusual.[8] This discrepancy is unusual partly because the *Pater Noster* had equal, if not greater importance than the *Credo* in terms of the didactic message that it delivered, but also because of the association of both prayers with Christ and his relationship to the Apostles. Such an inconsistency is difficult to explain. Perhaps representations of this prayer were removed prior to, during, or after the Reformation due to their association with prayer beads or in response to the Lollard advocacy of reciting this prayer in the vernacular. If these representations were removed or replaced with other decoration as time progressed, is there any plausible explanation for why such a prominent and pivotal text received such treatment? Or is it the case that this prayer was never represented in iconographic schemes, and if not why not? It seems highly unlikely that such a fundamental text would be ignored by the designers and creators of wall paintings or by the institution of the Church as a whole.

Trying to envisage what a representation of the petitions of the *Pater Noster* may have looked like is a difficult task. If Thomas Habington, in his comments on the *pastoralia* windows in Malvern Priory had been more specific about the contents and composition of this window, Anderson is right to propose that this would have 'helped us to imagine how a medieval producer might have set about

[7] Gilderdale-Scott, pp. 36-39. A further example of five remaining scenes from a series representing the breaking of the Ten Commandments (*c*.1550) can be found in a wall painting located in the Black Lion Inn (main room, first floor), Hereford. See A. Caiger-Smith, E*nglish Medieval Mural Paintings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 146; *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1931-1934), III (1934), p. 227.

[8] For example in the painting of St. James the Great in Hales, Norfolk dating to the fourteenth century, James is holding a faded scroll in his left hand. This may have been his 'Article' from the Creed 'Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary'. This stems from the old belief that each of the points in the Apostles' Creed was actually 'contributed' by an individual Apostle (Anne Marshall, 'Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church'); All Saints, Weston Longville, Norfolk, contains a heavily restored fifteenth-century screen with the dado depicting the twelve disciples (Matthias replacing Judas) all carrying scrolls of the Creed articles.
See Simon Knott, 'All Saints, Weston Longville', The Norfolk Churches Site (2006)
<http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/westonlongville/westonlongville.htm> [accessed 3 September 2011].

dramatising such a theme'.[9] Perhaps the dramatisation could have been achieved through the presentation of mankind ignoring the Christian message of the prayer and thus being drawn into committing the seven deadly sins through their irreverent actions. Alternatively, the unification of the petitions of the prayer with the seven virtues may have highlighted how to adhere to the teachings of the Church through devout and charitable living, presenting the actions required to be a good Christian rather than the consequences of failing to abide by the Christian ethos.

Another analogy for wall paintings can be found in medieval religious drama. As Anderson has proposed, there is a clear relationship between wall paintings and the visual representations of the *Pater Noster* prayer in the plays of the same name (discussed in chapter 6 above). She proposes that the representations of the seven deadly sins in churches may have inspired the cycles of plays that developed based on this theme, even if the painting did not record the scenes of an actual play.[10] The notion that the Church enlisted the help of imagery and drama to illustrate the themes of basic religious instruction is certainly plausible. Anderson also notes, however, that whereas the *Credo* is frequently represented in imagery it is only known to have been dramatised in one city (York) in comparison to the *Pater Noster* which was dramatised in three locations (York, Beverley, Lincoln) but is rarely, if at all, presented in imagery.[11] The evidence may suggest that drama and imagery did not work directly in unison although the moral messages within each medium complemented one another. Perhaps the Church was satisfied that it had met the needs of an unlettered audience through one visual medium and therefore did not feel compelled to repeat the exercise by depicting religious and moral instruction in a variety of visual ways.

Although it is possible to look to analogies to hypothesise on the possible layout and contents of Pater Noster wall paintings, I propose that for visual representations of the *Pater Noster* scholars need to look no further than the depictions of the septenaries in wall paintings, especially the sins, vices and virtues. These images when united with the prayer demonstrate how its petitions were

[9] Anderson, pp. 64-65.
[10] Anderson, p. 67.
[11] Anderson, pp. 60-61, states 'the now lost Creed play was presented once every ten years in place of the Corpus Christi play'. For more information see Johnston, pp. 57–70.

connected with other principles to illustrate their meaning and thus the prayer, as the basis of the Christian faith, was built upon to incorporate further religious teachings. This is evident in sermons, manuals and commentaries, as well as in tabular and diagrammatic representations (see chapters 3 and 4 respectively). The evolution of this material into wall paintings created a schema of reference which could be used to illustrate sermons which were based upon the same teachings. This is particularly evident in the depictions of the virtues and vices, not as symbols or abstractions, but in everyday scenes depicting specific actions or qualities.

It could also be argued that the prayer may have been represented textually as well as visually as Richard Marks proposes that 'it would be wrong to assume that representations of the Word – in both Latin and the vernacular – were unfamiliar in parish churches during the 150 or so years before the Reformation'.[12] Therefore, the prayer text may have been seen painted on church walls and also mounted on boards although, as David Griffith states, 'there are no surviving instances of full English inscriptional forms' of the prayer.[13] These representations would have provided a visual reminder of the prayer which could have been referred to during church services alongside the depictions of the sins, virtues and vices, especially to support the growing number of literate laymen. Extant examples illustrating this point are available, albeit from a later date. John Charles Cox, for example, lists two surviving *tabulae* which displayed the *Pater Noster*, both of which are made of wood. One is positioned at the back of the rood-loft above a fifteenth century screen in St Mary and All Saints Church, Ellingham, Hampshire, where it is co-joined with the Commandments and the *Credo* (figure 41). It is written in Elizabethan black letter and decorated with renaissance borders, suggesting that it dates to the latter part of the sixteenth century.[14] The use of black letter is perhaps significant as this was the script usually employed in horn books and therefore it was the script most individuals, who

[12] Richard Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text in the Late Medieval Parish Church', in Linda Clark, Maureen Jurkowski and Colin Richmond, eds., *Image, Text and Church, 1380-1600. Essays for Margaret Aston* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), 162-202, (p.164).
[13] David Griffith, 'The Seven Works of Mercy in the Parish Church: the Development of a Vernacular Tradition', in Paul Binski and Elizabeth A. New, eds., *Patrons and Professionals in the Middle Ages* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2012), p. 301.
[14] J. Charles Cox, *English Church Fittings, Furniture and Accessories* (Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills Publishing, 2008), p. 169.

could read, would be able to access.[15] Cox's other example, dating to 1635, has been reset in the transept at the west end of the nave in St Clement's Church, Terrington Saint Clement's, Norfolk. Here, the *Pater Noster* and *Credo* are written on separate *tabulae* (figure 42).[16]

Figure 41: St Mary and All Saints Church, Ellingham.

Figure 42: St Clement's Church, Terrington Saint Clement.

One of the reasons behind the display of scriptural texts in church buildings was the instruction given by Elizabeth I in 1560-1601 'to give some comely ornament' and to make churches appear to be places of religion and prayers.[17] These statements are found in a letter Elizabeth wrote to her commissioners complaining of the desolate and unclean state of many churches after the destruction caused by the Reformation in her father's reign. In this letter the churches were ordered to display *tabulae* of the Commandments not only for edification but to make the building more appealing. Although the directive specifically addressed the Decalogue, it is likely that other scriptural texts, including the *Pater Noster*, may have been added to church walls to improve their appearance after the destruction and / or lime washing over of the wall paintings. These sentiments build on the Injunctions issued by Edward I which sought to remove the imagery of the saints and angels from church buildings and to refocus religious beliefs on holy texts and scriptures. At least two of the Royal Articles issued in 1547 refer to the removal of imagery and accessories to idolatry (items 18 and 34)

[15] Ian Mortimer, *The Time Travellers Guide to Elizabethan England* (London: Vintage Books, 2013), p. 138.
[16] Cox, p. 170.
[17] Cox, p. 169. For a copy of the text see John Bruce and Thomas T. Perowne, eds., *The Correspondence of Matthew Parker, DD Archbishop of Canterbury: Comprising Letters Written by and to Him, from A.D. 1535, to His Death, A.D. 1575* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853), p. 133.

whilst further articles refer to lay access to the Bible in English (item 22) and the importance of knowing the *Pater Noster*, Articles of Faith and the Ten Commandments in English (item 33).[18]

Robert Whiting provides four additional examples of the display of the vernacular *Pater Noster* inside church buildings. [19] The first two are extant examples of the prayer which are written on boards alongside the *Credo* and the Decalogue. These boards cover the entire width of the chancel screen in St Michal and All Angels Church, North Lydbury, Shropshire, 1615 (figure 43); and are also found in the south transept of Holy Trinity Church, Wistanstow, Shropshire, seventeenth century (figure 44). These examples, alongside those supplied by Cox, testify to the display of the prayer in the vernacular.

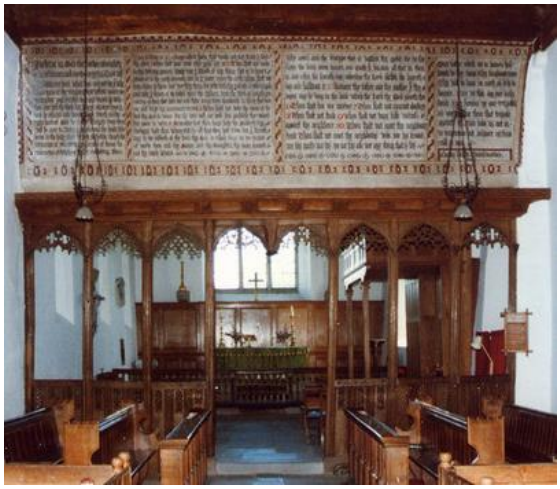

Figure 43: St Michael and All Angels, North Lydbury.

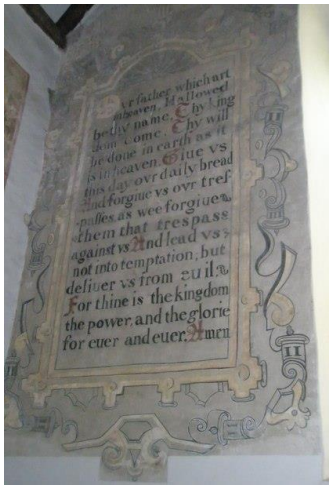

Figure 44: Holy Trinity Church, Winstanstow.

The final two examples provided by Whiting consist of orders for the production of English texts to accompany the Commandments in St Peter's Church, Hartshorne, Derbyshire, 1612; and St Mary's Church, Cambridge, 1634. These two documents suggest that the prayer text may have been displayed in numerous parish churches although the boards themselves and the documents ordering their production are no longer extant. It is possible, however, that the desire to produce these boards and to display them inside the church building may have predated current evidence. The boards may

[18] Frere, pp. 105-107.
[19] Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 131-133.

have been removed, painted over or been completely obliterated to display new texts as tastes and preferences changed.

Evidence of the over-painting of images and their replacement with texts is provided by Marks who proposes that medieval images were supplanted by the 'reformist word'. He cites St Mary's the Virgin in Radnage, Buckinghamshire, as an example. Here the images, including one of St Christopher, were over-painted with texts expounding the *Pater Noster*, Decalogue and *Credo* in the vernacular during the eighteenth century, although between the two layers are several layers of other texts written between the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[20] These texts, alongside the more portable *tabulae* listed in inventories which Marks discusses, were 'more directly instructional, focussing on the everyday devotional and moral lives of their parishioners and hence in theory at least demanding a more actively participatory role by the viewer' than the previous representation of images.[21] The portable *tabulae* listed in the inventory of St Stephen's Church, Walbrook, London, in 1480-1481, contains one tabular which may have included the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster* as a means of presenting the seven virtues as remedies to the seven deadly sins.[22] These *tabulae* shared the same arena as the pictorial imagery within the church and suggests that both word and image were used to educate the laity. By the time of the Reformation, however, 'texts efface the images and stand free of any associations with them' due to the change in ideology and the fear of idolatry.[23]

This chapter will now progress to consider the role of wall paintings in disseminating catechetical teachings to a lay audience. I argue that wall paintings may be seen as one of the steps in this dissemination process, simplifying the doctrine taught to the clergy and presenting it in an area in the church building which was accessible to the congregation. This suggests that the laity, regardless of their age, literacy or learning, would have had the opportunity to look at wall paintings and to contemplate the theology that they represented. Wall paintings, however, should not be viewed in isolation. Murals were part of a larger educational process which also included the summary of long

[20] Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text', pp.162-163.
[21] Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text', p. 168.
[22] Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text', pp. 164, 166.
[23] Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text', p. 188.

treatises and commentaries in diagrammatic and tabular forms. These tables and diagrams provide small-scale examples of how the *Pater Noster* and the septenaries may have been presented in larger murals. They also act as 'summaries' which sought to present concise and simplified teachings. In this respect they had a dual purpose: a mnemonic function to help the viewer remember and retain the teachings; and also to provide visual examples of moral Christian living.

I propose that the large number of extant wall paintings depicting the seven virtues, vices and deadly sins evolved from the diagrammatic forms found in a manuscript context. It should be noted, however, that in a manuscript context these items were frequently associated with the *Pater Noster.* Miriam Gill, in her database of English wall paintings entitled 'Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Corporal Works of Mercy', suggests that the presentation and structure used in several extant wall paintings was clearly developed from an eleventh-century device depicting the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster* in the form of a wheel.[24]

There are four known examples of wheel diagrams representing the seven deadly sins / vices in English wall paintings. St Mary and St Edmund's Church, Ingatestone, Essex, *c*.1370-1390; All Saints and St Andrew's Church, Kingston, Cambridgeshire, 1488-1500; St Peter's Church, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Hampshire, fourteenth century; and St Mary's Church, Cropredy, Oxfordshire. The no longer extant depiction in St Mary and St Edmund's Church, Ingatestone, Essex, *c*.1370-1390, discovered during restorations in 1886-1887, was located on the north wall of the nave, west of the pulpit. The wheel contained a small scene of hell at its hub and the spokes of the wheel were used to frame the male and female personifications of the vices which were complemented by vernacular inscriptions.[25] Here each category of vice was represented by a different social class or professional

[24] Miriam Gill, 'Contents', Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Corporal Works of Mercy (2001) <http://www.le.ac.uk/arthistory/seedcorn/contents.html> [accessed 12 December 2010]. These include St Mary and St Edmund in Ingatestone (Essex, but in the diocese of London) which date to *c*.1370-1390, All Saints and St Andrew in Kingston (Cambridgeshire, but in the diocese of Ely) dating to *c*.1488-1500 and the example, no longer extant, from St Mary in Cropredy (Oxfordshire, but in the see of Lincoln). These three examples were all on the north side of their respective churches.

[25] Anderson, p. 66, pl. 4a. For further details see John Piggot, 'Notes on the Polychromatic Decoration of the Churches with special reference to a Wall Painting Discovered in Ingatestone Church', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 4 (1869), 137-143; John Piggot, 'The Seven Deadly Sins on a Mural Painting Discovered in Ingatestone Church, Essex', *The Reliquary*, 10 (1869-1870), 217-224; J. Charles Wall, *Mediaeval Wall Paintings* (London: Talbot

background. It is also probable that the Tree of Sins dating to *c.*1488-1500 at All Saints and St Andrew's Church, Kingston, Cambridgeshire (medieval diocese of Ely) was set in a circular border to resemble a wheel (figure 45). It is apparent from the remains of this painting that, though most of it was destroyed by the later insertion of a door, the tree decorated with dragons' heads is contained within a circular border comprising red and yellow lines twisted together. It is possible that the additional figure of a standing devil could be turning the wheel-form border which encloses the tree.[26]

Figure 45: All Saints and St Andrew's Church, Kingston.

The Hurstbourne Tarrant example, although much damaged, is located between the second and third window in the north aisle. It depicts a wheel with a decorated rim of scroll patterns although only a small piece of the circular panel remains and only two of the sins, *Luxuria* and *Socordia* (drunkenness instead of greed (*Gula*)) are decipherable.[27] It is also possible that the no longer extant painting of the seven deadly sins adorning the nave of St Mary's Church, Cropredy, Oxfordshire, may have shown a wheel, as it has been described as taking a 'medallion form'.[28] It is unsurprising that these depictions, as well as the majority of the depictions of the seven deadly sins across each of the eight categories

& Co., 1914), pp. 195, 198; Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 185-186; Nikolaus Pevsner, The *Buildings of England: Essex*, 2nd edn, rev. by Enid Radcliffe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), p. 250.

[26] For further information see H. H. Brindley, 'The Mural Paintings in Kingston Church, Cambridgeshire', *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 31 (1931), 146-149: Edward T. Long, 'Some Recently Discovered English Wall Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine*, 56, no. 326 (1930) 225-227, 230-233 (p.226); Tristram, *Thirteenth Century*, p. 557; Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 189; Caiger-Smith, p. 135. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), p. 417.

[27] 'Parishes: Hurstbourne Tarrant', in William Page, ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Hampshire*, 5 vols (London: Archibald Constable, 1900-1912), IV (1911), pp. 319-324 (p.323). Also given in British History Online, 'Parishes: Hurstbourne Tarrant' (2013) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=56819> [accessed 21 November 2014].

[28] For a more detailed description see Edward T. Long, 'Medieval Wall Paintings in Oxfordshire Churches', *Oxoniensia*, 37 (1972), 86-108 (p.95); Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England:* Oxfordshire, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), pp. 559-560; John Edwards, 'Some Lost Medieval Wall-Paintings', *Oxoniensia*, 55 (1990), 81-98 (p.84).

identified by Gill, are located in the nave of the church. Alan Caiger-Smith refers to the nave as the 'people's part', representing the Christian life in the world (church militant) and suggests that this area once contained a carefully planned series of paintings.[29] These frequently consisted of the simple moral themes which rudimentary religious instruction had made familiar to the congregations.

As Gill rightly states, these schematisations were formerly employed in manuscript tables and diagrams (see chapter 4 above). Therefore, the connection between the contents and presentation of this catechetical material suggests a strong correlation between the content of religious manuscripts and how this content was later modified for dissemination in a different medium. Although the general schema remained the same in the transition of this material from wheel diagrams to wall paintings the textual references were replaced with visual images to exemplify the abstract principles.

A further question concerns the purpose of modifying the contents of manuscript tables and diagrams and presenting this material, through the positioning of murals in the church building, to a lay audience. The evolution of these textual representations into visual depictions, according to Gill, is connected to the programme of lay education promoted by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which led to the presentation of the septenaries including the vices, sins, virtues and works of mercy in art. The importance of providing some form of religious education for a lay audience certainly influenced the content and presentation of wall paintings as Gill proposes. The subject material that was depicted on the walls of religious buildings represented the basic tenets of the Christian faith and the minimum requirement of knowledge that the laity were expected to possess.

Gill also connects the depictions of the septenaries in wall paintings to the introduction of regular confession for the laity and to the 'constitutions' issued by several Bishops setting out programmes of didactic material which the clergy were to teach to their congregations. These constitutions frequently included the septenaries and the *Pater Noster* (see chapters 1 and 2 above), which may explain why the septenaries were depicted relatively frequently in wall paintings and used to educate the laity in the core elements of the faith including (as Gill points out) the rite of

[29] Caiger-Smith, p. 1-2. The position of the Doom or Last Judgement over the Chancel Arch symbolically divided the nave (Church Militant) and the chancel (Church Triumphant).

Confession. The association of the *Pater Noster* with these elements may suggest that the images illustrated how the petitions of the prayer could either assist with Christian acts such as the virtues and works of mercy or could counteract the descent into sin. It seems likely that the development of these didactic programmes would have encouraged the dual composition of texts and images intended to assist the clergy in their new educational duties. The images not only acted as stand-alone educational items capable of promoting a religious meaning but also provided a point of reference for the priest to illustrate his message during religious ceremonies and sermons. Therefore, sermon material may have enhanced the congregation's understanding of such paintings' symbolism and meaning whilst the paintings may have simultaneously operated as illustrations of the sermon's content.[30] As the *Pater Noster* had to be expounded to the congregation in the vernacular, in response to the fourth Lateran Council's injunctions, Anderson proposes that it is likely, due to the association of each petition of the prayer with one of the deadly sins in a manuscript context, that this combination was part of the religious instruction.[31]

Anderson provides three examples of vernacular sermons which specifically forge connections between the prayer and the sins. There are two sermons in London, British Library, Royal 18B which relate to this relationship. In the more elaborate of these, f.23, the preacher explains that each sin creates an obstruction to praying one of the petitions. For example, the proud who do not view other men as their brothers cannot refer to God as 'Our Father' whereas the envious do not wish his kingdom to come and those who show anger to others do not obey his will.[32]

Mirk, in his sermon on the *Pater Noster* reverses the notion that the sins obstruct prayer instead stating that the 'vii prayers... putteth away the vii dedly synnys'. For example, he proposes that referring to 'Our Father' shows an acknowledgment that we are all equal, requesting the coming of the

[30] For a more detailed discussion see Morton W. Bloomfield, 'Symbolism in Medieval Literature', *Modern Philology*, 56 (1958), 73-81; Richard Taylor, *How to Read a Church: A Guide to Symbols and Meanings in Churches and Cathedrals* (London: Rider, 2003).
[31] Anderson, pp. 62-63.
[32] Anderson, pp. 62-63.

Kingdom shows a rejection of worldly worship and seeking forgiveness, and respecting God's Will prevents the reciter succumbing to envy or anger.[33]

These three sermon examples indicate that the tradition of uniting the *Pater Noster* and the septenaries was consciously delivered to a lay audience. They provide some examples of how the depictions of the sins could have been connected to the prayer; help to explain the representations of the sins that may have been painted on the walls; and perhaps take the learning of the congregation further, encouraging them to forge links between theological material, and adding a new dimension into the ways in which wall paintings could have been read. If these connections were deliberately advocated by the clergy and explained to their congregations, as I argue is the case, then I equally propose that similar material existed which linked the prayer to the other septenaries, especially the virtues and works of mercy. The relationship between sermon material and wall paintings suggests that the Church sought to enable the congregations to access and understand the symbolism and stylistic representations of the septenaries, using the previously established diagrammatic tradition as a way of making these paintings recognisable to the viewer.

The process of visual dissemination, both in terms of diagrammatic representations and wall paintings, emerged during the later-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries and evolved from the development of elaborate didactic diagrams in monastic circles. These diagrams sought to teach the connections between the septenaries and to facilitate learning through their presentation in a mnemonic form (see chapter 4 above). Many of these didactic diagrams were intended for monastic education and were disseminated in 'spiritual encyclopaedia' such as the *Speculum Virginium*. It is possible that their combination of single words with visual images also made them suitable for those who knew little Latin and they were therefore thought appropriate for transferring into the medium of wall painting.[34] Although many of these schema were first developed in a monastic context they were disseminated to the secular clergy then to literate lay people, creating a chain of religious transmission

[33] Anderson, pp. 62-63.
[34] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 60, 85, 257; M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 174, 291.

and dissemination. These diagrams later began to appear in manuscripts produced for the laity, but it was not until the production of William of Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis* (1320s) that parish priests had access to a manual expounding this material in the vernacular. It was at this point therefore that those priests who were sufficiently educated themselves, became able to use the syllabus directly with their congregations.[35] This would have had a profound impact upon the teaching of the laity and the ways in which religious material was grouped together to that end.

