

**The Phenomena of Prayer: The Reception of the  
*Imitatio Christi* in England (1438-c.1600)**

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**Abstract**

The *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471) was among the most successful texts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Over eight hundred manuscripts survive from that period alongside hundreds of printed editions. Its popularity transcended language, nation, religious vocation and ultimately confession. Hitherto, most monographs on the *Imitatio* have debated the question of its authorship. This thesis joins the growing body of work that examines the features that made this text so attractive.

Continuously reshaped by readers and editors, the *Imitatio* tradition encompasses a corpus of texts with often vastly divergent meanings. This variety emerged, in part, as a result of the text itself, which encouraged its own fragmentation, and in part from the mimetic reading habits that prevailed throughout the period of this study. This thesis takes a *longue-durée* perspective, situating different versions of the *Imitatio* within the broader tradition and considering their relationships with one another. It is argued that the *Imitatio's* success was owed not to the establishment of a characteristic meaning but to a characteristic tradition of use. The text became a source for mimetic, compunctious prayer.

The popularity of the *Imitatio* among sixteenth-century reformers shows the continuing popularity of the rhetorical characteristics of compunctious devotions. This thesis contends that, through the *Imitatio*, traditional religious practices continued to be important for English reformers. The text provided a focus for developing Protestant identities. For early evangelicals, its traditional formulations helped them conceal their heterodoxy, while its themes of intense devotion to the Holy Spirit allowed them to tacitly engage with reformist doctrine. For Elizabethan Calvinists, Kempis's text was emblematic of the continuity of the true, Apostolic Church, during the era of Papal supremacy.

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## Abbreviations

- A&M** John Foxe, *Actes and Monumentes* (London: John Day, 1570 RSTC-11223).
- CEPR** William Bliss and J. A. Twemlowe (eds.), *Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), 14 vols.
- Chauncy -** Maurice Chauncy, *The History of the Sufferings of Eighteen Carthusians in England*, trans. anon (London: Burns and Oates, 1890).
- De Inventione** Cicero, *De Inventione, De Optimo Genere Oratorum, Topica*, trans. Harry Hubbell (London: Heinemann, 1949).
- De Oratore** Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. Horace Rackham (London: Heinemann, 1967), 2 vols.
- GB** *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Nevve Testament Translated According to the Ebrue and Greke* (Geneva: John Crispin, 1570).
- DEROO** *Desiderii Erasmi Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1969-), 9 ordines.
- DTOO** Denis the Carthusian, *Opera Omnia* (Tournai: Typis Carthusiae, 1910).
- Guigo** Guigo I, *Consuetudines*, PL, vol. 153, cols. 631-757.
- Imitatio** Thomas á Kempis, *De Imitatione Cristi Libri Quattor* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1925) [online edn. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/kempis.html>, accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2013].
- Joannis Calvini Opera** Edouard Cunitz et al (eds.), *Joannis Calvini Opera quae Supersunt Omnia* (Brunswick: C.A. Schwetschke, 1863-1900), 59 vols.
- ODNB** Colin Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.), 'Oxford Dictionary of National Biography', <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com>, 2004-.
- PG** Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1857-1866), 161 vols.
- PL** Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1844-1864), 221 vols.
- Pohl** Thomas à Kempis, *Thomae Hemerken a Kempis ... Opera omnia* (ed.) Michael Pohl (Freiburg: Brisigavorum, 1904-1918), 7 vols.

<i>Prayers</i>	Katherine Parr, <i>Prayers or Meditacions</i> (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1545 RSTC-4818.5).
<i>Quaracchi</i>	Anon (eds.), <i>Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventura...Opera Omnia</i> (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1898), 10 vols.
<i>Quintilian</i>	Quintilian, <i>Institutio Oratoria</i> , trans. Harold Butler (London: Heineman, 1920-1922), 4 vols.
<i>Radcliffe</i>	London, British Library, MS. Royal 7 D IX.
<i>Rhetorica</i>	Anon, <i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i> (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).
TNA	Kew, The National Archive.
<i>Topica</i>	Cicero, <i>De Inventione, De Optimo Genere Oratorum, Topica</i> (London: Heinemann, 1949).
WA	Joachim Carl Friedrich Knaake, <i>D. Martin Luthers Werke</i> (Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachfolger, 1883-2009), 121 vols.