This process of dissemination, however, appears to have been slow. The available evidence suggests that there was a gap of over a century between the issuing of the statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the first English wall paintings of the catechism in parish churches. I propose this indicates that the development of visual stimuli was a gradual extension of the educational programme, perhaps for practical reasons or associated with building programmes. This notion is supported by Caiger-Smith, who argues that the symbolism and conventions of popular instruction were only presented to the laity after a long period of 'seasoning', modifying complex concepts to suit the needs and ability of a wider audience.[36] Perhaps the church building itself provided a blank canvas on which visual sources of catechetical instruction could be presented. E. C. Rouse describes these visual sources as the *Biblia Pauperum* or Poor Man's Bible.[37] This notion is supported by the well-known assertion that 'Churches …[were] the Bibles of the people',[38] suggesting that the arts had an important role assigned to them in the work of religious instruction. Perhaps, then, images can be interpreted as a response on the part of the Church to the need for theological and moral education for those who were unlettered so that they too could become indoctrinated in the faith. This notion is supported by Adolf Katzenellenbogen, who proposes that the artists or craftsmen involved in the production of these images sought to provide objects of devotion for the many and not for the elite few.[39] Ernest Tristram takes this notion further, stating that wall paintings of the septenaries formed

[35] L. E. Boyle, 'The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and some other works by William of Pagula', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (Fifth Series), 5 (1955), 81-110 (p.94).
[36] Caiger-Smith, p. 50.
[37] E. Clive Rouse, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 4thedn (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 2010), p. 13.
[38] Kendon, p. 2.
[39] Katzenellenbogen, p. 52.

'pictorial equivalents of medieval sermons and treatises' and also that these images could be classified as 'moralities' due to their 'obviously didactic intention'.[40] This argument is supported by the fact that the doom, seven deadly sins and the seven corporal works of mercy are the most frequently surviving didactic depictions from after *c*.1350, except perhaps for figures of Christ.[41] The moral and didactic purpose of these paintings has been discussed further by Athene Reiss. She proposes that in these 'morality paintings' the whole set of moral points is included 'exactly as they are found in related moralising texts' and therefore they are depicted as 'complete sets as taught in religious catechism'.[42] It would appear, therefore, that these visual depictions seek to teach the same complete groupings of seven which were successfully expressed in tables and diagrams.

As I have argued in chapter 4 (above), tables and diagrams encouraged the reader to form their own connections and to contemplate the material; I also propose that wall paintings performed a similar function. The didactic reading of the sins and the *Pater Noster* is similarly complicated by the variety of orders in which these images were represented and the sequences in which they should be viewed.[43] This variety reveals not only the probable different readings of the basic premise, of which we have only a small extant sample, but also that the topos was sufficiently familiar to enable different readings to be accommodated and accepted.

The corpus of extant images of the seven deadly sins / seven vices in England consists of more than fifty examples. However, for the purposes of this study there are only two variations which are of particular interest. These are the incorporation of the sins into a wheel form, which I have already mentioned, and those presented in contrast to the virtues or works of mercy. Whereas the former replicates the structure of diagrams found in a manuscript context, the latter demonstrates how the vices or sins are presented as a contrast to the virtues or works of mercy and thus creates a comparison

[40] Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 95.
[41] Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 19-20.
[42] Athene Reiss, *The Sunday Christ: Sabbatarianism in English medieval wall painting*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 292 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), p. 28.
[43] This idea was suggested in an unpublished paper by Miriam Gill titled 'Sequential Sinners: What can visual art tell us about the lost Pater Noster Play' supplied via email correspondence.

which can be used to exemplify the consequences of adhering to or rejecting the teachings of the *Pater Noster.*

There are instances where an individual characterisation of a septenary is presented in contrast to an individual principle from another septenary to form opposing pairs. These opposing pairs serve to highlight the differences in behaviour associated with the principles and to indicate that virtuous behaviour can be achieved through Christian living. This is most clearly evident in the scheme which is painted on the west wall of St George's Church, Trotton, West Sussex (*c*.1399-1405).[44] Here the painting depicts Christ sitting in judgement above a naked figure of an evil man, with the seven deadly sins proceeding from parts of his body (figure 46) and a well-dressed figure of a good man, surrounded by scenes depicting the works of mercy (figure 47). The representation of the works of mercy is particularly interesting due to the legible Latin labels accompanying the depiction. The Cardinal Virtues are listed surrounding the central figure with 'Caritas', 'Spes' and 'Fides' being inscribed twice, once on each side of the figure. There is evidence to suggest that pastoral schemes were occasionally accompanied by Latin labels or tags, most notably the seven sacraments and the seven deadly sins, perhaps to clarify the representations and to assist onlookers with their understanding and interpretation.

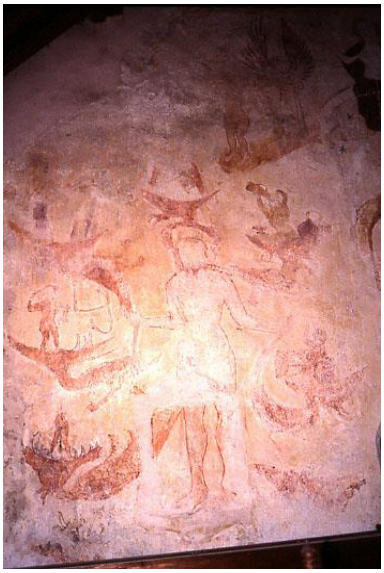

Figure 46: Seven sins, St George's Church, Trotton.

Figure 47: Seven works of mercy, St George's Church, Trotton.

[44] The abbreviated version of the Doom is painted on the west wall along with the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Works of Mercy. These depictions occupy almost the entire space. Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 20.

Contrast is deliberately created through the differences in the two Trotton groupings. For example, the scene of clothing the naked is depicted above the head of the righteous man to contrast with the figure of Pride which proceeds from the head of the sinful man, while the scene of giving drink to the thirsty presented by the head of the good man and the vomiting figure of gluttony associated with the mouth of the evil man are also contrasted. This suggests that the works of mercy may be presented as a way of resisting or remedying the sins, similarly to their role within wheel diagrams and echoing the presentation of the virtues in manuscript tables. A deliberate contrast is created by the roles accorded to these lists, by the medieval Church, in the scheme of salvation. In this scheme the actions associated with the seven deadly sins led to hell whereas the performance of the seven works of mercy or adherence to the seven virtues was rewarded with heaven. These notions are strongly connected to the importance of annual confession and the need for the laity to understand what forms of behaviour could be considered sinful and how to atone for these sins, and also how to follow Christian ways of living.

In the established tradition of manuscript textual illumination, the seven virtues were frequently shown as the opposites of the sins or vices, but this subject was rare in English wall paintings. In the English paintings the virtues tended to be replaced by the works of mercy. This convention still followed the same tradition of providing solid examples of how to live a Christian life and enabled the contrast to be created between actions that could eventually lead to heaven and those which could ultimately lead to hell.[45]

One example of contrasting single scenes from the vices and the works of mercy could once be found in St Peter's Church, Brooke, Norfolk (diocese of Norwich), *c*.1370-1390. The first mural was decorated with scenes of the vices, with each vice emerging from a hell-mouth (although these are

[45] Examples which still have all seven works of mercy extant can be seen at St Peter and St Paul's Church, Pickering, North Yorkshire (diocese of York), mid-to-late fifteenth century and St Andrew's Church, Wickhampton, Norfolk (diocese of Norwich), *c*.1400. Pickering presents a complete sequence of the works of mercy in a strip format which is bordered by bands of scroll work. It is situated high on the south wall below the clerestory window. The works are performed by a man. The Wickhampton example, in contrast, has the works performed by a woman (similar to the nearby St Mary's Church, Moulton St Mary, Norfolk, dating to the fourteenth century). The eight scenes are presented in two storeys with architectural details framing each scene (eighth scene depicts Christ blessing the works of mercy). See M. R. James, 'The mural paintings in Wickhampton Church', in C. Ingelby, ed., *A Supplement to Blomefield's Norfolk* (London: C. Ingleby, 1929), pp. 123-142.

no longer extant). This mural was positioned on the south wall of the nave below a depiction of the works of mercy.[46] The close proximity of these depictions suggests that the viewer should draw comparisons between the two to identify the personal attributes which constitute Christian and unchristian behaviour.

Tree diagrams were also frequently used to illustrate the virtues, works of mercy, sins and vices in medieval English wall paintings. The representation of this material using a tree structure was a common topos in medieval English and Continental manuscripts, as it derived from the words of Jesus, 'a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit' (Matthew 7:18). These trees provided an excellent summary of moral teachings, especially for those who could read any possible titles painted upon the branches. Gill, from the evidence collated in her database, proposes that 'many of the paintings contained inscriptions' in Latin, English, French or Latin and English 'although the majority are [now] fragmentary'.[47] She provides the example of the depiction of the seven sins at the Benedictine Monastery at Milton Abbas, Dorset, dating to the fifteenth century, which contained extensive Latin texts and Middle English labels. She proposes that this painting was in a part of the Abbey accessible to the laity and therefore, it is likely that the English labels, such as 'Pryde', were for the laity and the longer Latin texts were for the monks, including 'Ubi est Invidia amor fratrum esse non potest' due to its emphasis on brotherly love.[48]

Vernacular inscriptions, according to David Griffith, are 'rare in late medieval ecclesiastical spaces and there is little evidence for the elements of the *pastoralia* having related English texts'. However, there is evidence to suggest that the 'scheme of the works of mercy… incorporates English as early as the third quarter of the fourteenth century and fosters a distinct tradition of dialogic texts by the mid fifteenth century'.[49] Perhaps the use of vernacular labels was thought to be particularly

[46] For further discussion see: M. R. James, 'The Wall Paintings in Brooke Church', in *A Supplement to Blomefield's Norfolk*, pp. 15-26; Wall, p. 195; Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 143-144. Nikolaus Pevsnser, *The Buildings of England: North-West and South Norfolk* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), p. 100.
[47] Miriam Gill, 'Help with Searching the Database', Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Corporal Works of Mercy (2001) <http://www.le.ac.uk/ha/seedcorn/search.html> [23 March 2014].
[48] Miriam Gill, 'The Role of Images in Monastic Education: the Evidence from Wall Painting in Late Medieval England', in George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig, eds., *Medieval Monastic Education* (London: University of Leicester Press, 2000), pp. 117-135 (pp.124-125).
[49] Griffith, p. 301.

appropriate to accompany images relating to moral living, providing 'informal catechetical instruction' in a language accessible to the laity.[50]

For the unlettered, however, diagrams needed to be more visually self-explanatory. In the tree diagrams of the vices and the sins this was successfully achieved. In these depictions the representation of a dragon with open jaws springing from the end of each branch echoed the symbolism of the hell-mouth from the Last Judgement paintings. Within each open mouth were the images of men and / or women enacting a particular sin or vice. The positioning of these individuals clearly showed that sinful behaviour would result in suffering and damnation as it looked as if they were literally about to be swallowed by the dragons. In addition, seeing the sins as a collective and then appreciating their emergence from a central source, which is often depicted with the fire of hell at its base, also clearly demonstrated the consequences of sinful actions.[51]

In contrast, the works of mercy are depicted surrounding the structure of a tree with leafy branches. In these representations there are no dragons at the end of the branches and no threat of punishment or hell. The scene is presented as much more serene and peaceful, with the works perhaps representing the metaphorical fruit of the tree. For example, in John the Baptist Church, Barnby, Suffolk, the tree diagram, dating to the fourteenth century, is structured around the central figure of Christ, with the branches holding the works of mercy extending to the left and right (figure 48).[52] A contemporary alternative presentation is evident in All Saints Church, Edingthorpe, Norfolk, which represents a simple tree surrounded by scenes depicting the works (figure 49).[53]

[50] Griffith, p. 302.
[51] Anderson, p. 64.
[52] Anne Marshall, 'The Seven Works of Mercy: Barnby, Suffolk' (2000) <http://www.paintedchurch.org/barnby.htm> [2 April 2014].
[53] Anne Marshall, 'The Seven Works of Mercy, Edingthorpe, Norfolk' (2000) <http://www.paintedchurch.org/edin7wks.htm> [2 April 2014].

Figure 48: John the Baptist Church, Barnby.

Figure 49: All Saints Church, Edingthorpe.

Neither example has any remaining evidence of inscriptions or labels supporting the viewer in their interpretation of the murals. These examples both parallel and show antithetical subject matter to the deadly sins.

There are a small number of extant examples which suggest that tree diagrams, usually of the sins or vices, were presented in contrast to a depiction of the works of mercy, although this was not necessarily represented in a tree-like form. Anne Marshall has suggested that the juxtaposition of the seven deadly sins with the contrasting seven works of mercy is now 'very rare' in English churches and proposes that 'arranging the two subjects to complement one another was probably once quite common'.[54] At present I have located only three extant examples where the sins and the works of mercy are presented in contrast to one another. In St Peter and St Paul's Church, Hoxne, Suffolk (diocese of Norwich), *c*.1390-1410, for example, the tree of sins is located in the north arcade of the nave (second from west) (figure 50). Here the sins are personified as human figures which are vomited out of the mouths of dragons, one at the end of each branch. The trunk of the tree is sawn by two devils with a long handed saw perhaps suggesting that evil contains the seeds of its own destruction.[55]

[54] Anne Marshall, 'The Seven Works of Mercy: Hoxne, Suffolk' (2000) <http://www.paintedchurch.org/hoxne7w.htm> [2 April 2014].

[55] See Long, 'Some Recently Discovered English Wall Paintings', p. 231; H. A. Harris, 'List of Suffolk churches associated with mural paintings', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, 19.3, (1927) 304-312 (p.308); Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 181-182; Caiger-Smith, p. 173; Nikolaus Pevsner, The *Buildings of England: Suffolk*, 2nd edn, rev. by Enid Radcliffe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), p. 280.

The works of mercy are also depicted in the north arcade of the nave (figure 51). They are presented as seven figures which are arranged across three tiers, the central tier being the best preserved. Each figure has a scroll although they are now indecipherable. The incorporation of text in a diagrammatic representation may suggest either that assistance was necessary in identifying the stylised personifications or that the images helped to make the meaning of the Latin terms more accessible to the laity.

Figure 50: Seven sins, St Peter and Paul's Church, Hoxne.

Figure 51: Seven works of mercy, St Peter and Paul's Church, Hoxne.

In St Martin's Church, Ruislip, Middlesex (diocese of London), *c.*1500, the tree of sins is located in the north aisle (figure 52). The tree has three branches on either side sprouting from the fires of hell. Each branch ends in a dragon with an open mouth in which a personification of a sin is placed. The top of the tree is shaped like a dragon's head and directly above it is a seated figure, although somewhat obscured, being speared by death whilst three standing figures are depicted to the right. Another early mural work in the church is just decipherable on the opposite wall representing the seven works of mercy, perhaps in deliberate contrast to the sins. Here the works are presented as individual scenes, perhaps as Miriam Gill states, due to the 'complex narrative nature of these images'.[56]

[56] Miriam Gill, 'Schema', Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Corporal Works of Mercy (2001) <http://www.le.ac.uk/ha/seedcorn/schema.html> [2 April 2014].

Figure 52: Seven deadly sins, St Martin's Church, Ruislip.

Finally, in St Mary's Church, Dalham, Suffolk (diocese of East Anglia) *c*.1380-1400, the tree of sins is located on the north wall of the nave between the second and third window (figure 53). Here, each branch of the tree again ends in an upturned dragon's head and the tree sprouts from a large dragon's head. The state of preservation is poor with only the two bottom branches, one either side, visible. Only one sin, Sloth, is clearly visible although the scroll label is indecipherable. Beside it is a representation of the seven works of mercy, similar in style to the version found at Hoxne, although not as well preserved (figure 54).

Figure 53: Tree of seven deadly sins, St Mary's Church, Dalham.

Figure 54: Tree of seven works of mercy, St Mary's Church, Dalham.

I agree with Marshall that it is likely these schematisations were originally presented in contrast to one another on a more frequent basis. These three examples may testify to a tradition of representing this material that was firmly ingrained as an acceptable way of presenting theology to the laity, theology which may have been connected to the *Pater Noster*. These wall paintings may have provided visual illustrations that may have been used by the clergy to exemplify the benefits of the recitation of the prayer and the consequences for failing to adhere to its moral message. Anderson argues that church imagery of the period depicts allegorical designs illustrating the seven deadly sins and also proposes that we can 'hardly avoid the conclusion that these paintings were used to illustrate similar teaching' on the *Pater Noster*.[57] The idea that different individuals have various motivations for sin was a motif developed in both literary and visual sources. If we compare vernacular texts such as Dan Muchael's *Ayenbite of Inwit*, Robert Mannynge's *Handlyng of Synne, Piers Plowman*, the sermon manual *Jacob's Well*, or even Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* with the extant allegorical paintings it can help us to understand what an important part they played in the religious instruction of medieval people.[58] Through the combination with the works of mercy, the remedies for sinful behaviour were presented to encourage lay observers to repent their sins and to act in more charitable and Christian ways.

Although I have said that the sins are more frequently presented in contrast to the works of mercy, especially in English wall paintings, there are three exceptions in which they are presented in contrast to the virtues. The first is the Allegorical Jousting, or version of the Psychomachia, which can be seen at All Saints Church, Claverley, Shropshire (*c*.1200) (figure 55).[59]

[57] Anderson, pp. 62-63.
[58] Anderson, pp. 62-63.
[59] The example in All Saints Church, Claverley, Shropshire (diocese of Hereford), *c*.1200 comprises an allegorical frieze of knights jousting which represent the virtues and vices. In spandrels below the frieze there are depictions of single handed combat between a virtue and a vice. The Virgin Mary and Manus Dei appear and intervene to aid the virtues. See E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Twelfth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 48-49; Wall, pp. 50-51; Caiger-Smith, p. 170.

Figure 55: All Saints Church, Claverley.

Tristram believes that this allegorical frieze represents the battle between the virtues and vices which derived ultimately from the Psychomachia of Prudentius dating from the fourth century.[60] This form of representation evolved from the depiction of battle scenes in antiquity, providing a 'practical setting' for the conflict between good and evil and also built on the notion that Christians should arm themselves with spiritual weapons to face evil (Ephesians 6:11-18).[61] A similar representation could be found in the window splays on the north and south walls of the Painted Chamber of Westminster Hall (after 1263).[62] Here a series of eight triumphant virtues was represented in the act of trampling the vices.[63] In Prudentius's scheme, Chastity overcomes Lust, Patience defeats Anger and Humility triumphs over Pride, whilst Temperance conquers Luxury, Beneficence overpowers Avarice, and Faith surmounts Discord. The visual contrasting of the virtues and vices depicts the positive elements of Christianity in comparison with the manifestations of Satan, but also represent the struggle between 'paganism and Christianity for the allegiance of man'.[64] According to Katzenellenbogen this depiction

[60] Tristram, *Twelfth Century*, pp. 48-49; Joanne S. Norman, *Metamorphoses of an Allegory. The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art*, American University Studies, Series 9: History, 29 (New York: Peter Lang, 1988).
[61] Katzenellenbogen, pp. vii, 1.
[62] Kendon, p. 9.
[63] Matthew M. Reeve, 'The Painted Chamber at Westminster, Edward I, and the Crusade', *Viator*, 37 (2006), 189-221 (pp.190-191).
[64] Morton W. Bloomfield, *Allegory, Myth and Symbol* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 49-53.

was representative of the internal struggle within man's soul.[65] This was a particularly popular scheme in French cathedral sculpture, although it is quite rare in English examples.

Only in the church of St Mary and St Bartholomew, Cranborne, Dorset (diocese of Salisbury), *c*.1340*,* is what appears to be a tree of vices 'complemented' by a tree of virtues.[66] The two wall paintings can be seen on the south wall either side of the Font, appropriately perhaps, considering their subject matter: the tree of sins (Pride, Covetousness, Lust, Envy, Gluttony, Anger, and Sloth) and the tree of virtues (Justice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Faith, Hope, and Charity) may have been positioned by the font to indicate the Baptismal decision to turn away from evil and turn towards Christ. As I have already argued, the teaching of the *Pater Noster* to a child was part of the Baptismal injunctions issued to Godparents, and therefore the association of this imagery with this ritual may again suggest that the depictions of theses septenaries was closely linked to the prayer. Another interpretation of it is that the tree of virtues refers to the seven works of mercy (putting faith into practice by feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, welcoming the stranger, visiting the sick, ministering to prisoners, and burying the dead) although both Gill and myself think the former is most probable.

The idea of contrasting opposites was not only an English tradition, but a favoured topic for wall paintings in parish churches in fifteenth-century France. In France the seven deadly sins are frequently contrasted with the seven virtues.[67] Ulrich Rehm argues that the earliest examples of this schema are found in the area around Paris and I propose that this can be linked to the combination of the virtues and vices within wheel diagrams, a tradition which also has a French provenance.[68] This again demonstrates a link between manuscripts and wall paintings and endorses the argument that wall paintings were an initial phase of the dissemination process and one which was strongly influenced by the visual presentations of didactic material in manuscripts. One surviving example of this schema out

[65] Katzenellenbogen, p. vii.
[66] E. A. Jones 'Literature of Religious Instruction', in Peter Brown, ed., *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c.1350-1500* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), pp. 406-422 (p.413).
[67] Mireille Vincent-Cassy, 'Un modèle français: les cavalcades des septs péchés capitaux dans les églises rurales de la fin du XVe siècle', in Xavier Barral I Altet, ed., *Artistes, Artisans et Production Artistique au Moyen Age*, 3 vols (Paris: Picard, 1990), III (Fabrication et Consommation de l'Oeuvre), pp. 461-487 (pp. 473-481).
[68] Rehm, pp. 92-97.

of a manuscript context can be seen in the Prado Museum, Madrid and consists of a table top painted by the school of Bosch (*c*.1500) which shows the seven deadly sins in a wheel (figure 56).[69] The sins are depicted through scenes of worldly transgression and are arranged around the central circular shape which presents the eye of God and an image of Christ watching over the world.

Figure 56: Table top painted by the school of Bosch, Prado Museum, Madrid.