#### **Abbreviated Classmarks of Manuscript *Imitationes***

Bruss.15138 -	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 15138.
Bruss.135 -	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal MS. IV 135.
Emma.54 -	Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS. 54.
StJohn.C.6 -	Cambridge, St John's College MS. C. 6.
Trin.365 -	Cambridge, Trinity College MS. 365.
Cam.6855 -	Cambridge, University Library Additional MS. 6855.
Colog.27 -	Cologne, Stadtarchiv, MS. GB. 27.
Roy.7 -	London, British Library MS. Royal 7 B VIII.
Roy.8 -	London, British Library MS. Royal 8 C VII.
Lam.536 -	London, Lambeth Palace MS. 536.
Lam.475 -	London, Lambeth Palace MS. 475.
Mad.4311 -	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS. 4311.
Bod.632 -	Oxford, Bodleian MS. Bodleian 632.
Dig.97 -	Oxford, Bodleian MS. Digby 97.
Seld.93 -	Oxford, Bodleian MS. Selden Supra 93.
Laud.215 -	Oxford, Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 215.
Mag.93 -	Oxford, Magdalen College MS. Latin 93.

Unless specified otherwise all Bible references are to the Latin Vulgate and refer to the online edition at: *The Latin Vulgate Bible* [www.vulgate.org, accessed 10<sup>th</sup> November 2014].

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## Introduction

### I. *Imitatio Christi*: A Forerunner of the Reformation?

In the second chapter of the first book of the *Imitatio Christi*, Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471), an Augustinian canon from Westphalia, advised his readers to ‘love to be unknown and reputed as nothing’.<sup>1</sup> Yet such was the eventual popularity of his writing throughout Europe, that Kempis would posthumously acquire lasting and international fame. With more than eight-hundred manuscripts surviving from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, more than seventy-two Latin and vernacular print editions before 1500, and a further six-hundred and thirty-nine before 1650, the *Imitatio* was a remarkable phenomenon; it has never been out of print since 1473.<sup>2</sup> Its popularity transcended language, religious vocation and even confession; a Protestant translation appeared as early as 1531.<sup>3</sup>

Even before Kempis died, debate erupted over the identity of the *Imitatio*’s creator. While much ink has been spilt establishing Kempis’s authorship, the *Imitatio*’s readers, those thousands who interpreted his counsels, have remained in shadows.<sup>4</sup> Kempis’s text underwent countless transformations. Some of these were formal and left evidence as solid as new translations or abridgements. Most, however, were transactions between reader and text involved in producing meaning, usually invisible, but for the occasional hints such as readers’ marginal annotations. Any explanation of the *Imitatio*’s success must account for these

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<sup>1</sup> *Imitatio*, I.II: *ama nesciri et pro nihil reputari*.

<sup>2</sup> The first dated printing is Thomas à Kempis, *de imitac[i]o[n]e [Christi] [et] [con]temptu damni vanitatum mundi* (Augsburg: Gunther Zainer, 1473 ISTC-ii00004000); Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 1; Michael Millway, ‘Forgotten Bestsellers from the Dawn of the Reformation’, in Robert Bast and Andrew Gow (eds), *Continuity and Change* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 113-142, p. 141; Uwe Neddermeyer, ‘Radix Studii et Speculum Vitae: Verbreitung und Rezeption der Imitatio Christi in Handschriften und Drucken bis zur Reformation’, in Johannes Helmrath et al (eds.), *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Oldenbourg: GmbH, 1994), pp. 457-481.

<sup>3</sup> The first Protestant edition was that of the South German reformer Caspar Schwenckfeld (1489-1560); see Thomas à Kempis, *Nachfolgung Christi und Verschmehung aller Eyttelkait diser Welt*, trans. Caspar Schwenckfeld (Augsburg: Philip Ulhart, 1531 USTC-676688).