This is very similar in layout and design to the wheel diagrams found in manuscripts and possibly indicates how this material could have been presented in wall paintings.

Edward Rouse proposes that the medieval painter was there to 'be devotional: and he was there to teach'.[70] He produced paintings which were 'based on contemporary literature and teaching' which sought to educate the lay observer in the basic tenets of the faith.[71] To do this he drew on established visual schematisations that had originated in the monastic sphere as mnemonic diagrams and evolved into tables and wheels in both clerical and learned religious manuscripts. These diagrams provided the framework for the transfer of this material from vellum to mural and enabled the painter to continue the established tradition of accepted ways of representing religious concepts, groupings and imagery.

[69] Walter S. Gibson, 'Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man: The authorship and iconography of the 'Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins'', *Oud Holland*, 87 (1973), 205-226; R. H. Marijnissen, *Hieronymus Bosch: The Complete Works*, trans. by Ted Alkins (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1987), pp. 329-345.
[70] E. Clive Rouse, *Discovering Wall Paintings*, 2nd edn (Tring: Shire Publications, 1971), p. 13.
[71] Rouse, *Discovering Wall Paintings*, p. 59.

The lack of any extant specific *Pater Noster* examples and the single reference to a Pater Noster window supplied by Thomas Habington in his *Survey of Worcestershire* (written between 1592 and 1647) suggest that this subject was rarely depicted in wall paintings or any other medium in medieval England or on the continent. This absence is extremely unusual in comparison to the other numerological groupings that are represented, such as the commandments, virtues, vices, sins and works of mercy. It is also unusual in comparison to the extant representations of the *Credo*, especially in stained-glass windows and on the dados of rood screens where the twelve apostles are depicted holding scrolls with phrases of the Apostles' Creed.[72] As this text was part of the core prayers that the laity needed to learn, alongside the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, you might presume that the remaining texts would have received similar treatment but this does not appear to be the case.

In contrast to the paucity of *Pater Noster* representations, there are frequent depictions of the Virgin Mary which may have reminded the viewer to recite the *Ave Maria*. These include representations of Mary in the Weighing of Souls scenes. Here, Mary is shown holding a set of Rosary beads which she ledges on the scales, usually held by St Michael, to tip them in favour of heaven rather than hell for the penitent individual requesting her intercession. According to Marshall, extant examples are still visible in St James the Great, South Leigh, Oxfordshire, dating to the fifteenth century (figure 57); St Mary's Church, Lenham, Kent, dating to the late fourteenth century; and the Church of St Botolph, Slapton, Northamptonshire, dating to the mid-fourteenth century.[73]

Figure 57: St James the Great, South Leigh.

[72] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 64.
[73] For a detailed discussion of each example see Marshall, <http://www.paintedchurch.org> [2 April 2014].

As the *Ave Maria* reflects the salutation given by the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary in the Annunciation scene, wall paintings representing this event may also have reminded individuals to recite the prayer. Here, Gabriel is usually presented with his hands held out and apart to signify discourse and Mary acknowledges his salutation with a raised hand whilst holding a book in her other hand. Extant examples can be seen on the north wall of St Peter ad Vincula, South Newington, Oxfordshire, dating to *c*.1330 (figure 58); painted in the splays of the first west window in St Mary's Church, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, dating to the fourteenth century; alongside the visitation and nativity scenes in All Saints Church, Newton Green, Suffolk, dating to the early fourteenth century; on the lower tier of an octagonal painted pillar in St Mary of Charity Church, Faversham, Kent, dating to the early fourteenth century; on the south wall of the chancel of St Peter's Church, Martley, Worcestershire, dating to the mid-fourteenth century (figure 59); and on the altar wall of the chancel in All Saints Church, Little Melton, Norfolk, dating to the fourteenth century, to give but a few examples.[74]

Figure 58: St Peter ad Vincula, South Newington.

Figure 59: St Peter's Church, Martley.

[74] For a detailed discussion of each example see Marshall, <http://www.paintedchurch.org> [accessed 4 August 2014].

The discrepancy in the number of representations of the numerological groupings and the other 'core prayers' in comparison to the *Pater Noster*, suggests that the prayer should have been presented to the congregations in some way, whether an as image or as a text. I have stated in this chapter that it is likely the representations of the septenaries may explain the deficit in images due to their long standing connection with the prayer in a manuscript context and in sermon material, and also due to the difficulties faced by an artist in trying to decide how to effectively represent the wording or meaning of its petitions in a visual format.

If the visual representations of the septenaries perhaps explain the deficit in images, this does not account for the lack of *Pater Noster* texts. It is possible that the text of the prayer was displayed on portable tabular within church buildings. These items may have been damaged, lost or destroyed over the passing years due to the language they were written in, whether the prayer was united with the other septenaries and also due to the fact that they were movable and easier to obliterate than texts painted directly onto the walls or mounted on boards. It is also plausible that the texts written directly onto the walls of churches have been lime washed over in response to the Reformation or later by the Puritans, who removed images and texts as they disapproved of the Catholic heritage of such items and sought to remove the threat of idolatry, and the memories of pilgrimage and purgatory.[75]

[75] Nigel Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box: Learning from those who Rocked the Boat* (Eugene OR: Pickwick, 2012), p. 106.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUPERSTITION AND INVERSIONS OF THE *PATER NOSTER*

The central aim of this chapter is to consider whether there is any correlation between the ways in which the *Pater Noster* was presented to a clerical readership and the popular treatments of the prayer that are extant in secular texts. This chapter examines the ways in which the *Pater Noster* was incorporated into charms and spells in Anglo-Saxon and later medieval England and considers the motivations behind its inclusion, focussing specifically on healing and a desire for spiritual protection. It suggests that the association of the prayer with healing and intercession, as part of the catechism of the Church, led to its inclusion in a range of charms and spells which sought to produce a similar outcome.

This chapter focuses on a broad chronological range of material dating from the eighth century to 1566 to chart the changing attitudes of the Church, both Catholic and Protestant, towards the combination of prayers and incantations for healing. It also considers the blurred boundaries between what would be considered to be a religious or superstitious activity, and how these boundaries changed and shifted over time.

The examples of charms and spells that are included in this chapter derive from medical miscellanies, written accounts describing the use of spells or incantations, references to superstition and the *Pater Noster* in contemporary texts, and court-records and pamphlets detailing the witch trials in England. The evidence for charms and spells is particularly sporadic and patchy, and there are chronological gaps. It is possible that many examples may not have been recorded at all owing to the oral tradition of spells and charms. Many may have disappeared as the Reformation sought to eliminate papist practices; also perhaps these texts were seen as having little 'medical' value and were therefore not preserved. In addition to the gaps, the reliability of the evidence is problematic. For example, sometimes it is not contemporary with the events described or it occurs in texts where the motivations of the authors, namely to condemn witchcraft and superstitious practices, are clearly evident.

The association between the recitation of prayers and physical or spiritual healing was not a new concept during the medieval period. The Church had frequently recommended the use of prayers, including the *Pater Noster*, in the healing of the sick and the gathering of medicinal herbs, perhaps as substitutions for pagan incantations.[1] For example, the Penitential attributed to Ecgbert, the eighth century Archbishop of York, warns:

> Nis na soðlice nanum cristenum men...ne wyrta gaderunga mid nanum galdre butan mid pater noster 7 mid credo oððe mid sumon gebede þe [to] gode belimpe.[2]
>
> [Truly it is not allowed for any Christian man...to gather herbs with any charm, except the Our Father and the Creed, or with some prayer that pertains to God.][3]

Texts such as this indicate that the use of Christian prayers as part of charms and spells was deliberate and intentional, with the addition of prayers perhaps making them more acceptable to the Church's theological and pedagogical practices.

It is likely that the original audience for texts containing charms and incantations may have been the clergy and / or the monastic orders. These are the most likely social groupings to have been able to access these texts and to have the ability to handle the liturgical and theological material which often accompanied them. For example, a vernacular charm located in the *Leechbook* seeks a remedy for a 'weden heorte' and requires the preparation of a drink made from:[4]

> elehtre. bisceop wyrt ælfþone. elene. cropleac. hind hioloþe. ontre. clate. Nim þas wyrta þonne dæg 7 niht scade, sing ærest on ciricean letania. 7 credan. 7 pater noster. gang mid þy sange to þam þyrtumymbga hie þriwa ær þu hie nime. 7 ga eft to ciricean gesing. XII. mæssan ofer þam wyrtum þonne þu hie ofgoten hæbbe (*Leechbook* III.Ixviii).
>
> [lupine, bishop's wort, enchanter's (elf) nightshade, helenium, cropleek, hindheal, ontre, clote. Take these herbs when day and night divide; sing first in church a litany, and a Creed, and an Our Father, go with the song to the herbs, and go thrice around them, before you touch them; and go again to church, sing twelve Masses over the herbs when you have poured (?) over them]

The combination of the litany, *Credo*, *Pater Noster* and other elements from the Mass suggests that it was written for or by a cleric, as the charm directions clearly presuppose a celebrant who would know

[1] Leslie K. Arnovick, *Written Reliquaries: the Resonance of Orality in Medieval English Texts* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2006), p. 63.
[2] Arnovick, p. 67.
[3] Arnovick, p. 67.
[4] Arnovick, p. 70.

and be able to recite such texts.[5] This may suggest that Anglo-Saxon charms were originally sung or recited by priests to help their congregations and therefore their origin was initially sanctioned and authorised by the Church.[6]

The Church also required penitents to repeat a specific number of *Pater Noster*s, *Ave Maria*s and *Credo*s during the confession rite, providing another example in which the recitation of prescribed prayers was connected to a form of spiritual, if not physical, healing. This fostered the notion that the recitation of prayers in Latin had the power to deliver a desired effect (whether healing or forgiveness) and also that repetition, as a regular offering of prayer, was beneficial for the soul and necessary to be a good Christian. The idea of repeating prayers several times was also echoed in charms and incantations. Leslie Arnovick, in her book entitled *Written Reliquaries: the Resonance of Orality on Medieval English Texts*, suggests that Chaucer's Parson may help to explain this practice in his remark 'In the orison of the Pater Noster hath Jhesu Crist enclosed moost thynges...For it comprehendeth in itself alle goode preyeres' (lines 1038-1041) and suggests that 'reciting the prayer often or more than once on a single occasion [may] take advantage of its usefulness'.[7]

I propose that the inclusion of the prayer in charms, spells and incantations provided a quasi-religious power and authority to the words and actions prescribed. This inclusion, alongside pre-Christian or 'magical' elements, was usually in two distinct ways: either by the integration of the prayer into the spell or charm in its established Christian form, or its subversion into an alternative form. These processes can perhaps be interpreted as mirroring the combinations of the *Pater Noster* and other religious material, namely the septenaries, which was advocated by the Church authorities in response to the constitutions issued by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Although some of the examples in this chapter clearly pre-date these injunctions, they demonstrate the division that began to emerge between theological materials and past folk traditions.

Since categorising the extant material is complex, its analysis is problematic. It is difficult to perceive a clear division between religious and superstitious texts, as some inversions and charms use

[5] Arnovick, p. 69.
[6] Arnovick, p. 69.
[7] Arnovick, p. 71.

a substantial amount of religious imagery and successfully absorb 'Christian motifs and rituals'.[8] It is possible, therefore, that the boundary between religion and magic cannot be clarified. This is particularly true when the beliefs and practices of the medieval period are considered. Although medieval religious instruction for the laity, contained in vernacular books, sermon material and Church court decisions, warned against the danger of superstition, there was no clear definition of what this constituted or whether there could be any spiritual consequences. During the medieval period the Church began to acknowledge that superstitious practices distracted an individual from adhering to the Church's teachings; instilling fear and untrue beliefs in its practitioners. Ironically though, the clergy failed to denounce superstitions. Many members of the clergy were unsure about which rituals were formulated from superstition or, indeed, the consequences of engagement in these actions.[9] Their attempts to explicitly shape, rather than condemn, the superstitions of their parishioners perhaps culminated in the reinforcement of superstitious beliefs rather than their reduction.

I propose that the confusion experienced by the clergy, and ultimately by a lay audience, may have been exacerbated by the tradition of using and reciting particular sets of prayers to appeal for healing.[10] This made it difficult to decide whether the use of prayers to cure a particular ailment was a religious or superstitious activity. This depended specifically on the context and the actions that are performed to complement the prayer. For example, if a miraculous effect, such as a cure, occurred in response to prayers initiated by a series of visions or recited whilst on pilgrimage to a saint's shrine, then this would be socially acceptable and termed a 'miracle'.[11] If the same effect was generated through the uttering of charms and spells containing the same prayers, however, this may be identified as 'magic' and an unchristian act, possibly associated with witchcraft.[12] The lack of clarity when defining acts of faith or superstition may suggest that lay engagement with incantations and spells

[8] Gray, pp. 34-35; and Lea Olsan, 'The Inscription of Charms in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', *Oral Tradition,* 14 (1999), 410-419 (p.403).
[9] Kathleen Kamerick**,** 'Shaping Superstition in Late Medieval England', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft,* 3 (2008), 29-53 (p.29).
[10] Thomas, p. 48.
[11] I am using the term 'miracle' to refer to an act of God which creates a fortunate or positive effect such as a cure from illness. This act cannot be explained by the laws of nature and therefore is considered supernatural in origin.
[12] In this context 'magic' refers to the practice of using charms, spells and rituals to attempt to produce supernatural effects. Magic, in a more general sense, is an art which purports to control or forecast natural events, effects or forces by invoking the supernatural.

stemmed from their ignorance. It may also suggest that elements of folk practices, which remained unchallenged or adapted by the Church, continued to be openly practised by an audience who were unaware that their behaviour challenged Christian codes. This perceived ignorance may have contributed to the Church's desire to educate the laity in these matters and to reform those who practised superstitious arts.[13]

The difficulty in distinguishing between acts that were acceptable to the Church and those that were considered to be magical or superstitious is explored in extant contemporary texts. One example, found in *Diues and Pauper*, written *c.*1405-1410, suggests that it is acceptable to adorn a sick person with a scroll containing the *Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo* or Gospel texts, but only if it is motivated by devotion rather than curiosity.[14] This suggests that it is the motivation of the individual performing the actions that defines whether an act is acceptable or controversial. Whether the use of prayers in charms is acceptable is again discussed by Richard Whitford in his text *Werke for Householders*, first circulated in 1530, in which he forbids the practices of turning Christian texts into charms as this disassociates them from their religious context.[15] The time-span between these two texts, a period of over one hundred years, reflects the continuing use of the *Pater Noster* in the healing of ailments. This suggests that the laity were still unaware that the use of this prayer, alongside charms and incantations, may have been disapproved of by the Church.

It is likely that charms and spells circulated orally in the centuries prior to their recording in extant medieval manuscripts. The recording of these utterances may have marked an important stage in their circulation and also their acceptance as something authorised, especially for those who believed in the authority of the written word. For example, charms including the Aramaic word 'abracadabra' meaning 'create as I say' were believed to have healing powers when inscribed on an amulet and therefore this belief may be equally applied to the opening phrase of the *Pater Noster*

[13] Kamerick, pp. 31, 35.
[14] According to Pauper, in Priscilla Heath Barnum, ed., *Dives and Pauper*, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, EETS, OS, 275 (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 157-158.
[15] Richard Whitford, *A Werke for Householders and for them that have the Gydyng or Governaunce of any Company* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1533).

when it was written as part of an incantation.[16] This was, arguably, particularly potent for the unlettered, as the permanence and efficacy of the written words may have suggested that engagement in superstitious activities was authorised, and perhaps even encouraged. The efficacy of the written word and its power to secure a particular outcome is also evident in the practice of granting written indulgences. For example, it was discovered during the later exhumation of Cecily Neville (1415-1495) that she was buried with an indulgence hung around her neck.[17] Papal Indulgences were granted to individuals who had confessed their sins and received absolution so that they could receive full remission of the eternal punishment for their sins after death. It is possible that charms and spells which also asked for spiritual protection and deliverance from physical, rather than spiritual ailments, were viewed in a similar way by a lay audience and clerics alike.

From the early Anglo-Saxon period to the later-medieval period the need to seek cures for ailments or the request to be protected from evil, and ultimately from death, remained prevalent.[18] This impulse resulted in the proliferation of charms and spells which incorporate the *Pater Noster* into their written formulae, so much so that Arnovick states the 'Anglo Saxon charm corpus reveals a persistent reliance' on the *Pater Noster*.[19] What seems to emerge from this proliferation is the development of a standard formula consisting of a combination of *Pater Noster*s, *Ave Maria*s and *Credo*s, although in different numerations, to be repeated at the end of a charm.

Examples of the requirement to recite only the *Pater Noster* at the end of a charm can be found in London, British Library, MS Sloane 475, dated to the first quarter of the twelfth century and of English provenance. This manuscript consists of recipes and charms, and includes two items which specifically require the recitation of the *Pater Noster* at the end.[20] The first charm is to cure a wart or verruca:

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[16] Rosemary Ellen Guiley, 'Abracadabra', *The Encyclopaedia of Magic and Alchemy* (New York: Facts On File, 2006), p. 2.
[17] C. A. J. Armstrong, 'The Piety of Cecily, Duchess of York: A Study in Late Medieval Culture', in C. A. J. Armstrong, ed., *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 135-156, (p.156).
[18] Thomas, p. 46; R. W. Scribner, 'The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the 'Disenchantment of the World'', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23 (1993), 475‑494.
[19] Arnovick, p. 71.
[20] Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), p. 82.

> [rubric] *Ad superos Carmen*
>
> In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti pone pollicem super ossa et dic: 'Si cist souros ci est venuz par dialbe [sic] inchantesun, tollet l'en Deus par sa magne resurectium; si veirement cum Deus fut nez et el presepie fut mis et retroves si vierement seit cis cavals de cest couros livrez e[n] icez verues'. Pater Noster. (f.109)

The second charm, seeks to provide a cure for carbuncles or boils on the leg:

> [rubric] *Ad claudum equum*
> Pissun par mar nodat, la destre ale s'esloisat, esloisat, et resoldat. Si facet li pez de cest cavalde cuius colore sit, Dic Pater Noster (f.109v)

These two examples, written in Anglo-Norman, provide evidence of the use of the prayer at the end of charms and incantations.

In London, British Library, MS Royal 12.B.XXV, a fourteenth-century collection of remedial and utilitarian works, there is a remedy for tooth ache on f.61r which incorporates the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria.* The prayer is included as part of a text which is written and then tied to the head of the patient:

> Apud vrbem Alexandriam requiescit corpus Beate Appolonie virginis et martiris cuius dentes extraxerunt impii. Et per intercessionem Beate Marie virginis et omnium sanctorum et Beate Appolonie virginis et martiris, libera, Domine, dentes famuli tui a dolere dencium. Sancte Blasi, ora pro me. In nomine + patris etc. Pater Noster. Aue Maria. Et ligatur istud carmen super capud pacientis.[21]
>
> [In the city Alexandria rests the body of Blessed Apollonia, virgin and martyr, whose teeth the wicked extracted. Through the intercession of Blessed Maria, virgin, and of all saints and blessed Apollonia, virgin and martyr, free, Lord, the teeth of your servant from toothache. Saint Blaise, pray for me. In the name of the Father, etc. Our Father. Ave Maria. And let this charm be tied upon the head of the patient.]

A later example of a charm which also requires the recitation of the *Pater Noster*, along with a collection of additional prayers, at the end, can be found in London, British Library, MS Sloane 2459. This manuscript dates to the early-fifteenth century and contains a charm to cure tooth ache or sooth a fever on fol.19v:

> Another for the same euel of aking of teth.
> Aue rex noster. Aue spes nostra. Aue salus nostra.

[21] Text and translation supplied by Lea Olsan, 'Latin Charms of Mediaeval England: Verbal Healing in a Christian Oral Tradition', *Oral Tradition*, 7 (1992), 116-142 (p.119).

> Adoramus te christe et benedicimus tibi.
> Dominus noster iesus christus noster omnipotens
> super mare sedebat. Et Petrus tristis ante eum erat.
> Et dixit Dominus Petro, "Quare tristis es?"
> Respondit Petrus et dixit, "Domine dentes mei dolent."
> Tum Dominus ait, "Adiuro te migranea et maligna per patrem
> et filium et spiritum sanctum et per duodecim apostolos
> et quatuor euuangelistas, Marcum, Matheum, Lucam, et
> Johannem, ut non habeas potestatem nocere N[omen] hoc breve
> portanti." + AGIOS + AGIOS + AGIOS + PATER . AUE . CREDO.
> TORAX CALAMITE. TORAX RUBEE. TORAX LIQUIDE. OMNES
> GUMME.[22]
>
> [Another [charm] for the same evil of asking of teeth.
> Hail our king. Hail our hope. Hail our salvation.
> We adore you, O Christ, we bless you.
> Our Lord Jesus Christ our almighty
> was sitting by the sea. And Peter, sad, was before him.
> And the Lord said to Peter, "Why are you so sad?"
> Peter answered and said, "Lord my teeth ache."
> Then the Lord said, "I abjure you of the ache and evil through the Father
> and the Son and the Holy Spirit and through the twelve apostles
> and the four evangelists, Mark, Matthew, Luke, and
> John, that I may not have the power to hurt [name] who is carrying
> this." + HOLY + HOLY + HOLY + FATHER. HAIL. I BELIEVE.
> STOP CALAMITY. STOP RED. STOP LIQUID. TO ALL GUMS][23]

This charm follows a narrative structure, presenting a conversation between Christ and Peter. The use of biblical material to inform the contents of a charm and also the need to conclude with a collection of orthodox prayers, suggests that the reliance on Christian material in healing charms was firmly established during the medieval period.

In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional B.1, f.15r, dating to the latter half of the sixteenth century and also of English provenance, there is a list of medicines that could be used to treat a fever:[24]

> Take an apple and cutt it in 3 peeces and on the first part wright these words christus ageos dominus and on the 2 part wright christus otheos dominus and on the 3 part wright resurrexit a mortuis dominus and gyve him to eat and he shall be holl by gods grace. 3 pater nosters, 3 aves, 1 crede.[25]

[22] Olsan, p. 131.
[23] My translation.
[24] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional B.1 is a collection of medical recipes, prayers in case of illness, and charms or incantations, chiefly in English but including some Latin.
[25] Frank Klaassen and Christopher Phillips, 'The Return of Stolen Goods: Reginald Scot, Religious Controversy, and Magic in Bodleian Library, Additional B. 1', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, 1 (2006), 135-176 (pp.149-150).

The remedy, which is supposedly achieved through a combination of written text, spoken words and actions, calls on God's grace to heal the sufferer and to restore them to health. The material also concludes with a list of prayers to recite, which may suggest that these prayers were capable of supporting, complementing and even giving orthodox authority to more secular material. In addition, it contains one phrase, 'resurrexit a mortuis', from the *Credo* which again demonstrates how extracts from religious texts could be incorporated into charms.

As well as the inclusion of the *Pater Noster* in the list of prayers to recite at the end of a spell, the opening words 'Pater Noster' were frequently incorporated into the main body.[26] One interesting example can be found in the '*Æ*cerbot', a field or land remedy that survives in a tenth-century manuscript although it is probably much older.[27] This requires the recitation of the *Pater Noster* at several points (two in the text and three at the end):

> ⋯and paternoster swa oft swa þaet oðer
> ⋯and swa oft Pater Noster
> ⋯and pater noster III [28]
>
> [⋯and Pater Noster as often as the other [incantation]
> ⋯ and as often Pater Noster
> ⋯and Pater Noster three times]

At no point does the remedy contain the prayer in its entirety. This suggests, alongside the other examples included in this chapter, that the *Pater Noster* was assumed to be widely known to a lay audience by the authors and / or scribes of these texts.

From the evidence it is also clear that the recitation of the *Pater Noster* could be required at specific points during the preparation of potions. An example of this can be seen in a remedy for a

[26] Lori Ann Garner, 'Anglo-Saxon Charms in Performance', *Oral Tradition*, 19 (2004), 20-42.
[27] Versions of the '*Æ*cerbot' can be found in London, British Library, Cotton Caligula, A. VII, fols 176^{r}-178^{r} and London, British Library, Harley 585, fols 130-193^{v} (otherwise known as the *Lacnunga*).The Cotton Caligula manuscript has English provenance and dates to the eleventh century (see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p.172). The Harley manuscript is of English origin and dates from the late tenth to early eleventh century. It forms part of a collection of medical recipes, magical charms and invocations mainly in Old English, partly in Latin and Old Irish. For additional information see John H. G. Grattan and Charles J. Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine illustrated specially from the Semi-Pagan Text 'Lacnunga'*, Publications of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 206-209; Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 6 (New York: Colombia University Press, 1942); and G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948).
[28] Lines 13, 23 and 42.Text and transcription supplied by Garner, p. 24.

carbuncle, or skin infection, which requires the healer to recite the *Pater Noster* three and nine times respectively at different stages of the potion's preparation:[29]

> þonne hit wealle, sing iii pater noster ofer, do eft of, sing þonne viiii si þum pater noster on…[30]
>
> [When it boils sing three *Pater Noster*s over it, do it again, then sing *Pater Noster* nine times]

This again suggests that the prayer was widely known and illustrates how it could be incorporated into formulae which were devised to produce healing.

The *Pater Noster* was also incorporated into Latin charms which contained rhyming phrases, a formula which has been described as quite common.[31] In London, British Library, MS Sloane 122, there is a charm, possibly dating to the fifteenth century, to stem the excessive flow of blood from a wound on f.48. The text states 'Max max pax pater noster'.[32] This suggests that the prayer was able to bring the greatest ('max') peace ('pax') and healing to the individual who was suffering, reflecting the healing properties that it was thought to possess.

The connection between the prayer and medicine, or healing, can be seen in an example dating to the late-fourteenth century and located in a medical miscellany (London, British Library, MS Sloane 2548). On f.68 the *Pater Noster* is prescribed to be recited by the patient three times for three days, or three times until the physician returns:

> Et dicat eger ter Pater Noster et Aue Maria. Et medicus similiter. Et sic fiat per tres dies vel ter antequam medicus recedat.

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[29] M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, Cambridge studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 38-39.

[30] Reprint of Oswald Cockayne, ed., *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England: Being a Collection of Documents. for the Most Part never before Printed, Illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864-1866; repr. Weisbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1965), II, p. 358.

[31] P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Witch Beliefs and Witch Trials in the Middle Ages: Documents and Reading* (London; New York: Continuum, 2011), p. 2011 fn.64; and Olsan, 'Latin Charms', p. 126.

[32] Maxwell-Stuart, p. 2011. The dating of fols 36-68[b], which contains Latin and English medical charms and recipes (*Orationes et receptæmedica*), has been loosely described as the tenth to eighteenth century. See the description in British Library, 'Browse Collections, Archives and Manuscripts' (2014) <http://hviewer.bl.uk/IamsHViewer/Default.aspx?mdark=ark:/81055/vdc_100000000505.0x000312> [accessed 29 July 2014]. I propose that the text on fol. 48 most likely dates to the fifteenth century due to its position in the manuscript (the surrounding material was all composed during this time-frame).

> [And say three Our Father and Hail Mary. And the physician similarly. And so for three days or three times before the physician returns.][33]

This again demonstrates that the prayer was seen as part of the healing process for many ailments.

The connection between magical healing and the prayer continued throughout the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods and into the sixteenth-century. Keith Thomas describes a 'typical practitioner' of Christian magic, a lady called Margaret Hunt, who described her methods before the Commissary of London in 1528.[34] She explained that she ascertained the names of the sick persons before praying to the Blessed Trinity to heal them from all their wicked enemies. Then she told them to recite, for nine consecutive nights, five *Pater Noster*s, five *Ave Maria*s and a *Credo*, followed by three more *Pater Noster*s, three *Ave Maria*s and three *Credo*s 'in the worship of Saint Spirit'. At bedtime they were to repeat one *Pater Noster*, one *Ave Maria* and one *Credo* in worship of Saint Ive to preserve them from envy.

The recitation of prayers in Latin remained a common ingredient in the magical treatment of illness. In 1557 Cowdale of Maidstone confessed to healing people by prayer alone, prescribing five *Pater Noster*s, five *Ave Maria*s and a *Credo* to be said in honour of the Holy Ghost and Our Lady.[35] In the early 1590s Joan Bettyson of Nottinghamshire recited fifteen *Pater Noster*s, fifteen *Ave Maria*s and three *Credo*s to assist in the recovery of cattle.[36] Henry Matthew of Guisley confessed before the Archbishop of York's court in 1590 that he had washed the sore eyes of a woman and then said three *Pater Noster*s and a *Credo*, but that he no longer engaged in such practices as he feared being regarded as 'a charmer'.[37] The evidence provided by these court trials suggests that the use of superstitious practices to treat illnesses were receiving official condemnation by the Church. Perhaps then the fear, expressed by Henry Matthew, of continuing to engage in such folk practices implies that members of the laity were becoming more aware of the Church's disapproval of such activities and were responding accordingly.

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[33] My translation.
[34] Thomas, pp. 210-211.
[35] Thomas, p. 211.
[36] Thomas, p. 220.
[37] L. E. Whatmore, ed., *Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation 1557*, 2 vols, (London: J. Whitehead, 1950), I, p. 216; York, BIHR, R. VI. A 10, fol. 6l.

These examples also show how the acceptance of charms and incantations, even those including the *Pater Noster*, clearly changed over time. Whereas the prayer played an integral part in the recipes of some spells and contributed to the 'Christian folk tradition' of Anglo-Saxon England, by the later medieval period the acceptance and tolerance of these more "pagan" practices was declining.[38] Perhaps the medieval Church saw these charms and spells as more of a secular 'force of habit', binding the society to its pagan past, rather than focusing on a more Christianised future.[39]

There are several examples of the prayer being subverted in a nonsensical manner. Here, the authorised and orthodox version of the prayer was completely altered, although frequently the Latin opening words 'Pater Noster' were still included in the text or title. This inclusion suggests that a medieval audience may have perceived some connection between these texts and the authorised prayer, although this connection is unclear. To modern scholars this connection seems to be solely based on the contemporary titles given to these verses (given by Thomas Ady in 1656, John White *c.*1570-1615, and John Sinclair in 1685) rather than their similarity to the prayer. These texts provide evidence for the widespread knowledge of the *Pater Noster*, perhaps suggesting that the audience's prior knowledge of the prayer may have been used as a foundation on which additional material is built. Also, the references to the prayer may have given authority to these texts, suggesting that they may have been authorised by the Church. Finally, the injunctions issued in 1215 stated that the *Pater Noster* was to be recited by the laity in the vernacular, however, is it possible that some members of the laity confused these texts with the authorised version? This could be suggested by the titles given to these texts, for example, the 'White Pater Noster' and 'Black Pater Noster'.

The inclusion of a colour in the title, usually black or white, could be associated with the time of the day in which the 'prayer' or text should be read or recited, the 'White Pater Noster' in the morning and the 'Black Pater Noster' in the evening.[40] These texts, in a similar way to the orthodox version, request protection from evil, the intercession of heavenly bodies (in this case angels rather

[38] Arnovick, p. 64.
[39] Arnovick, p. 64.
[40] Margaret A. Murray, *The God of Witches* (London: Faber & Faber, 1931; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 111.

than saints) and a desire for eternal life in heaven. They unite the language of the prayer with additional material, perhaps to add authority and orthodoxy to the text. They also demonstrate that the prayer was widely known, so much so that a reference to the opening words 'Pater Noster' could have enabled the reader or hearer to call to mind the entire text.

There are several extant references to a text described as the 'White Pater Noster'. One of the earliest is found in 'The Miller's Tale' (*c.*1387) by Geoffrey Chaucer:

> Therwith the nyght-spel seyde he anon-rightes
> On foure halves of the hous aboute,
> And on the thresshfold of the dore withoute:
> 'Jhesu Crist and Seinte Benedight,
> Blesse this hous from every wikked wight,
> For nyghtes verye, the white pater-noster!
> Where wentestow, Seinte Petres soster?
> (I (A) lines 3480-86) [41]

This extract provides an example of the healing properties of the prayer, although in this situation its repetition only heals the feigned ailments of Nicholas the clerk when it is recited by John the carpenter. Perhaps Chaucer was mocking the ways in which some individuals relied on charms and incantations to remedy physical ailments and to protect them from evil. In the tale, Nicholas' actions are motivated by deception and his desire to dupe John, whereas it is John's naivety and gullible character that leads to his cuckoldry. The inclusion of this charm may indicate that honest individuals, like John, were confused by the plethora of charms and incantations in circulation. This may have been exacerbated by the fact that there are some similarities between this text and the authorised use of prayers, especially in the evocation of the saints for healing and protection.[42]

Thomas Ady's witchcraft treatise, entitled *A Candle in the Dark* (1656), provides another example which he describes as a 'White Pater Noster'. His text contains a record of a woman from Essex who purports to have lived during the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558) and who claims that she charmed her bed each night with the following text repeated three times:

> Matthew, Mark, Luke, John,

[41] Benson, p.72.
[42] This text also refers to the blessing of a house, a concept reproduced in a text described as the 'Black Pater Noster' which will be discussed shortly.

> The Bed be blest that I lye on.[43]

The rhymes demonstrate a certain amount of religious knowledge including the names of the gospel writers, but what is immediately obvious is that nothing of the structure or content of the original prayer is included. It is possible that Sinclair, in his choice of title for this text in 1686, drew upon a previously established connection between this text and the prayer, something which is now unclear to a modern audience.

A text titled the 'White Pater Noster', although it has no linguistic connection with the orthodox prayer, is also found in John White's *The Way to the True Church* (1570-1615). The text is recorded as part of a collection of superstitions used by the inhabitants of Lancashire:

> White Pater-noster, St Peter's brother,
> What hast i' th' t'one hand? White booke leaves.
> What hast i' th' t'other hand? heaven yate keys.
> Open heaven Yates, and steike shut hells Yates:
> And let every chrisome child creep to its own mother.
> White Pater-noster, Amen.[44]

The main theme of the authorised prayer, the desire to be delivered from evil and to enter heaven, is also explored in this text. The reference to St Peter holding the keys to the gates of heaven derive from the gospels (Matthew 16. 18-19a):

> And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven...

[43] Thomas Ady, *A Candle in the Dark: or, A treatise concerning the nature of witches & witchcraft: being advice to judges, sheriffes, justices of the peace, and grand-jury-men, what to do, before they passe sentence on such as are arraigned for their lives, as witches* (London: printed for R.I. to be sold by Tho. Newberry, 1656). This text is titled the 'Black Paternoster' in a later work by John Sinclair and credited to Ady although it is presented with four lines: 'Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, / Bless the bed that I lye on; / And blessed guardian angel keep / Me safe from danger while I sleep'. See George Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (Edinburgh, 1685; repr. Edinburgh: Stevenson, 1871).

[44] John White, *The Way to the True Church: wherein the principall motiues perswading to Romanisme, and questions touching the nature and authoritie of the Church and Scriptures, are familiarly disputed, and driuen to their issues, where, this day they sticke betweene the papists and vs: contriued into an answer to a popish discourse, concerning the rule of faith, and the marks of the Church. And published to admonish such as decline to papistrie, of the weake and vncertaine grounds, whereupon they haue ventured their soules*. *Directed to all that seeke for resolution: and especially to his louing countrimen of Lancashire* ... (London: Printed [by Richard Field] for Iohn Bill and William Barret, 1616).

The concept of salvation is paramount in both versions of the prayer, and therefore it may have been difficult to explain to a lay audience why the *Pater Noster* was acceptable and other charms or 'prayers' that referred to biblical stories were not.

Another example of a 'White Pater Noster' is cited by John Sinclair in *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (1685). It is clearly similar to the previous example although it is longer and contains additional religious imagery, including references to St Michael and Bethlehem. It is also closer in substance to the biblical version of the prayer in its allusion to a desire for the right food, a motif reminiscent of 'our daily bread'. It states:

> White Paternoster,
> God was my Foster.
> He fostered me Under the Book of Palm-tree.
> Saint Michael was my Dame,
> He was born at Bethlehem.
> He was made of flesh and blood.
> God send me my right food;
> My right food, and dyne two,
> That I may to yon Kirk go
> To read upon yon sweet Book,
> Which the mighty God of Heaven shoop.
> Open, open, Heaven's Yaits,
> Steik, steik, Hell's Yaits.
> All Saints be the better,
> That hear the White Prayer, Pater Noster.[45]

Although this appears to be religious doggerel with references to the *Pater Noster*, especially due to its crudely and irregularly fashioned verse and its humorous nature, Sinclair believed that this text was connected to witchcraft. Reverend D. Rock, as cited by William Thoms, supports this assertion and suggests that the 'White Pater Noster' possibly derived from the 'Witch's Pater Noster'.[46] He substantiates his argument by alluding to an extract from *Diues and Pauper*:

> It hath oft been knowen that wytches with sayenge of their Pater Noster and droppynge of the holy candell in a man's steppes that they hated, hath done his fete rotten of.[47]

[45] Sinclair, p. 23.
[46] William J. Thoms, 'Chaucer's Night-Spell', *The Folk Lore Record*, 1 (1878), 145-154, (p.150) cites D. Rock, 'Fraternity of Christian Doctrine, Chaucer's Night Charm', *Notes and Queries*, 18 (1850), 281.
[47] Barnum, pp. 162-163. For a more detailed consideration of the discussion of witchcraft in *Dives and Pauper* see William Dylan Fay, "Dives and Pauper': Superstition and Catechesis in the Fifteenth Century', *University of Florida, Journal of Undergraduate Research*, 14.1 (2012), 1-5.

The phrasing of this text indicates that the incorporation of Christian elements, both prayers and objects, gave religious and supernatural power to the reciter. It also implies that the combination of ritual and prayer was used to achieve a specific purpose.

It is possible that the 'Black Pater Noster' may have been the companion charm to the 'White Pater Noster' as I have already suggested. Sinclair (1685) describes a text titled the 'Black Pater Noster' which is very similar to the 'White Pater Noster' discussed by Thomas Ady. This similarity may indicate a common descent for the two prayers. Sinclair describes the use of this prayer by a witch who claimed to recite it each night. The text is as follows:

> Four newks in this house, for haly Angels,
> A post in the midst, that's Christ Jesus,
> Lucas, Marcus, Matthew, Joannes,
> God be into this house, and all that belangs us.[48]

The content of the 'Black Pater Noster' is very similar to a text that survives in current circulation although it no longer makes reference to the orthodox prayer. This text is considered to be a nursery rhyme, featured in the collection by Iona and Peter Opie, which is still passed down through generations within a family unit and taught to children as a prayer to recite usually before sleep. Therefore, the current association of this text with recitation at night time is part of a continuing tradition originating during the medieval period. A modern version recorded by Opie in 1997 states:

> Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
> Bless the bed that I lie on.
> Four corners to my bed,
> Four angels round my head,
> One to watch, one to pray,
> And two to bear my soul away.
> Now I lay me down to sleep,
> I pray the Lord my soul to keep.
> If I should die before I wake,
> I pray the Lord my soul to take.[49]

These examples suggest that the title of the orthodox prayer was applied to texts which were not sanctioned by the Church but echoed some of the basic Christian teachings offered to the laity.

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[48] Evelyn Carrington, 'A Note on the White Pater Noster', *The Folk Lore Record*, 2 (1879), 127-134 (p.127).
[49] Iona and Peter Opie**,** *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951; 2nd edn Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 303-304.

After the Reformation in England the correlation between religious material and superstitious activity, or magic, continued. The Protestant Church argued that the connection between the prayer and notions of healing and protection had created a misleading precedent which was reflected in the prayer's use in 'non-Christian' rituals, and therefore, they discouraged the continuation of this tradition fearing that it was leading the ignorant away from the faith and encouraging them to dabble in the occult. Therefore, they prohibited the use of some Roman Catholic prayers, especially those recited in Latin, including the *Pater Noster, Credo* and other invocations of the Virgin Mary and the saints.[50] Although this prohibition attempted to discourage individuals from eliciting cures through prayer, this practice did not cease and evolved to incorporate the recitation of acceptable Protestant prayers instead. The problem with the continuation of this tradition was not the recitation of the prayers themselves but the 'cunning women' who sought to flout the Church's ruling and the unjust consequences for those believed to dabble in these practices. For example women such as Bridget, alias Goldenbeard, who claimed in 1576 to have helped many of the people of Gloucester 'with her good prayers' and Margery Skelton in Essex, who was accused in 1566 of witchcraft and sorcery, but simply retorted that 'with praying of her prayers' she had healed six persons.[51] During the witch trials of the seventeenth century 'a suspect's failure to pronounce the Lord's Prayer correctly, or to sink when immersed in water, was taken by educated observers as certain proof of guilt'.[52]

In addition, Margaret Murray proposes that the *Pater Noster* was associated with witchcraft and the devil, especially when it was recited in Latin, perhaps because of the laity's ignorance of that language.[53] Through its use the Devil was thought to be able to trick the unwitting into using the text to pray to him. An example can be found in the record of the trials of Mother Agnes Waterhouse, one of the Chelmsford Witches put to death in 1566.[54] An extract from her first trial states that 'when she

[50] Thomas, p. 318.
[51] Thomas, p. 318.
[52] Thomas, p. 146.
[53] Murray, *God of Witches*, p. 141.
[54] Mother Agnes Waterhouse was subjected to three trials before sentence was passed.

would will him [the Devil] to do anything for her, she would say her Pater Noster in Latin'.[55] Part of her third trial is reported as follows (in modernised English):

> And being demanded whether she was accustomed to go to church to the common prayers or divine service, she said, 'Yea'; and being required what she did there, she said she did as other women do, and prayed right heartily there. And when she was demanded what prayer she said, she answered, 'The Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and Belief'. And then they demanded whether in Latin or in English, and she said, 'In Latin'.
> And they demanded why she said not in English but in Latin, seeing that it was set out by public authority and according to God's word that all men should pray in the English and mother tongue that they best understood, and she said that Satan would at no time suffer her to say it in English, but at all times in Latin...[56]

Perhaps the Devil was believed to be capable of exploiting those who were non-Latinate and unable to understand the meaning of the religious words they were reciting. This notion is supported by Marion Gibson who states that a lack of Latinity was dangerous and may have been taken as 'evidence of [an individual's] ignorance and papistical devil-worship' by a contemporary audience: 'Agnes apparently provides her Protestant questioners with the perfect justification for their views on the forbidden (Catholic) use of Latin'.[57]

After the transition of England's official faith from Catholic to Protestant it must have been extremely difficult for the laity to abandon their previous beliefs and to accept a new 'religious' way. This difficulty may provide one explanation for Agnes's suggestion that the devil influenced her choice of language for prayer, for as Barbara Rosen states:

> 'Satan' is the only explanation open to people who cannot understand the mental blocks which prevent them from following socially approved customs. It must have been very difficult for elderly people brought up on Latin prayers to make the change to an English form, which had none of the associations of a lifetime habit.[58]

A further example of the Devil instructing a member of the laity to recite the *Pater Noster* in Latin can be found in the confession of Elizabeth Frauncis.[59] It states 'also she said that when she wolde wyl him

[55] Hermann Beigel, *The Examination and Confession of Certain Witches at Chelmsford in the County of Essex, July 26, 1556* (London: Philobiblon Society, 1863-1864).
[56] Barbara Rosen, ed., *Witchcraft in England 1558-1618* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1969; repr. 1991), p. 82.
[57] Marion Gibson, *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 24 fn. 40 and p. 312 fn.39.
[58] Rosen, p. 82 fn.15.
[59] 'The Examination and Confession of certain Wytches (1566)' in Gibson, pp. 10-24.

to do any thinge for her, she wolde say her Pater noster in laten'.[60] Elizabeth Francis was imprisoned for 12 months on the sole evidence of her confession.[61]

These confession texts seem to follow a prescribed pattern. The focus 'on a particular sin and its apt punishment', in this case the recitation of the Latin *Pater Noster* to allegedly communicate with the devil, is evident in all of the examples included.[62] Although the inclusion of the *Pater Noster* in these proceedings clearly reflects that it was widely known and recited, these texts are also problematic and their reliability, as I have previously stated, is questionable. Furthermore, the fact that the recitation of the Latin prayer could be used as evidence for witchcraft reflects a contemporary concern about the remnants of Catholic practices in England after the Reformation. These records provide evidence of an individual's ignorance of the Church's changing viewpoint on the language in which prayers should be recited, rather than a deliberate participation in superstition or witchcraft.