<sup>4</sup> The literature is enormous and only a sample can be presented here, Jean Baptiste Malou, *Recherches Historiques et Critiques sur le Veritable Auteur du Livre de l’Imitation de Jesus-Christ* (Louvain: Fonteyn, 1858); Samuel Kettlewell, *The Authorship of the De Imitatione Christi* (London: Rivingtons, 1877); Luigi Santini, *I Diritti di Tommaso da Kempis* (Rome: Tipografia della Pace, 1879); Otto Spitzen, *Thomas a Kempis als Schrijver der Novolging van Christus gehandhaafd* (Utrecht: J.L. Beijers, 1880); most of the books referred to below in nn. 54-57, 62, 72, 87, 89 and 92 are also to a lesser or greater extent interventions in the question of the *Imitatio*’s authorship.

reinventions. To uncover why the *Imitatio* was so successful, this thesis will reveal how its English readers put the meanings they found there into practice. The *Imitatio's* advocacy of solitary compunction as the precursor to spiritual consolation continued to meet the emotional needs of its readers throughout the period covered by this study (1438-c.1600). Though the performative content and soteriological significance of these elements changed, most of all because of the transformations wrought by the Reformation, Kempis identified a combination that remained an enduring resort for thousands of readers.

Kempis and his text were products of the *Devotio Moderna*, the Northern-European reform movement initiated by the charismatic cleric, Geert Groote (1340-1384).<sup>5</sup> The modern day devout were initially urban communities of secular clergy and lay people, living in voluntary separation from the rest of society.<sup>6</sup> Pressed by bishops and established religious orders, many brethren took up monastic vows. Following their founder's advice, a number of brethren established Augustinian houses, which were organised as the Windisheim congregation in the late 1380s.<sup>7</sup> Kempis's formative experiences were within these communities. He was educated in Deventer between 1392 and 1399, in a house of the secular brethren run by Florens Radewijns (1350-1400), one of Groote's disciples.<sup>8</sup> In 1406 he entered the Windisheim convent of Agnietenberg near Zwolle and in 1413 took holy orders.<sup>9</sup> Appointed novice master in 1425, he wrote for young monks.<sup>10</sup> His *Dialogus Novicorum*, notably, presented Groote, Radewijns and their disciples, as exemplars

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<sup>5</sup> For writing on *Devotio Moderna*, see Hein Blommestijn et al (eds.), *Spirituality Renewed: Studies on Significant Representatives of the Modern Devotion* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003); John van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1965); Roger Lovatt, *The influence of the religious literature of Germany and the Low Countries on English spirituality circa 1350-1475* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2015) 2 vols; Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: the 'Modern Devotion', the Canonesses of Windesheim, and their Writings* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, passim esp. pp. 80-81.

<sup>7</sup> Such was their reputation that at the council of Basel, in 1432, the Windisheim congregation was tasked with monastic reform in Northern Germany.

<sup>8</sup> Biography in Thomas à Kempis, *Dialogus Novicorum*, in Pohl, vol. 7, pp. 3-329, pp. 116-210.

<sup>9</sup> Biographical details in Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, p. 80.

<sup>10</sup> This association of the *Imitatio* with instruction of junior monks may have been something of a theme in its fifteenth-century manuscript distribution; see Thomas Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio Moderna* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1999), pp. 125 and 131.

to be followed.<sup>11</sup> In the 1410s and 1420s, he composed the pamphlets that eventually became the four books of the *Imitatio Christi*; the first was completed by 1424 at the latest and all four were written by 1427.<sup>12</sup> He may have continued to edit his text until as late as 1441.<sup>13</sup> In its 'final' form, the *Imitatio* comprised four books of unequal length: 'Counsels on the Spiritual Life', 'Counsels Pertinent to Inward Things', 'The Book of Inward Consolation' and 'A Devout Exhortation to the Blessed Sacrament'.<sup>14</sup> Books I and II were narrated in the third person and books III and IV took the form of dialogues, in which 'the son' (that is the devout believer) spoke with the 'Lord'. Each book gathered diverse materials under topical chapter headings. Broad thematic links connect the chapters within each book. Yet, in general, each chapter is fairly independent from those around it. The text therefore proceeds disjointedly. The dialogic format of books III and IV means that they have a slightly more cohesive structure than I and II; occasionally one chapter responds to another.