A further category of evidence for the association of the *Pater Noster* and witchcraft could be identified in wall paintings inside some English churches as Ernest Tristram has proposed.[63] These paintings are usually classified as moralities, which represent a rebuke or warning to women who gossip or engage in idle chatter during church services, however, it is likely that their symbolism may go beyond simple distraction and disengagement and may suggest participation in more subversive and superstitious activities. Tristram suggests at least four paintings may provide evidence for this assertion, focussing not on the official teachings of the Church, but on more unofficial discourse. His examples include: St Andrew's Church, Colton, dating to the late-fourteenth to early-fifteenth century

[60] Gibson, p. 19.
[61] Roger Hart, *Witchcraft* (London: Wayland, 1971), p. 97. Elizabeth Frauncis was finally charged with witchcraft on two occasions and therefore she was hanged in 1579. The justification for the hanging was that she had caused personal injury rather than that she had committed heresy.
[62] Gibson, p. 299.
[63] Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 108-112. Tristram identifies further examples of witchcraft in wall paintings, although not connected to the *Pater Noster*, at Melbourne in Derbyshire and Crostwight in Norfolk. The painting at Melbourne is described as a 'Black Mass'. The much defaced image contains a large devil embracing two women kneeling before it and holding a possible communion wafer, and also two smaller devils. The large devil holds a scroll which may read either *Ic est cellam Deabol[i]* (this is the secret place of the devil) or *Ic est gauda Diaboli* (this is the devil's jewel) ‑ a possible parody of the words of consecration used in the Mass. The Crostwight example is placed over a doorway with a Tree of the Seven Deadly Sins (see Chapter 7 above) and a St Christopher on a lower level at either side. It depicts a bench, three standing richly-dressed couples with their arms entwined about one another and a large demon embracing them. Tristram suggests that this may represent a Sabbat or a witches meeting, with its 'attendant feasting and debauchery'.

(figure 60); All Saint's Church, Little Melton, dating to *c.*1370; St Margaret and St Remigius's Church, Seething, dating to the fourteenth century (figure 61); and St Andrew's Church, Stokesby, dating to the fifteenth century - all of which are located in Norfolk. Each mural depicts two women seated centrally on a bench with a larger devil behind them and smaller fiends to their sides.

Both Colton and Seething have scrolls filled with 'meaningless letters, often repeated throughout the length of each scroll'.[64] These 'dropped' or incoherent syllables represent the idle gossip of the female characters that are depicted. These utterances are collected by the subsidiary fiends, one of which may represent Titivillus, a figure found in medieval literature, drama and art who collects the idle secular talk of inattentive individuals during the Mass and other church services.[65] These utterances are then recorded and stored as minor sins to tip the scales in the devil's favour at the Last Judgement.

Both the Colton and Seething examples also depict the central female figures as holding rosaries, with beads representing the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, in their right hand and raising their left hand to their breast or heart.[66]

Figure 60: St Andrew's Church, Colton, Norfolk, dating to the late fourteenth to early fifteen century.

[64] Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 108.
[65] See Ann Marshall, 'The Warning Against Idle Gossip: A Medieval Morality' (2001) <http://www.paintedchurch.org/idlegoss.htm> [accessed 31 August 2015]. The figure of Titivillus is described in an anonymous poem in London, British Library, MS Douce 104, f.112v (see R. T. Davies, ed., *Medieval English Lyrics* (London: Faber, 1966), p. 198, poem 103). In addition he is represented as making 'Mankind' throw down his prayer beads in the play of the same name, suggesting that he deliberately seeks to distract individuals from their prayers (Lester, *Morality Plays*, pp. 3-57 (esp. p.34-35, line 564). Also, in the Towneley Judgement play he collects evidence of "church chatter", including 'gossip, slander, lies and idle talk' (Carla Mazzio, *The Inarticulate Renaissance: Language Trouble in an Age of Eloquence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 28).
[66] Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 108.

It is possible that such a gesture and the gibberish recorded on the scrolls may signify that the women were represented as 'indulging in 'charms or conjurations", especially in the Seething example as a small devil is also depicted as escaping with a rosary, perhaps representative of the perceived ability of the devil to detract the women from prayer.[67]

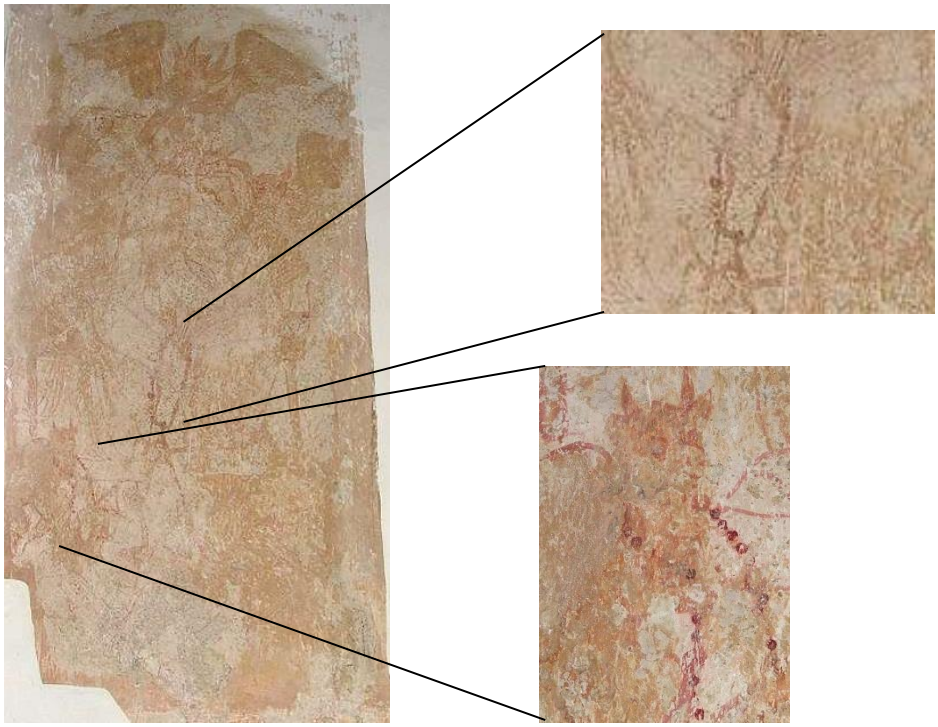

Figure 61: St Margaret and St Remigius's Church, Seething, Norfolk, dating to the fourteenth century.

In the no longer extant example from Stokesby to one side of the two central women were three or four fiends as well as a third woman holding a rosary between her knees, perhaps representing the recitation of the *Pater Noster*. On the opposite side of the central figures were two more fiends, one of which was armed with a sharp instrument. There was also an item, possibly a child's leg, lying before the second group of fiends on the bench.[68] The presence of these fiends suggests to Tristram that the paintings are associated with witchcraft as they may be representative of the witches' familiars. Also, the presence of a rosary may again indicate superstitious activities as the *Pater Noster* was employed in Norfolk as a charm, when written or said backwards, at the beginning of the

[67] Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 109.
[68] Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 108-109.

fourteenth century.[69] I find Tristram's suggestions compelling, and suggest that his analysis and explanation of these images may shed a new light on the ways in which the Church sought to discourage individuals from engaging in superstitious activities. It is possible that by visually showing a perhaps unlettered lay audience the dangers of such activities, especially with the presence of devils encouraging their irreverent behaviour, such paintings may have been created as a deterrent against engaging in inappropriate and superstitious actions which contravened the guidance prescribed by the Church.

The representation of prayer beads in wall paintings demonstrates a concern that superstitious activities could distract an individual from their orthodox prayers and therefore lead them away from the teachings of the Church. This contrasts sharply to the belief that prayer beads reminded an individual of what prayers they needed to recite and how many repetitions were necessary, as I have previously discussed in chapter 5 (above).

Returning to the orthodox *Pater Noster*, perhaps the unification of the prayer with the septenaries (as I have discussed in chapters 3 and 4 above) provided an educational framework which functioned to improve knowledge and understanding. The authorities were keen to demonstrate the destructive nature of 'ignorant' folk practices as a means of encouraging the laity to adhere to the Church's teachings and therefore to attain heaven. Through the unification of the prayer with other religious concepts the Church authorities sought to replace the association of witchcraft and healing with a deeper understanding of the key tenets of the faith.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this evidence, both integration and subversion, are multiple and at times contradictory. For example, the prayer may have been integrated into charms and spells to add a Christian element to what would otherwise have been a pagan ritual. This would have given religious weight and authority to the text and suggests that the prayer was widely known in both oral and literary traditions during the period covered by this study. Alternatively though, the inclusion of the prayer may have stemmed from a lack of Christian education and from ignorance. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that the prayer was already united, although in an unofficial capacity, with other

[69] Tristram, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 110.

traditions and customs. It is also feasible that the prayer had a teaching function in these practices, one similar to its role in a catechetical context. In this situation, however, the use of the prayer to teach alternative material was contrary to Church purposes, especially in view of the emphasis on obtaining a cure or protection through the repetition of words or formation of actions rather than from pilgrimage, prayer or Church services. This provides yet another reason for the Church reinforcing Christian teachings on the *Pater Noster* and then reaffirming the prayer's Christian nature through the incorporation of the septenaries. My evidence for these suggestions stems from the use of the prayer in charms usually associated with the preservation or cure of the reciter, a parallel with its conventional use as a vehicle for private prayer, and also from the survival of confused or subverted versions of the Christian prayer text.[70] This process could then be interpreted, as I have already suggested, as mirroring the combination of the *Pater Noster* and the septenaries advocated by the Church authorities in response to the constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

[70] Murray, *God of Witches*, p. 135.

CHAPTER NINE

HETERODOX APPROPRIATIONS OF THE *PATER NOSTER*

Up to this point this thesis has specifically focussed on the uses of the *Pater Noster* as a vehicle to disseminate additional religious teachings, namely the septenaries and the other core prayers, and the pedagogical approaches used to convey this material to the laity. This chapter will now consider how the Lollards may have responded to these traditions and whether they appropriated or replaced them with their own ways of disseminating their heterodox teachings. Firstly, it will reassess the material considered in the previous chapters from a Lollard perspective. Secondly, it will examine the reasons behind the Lollards' promotion of this prayer. Thirdly, it will focus on how they used the tradition of translating the prayer into the vernacular to argue for the translation of the whole bible into the mother tongue. Finally, it will then examine whether a distinct Lollard tradition of commenting on and explaining the petitions of the *Pater Noster* emerged.

As I have previously established in chapters 1 and 2 (above), the injunctions issued by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 stated that annual confession was compulsory and that the penitent was to be tested on their knowledge of the core prayers, including the *Pater Noster*. Whereas the orthodox view suggested the priest was the only individual capable of providing absolution from sin through auricular confession, in contrast, the Lollards rejected this principal and proposed that the conscience of man and an individual's ability to repent for their own sins was more pertinent for their salvation.[1] Judy Ann Ford, for example, has proposed that the doctrine of confession formed part of the 'bedrock of clerical sacerdotal authority, an authority Lollardy sought to abolish'.[2] Here, as Helen Barr so aptly states, the Lollards believed that auricular confession was 'unnecessary as contrition alone is [needed] to wipe out sin'.[3] Therefore, when this is coupled with their denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation, another Lollard belief, the 'sacerdotal authority [of the Church] is eliminated and

[1] Gordon Mursell, *English Spirituality: from Earliest Times to 1700* (London: SPCK, 2001), p. 171.
[2] Judy Ann Ford, *John Mirk's Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy and the Common People in Fourteenth Century England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), p. 33.
[3] Helen Barr, 'Wycliffite Representation of the Third Estate', in Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens and Derrick G. Pitard, ed., *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 197-216 (p.205).

[the] dividing line between clerical and lay is removed'.[4] As such, the testing of the penitent in their ability to recite, rather than understand their prayers, was seen as an unnecessary activity by the Lollards.

The desire for an individual to be able to recite the *Pater Noster* to ask for forgiveness in personal intercession, especially with the use of prayer beads, is also criticised. Whereas the orthodox approach to personal intercession was to encourage the numerous repetition of prayers (see chapter 5 above), the Lollards disagreed with the 'crudely mechanistic aspects of intercession', namely the frequent rote repetition of the prayer rather than a true understanding of the words spoken.[5] They also opposed the connection between the recitation of prayers and the cult of the dead, a topic considered in some detail in chapter 5 (above), in line with their rejection of the doctrine of purgatory. Therefore, Lollards are unlikely to have been advocates of the representation of prayer beads, and thus the *Pater Noster*, in memorial culture.

The Lollard view of wall paintings, especially depictions of the virtues and vices which may have been used as points of reference during the delivery of sermons on the *Pater Noster*, are also worthy of consideration. Margaret Aston, in her seminal study *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*, stated that the 'common Lollard view [was] that images as lay books were acceptable, while image-worship was to be deprecated'.[6] She proposes that images could be 'referenced as silent teachers in the way that clerks referenced their books' but that they should not be worshipped as icons.[7] Therefore, although the Lollards disapproved of the ways in which images could be worshipped rather than viewed as visual representations of religious doctrine, including depictions of the trinity and the saints, they proposed that images which sought to teach the laity were a useful addition as a form of silent preaching.

[4] Barr, p. 205.
[5] Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), p. 62.
[6] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 165.
[7] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 165.

The concerns over the appropriate use of imagery are also echoed in the Lollard perception of religious drama, as they questioned whether the purpose of these performances was recreational or devotional (for a discussion on the Pater Noster plays see chapter 6 above). This is particularly evident in London, British Library, MS Additional 24202, dating to *c.*1400, which contains two Lollard treatises criticising religious drama (ff.14r-21r) and images (ff.26r-28v) respectively.[8] Whereas the orthodox Church saw drama as a way of supporting the established rituals and teachings, functioning in a similar way to wall paintings as books for the illiterate, the Lollards feared, as Marguerite A. Tassi describes it, 'the corrupting force of drama.[9] In the second part of the treatise entitled 'A Treatise on Miraclis Pleyinge', a text which was most likely written, according to Rosemary Woolf, in reply to works in defence of plays, the six main arguments which promote the use of drama to educate individuals in the Christian faith are refuted.[10]

The two most important points, for the purposes of this thesis, are the challenge to the notion that people are more readily converted by 'gamen and pley' than by 'ernestful doing' [202-203] and that all people need recreation. In this text the Lollard author argues that religious drama 'only plays at truths and mocks the biblical stories it enacts' and therefore it only serves to entertain rather than educate the audience and therefore the miracle plays 'reversith' [66, 89] the intention of the 'ernestful werkis of 'God' [48, 54].[11] It also proposes that drama serves to give pleasure to the audience and thus 'deliten men bodily' [378], enlivening lust rather than encouraging godliness. The result of this is that pleasure is promoted at the expense of activities such as penance and contemplation. Also, attending 'fleysly pley[s]' [480], which has been described by Claire Sponsler as an 'undesirable social activity', diverted money from its appropriate uses, such as providing charity for those in need [598-600].[12]

[8] For an edition of the text see Clifford Davidson, ed., *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1993). For a detailed discussion of the treatise see Lawrence M. Clopper, 'Is the 'Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge' a Tract against Devotional Drama?', *Viator*, 34 (2003), 229-271.
[9] Marguerite A. Tassi, *The Scandal of Images: Iconoclasm, Eroticism, and Painting in Early Modern English Drama* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2005), p. 40.
[10] The treatise is a compound document written in two distinctly different parts by two separate authors at two different times, and dates to *c.*1380-1414. Woolf, pp. 85-86.
[11] Tassi, p. 40.
[12] For a detailed discussion see Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 75-103 (pp.76-77).

From a Lollard perspective then, it is clear, as Tassi aptly suggests, that the 'quick book' of the theatre is 'dangerous and offensive'.[13] This created tensions between the Lollards and the Church, as the Lollards criticised drama as yet another way for the Church to distract and prevent the laity from engaging with the scriptures; the plays, in their opinion, presented a clerical view on the history of salvation rather than scriptural facts.

One area in which the Lollards and the orthodox Church found some common ground, however, was the use of the vernacular in dramatic performances, with both sides seeing the potential of drama to extend and transmit theological ideas and teachings to a lay audience in their mother tongue.[14]

According to Fiona Somerset, the Lollards mostly agreed with their orthodox contemporaries about the content of pastoral instruction for a lay audience.[15] They advocated the teaching of the most important prayers, namely the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*, in the vernacular and also promoted the syllabus issued by Archbishop Pecham in 1281, which included teachings on the seven virtues and seven vices. Therefore, it is likely that the Lollards may have viewed the wall paintings of the virtues and vices as a useful addition to support a lay understanding of the teachings delivered in sermons. As the Lollards emphasised the importance of living morally, the promotion of virtuous living and the rejection of sinful behaviour may have appealed to their sensibilities. However, it is more likely that they would have disapproved of the representation of doctrine which was not expressed within the New Testament. As the Lollards strongly believed that individuals needed to read the scriptures for themselves, rather than having the teachings of Jesus mediated to them by the Church, they would have disapproved of the representations of the imagery of the virtues and vices as this may have provided another example of the Church deliberately controlling and shaping the religious knowledge of a lay audience.

[13] Tassi, p. 40.
[14] For a detailed consideration of the use of the vernacular in religious plays see William Fitzhenry, 'Vernacularity and Theatre: Gender and Religious Identity in East Anglian Drama' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 1997).
[15] Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints,* p. 62.

The comments in the previous paragraph are equally applicable to the use of tables and diagrams which summarised or complemented the religious teachings disseminated in manuals and commentaries (see chapter 4 above). Although the Lollards may not have agreed with some of the orthodox teachings presented in these tables or the use of Latin to teach the viewer about the perceived intrinsic relationship between the *Pater Noster* and the septenaries, they would have approved of the inclusion of the prayer as one of the most fundamental ways of communicating with God. They would have also seen the value of using some of this more orthodox material as a medium to contain and then transmit their heterodox views to a literate audience.

The Lollards made use of existing orthodox texts as well as writing, copy and disseminating their own material. Alfred L. Kellogg and Ernest W. Talbert proposed that the 'existence of English commentaries on basic doctrine must have been an opportunity not easily ignored' by the Lollards.[16] Recent studies by Shannon McSheffrey, Fiona Somerset, Matti Peikola and Anna Lewis, among others, have explored the intricate connection between Lollard text and existing orthodox material, especially bible commentaries and manuals of religious instruction.[17] Through their research it has been established that the Lollards adapted, changed and extended orthodox texts. Somerset suggests that the Lollard writings on the *Pater Noster* draw on mainstream sources without changing them beyond recognition, and therefore the Lollard commentaries overlap significantly with the mainstream versions.[18] Peikola has proposed that even texts relating to the basic articles of the faith were used as vehicles for Lollard teachings.[19] This may have been due to their need to disguise their teachings amongst orthodox material. Margaret Aston proposes that ‘under the cover of an ostensibly

[16] A. L. Kellogg and Ernest Talbert, ‘The Wycliffite ‘Pater Noster’ and Ten Commandments, with Special Reference to English MSS 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library’, *Bulletin of John Rylands Library,* 42 (1959-1960), 345-377 (p.350).
[17] Shannon McSheffrey, ‘Heresy, Orthodoxy, and English Vernacular Religion’, pp. 47-80; Fiona Somerset, ‘Wycliffite Spirituality’, in Helen Barr and Ann M Hutchinson, eds., *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 375-386; Matti Peikola, ‘And After All, Myn Aue-Marie Almost to the Ende: ‘Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede’ and Lollard Expositions of the ‘Ave Maria’’, *English Studies,* 81 (2000), 273-292; and Lewis.
[18] Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 102.
[19] Peikola, p. 273.

unimpeachable author or title it might be possible to pass off the views of the sect or infiltrate them into the hands of unsuspecting readers'.[20]

One of the main sources of Lollard texts was the adaption of earlier writing, with the introduction of new and 'usually more radical material'.[21] The texts that underwent this treatment seem to have been the more popular texts which would have enjoyed wider circulation. Perhaps these interpolated texts were, as Aston states, 'part of a bid to win a wider circle of readers and to escape from the literary underworld'.[22] Aston also proposes that these texts were chosen as they fell into a category that could be described as 'marginal orthodoxy' and therefore it was much more difficult for the Church authorities to decide whether the texts had been 'contaminated' by Lollard materials.[23]

Fiona Somerset states that the Lollards agreed with their orthodox contemporaries on what the content of pastoral instruction for the laity should include (focusing on the syllabus issued by Archbishop Pecham in 1281) and also on the prayers that were most important for the laity to learn: the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo*.[24] This is perhaps surprising as, according to Richard Rex, the Lollards challenged 'almost every distinct aspect of late medieval [religious] practice', including the use of Latin for the bible; the doctrine of transubstantiation; the relevance of pilgrimage and indulgences; and the role of the Church and saints as intermediaries between lay individuals and God.[25]

For the Lollards, the *Pater Noster* was considered to be the primary, and therefore most important, Christian prayer due to its biblical origin.[26] For Wyclif and his followers the bible was the main, if not only, source of religious authority, and therefore this prayer was seen to have special significance.[27] As the bible was believed to be the primary source of God's teachings, the prayer was deemed to be more reliable than the prayers which were later devised by priests and clerics and also

[20] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 211. This is indicated by Kellogg and Talbert, pp. 349, 376-377.
[21] Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 27.
[22] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 211.
[23] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 211.
[24] Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 62.
[25] Rex, pp. 2-3, 24.
[26] The use of the term 'Lollard' in this thesis refers specifically to the followers of, or individuals inspired by, John Wycliffe.
[27] Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), p. 149.

more dependable than those asking for the intercession of the saints.[28] For example, during the Lollard persecution of the diocese of Lincolnshire in 1521 Bennet Ward, denounced by John Merston, claimed 'that it booteth [avails] no man to pray to our Lady, nor to any saint or angel in heaven, but to God only, for they have no power of man's soul'.[29] Hudson proposes that the Lollards measured 'new prayers' and the 'long prayers, especially of the friars', against the *Pater Noster* to reject their claimed 'superior worth' and to state that the 'brevity' and 'comprehensiveness' of this prayer was unsurpassable.[30] For example:

> A symple Pater noster of a plouȝman þat his in charite is betre þan a þousand massis of coueitouse prelatis and veyn religious ful of coueitise and pride and fals flaterynge and norischynge of synne'.[31]

This suggests that the Lollards placed a much greater value on private rather than communal prayer, and also on prayers derived directly from the scriptures. It also suggests that they disliked the introduction and promotion of these elaborate but useless prayers above the *Pater Noster*, as the words of Jesus were believed to hold more authority than the words of man.

The value of the *Pater Noster* is clearly expressed in the surviving three Lollard expositions of the prayer. In the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 296, f.174 (text supplied by F. D. Matthew) it is said that the prayer:

> passiþ alle oþ*er*e preieris i*n* auctorite, in sotilte & p*ro*fit boþe of soule & body. It is of most auctorite; for oure lord ihū c*r*ist, god & man, made it & comau*n*did c*r*istene men to seie it; but oþ*er*e preieris ben made bi men, & enclosen noon oþ*er* sentence þan doþ þis pat*er* nost*er*, but ȝif it be errour. þ*er*fore as ihū c*r*ist is more worþi þa*n* oþ*er*e synful men, so þis pat*er* nost*er* is of more auctorite þan is preiere maad of oþere men, þouȝ here preiere be good. þis pat*er* nost*er* is more sotil þan oþere preieris; for it is maad of endeles wisdom & charite of c*r*ist, & encloseþ alle þinkyngis þa*t* be*n* nedful boþe for body & soule i*n* þis world & þe toþ*er*; & oure lord ihū made it i*n* schorte wordis & moche witt, for men schulden not be heuy ne excusen hem fro ku*n*nynge & seiynge þ*er*-of. it is of most p*ro*fit, for ȝif a man seie it wel he ne schal faile no þing þa*t* is nedful & p*ro*fitable for bodily lif & v*er*tuous, to brynge men to heuene & haue blisse i*n* body & soule wiþ-outen ende.

[28] Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 310-311; Arnold, III (1871), pp. 93/1, 98/1, 221/6; Matthew, pp. 82/15, 201/35.
[29] George Townsend, ed., *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, 8 vols (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1837), VI, p. 226.
[30] Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 195-196.
[31] Matthew, p. 274.

> lord, hou moche ben þei to blame þ*a*t bisien hem aboute preieris maade synful men & leuen þis pat*er* no*ste*r þat is best & most hesy of alle, & comp*re*hendiþ alle goodis for body & soule. blissed be þis endeles goode lord, þ*a*t of his endeles wisdom & charite tauȝte þis schorte preiere.[32]

This passage highlights the biblical origin of the prayer, focussing specifically on the events of the Sermon on the Mount in which Christ gave the prayer to his disciples to recite. It clearly praises its contents, suggesting that it is superior to the other prayers that were promoted by the Church, as its simplicity makes it accessible to everyone whilst it is also full of meaning. This criticism of other prayers is clearly linked to the Lollard teachings which suggest that the bible is the only true source of Christian doctrine.

In Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789, the *Pater Noster* is described in the following way:

> We schal bileve þat þis Pater Noster, þat Crist himsilf tauȝte to alle Cristene men, passiþ oþere prayers in þese þre þingis; in auctorite, in sotilte, and profit to Cristis Cherche. It passiþ in auctorite, - for Crist, boþe God and man, made it for Cristene men to usen it; and he is moost of auctorite, as oure bileve techiþ. And heerfor þe Gospel of Matthew seiþ þat Crist baad us praie þus. It passiþ also in sotilte, - for we schal understonde þat in þese seven askingis is sotelli conteyned alle poyntis of þe worlde in whiche lieþ any witte; and so schortli to comprehende so muche witte in pleyne wordis, is a sotilte of God passynge witte of men. Þe þridde, we schal suppose þat no praier in þis world be moore profitable to man, siþþe Crist himsilf heriþ alle.[33]

This example clearly focuses on the three main ways in which the *Pater Noster* is superior to other prayers: in authority, subtlety and profit. In a similar way to the previous example, the notion that the prayer was formulated by Christ as a way of teaching his disciples to pray in a suitable manner is also explored. Here, there is a direct reference to the origin of the prayer in Matthew's Gospel, again linking to the importance of the bible to the Lollards. This passage also comments on the simplicity of the words chosen and praises the ways in which the seven petitions contain all of the necessary elements to pray appropriately.

The final Wycliffite treatise on the *Pater Noster* contains similar praise for the prayer:

[32] Matthew, pp. 201-202.
[33] Arnold, pp. 93-94.

> SYÞÞE þe Pater Noster is þe beste prayer þat is, for in it mot alle oþer prayers be closed yf þey schulle graciouslyche be hurde of God, þerfore scholde men kunne þis prayour, and studie þe wyt þerof ...[34]
>
> ... þis blessede prayer passeþ alle oþere in þre speciale poyntes, in auctorite, in sotylte, and profyȝt to Cristes Churche. In auctorite it passeþ, for Crist, boþe God and man, made it, and tauȝte it his disciples; and syþ he is þe wysdom of þe Fader, men scholde hertelyche love þis prayer by cause of þe makere, and wyt conteynede þer-ynne. In sotylte it passeþ, for in so schort a prayer is conteyned so muche wyt þat no tonge of man may telle it al here in erþe. And syþþe a craft of gret sotilte is muche y-preysed of worldlyche men, muche more scholde þis sotylle gospel, þis worþy prayer, be loved and preysed of Cristes dere chyldren. It passeþ oþer prayers in prophyt to holy Churche, for al þyng þat nedeþ to a man gostlyche and bodylyche, is conteyned in þis prayer. And syþþe it is so schort, and so muche medelyd þer-ynne, to hem þat beþ of goed wylle, none excusacioun is to man rekened in þis prayer.[35]

This final example reiterates many of the points made in the previous two. However, within this passage the need to 'love' the prayer due to its creator as well as its comprehensive content is also promoted.

These examples are illustrations of the ways in which the Lollards promoted the *Pater Noster* as the most worthy and appropriate prayer. They clearly value the simplicity of the wording, despite the comprehensive nature of the content, but also suggest, in a similar way to the orthodox teachings of the Church, that this simplicity meant there was no excuse for any individual to be unable to recite or understand this prayer.

The necessity to recite the *Pater Noster* was also promoted in vernacular Lollard sermons.[36] For example, in the Sermon for Sexagesima it suggests that a devout individual should persist with saying his *Pater Noster* without being distracted by the 'trivia' that comes into his mind during prayer. He should say:

> þe perfite *Pater Noster* for þat is þe preier pleseþ God. But þanne comeþ his Muk into his muynde and marreþ him amydde, and seiþ: 'Leef þi labour for a litil tyme, and go redresse þat is mysrulid or þou maist rue foreuere, and do

[34] Arnold, p. 98.
[35] Arnold, pp. 99-100.
[36] There is a reference to a Latin sermon on the *Pater Noster* in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.16.2, a collection of Wycliffite sermons. Anne Hudson states that sermon 29 focuses on the *Pater Noster*, in *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 233-234.

> þi deuer anoþer dai and double it þerfore.' And þus is þe word of God strangulid. [37]

In an additional sermon, the use of the *Pater Noster* has been inferred by Gordon Mursell.[38] In the sermon for Quinquagesima, the text suggests that an individual should perform good deeds to make his prayers heard:

> Riȝt so, þou christen man þat preyest, when þou seest þat þi pyerer is not anone herde at þi wille, go and worship þe Lorde wiþ almesdede in his pore membris, and þen þi preyoure shal be þe raþr herde after þat almesdede.[39]

Mursell proposes that the prayer which is referred to is the *Pater Noster.* It is plausible that the reference to prayer, looking at the remaining contents of this sermon, could link directly to the *Pater Noster,* although this is not explicitly stated.

The promotion of the *Pater Noster* as the only worthy prayer by the Lollards was heavily criticised by Thomas Netter of Walden (*c.*1374-1430), an opponent of Wyclif, in his *Doctrinale.*[40] He claimed that this doctrine went far beyond the teachings of Wyclif himself. He proposed that Wyclif was more concerned with an individual being able to comprehend the words he was being asked to repeat, hence the need for the vernacular, rather than condemning the use of other prayers as pointless or invalid.[41]

The Wycliffites' focus on making sure that individuals could understand their prayers, especially the vernacular versions, was fuelled by his desire to see the bible translated into the mother tongue. As Wyclif believed in the 'logic of Holy Scripture', he argued that one of the purest sources of the Christian faith was the bible. He advocated access to the bible in the vernacular so that individuals would be able to read or hear the words of the gospels for themselves without the assistance of an intermediary, either a priest or cleric, to read the Latin text to them.[42] Richard Rex has suggested that this desire emerged at a time when greater value was being placed on 'literary culture'

[37] Gloria Cigman, ed., *Lollard Sermons*, EETS, OS, 294 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 98, lines 183-188.
[38] Mursell, p. 172, states that the prayer is specifically the *Pater Noster*, however this is not clearly stated in the text.
[39] Cigman, p. 162, lines 460-463.
[40] See Kevin J. Alban, *The Teachings and Impact of the 'Doctrinale' of Thomas Netter of Walden (c.1374-1430)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).
[41] See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 50-55, for a more detailed discussion.
[42] Rex, pp. 34-35.

rather than the 'oral tradition and custom of the Church'.[43] The desire to be able to read these texts and to access the fundamental document of Christianity rather than simply hearing the words recited during a sermon or as part of a Mass fuelled the Lollard movement, so much so that Aston has suggested that the popularity of this movement stemmed in part from it making 'scriptural learning available to humble (and often self-educated) Christians'.[44]

In order to achieve the Lollard aim of a vernacular translation of the bible, Wyclif turned to the *Pater Noster* to assist his cause. The vernacular translations of the *Pater Noster,* which had been authorised by the Church in response to the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (although some versions were in circulation prior to this date), were used as a precedent by the Lollards to justify the translation of the whole bible into the mother tongue.[45] For example, in London, British Library, MS Harley 2398 (and the seven additional copies of this text) it states in the opening sentence that 'Sythe the Pater Noster is the beste prayer that is' men must study it in their own language. It then proceeds to say that 'sythe the treuthe of God stondeth nought in one langage more than in another' men should have access to the gospels in both written and spoken English.[46] They also pointed to the example of the York *Pater Noster* plays in which the prayer was said in English. 'Since the *Pater Noster* is part of Matthew's gospel, as clerks know, may not all be turned to English truly, as is this part?' (See chapter 6 above for a more detailed discussion of the plays).[47]

Aston has proposed that this tactic was not particularly successful as the Lollards had brought the vernacular *Pater Noster* into 'discredit by making it part of their case for vernacular scripture', a factor which explains the absence of English *Pater Noster* texts being displayed on boards and painted onto the walls of churches during this period (see chapter 7 above).[48] The Church authorities had become extremely wary of the use of the vernacular for religious texts, fearing the call for the

[43] Rex, p. 35.
[44] Aston, *Faith and Fire*, p. 21.
[45] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers,* p. 216.
[46] Arnold, p. 98.
[47] Arnold, pp. 98-99.
[48] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers,* p. 213.

translation of the bible. In *c.*1400, it had been acceptable for John Mirk to encourage the use of the vernacular by the parochial clergy:

> It is much more useful and meritorious for you to say your *Pater Noster* in English than in such Latin as you do. For when you speak in English, then you know, and understand well what you say; and so by your understanding you have liking and devotion to say it.[49]

However, by 1500 there had been too many reformers urging the translation of the scriptures into the vernacular. For example, William Wakeham of Devizes, an individual who was identified by Robert Neville, Bishop of Salisbury, as a relapsed heretic in 1437, made statements such as: 'It is no better for laymen to say the *Pater Noster* in Latin than to say "bibble babble"' when addressing the weavers of Marlborough.'[50] Comments like these further fuelled the disapproval of the Church, helping also to discredit the vernacular even in orthodox texts, so much so that no printed editions of the bible in the vernacular appeared in the fifteenth century.[51]

Hudson argues that 'it was only very slowly that the authorities of the established Church came to see that the vernacular lay at the root of the trouble', and that the use of it was more significant than just the substitution of the Latin with the mother tongue: the use of the vernacular opened up the possibility of discussing wider church issues.[52] Therefore, in the 1380s, books and tracts written and disseminated by Wyclif and his followers were sought, scrutinised, confiscated and destroyed. Wycliffite books were condemned for their spread of heresy, for their advancement of Lollard views and their refutation of the opinions of the established Church. Even instructions in the core teachings of religion, the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo* and the Decalogue, were closely

[49] Erbe, p. 282.
[50] William Wakeman was one of the fervent readers, listeners and learners who attended frequent scriptural meetings when the material first became available in the vernacular. In 1434 he was accused of reading the bible in English and of spreading Lollard teachings. He admitted 'that I with other heretics and Lollards were accustomed and used to hear in secret places... the reading of the Bible in English' (Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, Trowbridge, Register of the Bishops of Salisbury, Register of Bishop Robert Neville, fols 52^{r}, 52^{v}, 57^{v}). Wakeman seems to have been illiterate and learned his knowledge of the scriptures through listening to the reading of others. See R. H. Hilton, ed., *Peasants, Knights and Heretics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 287; Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 199.
[51] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 211.
[52] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, p. 145.

inspected for any incorporation of heretical asides.[53] The legislation, *De heretico comburendo,* issued in 1401, identified the making of books as a typically heretical activity and brought Lollard texts under even closer scrutiny.[54] By the time Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions were drafted in 1407, the authorities clearly saw theological material in the vernacular as dangerous.[55] The central sixth section of the Constitutions made the target of Arundel's legislation clear: it stated that no book or tract written by John Wyclif, or any other author, should be read unless it had first been examined and found orthodox.[56] The seventh went on to forbid the translation of scripture into English and to ban the ownership of any translation of the bible made in the time of Wyclif or later without the express permission of the diocesan, and this permission was only to be given after the translation had been inspected.[57]

Even after Arundel's constitutions restricted the circulation of vernacular scriptures their ownership was not prohibited. For example, the Wycliffite translation of the bible was not heretical in itself as for the most part it was an accurate rendering of the Latin vulgate, but its 'general prologue' was heretical as it challenged the Church's teachings on transubstantiation (the changing of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ during the communion rite).[58]

By 1410, however, Archbishop Arundel had realised, as Hudson claims, 'that orthodoxy must appropriate the tools of the heretics – that the medium of the vernacular could not be allowed to become a dominant part of the message of heresy, but must be brought back for legitimate use'.[59] In this year he approved the *Speculum vita Cristi* (or *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*) by Nicholas Love, the Carthusian prior of Mount Grace Priory, Yorkshire. This text was a Middle English

[53] See the treatises incorporated into London, Lambeth Palace, MS 408, printed in Simmons and Nolloth for an example.
[54] Anne Hudson, 'Laicus Litteratus: The Paradox of Lollardy', in Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds., *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 222-236 (p.232). See Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, III, pp. 253, 314-319.
[55] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, p. 146.
[56] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, pp. 146-147.
[57] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, pp. 147-148.
[58] The main issue the Lollards had with the process of transubstantiation was that it distanced the laity from the sacrament of communion, making them mere observers of a ritual many were unable to understand (Aston, *Faith and Fire*, p.22). Out of the 250 copies, or extracts, of the Wycliffite bible that have survived, only eleven contain the prologue (Rex, pp.74-76).
[59] Hudson, 'Laicus Litteratus', p. 234.

translation and adaption of the Latin pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditationes vitae Christi* which itself had been popular and important during the fourteenth century, as it survives in over 200 manuscript copies. The *Speculum vita Cristi* was not a simple translation. It was an expanded version of the text containing polemical additions against the Wycliffites or Lollards, which focussed on ecclesiastical hierarchy and the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist. In line with the strictures of the Oxford Constitutions, the text was submitted for approval; however, Arundel not only approved it but commended its dissemination. In some senses this text, with its meditations, provided the type of alternative biblical translations that Arundel's initial Constitutions had banned.[60] The text appears to have circulated widely as it is extant in 64 medieval manuscripts.

Aston suggests that during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century the Lollard promotion of the recitation of the *Pater Noster* in the vernacular, and their desire to see a full vernacular translation of the bible resulted in some being 'burned for this very teaching'.[61] Some notable examples of individuals who were persecuted for their use of the vernacular *Pater Noster* include John Kynget of Nelond who appeared before Bishop Alnwick accused of heretical beliefs. Kynget claimed in his testimony that 'no prayer should be said other than the *Pater Noster*'.[62] In 1490 Robert Clerke, tried before Bishop John Blythe of Coventry and Lichfield, proposed a moral criterion for the recitation of the prayer in his testimony: 'the Lord's Prayer should not be said by anyone outside charity, because this would be more to his damnation than to his edification'.[63] A further example comes from the proceedings against John Colet, the Dean of St Paul's, who was suspended from preaching early in the year 1513.[64] Among the reported reasons for this was that Colet had translated the *Pater Noster* into English. Another example is provided by the 'seven martyrs of Coventry' who were persecuted in April 1520 for their Lutheran beliefs, and arrested on account of the vernacular instruction they had

[60] Hudson, 'Laicus Litteratus', p. 234.
[61] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 213.
[62] J. Patrick Hornbeck II, Stephen E. Lahey and Fiona Somerset, eds., *Wycliffite Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 2013), section 24: Heresy Trials in Norwich Diocese, 1428-1431.
[63] Shannon McSheffrey and Norman Tanner, eds., *Lollards of Coventry, 1486-1522* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 95-96.
[64] For the proceedings against Colet see P. S. Allen, 'Dean Colet and Archbishop Warham', *English Historical Review*, 17 (1902), 303-306 (pp.305-306).

received in the *Pater Noster* and the Commandments according to the description given by John Foxe ('for teaching their children and family the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English').[65] An additional example can be seen in the case of John Burell, a servant of Thomas Moon of Loddon, Norfolk, who admitted his heresy on 18 April 1429 at the Bishops Palace in Norwich. He confessed that three years earlier his brother, Thomas, had taught him the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo* in the vernacular. As a result, Burell was compelled to abjure and perform penance.[66] A final example is provided by the case of Alice Dolly, a wealthy member of the Oxfordshire gentry, who was accused of Lollard activities by her servant Elizabeth Wighthill in 1529. Wighthill claimed that Dolly had said that John Hacker was 'as expert in the gospels and other things belonging to divine service, and the *Pater Noster* in English, as any priest, and it did one good to hear him'.[67] Although Dolly's statements during her inquisition by John London at the Parsonage of Stanton Harcourt were particularly defiant no action was taken against her, perhaps due to her social class.

Although I have included a range of examples, the number of suspects in heresy trials that were questioned on whether they knew, had copies of, or taught their children the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* in English, was very low. Therefore, admission to knowledge of vernacular prayers could not, by itself, be deemed as evidence for heretical beliefs.[68] Orthodox theological writers had encouraged the laity to learn their prayers in Latin and in the vernacular, as well as encouraging them to think about the meaning of the words that they recited, and therefore the Lollard promotion of the

[65] J. Pratt, ed., *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, 8 vols (London: Seeleys, 1853-1868), IV (1857), p. 557.
[66] Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 145. For a more detailed discussion see Steven Justice, 'Inquisition, Speech and Writing: A Case from Late Medieval Norwich', in Rita Copeland, ed., *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 289-322 (pp.289-291) and N. P. Tanner, ed., *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428-1431*, Camden Fourth Series, 20, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), p. 73.
[67] Pratt, p. 582; and Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 216. Hacker was a preacher and book seller who was a leading Lollard activist in London and Essex during the 1520s (For a more detailed discussion see John A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards 1414-1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 76-77, 91, 240-242; and Shannon McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy: Women and Men in Lollard Communities, 1420-1530* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), p. 20 and esp. ch.4 on Lollards and the family. Hacker was first arrested in 1521 and compelled to abjure, however, he was caught again in London in 1528, and to avoid burning as a relapsed heretic he turned bishop's evidence and gave details of the Lollard textual network in London and Essex (See Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 63; and Steven Justice, 'Lollardy', in David Wallace, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 662-689 (p.686)).
[68] McSheffrey, 'Heresy, Orthodoxy, and English Vernacular Religion', 52-61.

prayer in the mother tongue and their insistence that an individual needed to know the meaning of their prayers builds upon previous pedagogy rather than challenging it.[69]

From these examples, however, it is clear that by the early sixteenth century the vernacular *Pater Noster* was becoming explicitly linked with heretical views. Accordingly, when the tables were turned and the teaching of the *Pater Noster* in English became part of England's new orthodoxy, we find individuals objecting to the new learning as part of the new heresy. Whereas the injunctions of 1536 enjoined parish clergy, fathers, mothers and others to see that children learned the *Pater Noster, Credo* and commandments in English, and to make sure that those who could read knew where to find this in print, there is some evidence to suggest that some members of the laity were resistant to this change.[70] For example, in November 1536 John Page's wife declared that neither the king nor council would make her learn the *Pater Noster, Credo* and Decalogue in English.[71]

Aston proposed that another element that made the Lollard movement popular was their 'corpus of vernacular [theological] writings'.[72] Lollardy has been described by Robert Lutton as 'essentially a book-centred heresy', as Lollards were quick to seize upon the vernacular texts that were produced. Many acquired the literacy to read English books, tried to find someone who could read the texts to them, and organised to borrow or purchase these texts.[73] Exegesis of short passages, including the Decalogue, the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria* and the canticles, are evidenced in several forms and found in numerous manuscripts.[74]

However, it is the commentaries on the *Pater Noster* that are of particular interest to this study. Three free-standing Lollard tracts on the *Pater Noster* have been attributed to Wyclif: two are edited in Thomas Arnold's *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, and one in Frederic David Matthew's *The English Works of Wyclif*. Previous scholarly work undertaken by Matthew, Kellogg and Talbert,

[69] Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 103.
[70] Frere and Kennedy, II, pp. 6-7.
[71] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 217.
[72] Aston, *Faith and Fire*, p. 21.
[73] Lutton, p. 182. For a more detailed discussion of the supply and circulation of Lollard texts see Margaret Aston, 'Lollardy and Literacy', *History*, 62 (1977), 347-371.
[74] Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 267. See Kellogg and Talbert, pp. 345-377.

and Anne Hudson has focussed on the connections between these commentaries.[75] A connection between the two texts identified by Arnold (henceforth described as version 1 and version 2) has been established although scholars have been unable to decide on which may have been the source material for the other.