As a corollary to assessing the success of the *Imitatio*, this thesis also clarifies the structural relationship between a textual 'forerunner', the *Imitatio*, and performances of developing religious identities before and after the Reformation.<sup>15</sup> This line of enquiry was occasioned by questions arising from the long-running and mutually inextricable debates over the fifteenth-century origins and sixteenth-century progress of the Reformation in England. A full answer to these questions is beyond the scope of this thesis. This study will rather examine and develop the concepts of change and continuity that inform them. New kinds of religious experience drew upon the *Imitatio* for structure, in particular evangelical *metanoia*

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<sup>11</sup> Kempis, *Dialogus Novicorum*, passim.

<sup>12</sup> Basel, University Library, MS A. xi. 67 contains Book I and is dated 1424; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 22084, is dated to 1427 and the earliest surviving manuscript to contain all four books.

<sup>13</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 5855-5861, is the autograph manuscript, as demonstrated by the colophon on fol. 192v: '*Finitus et completus anno domini m.cccc.xli. per manus fratris thome kempis in monte sancte agnetis prope zwollis*'. For the problems of finding reliable stemmata, see Nicholas Staubach, 'Eine unendliche Geschichte? Der Streit um die Autorschaft der *Imitatio Christi*', in Ulrike Bodemann and Nicholas Staubach (eds.), *Aus dem Winkel in die Welt* (Frankfurt: Lang, 2006), pp. 9-35, p. 31.

<sup>14</sup> *Imitatio*: '*admonitiones ad spiritualem vitam utiles*', '*admonitiones ad interna trahentes*', '*liber internae consolationis*', '*devota exhortatio ad sacram communionem*'.

<sup>15</sup> The term 'forerunner' is borrowed from Heiko Oberman, see below, p. 13.

and Calvinist ‘assurance’.<sup>16</sup> As they did so, these new devotional contexts tendentiously shaped their antecedent.<sup>17</sup> This dialogue balanced the necessary anachronism occasioned by cultural and linguistic change with an attempted or provisional synchronization of present-day meanings with those of the past.

The *Imitatio* was a textual forerunner to reformed devotional practice. It was not in any way causal, nor did its content presage reformed doctrine. It was, rather more prosaically, a devotional text that continued to be read on both sides of the religious divide. The historical narrative whereby the English Reformation was a reaction by disenchanted lay people to ecclesiastical decadence has, for a long time passed out of the historiographical mainstream.<sup>18</sup> Revisionist narratives, particularly the work of Eamon Duffy, have rightly made historians suspicious of narratives of sixteenth-century religious change that stress popular dissatisfaction with traditional religion.<sup>19</sup> The lasting achievement of such analyses has been to uncouple the political narrative from that of national conversion.<sup>20</sup> Subsequent narratives of the English Reformation have been nearly univocal in subscribing to the ‘long-reformation’ thesis, propounded by the articles in Tyacke’s 1998 volume, *England’s Long Reformation*.<sup>21</sup> Reformation was imposed upon a largely unenthusiastic populace. Early participation in it was motivated more by loyalty to the Crown or self-interest than reformist fervour.<sup>22</sup> Traditional religion continued

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<sup>16</sup> See below, pp. 175-177 & 221-222.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> Usually represented in historiographical discussions by Arthur Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: Batsford, 1964); Geoffrey Elton, *Policy and Police: the Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); full narratives of these historiographical debates are to be found in Christopher Haigh, ‘The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation’, in Margot Todd (ed.), *Reformation to Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 13-32; Nicholas Tyacke, ‘Introduction’, in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England’s Long Reformation* (London: UCL Press, 1998), pp. 1-32; Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie, ‘Protestantisms and their Beginnings’, in Idem (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-13.

<sup>19</sup> Clive Burgess, ‘“A Fond Thing Vainly Invented”: An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England’, in Susan Wright (ed.), *Parish Church and People* (London: Hutchinson, 1988), pp. 56-84, pp. 83-84.

<sup>20</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Harvard University Press, 2005); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Jack Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

<sup>21</sup> Tyacke, ‘Introduction’.