Version 1 (found in Arnold, iii, pp.93-97) can be found in eight manuscript sources. Versions are located in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 789, f.97, dating to the fifteenth century; Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.12.39, f.72v, dating to the late fourteenth century; London, British Library, MS Harley 2385, f.2, dating to the late fourteenth century; London British Library, MS Add. 17013 [*Book of the Vices and Virtues*], f.36r, dating to the early fifteenth century; London, Lambeth Palace, MS 408 [*Lay Folk's Catechism*], f.1v, dating to the fifteenth century; Dublin, Trinity College, MS C.V.6, f.2r, dating to the early fifteenth century; York, Cathedral Library, MS XVI. L. 12, f.32r, dating to the second half of the fourteenth century; and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 3390, f.27r, dating to the fifteenth century (although it contains materials extant in the fourteenth century).[76]

This tract was initially attributed to Wyclif by W. W. Shirley in 1865.[77] However, Arnold, in his edition of the text, states that there is no internal evidence to suggest Wyclif, or anyone else, as its author, but its close association with the tract on the *Ave Maria*, a text that accompanies it in several manuscripts does contain the name Wyclif in Harley 2385.[78]

Kellogg and Talbert have also proposed that this tract is ambiguous in nature and contains 'no clearly identifiable Wycliffite ideas', however, in 'numerous manuscripts it is found closely associated with Wycliffite tracts'.[79] According to Kellogg and Talbert, it is found in three strongly Wycliffite manuscripts (Lambeth 408, Dublin C.V.6, York XVI. L. 12), in one mixed orthodox and heterodox

[75] Matthew, p. 197; Kellogg and Talbert, pp. 358-360; and Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, p. 190.
[76] The list of manuscripts is provided by Kellogg and Talbert, p. 358. The following manuscripts lack the final paragraph printed by Arnold: London, British Library, MS Additional 17013; Lambeth 408; Dublin, Trinity College, C.V.6; York, Cathedral Library, MS XVI. L. 12; and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 3390.
[77] Walter Waddington Shirley, *A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865), no. 11.2.
[78] Arnold, p. 93.
[79] Kellogg and Talbert, pp. 353-355, esp. p.355 when discussing Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 3390.

manuscript (Harley 2385) and one non-Wycliffite manuscript (British Library Add. 17013).[80] Kellogg and Talbert propose that this text may be Wycliffite in nature as:

> To be Wyclifite a work need not necessarily proclaim the hypocrisy of the friars or demand the reading of the whole Bible. The earlier Lollard position, shared by Wyclif, was much more moderate.[81]

They cite an early tract by John Purvey to support their interpretation:

> But if the ten commandments, the creed, pater noster and ave, that all Christian people ought to kunne, common things of holy writ, gospels and epistles read in church, be well translated and truly, sentence for sentence, with good declaration [i.e. exposition] whoso read it, he shall the better understand it, both in Latin and English.[82]

It seems likely that the compilers of these manuscripts may have interpreted this tract on the *Pater Noster* in this way, as an accurate translation and exposition, as it was often placed side by side with explicit Wycliffite works. This notion is also echoed by Kevin Gustafson who has suggested that orthodox texts could be read through the 'eyes of a new theology', and therefore no alterations or insertions of Lollard teachings were necessary.[83]

Version 1 opens, as I have previously stated, with a section praising the worth of the *Pater Noster*. This section comments on the prayer's origin in the Gospel of St Matthew, its simplicity and its comprehensive content. The central section takes each petition in turn and provides a description of its meaning, however, no mention is made of the seven virtues or the seven deadly sins. The structure of the commentary is particularly formulaic. For example, each petition is introduced with an opening phrase such as 'Þe first askynge of þe Pater Noster stoondeþ in þese wordis' and 'Þe þridde askynge seiþ þus'.[84] The prayer is then divided into a set of three petitions and a group of four petitions. The first three petitions are clearly related to the trinity; with the first petition linking to the Father, the second to the Son and the third to the Holy Spirit. The final four petitions are described as 'askyngs'

[80] Kellogg and Talbert, p. 359
[81] Kellogg and Talbert, p. 359-360.
[82] Kellogg and Talbert, p. 360 cite Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 272.
[83] Kevin Gustafson, 'Richard Rolle's 'English Psalter' and the Making of a Lollard Text', *Viator*, 33 (2002), 294-309 (p.297).
[84] Arnold, p. 94.

relating to both physical and spiritual sustenance. For example, 'bodili foode', the repayment of debts, not falling into the folly of sin, and having deliverance from sins of the devil before death.[85] The final section returns to consider the qualities of the prayer and to praise its worthiness again. This time a series of rhetorical questions are strung together to highlight how each petition phrases what needs to be asked of God in a few simple words, for example: 'whanne a man sieþ, Lord, so awar fro me þe coveitise of þe wombe, what oþir þing saiþ he þan þis, Delyvere us from yvel?'[86] It then reiterates the statement that the reciter will not find anything which is not already found in the *Pater Noster* and proposes that 'whoevere seiþ a þing þat may not perteyne to þis prayer of þe gospel, he praieþ bodily and unjustly and unleeffulli, as me þenkiþ'. The commentator concludes by providing examples of the requests of man, such as richness, honour and profit, which are not found in the prayer as it is shameful to ask God for such things. When this final section is combined with the number of lines in the introductory passage, it is clear that praising the merits of the prayer takes at least one third of the entire commentary.

Lewis has suggested that version 1 may have been a 'roving text' as it was concise and suitable to be slotted into theological anthologies. Her justification for this is that the text is found in numerous manuscripts containing Wycliffite works.[87] For example, it is added to a copy of the *Book of Vices and Virtues* and it is inserted into an interpolated copy of the *Lay Folks Catechism*.[88] Kellogg and Talbert identified five main insertions into the Wycliffite version of the *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, Lambeth Palace, MS 408, (the original was a translated vernacular verse version of Archbishop Thoresby's Latin Injunctions issued in 1357). These insertions are incorporated as a consecutive group after the introduction to the text and before the exposition of the fourteen articles of the faith. They included the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, five bodily wits and five ghostly wits. The *Pater Noster* is also inserted in the same position in Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 3390. These

[85] Arnold, pp. 95-96.
[86] Arnold, p. 97.
[87] Lewis, p. 5
[88] For a more detailed discussion of the *Lay Folk's Catechism* see Hudson, 'A New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism', pp. 243-258.

examples suggest that the inclusion of the prayer aimed to be subtle, giving the appearance of a revision of a standard popular manual rather than using this material to record and disseminate Lollard teachings. As these tracts are capable of acting as 'discrete units of basic religious material', Lewis proposes that they were useful for inclusion in devotional compilations as they made the material more comprehensive, but did not change the overall orthodoxy of the collection.[89]

Version 2 (Arnold, iii, pp.98-100) is extant in eight manuscripts. The text can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 938, f.24r, dating to the first half of the fifteenth century; Cambridge, University Library, MS Nn.4.12, f.12v, dating to the early fifteenth century; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.38, f.148v (ends imperfectly), dating to the late fourteenth century; Manchester, John Ryland's Library, MS English 85, f.37r dating to the early fifteenth century; Manchester, John Ryland's Library, MS English 90, f.63v, dating to the late fourteenth century; Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4g.3, f.64v, dating to the fifteenth century; London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, f.166v, dating to *c.*1400-1410; and Princeton, Robert H. Taylor (Olim Wrest Park) [collection of Wyclif's sermons], f.5, dating to *c.*1400.[90]

Version 2 is significantly longer than the other two Wycliffite tracts on the prayer as it contains more lengthy interpolations. It is also clearly Wycliffite in nature, due to the criticism of 'symoniours, sillers of pardoun and indulgences' and the members of the Church who take upon themselves the 'colour of perfeccioun' and imitate the Pharisees, and those who hinder the preaching of the Word of God and 'wolde þat þe gospel slepte'.[91] There is also a strong justification for the creation of a vernacular bible so that it 'may edifye þe lewede peple, as it doþ clerkes in Latyn'.[92] Although these complaints are included in the text, Anna Lewis, in her article on 'Textual Borrowings... and The Lollard Commentary Tradition', has proposed that they are inserted into an

[89] Lewis, p. 6.
[90] List compiled from Kellogg and Talbert, p. 358; Linne R. Mooney, *Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XI* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995), p. 12; and G. A. Lester, *Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist II* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), pp. 22-23.
[91] Quotations, in order, from Arnold, pp. 103, 109 and 99.
[92] Arnold, p. 98.

orthodox exposition of the prayer which has strong links to the existing commentary tradition.[93] Therefore the Lollard comments seek to expand and adapt the orthodox text rather than to challenge the orthodox teachings on the prayer itself.

The commentary starts by dividing the prayer into the three petitions which are to worship God, and the four petitions which assist the spiritual health of the reciter.[94] Each petition is then explored in more detail in a manner emulating the more comprehensive approaches of some orthodox commentaries. For example, the first petition is broken down to include an orthodox explanation for the commentator's editorial choices, including the use of 'our' rather than 'my' father, and the use of the term ‘hevens’ rather than ‘heven’.[95] The text, however, is unusual in its schematisation of the seven petitions. Instead of following the traditional schema in which the petitions are linked to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the virtues and the vices, here, the gifts are omitted and the virtues are doubled.[96] Each petition is answered by a virtue (instead of a gift) which counteracts a sin and is then met with a second virtue (although this is not clearly stated).[97] For example ‘Hallowed be thy name’ is answered by ‘humility’ which opposes ‘pride’ and leaves the virtue of ‘faith’; ‘Thy kingdom come’ is answered by ‘charity’ which opposes ‘envy’ and leaves the virtue of ‘hope’; and ‘Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven’ is answered by ‘love’ which opposed ‘wrath’ and leaves the virtue of ‘charity’.[98] The fourth petition, however, does not adhere to this schematisation. Here the writer or copier of this text uses this petition asking for ‘our daily bread’ as a metaphor for the ‘lore of Godes worde’ and criticises the ways in which the Church fails to use preaching to disseminate the word of God to its congregations:

[93] Lewis, p. 2.
[94] Arnold, p. 99.
[95] For a more detailed discussion see Lewis, pp. 11-12. Lewis discusses two lengthy additions which are uncommon in the *Pater Noster* commentary tradition in some detail. She describes these additions as more devotional rather than instructional. See pp. 12-13 for her analysis.
[96] Kellogg and Talbert, pp. 360-362.
[97] The first list of virtues is flexible in nature (meekness, patience, charity, measure, chastity, *largesse* (generosity / giving away money) and *besinesse* (diligence)) whereas the second list contains the three theological and four cardinal virtues.
[98] Quotations from Arnold, pp. 101, 104 and 105 respectively.

> And þus yf, þurghe necligence of oure byschopes and prelatȝ, and oþer false techers þat be in holy Churche, þe truþe of Godes word be nouȝt ysowe in þe peple.[99]

Lewis proposes that the expansion of this petition into a prayer that God will 'ordeyne prechours' for the people who suffer under the 'false techers' of the Church clearly identifies this material as Lollard.[100]

The remainder of the schematisation is relatively successful, although the use of the Principal virtues schema seems to have failed after the use of 'faith', 'hope' and 'charity'. For example, 'Forgive our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us' is answered by 'diligence' against 'sloth'. The sixth petition, 'Lead us not into temptation' is more complex as it is answered by both 'abstinence' and 'chastity' presented against 'gluttony' and 'lust'.[101] This leaves the seventh petitions without an attributed vice or virtue. The seventh petition requesting deliverance from evil focuses specifically on deliverance from the 'unforgivable sin against the Holy Spirit' as Lewis states.[102] Here, the spotlight is clearly shone on the religious orders, who the Lollards propose, are guilty of committing this sin through their persistent rebellion against God.[103]

Although the text follows some sort of schematisation, for a reader, the main focus on the *Pater Noster* is extremely difficult to follow. The structure of the text lacks clarity, especially after the summaries of the first three petitions are given due to the number of Lollard commentaries that are interpolated. Therefore, this text feels more fragmentary in nature than version 1, perhaps due to the large degree of digression from the prayer and the amount of lengthier polemical comments that are included in a relatively short tract. This is illustrated at the beginning of the commentary with the comment 'leve we now this mater, and speke we of the Pater Noster that Jesus Crist made'; an attempt to redirect the attention of the reader to the main topic of the tract away from the previous discussion

[99] Arnold, p. 106.
[100] Arnold, p. 106
[101] Arnold, pp. 107-108
[102] Lewis, p. 11.
[103] Arnold, p. 106.

on the religious orders who 'wolde the gospel slepte'.[104] It could be argued that this text highlights the ways in which the *Pater Noster* was used as a vehicle to disseminate Lollard teachings. The prayer provided the basis on which Lollard criticisms of the established Church could be built, allowing the orthodox teachings on the petitions to be manipulated to suit a new purpose. This notion is supported by Somerset, as she proposes that the inclusion of topics that the Lollards felt were necessary to elaborate on, as part of their commentary, was deemed to be more important than the sequential development of the text.[105] This technique sought to bring out the Lollard emphases and enabled them to integrate their exposition into the larger whole.

Version 3 (Matthew, pp. 198-200) is located in a single Middle English and Latin manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 296, ff.172-174, dating to the late fourteenth century.[106] Matthew states that the authorship of this text is questionable. However, he proposes that the author may have been Wyclif, due to the close connection with other Lollard texts within the codex.[107] These sentiments echo those made by James Nasmith, as he catalogued this manuscript as part of his index of the Parker Library in 1777:

> In this booke be gathered together all the sharpe treatises concernynge the erroures and defaults which John Wickliff did fynde in his tyme specially in the clergie and religiouse and in other estates of the worlde.[108]

And also by the comments made in the description of the manuscript in the online catalogue: 'this volume is a leading authority for many of the Wycliffite tracts'.[109]

This tract on the *Pater Noster* opens with the Middle English prayer text and then proceeds to discuss each of the seven petitions in detail. The opening of this text differs from the previous two

[104] Arnold, p. 99.
[105] Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 62.
[106] Kellogg and Talbert, p. 358.
[107] Matthew, p. 197.
[108] Nasmith's comments (from J. Nasmith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi et B. Mariae Virginis in Academia Cantabrigiensis legauit Reverendissimus in Christo Pater Matthaeus Parker, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis* (Cantabrigiæ: Typis Academicis, 1777)), are reproduced by M. R. James, 'John Wyclif and his followers, Tracts in Middle English', Parker Library on the Web (2015) <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=296> [accessed 16 August 2014].
[109] M. R. James, 'John Wyclif and his followers, Tracts in Middle English', Parker Library on the Web (2015) <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=296> [accessed 16 August 2014].

versions, as there are no phrases praising the merit and worth of the prayer; this is saved for the concluding comments (see discussion above). In the discussion of the first petition it suggests that an individual must be 'meke & i*n* charite to alle men, boþe c*r*istene & heþene, & frendis & enemyes, & ellis we ben not worþi to preie þis p*ate*r noste*r*'. This links to the Lollard focus on moral living, enabling the commentator to advocate the qualities of meekness and charity as attributes necessary to be worthy of reciting the prayer given to Christians by Jesus. The commentator then uses each petition to consider how living by their instruction can lead an individual towards virtue, and how this can help them to combat sin. For example, the first petition prays for meekness which opposes pride; the second, hope against envy and hate; the third, charity which counteract the wickedness of coveting worldly goods; the fourth, for prudence which oppose gluttony and drunkenness; the fifth, for righteousness which counteracts wrath and vengeance; the sixth, to not be overcome by temptation and to have spiritual strength which oppose negligence and sloth; and the seventh, to have temperance against lust.

It is not until the final section of this tract that it becomes clear that it contains explicitly Lollard sentiments as the opening and central sections are orthodox in their teachings. The final section, as I have already mentioned, criticises the Church for leading the laity away from the *Pater Noster* and for encouraging them to recite other prayers that do not have a biblical origin. These sentiments clearly echo the Lollards belief that the bible is the primary and most pure source of faith and also their disapproval of communal prayer and their promotion of the notion that an individual should only recite prayers that they truly understood.

Kellogg and Talbert have suggested that this tract varies materially from version 2 although they propose that the two texts are related.[110] This notion is echoed in Matthew who suggests that the two texts share 'many points of likeness'.[111] Lewis, however, has suggested that both texts are drawn from the same "pot" but they are not necessarily connected due to the high degree of movement and

[110] Kellogg and Talbert, p. 359.
[111] Matthew, p. 197.

borrowing that occurred between texts.[112] From my consideration of the text it is clear that neither version is copied from the other. It is clear that version 3 borrowed the passage on the excellence of the prayer from version 2 but then it follows its own schematisation of the petitions and remains more orthodox in nature.

Lollard editing of texts could be explained by the fact that some texts provided a ready-made version of biblical texts which carried 'full official approval'.[113] For example, the manual of instructions which Archbishop Thoresby issued in 1357, and for which he had the same year obtained the approval of the convocation of York, survives in two versions: orthodox and heretical. The editor of the text introduced interpolations, which included lengthy commentaries on both the *Pater Noster* and the *Credo*, neither of which was evident in the original.[114]

According to Hudson, Lollard 'farcing' of orthodox writings was carried out fairly frequently: Lollard versions of the *Ancrene Riwle,* of Thoresby's *Lay Folks's Catechism*, and of Rolle's English Psalter provide extant evidence of this.[115] These texts suggest that heresy and orthodoxy were not completely distinct entities and that a considerable overlap is evident between the two. Therefore, the extent of Lollardy is difficult to ascertain as J. A. F. Thomson argues, 'they could easily attend Mass and receive Communion devoutly, believing that it was of spiritual benefit to them, while having mental reservations about the official doctrine'.[116] These thoughts are echoed by Somerset, as she asserts that scholars continue to be uncertain how widely-read Lollard texts were, by whom, and how they influenced the religious practices of the laity.[117]

Peikola has proposed that the Lollards 'produced and disseminated alternative vernacular interpretations of the rudiments of the faith' to 'compete with existing orthodox expositions' and to

[112] Lewis, p. 13.
[113] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, pp. 210-211.
[114] For the interpolated version see Simmons and Nolloth; Kellogg and Talbert, pp. 356-358.
[115] Hudson, *Lollards and their Books*, p. 203. For the first, preserved in Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498, see Eric Colledge, ''The Recluse': A Lollard Interpolated Version of the 'Ancren Riwle'', *RES*, OS, 15 (1939), 1-15 and 129-145; for the second see the edition by Simmons and Nolloth, pp. xx-xxvii; for the third see Dorothy Everett, 'The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole', Parts 1-3, *MLR*, 17 (1922), 217-227, 337-350 and *MLR*, 18 (1923), 381-393.
[116] Thomson, p. 190.
[117] Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 102.

create an alternative catechetical programme.[118] In contrast Lewis has proposed that 'even when a work has been interpolated or 'Lollardized', we cannot overlook its continuing close engagement with the cultural context of which it remains a part'.[119] She proposes that the orthodox *Pater Noster* commentary tradition provided a 'storehouse' of material which could be 'drawn on, used, borrowed and read in a variety of ways'.[120] She uses this theory to provide one explanation for the 'theological mobility' that she perceives between the Lollard commentaries on the prayer and also within the commentary tradition as a whole.[121] From my consideration of these texts, it is clear that Lewis's proposal that Lollard writers used the same store of texts as orthodox writers, drawing on knowledge and teachings that were already available, is apt.[122] This suggests that the Lollard tracts on the *Pater Noster* were products of an ongoing tradition of vernacular commentaries on the prayer, supplementing the orthodox programme of lay education rather than competing with it. Indeed, Anne Hudson has suggested that 'Lollardy and orthodoxy were not in every regard mutually exclusive creeds, nor were the bounds of orthodoxy and heterodoxy unchanging'.[123]

[118] Peikola, p. 273.
[119] Lewis, p. 2.
[120] Lewis, p. 3.
[121] Lewis, p. 3.
[122] Lewis, p. 14.
[123] Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 429.

CONCLUSION

This comprehensive study of the relationship between the laity and the *Pater Noster* has sought to address a range of specific research questions. It has explored why the prayer was considered to be one of the core catechetical texts that a lay individual should know. It has examined whether there is a perceivable difference between a lay individual's ability to recite the prayer rote fashion and to understand its content. It has questioned how far the Latin and vernacular versions of the prayer may have permeated lay medieval society and how the choice of language may have hampered or promoted lay learning. It has considered whether the Church actively sought to teach the prayer to lay congregations and their motivation for this. Finally, and perhaps most fundamentally, it has proposed and examined a hypothesis which has suggested that once knowledge of the *Pater Noster* had been established, the prayer was systematically exploited by the Church, as well as other heterodox groups, as a vehicle for additional religious teaching.

This thesis has testified to the prominence given to the *Pater Noster* in medieval England. This prominence was a direct result of the prayer's biblical origin. As the Bible was believed to contain the word of God, and the prayer was given to the disciples by Jesus in response to their request for guidance on how to pray, it was ultimately bestowed with a doctrinal and authoritative status. As the Bible was traditionally in Latin, this was the language in which many people would have heard or recited the prayer. The Latin version was established in the history and catechesis of the Church from as early as the fourth century. As many members of the laity, and no doubt some members of the clergy, were non-Latinate, they were unable to understand its content. In contrast, the vernacular translations of the prayer were sporadic, with several different variations, most notably in word choice, syntax and spelling, circulating from the seventh century onwards. These linguistic variations resulted in a process of standardisation to create a more uniform text, a process I have discussed in the introduction to this thesis.

From the early thirteenth century onwards, the Church had decided to explicitly educate its congregations in basic catechetical material, including the *Pater Noster*. I have proposed that one of the main reasons behind the drive to improve lay religious education was the notion that they were ignorant of the basic prayers, something which was evident from the testing of the penitent as part of the rite of Confession. Although there is a discrepancy between whether this testing sought to establish if an individual could simply recite or comprehend these prayers, I have proposed that lay understanding of such essential teachings was increasingly important as the Church hierarchy became more and more aware of this perceived religious ignorance. This firstly resulted in the proliferation of legislation providing priests with guidance to assist them in their developing pedagogical role, and secondly in the flourishing of manuals and commentaries, initially in Latin and later in the vernacular, which provided the material they needed to disseminate to their congregations.

Although numerous statutes had been issued prior to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and the Lambeth Constitutions of 1281 which sought to improve lay religious education, it is likely that the re-issuing of these ideals, especially during the thirteenth century, suggests that earlier schemes had been unsuccessful although they do provide evidence that the Church was aware of and trying to address the need to teach the catechism to the laity. Therefore, the most pertinent constitutions, for the confines of this thesis, have been those issued by the Fourth Lateran Council and the Council of Lambeth. These statutes signalled a change in the Church's pedagogy, as they stated that the prayer needed to be explicitly taught in the vernacular so that lay congregations could begin to understand as well as recite their prayers.

Alongside the Church's expectation that the laity should act as devout Christians, they also needed to know their prayers in order to be able to recite them to atone for the sins they had committed. For a medieval audience in particular, it was considered necessary to make recompense for any wrong doing in the eyes of the Church and also to be shriven before death so that any remaining sins could be forgiven before the Last Judgement. Rather than committing sinful acts and then making recompense, the laity needed to be taught what it meant to commit sin and how these sins could be avoided, something which became an integral part of the testing during confession (see chapter 1). The

Pater Noster provided a useful solution as its petitions could be used as remedies or protection against the seven deadly sins as well as the entire prayer being recited to request forgiveness.

Once the connections between the prayer and the sins had proved to be a successful combination, Kenneth Stevenson, in his discussion on the prayer, is right to state that it became loaded with increasingly large amounts of the lay catechism.[1] As well as providing a remedy against the sins, the prayer was perceived to lead towards the virtues which in turn enabled an individual to achieve the gifts of the Holy Spirit, all in opposition to the sins. I have argued, alongside Vincent Gillespie, that the *Pater Noster* held the central position in this schema. It is clearly the foundation on which the additional septenaries are built, providing the only fixed and permanent structure around which the remaining material is arranged to create a variety of possible connections.[2]

Although the tradition of combining the prayer with the septenaries was firmly established in the Church's history prior to the medieval period, the focus was now on transferring these compositions from more theologically complex doctrine to texts in which priests and clerics could find the resources to teach the catechism to the laity. The combination of the prayer, sins, virtues and gifts of the Holy Spirit presented a large quantity of the lay catechism in a relatively simple mnemonic and interconnected format. The relationship between these groupings, showing how prayer led to virtue and steered an individual away from sin was undoubtedly linked to the growing emphasis on confession and atonement. Although few manuals, tables and diagrams provided identical expositions of the prayer, as many of the relationships between the septenaries seem to be interchangeable, it is clear that the combination of the petitions of the prayer with the septenaries became a common topos during the medieval period, a topos that was commonly alluded to even in instances where a schematic structure combining these groupings is not employed.

Stevenson is also correct in his assertion that the growing emphasis on free will and the acceptance of differing schematisations meant that the readers or hearers were perhaps being

[1] Stevenson, *Lord's Prayer*, p. 118.
[2] Gillespie, 'Thy Will be Done', p. 99.

encouraged to interpret the material rather than requiring the aid of a priest to mediate the text.[3] These differing interpretations were created by, and also as a result of, the storehouse of Latin and vernacular didactic texts that were amassing. Gillespie described this process rather aptly when he states that these texts were 'quarried' and 'reformulated' to suit new audiences and purposes.[4] This meant that writers or scribes could translate, copy or modify an exposition of the prayer to present their own interpretation due to the fluid nature of the relationship between the prayer and the septenaries. The adaptability that such a schema provided meant that it was a suitable mechanism in which the majority of religious instruction that the laity needed to receive could be combined and presented in a single formula.

From the number of extant examples of Pater Noster tables and wheel diagrams, it is again clear that the relationship between the prayer and the septenaries was ingrained in medieval educational practices. This relationship, similarly to the manuals and expositions of the *Pater Noster*, was based on the understanding that the prayer was significant in the salvation of any individual. Therefore, perhaps these tables and diagrams sought to encourage the reader or viewer to meditate on the connections and to form their own interpretation. These tables and diagrams operated as much more than a summary of the more lengthy catechetical material found in commentaries and expositions. They clearly supplemented this material, presenting a comprehensive and sophisticated elaboration of the prayer in their own right and perhaps providing an additional devotional tool.

Pater Noster tables and diagrams also underwent a comparable evolutionary process to their textual counterparts, transforming a tradition that originated in the monastic sphere to cater to the possible growing lay desire for more complex religious teachings. As the purpose of these diagrams was didactic, they also provide another category of evidence for the Church reforming theological teachings to suit a lay audience, especially in terms of the growing culture of vernacular didacticism. The *tabulae* presented in church buildings, whether visual or textual, provides some evidence for a further step in the dissemination process of this material. Here the material is explicitly being made

[3] Stevenson, *Lord's Prayer*, p. 118.
[4] Gillespie, 'Thy Will be Done', p. 97.

available to a lay audience, rather than just to those who were wealthy enough to commission such illustrations in their own manuscript compilations.

I have proposed, in chapter 7, that it is likely the representations of the septenaries in medieval wall paintings also played a didactic role, not only as standalone images providing pictorial equivalents to the sermons, but also as points of reference during the delivery of sermon material which connected the prayer to the septenaries. I have argued that the paucity of examples representing the *Pater Noster* can be explained by the numerous depictions of some of the septenaries, most notably the seven sins or vices, virtues and works of mercy. Although there are no extant examples of the visual depiction of the *Pater Noster* across any visual medium, which is unusual in comparison to the Decalogue, *Credo* and *Ave Maria*, it is possible that it was once represented in the lay area of Malvern Priory as part of a pastoralia series. Here there seems to have been a clear impetus behind this schema to provide lay religious education. In a similar way to drama, these visual depictions may have helped an unlettered audience to learn about the sins, virtues and works of mercy, and their relationship with the prayer, providing yet another means in which the basic catechism could be disseminated to a lay audience.

The visual depiction of the sins, for example, seem to parallel their representation in dramatic performances (see chapter 6), demonstrating how sinful actions have consequences and how the prayer can provide both a deterrent and remedy to sin. Many of the representations of the septenaries are located in the nave, an area accessible to the laity, and this may suggest that their representation was to help lay individuals to know what sinful or virtuous actions looked like in order for them to make informed confessions to their parish priest. Therefore these representations, mainly emerging during the later fourteenth century, clearly sought to provide moral and didactic teachings to a wide social audience, perhaps providing the *Biblia Pauperum* or Poor Man's Bible for the unlettered to follow.[5]

In addition, moral and didactic teachings are evident in the northern provinces of York, Beverley and Lincoln, as I have discussed in chapter 6, where extant records indicate that performances of the Pater Noster plays were given. These performances may have also presented the

[5] Rouse, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, p. 13.

petitions of the prayer in contrast to the vices, and perhaps even in support of the virtues. This is clear in the records of the York Pater Noster gild in which it states, albeit in Latin, that the play presented the supplications of the Pater Noster (utilitas), scorned the vices and sins (vicia et peccata) and praised the virtues (virtutes commendantur).[6] It is likely these plays were performed as a sequence of short dramatisations or pageants to teach the basic catechesis to the laity through a combination of religious instruction and entertainment. The role of the York Pater Noster gild in the production of the plays in that particular locality, a gild dedicated solely to the presentation of the prayer through drama and a *tabula* and candelabrum in York Minster, suggests that the prayer was clearly a lay focus. Although it is only possible to speculate on the content of these plays, due to the lack of primary sources, it is likely there would have been a correlation between the material in the play scripts and that found in religious manuals and sermons due to their similar didactic purpose.

From my consideration of these dramatisations, it is clear that the founding of a gild in honour of the *Pater Noster* and the performance of plays, according to the return sent by the Pater Noster gild in York to the King's Council in Chancery dated 21 January 1389, 'for the health of souls and for the comfort of the citizens and neighbours', suggests a desire to teach the meaning of the prayer to a lay audience.[7] The visual and aural presentation of the prayer and its relationship to the septenaries made these teachings accessible to all echelons of society, especially as it is likely that the plays were performed in the vernacular (according to Wyclif's De Officio Pastorali (*c.*1378)).[8]

What is apparent from the consideration of the different ways in which the prayer was used to teach the septenaries to a lay audience, is that similar complementary teachings are presented across both literary and visual contexts. It is plausible to suggest that murals and drama demonstrate additional parts of the dissemination process in which the teachings contained in manuals, tables and diagrams are adapted and represented in a simplified way for a lay viewer, thus providing a visual summary of the theology contained in more complex *Pater Noster* elaborations.

[6] Young, p. 543.
[7] Smith and Brentano, p. 137; Allison, p. 789; and Potter, p. 23.
[8] Matthew, p. 429. See also Young, p. 540.

There is also a range of evidence indicating that the prayer was united with other religious material, especially the *Ave Maria* and *Credo*. As I have established in chapter 5, the *Pater Noster* was the original foundation of sets of prayer beads, before the additional *Ave Maria*s and *Gloria Patri* were added. These bead sets were employed by clerics, monks, nuns and the laity as part of church services but also as part of personal intercession. The proposal that prayer beads were the most common item of jewellery across all social classes, ages and genders, as well as a practical and functional devotional item indicates that lay recitation of the *Pater Noster* must have been a common occurrence. The use, or at least ownership, of prayer beads seems to have been particularly widespread according to testamentary evidence. This can perhaps be explained as they could be used by anyone, regardless of their literacy levels, their ability to understand Latin or whether they attended church services. The fact that both clerics and lay individuals sought to be represented with prayer beads in their funerary monuments, especially in effigies and monumental brasses, also suggests that these items were commonplace.

The combination of the *Pater Noster* with non-religious material is also evident. As I have discussed in chapter 8, from the Anglo-Saxon period through to the sixteenth century the prayer was evoked, recited and subverted in a range of spells and incantations which sought protection against evil or to cure physical ailments. This suggests that the prayer was also part of the secular popular culture of the period, perhaps indicating that it was widely known and possibly perceived to have added some sort of quasi-religious weight and authority to the texts in which it was included. The subversion of the prayer into nonsensical texts, however, may suggest that although the prayer was well known it was not widely understood. Its transformation into religious dogeral may have occurred as a result of lay individuals being unable to understand the meaning of the prayer when it was recited in Latin and thus their conceivable ignorance may have led to its misuse.

Whereas the Catholic Church originally instigated and promoted the use of the prayer in recipes associated with healing, especially within the monastic community, it later began to disapprove of actions which were perceived to have been integral parts of pagan folk practices, although they failed to specifically denounce such activities. In comparison, after the Reformation, the

Protestant Church prohibited the use of the prayer in texts seeking cures and protection as it proposed that such combinations were misleading as they emerged as a result of lay ignorance of the faith. This led, as I have proposed, to a new drive for vernacular theology in which praying in the mother tongue was thought to protect the non-Latinate from engaging in such pagan practices. This is clearly evident in the witch trial records in which the Latin prayer is criticised, although the motivation here was most likely to remove the remnants of Catholic practices. The notion that the devil can lead an individual away from the orthodox prayer, especially due to their inability to understand it when it was recited in Latin, something which is mentioned in the court proceedings, is also represented in wall paintings. Perhaps Latin was now perceived to be a corrupting influence on the ignorant and lewd laity rather than enabling the preservation of the more complex theology for clerics.

Perhaps then, the emphasis on the ways in which the *Pater Noster* can protect an individual from sin and lead them towards the more moralistic and positive characteristics of Christian behaviour, was a deliberate initiative which sought to provide an educational framework which would reaffirm the prayer's Christian nature and also improve lay religious knowledge and understanding of its contents. As the prayer was already united with additional material in unofficial, or perhaps even non-religious, traditions and customs, the unification of the prayer with the septenaries in an official capacity may have sought to draw individuals away from folk practices and to encourage them to engage with the authorised catechism of the Church.

My final chapter on the heterodox appropriations of the *Pater Noster* and its dissemination by the Lollards also focuses on alternative interpretations and uses of the prayer. For the Lollards, the prayer was seen as one of the fundamental texts of Christianity, in the same way as it was central to orthodox practices, due to its biblical origin. As the Lollards strongly advocated the translation of the bible into the vernacular, it is unsurprising that the instructions to teach this prayer to the laity in their mother tongue were used as fuel for their argument. The Lollards, keen to make each individual responsible for their own salvation, promoting direct communication with God rather than through any intermediary, favoured personal intercession based on understanding and belief rather than rote learning and numerous mechanical repetitions. Therefore, the Lollards agreed with much of the

content of pastoral lay instruction, especially the doctrine derived directly from the scriptures such as the prayer. Thus, many of the existing traditional expositions of the prayer were adapted, through the interpolation of Lollard teachings, and circulated under the guise of orthodoxy perhaps to disseminate teachings unnoticed, or perhaps even to attract a wider readership. In doing this their mainstream sources may have been made more radical, but the subtlety of the changes, the adaptation and expansion through lengthy interpolations rather than directly challenging the teachings of the orthodox Church, meant that it was difficult for the Church authorities, even after the issuing of Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions in 1409, to identify and condemn rogue teachings. In some ways the *Pater Noster* provided the Lollards with a basis on which their criticism of the established Church could be built. The existing commentary tradition in which additional theological material was combined with the prayer is mirrored in the Lollard polemical comments and interpolations which used the prayer as a suitable vehicle to disseminate their teachings.

What is evident from this thesis is that the orthodox *Pater Noster* was subverted and / or appropriated by heterodox groupings during the time frame of this study. Both orthodox and heterodox texts containing expositions of the *Pater Noster* were in circulation throughout the medieval period. This suggests that the prayer retained its authoritative status regardless of whether the state religion was Catholic or Protestant. As the period progressed the needs of the laity were constantly changing. For example, the rejection of the doctrine of purgatory meant that individuals were no longer encouraged to pray for the soul of the deceased. Also, the increase in lay literacy and education meant that individuals were now able to access theological texts, most likely in the vernacular, first hand and for the first time. Finally, the development of a middle class consisting of self-made merchants and traders also meant that the social structure was clearly evolving. This in turn could have inspired individuals to work harder and to prosper, suggesting one explanation for the growing need to persuade lay individuals not to covet their neighbour's goods, a view explored in detail in chapter 3.

Although vernacular translations provided the lettered laity with a text that could be understood, or for the unlettered a text they could understand upon hearing, it also provided the Lollards with a suitable example which could demonstrate the educational and moral benefits of

religious textual translation. This led to the authorities becoming sceptical of the translation of further religious texts as this may open the floodgates for lay access to and interpretation of such texts without the guiding hand of the Church. This could have diminished the authority of the Church, for an individual may be able to read the word of God without the Church's intervention, and this lack of guidance may have led to misunderstandings or misinterpretations of the texts. The promotion of texts in the vernacular clearly subsided from the 1380s, so much so that the development of 'vernacular theology', a topic which has been considered in both chapters 3 and 9 respectively was severely inhibited, controlled and repressed, especially by the constitutions later issued by Arundel. However, the desire to check and regulate the contents and circulation of these texts, failed to prevent the production of vernacular translations of the *Pater Noster* during the late fifteenth century according to the extant evidence.

The realisation that 'the vernacular could not be allowed to become a dominant part of the message of heresy, but must be brought back for legitimate use', as Anne Hudson states so pertinently, meant 'that orthodoxy must appropriate the tools of the heretics'.[9] The reclaiming of the vernacular, in *c.*1410, as a suitable medium to disseminate religious teachings to both clerical and lay audiences provided the potential for individuals to continue to access and understand the basic catechetical material in their mother tongue.

Although this thesis has begun to explore the ways in which the *Pater Noster* was loaded with additional teachings for a lay audience and the ways in which it may have permeated medieval lay society in England, there is still much to be done. Firstly, there are many more expositions of the prayer, and tables and diagrams combining the prayer with the septenaries, which are worthy of close analysis and detailed discussion. Although these documents have found themselves outside the remit of my current research, they provide a rich source of information on the ways in which the groupings of the septenaries with the prayer changed over time, or were perhaps influenced by monastic traditions. In addition to the textual sources there are a range of devotional illuminated manuscripts which depict sets of prayer beads in their margins or present an individual bidding their beads. A

[9] Hudson, 'Laicus litteratus', p. 234.

consideration of the symbolism of these representations could again shape modern perceptions on the significance attributed to these beads in medieval times. Lastly, there is also a wealth of prayer bead material, especially in testamentary records, which could provide a greater insight into lay ownership and circulation of these items. The written records of these beads, more so than the extant sets or the remains discovered during archaeological excavations, shed light on their sentimental, economic and spiritual value for a lay audience.

The wider implications of the *Pater Noster* could also be considered to provide a more detailed history of the ways in which theological material was modified and then disseminated to a lay audience. Firstly, a more detailed comparison of the expositions of the prayer, focussing on their evolutionary processes, could perhaps reveal further information on whether alternate readings were initially disseminated by different monastic foundations. Secondly, it would also be interesting to consider whether there is a direct correlation between extant expositions and the grouping of the septenaries arranged in manuscript tables and diagrams. Finally, a broader consideration of the ways in which the prayer was taught and perhaps also combined with additional theological material across medieval Europe could potentially highlight whether the prayer performed a similar function in other countries. This could perhaps suggest its central pedagogical function across the medieval west, making it one of the most important ways in which wider theological teachings could be presented firstly to a monastic or clerical audience, and ultimately to a lay audience.

APPENDIX 1

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SEPTENARIES

The number seven was particularly significant during the medieval period, as Avril Henry proposes. It was representative of the New Law of Christianity given by Jesus to his disciples in the form of the *Pater Noster*.[1] This New Law sought to complement and redefine the Old Law given to Moses in the Ten Commandments and therefore it was believed to 'combine all things' necessary to be a good Christian.[2] The number seven often appears in the bible and as a topic of cosmological speculations which goes back to the Babylonians, Egyptians and Pythagoreans.[3] Perhaps the established tradition of using sevens, most prominently in the bible, may explain why the combination of religious material in such groupings became so popular. This combination must have been thought to help individuals find order and meaning in the Church's teachings, the use of seven creating a symbolic and numerological framework to help an individual to understand and remember the teachings. This led to a plethora of religious groupings of seven, the most frequent of which are detailed below.

The composition of the seven deadly sins was formalised by Pope Gregory the Great. He revised the lists proposed by earlier theologians (gluttony, greed, discouragement, sorrow, lust, anger, vainglory, and pride), and in doing so combined acedia (discouragement) with tristitia (sorrow), calling the combination the sin of sloth; vainglory was combined with pride, and envy added.[4] This composition became firmly established in the tradition of the Church and was taught to the laity as part of their preparation for Confession. As sin was one of the dominant concerns of late medieval Christianity, for potentially it obstructed access to heaven, the need to identify and reject sin and its attractions was a major concern, especially in terms of confession and absolution. This meant that the

[1] Henry, pp. 97-98.
[2] Henry, pp. 97-98.
[3] Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, p.38.
[4] Gregory revised the lists produced by earlier theologians, including that of Egyptian monk Evagrius Ponticus (345-399), who created a system for categorising temptation which resulted in the list of eight evil thoughts or logisma (375). For a copy of the text see Robert E. Sinkewicz, trans., *Evagrius of Pontus: The Greek Ascetic Corpus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). This information was transmitted into the Latin monastic system by Cassian who refers to the eight principal faults. See Boniface Ramsey, trans., *John Cassian: The Conferences* (New York: Newman Press, 2000).

sins were frequently elaborated on in much of the instructional and devotional literature of the period, the aim of which was to assist the clergy in their pedagogical role.

The seven virtues were also part of this catechetical programme. In contrast to the seven sins, the virtues represented the human qualities which individuals were encouraged to aspire to and emulate. This septenary was created through the combination of the four cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, restraint or temperance, and courage or fortitude) and the three theological or spiritual virtues (faith, hope, and love or charity) which derived from the letters of St Paul (1 Corinthians 13:1-13).[5] It was thought that anyone, whether Christian or pagan, might acquire the four cardinal virtues, but in medieval belief only a Christian could possess faith in God, hope for an afterlife, and caritas - the type of charity in which good deeds are performed for the love of God alone. Therefore, the laity would have been expected to try to achieve all seven.

There is another list of the seven virtues, the seven heavenly or contrary virtues, which were presented in direct opposition to the deadly sins in didactic literature. This list derived from the Psychomachia written by Aurelius Clemens Prudentius in *c.*410. His text recounts an allegorical battle between the personified sins and virtues in which the virtues are victorious. It was thought that by practising these virtues an individual would be protected against temptation from the seven deadly sins, each having its counterpart: humility against pride, kindness against envy, abstinence against gluttony, chastity against lust, patience against anger, liberality against greed, and diligence against sloth. As the laity were to be educated in the sins and the need to seek repentance for their wrong doings, the Church also attempted to teach them how to protect themselves from the dangers of sin.

Another way in which a lay individual could protect themselves from falling into sin was through the performance of the seven corporal acts or works of mercy. These acts sought to enable the performer to keep the two greatest New Testament commandments:

> Then one of them, a lawyer, asked Him [Jesus] a question, testing Him, and saying, 'Teacher, which is the greatest commandment in the law?' Jesus said to him: 'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your mind. This is the first and great commandment. And

[5] Owst, p. 29.

> the second is like it: You shall love your neighbour as yourself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.' (Matthew 22:35-40)

These acts consisted of: feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, sheltering the homeless, clothing the naked, visiting and ransoming the captive (prisoners), visiting the sick and burying the dead. Six of these acts derived from the instructions given by Jesus in the Judgment of Nations (Matthew 25:35-40) and the seventh, burying the dead, is added from the Book of Tobit, which is also known as the Book of Tobias (1:19-21, 2:3-9).[6] The fact that each of these acts has biblical origin provides one of the main reasons behind their teaching to a lay audience, as if these words are perceived to be the words of God they must have been thought to be authoritative.

In addition, there were also the seven works of spiritual comfort, which are similar in nature to the acts detailed above. These included: instructing the uninformed, counselling the doubtful, admonishing sinners, bearing wrongs patiently, forgiving offenses willingly, comforting the afflicted and praying for the living, the sick and the dead.[7] Although most members of the laity would have been incapable of performing the first three, the remaining four were considered to be the obligation of everyone. These four obligations sought to create a co-operative lay community in which individuals helped one another and resisted conflict, perhaps another means by which to resist the seven deadly sins.

The gifts of the Holy Spirit, bestowed during the sacrament of Baptism and strengthened through Confirmation, were also thought to protect against sin. These sacraments were observed by most members of the lay congregation. In Isaiah 11:2-3 the gifts, referred to as the 'Spirit of the Lord', are described as follows:

> A shoot will come up from the stump of Jesse; from his roots a Branch will bear fruit. The Spirit of the Lord will rest on him — the Spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the Spirit of counsel and of power, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord — and he will delight in the fear of the Lord.

Thomas Aquinas, in the *Summa Theologica*, proposes that four of these gifts (wisdom, understanding, knowledge, and counsel) direct the intellect, while the other three gifts (fortitude, piety, and fear of the

[6] Owst, p. 29.
[7] Owst, p. 29.

Lord) direct the will toward God.[8] Instead of steering an individual through their own moral conscience and reason, as do the virtues, the gifts operate under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, attempting to turn an individual towards God and encouraging wise use of the gifts.

There is one final category worthy of discussion which again has biblical origin: the beatitudes. The beatitudes consist of eight statements which, according to the bible, were taught by Jesus as part of the solemn blessing at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount, an episode which is found in the gospel of Matthew and of Luke. The eight beatitudes in Matthew 5:3–12 are stated as Blessed are:

> the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
> they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.
> the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
> they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.
> the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.
> the pure in heart: for they shall see God.
> the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.
> they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

In comparison, the gospel of Luke (6:20–22) only mentions four beatitudes. These are stated as Blessed are you:

> the poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.
> that hunger now: for ye shall be filled.
> that weep now: for ye shall laugh.
> when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake.

These are then supplemented by the four woes (6:24–26) which are stated as Woe unto you:

> that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.
> that are full now! for ye shall hunger.
> that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.
> when all men shall speak well of you! for in the same manner did their fathers to the false prophets.

[8] Edward D. O'Connor, *St Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica: Volume 24, The Gifts of the Spirit: 1a2æ. 68-70* (London: Blackfriars, 1974), pp. 3-24 (especially, pp.15-19).

The beatitudes were important to a lay audience, not only in their concern with the achievement of virtue, but also because they are located in the same biblical episode as the *Pater Noster*, which thus creates a strong textual relationship.

All of these septenaries are related to the *Pater Noster* in a range of texts and visual mediums, including diagrams and tables, wall paintings and drama. The rigid and fixed structure of the prayer, especially its division into seven petitions, or prayers, provided a convenient structure on which the additional religious septenaries could be added.

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