<sup>22</sup> Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

to shape identities and practices long after the legal establishment of the Church of England.<sup>23</sup>

Critique of the revisionism of the 1980s and 1990s has often centred on the question of the Reformation's success. The revisionists had little to say about why and how Protestant conversion took place.<sup>24</sup> A sub-group of studies went so far as to identify causes or preparatives for Reformation in fifteenth-century religious enthusiasm.<sup>25</sup> Yet these works ultimately fell foul of the same charges of teleology that had undermined the traditional narrative.<sup>26</sup> Subsequent work greatly expanded the long-term and gradual process of Protestant inculturation, notably that of Cressy, Maltby and Walsham.<sup>27</sup> Reformers often drew on traditional themes, texts and practices. These continuities, it is argued, suggest that conversion was processual rather than sudden, something that both individuals and society grew into.<sup>28</sup> The development of English Protestant religious identity from traditional practice is therefore envisaged as an organic evolution punctuated by violent spasms of institutional change and iconoclasm.

Causes notwithstanding, the Reformation, as a complex process consisting of many interrelated changes, interacted with the past through 'forerunners'.

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<sup>23</sup> See Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993).

<sup>24</sup> Patrick Collinson, 'Comment on Eamon Duffy's Neale Lecture and the Colloquium', in Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation*, pp. 71-86, pp. 72-74.

<sup>25</sup> Christine Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry in Fifteenth Century England', in Daniel Williams, *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. 53-74; Jim Rhodes, 'The Body of Christ in English Eucharistic Devotion, c.1500-c.1620', in Richard Beadle and A. Piper, *New Science out of Old Books* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), pp. 318-419, pp. 407-408; See also Robert Swanson, 'Passion and Practice', in Alistair MacDonald et al (eds.), *The Broken Body* (Groeningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), pp. 1-30, 14-15, 18-19, 26 and 28.

<sup>26</sup> Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 23, 40, 60-61, 205-206.

<sup>27</sup> David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Alec Ryrie, 'The Reinvention of Devotion in the British Reformations', *Studies in Church History*, 44 (2008), pp. 87-105; Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); It should be pointed out that this was not an unprecedented departure, see Helen White, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (s.i.: Greenwood Press, 1979).

<sup>28</sup> That an event called 'the Reformation' had taken place was, after all, something only retroactively apprehended, see Alexandra Walsham, 'History, Memory and the English Reformation', *Historical Journal*, 55, no. 4 (2012), pp. 899-938; Peter Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), ch. IX.

Discussing the influence of fourteenth and fifteenth-century scholastic theology on Martin Luther's (1486-1543) theology, Heiko Obermann preferred a narrative of forerunners to that of causes. Forerunners do not establish the nature of the cause but rather the structure of the change.<sup>29</sup> This usefully preserves historical contingency and guards against teleological explanations. It nevertheless suggests a historical and intellectual link between two historical points. It is more than an anachronistic reevaluation of a traditional text or idea by fully fledged Protestants. Protestantism was an evolving symbolic regime that overlapped with that of its antecedents. Traditional religion could continue to structure reformed belief through its remnants without being strictly causative of that belief. Nevertheless, a question remains as to how (and to some extent if) these continuities were reconciled with the profound historical break that all these studies still acknowledge reformed theology to have instituted.<sup>30</sup> In the case of the *Imitatio*, the text, this relationship is best articulated as a product of *imitatio* or mimesis, the literary idiom.<sup>31</sup>

In rhetorical exegesis, mimesis indicated reciprocal transformations wrought by texts and readers.<sup>32</sup> It was classical in origin, yet its various formulations continued to provide a basis for learning and text-composition well into the eighteenth-century.<sup>33</sup> Mimesis was a diffuse concept and difficult to reduce to a single formulation. There were many varieties of mimesis that were distinctive yet

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<sup>29</sup> Heiko Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, trans. Paul Nyhus (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1967), p. 42; Heiko Oberman, *Dawn of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 1986), p. 56.

<sup>30</sup> In a rather extreme case, Fernandez-Armesto and Wilson went so far as to contend that the break between Churches was primarily 'historical' (the product of historical contingency) rather than doctrinal, see Felipe Fernandez-Armesto and Derek Wilson, *Reformations* (London: Bantam, 1996), p. 91; Interestingly this has long been the view of the Orthodox churches, see the view of the Russian theologian Alexis Khomiakov (1804-1860), printed in William Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church* (London: Rivington Perceval & Co, 1895), p. 67.

<sup>31</sup> While usually referred to in the literature using the Latin '*imitatio*', for the purposes of clarity this thesis will refer to the practice as 'mimesis'.

<sup>32</sup> The classic treatment of the classical concept is Richard McKeon, 'Criticism and the Concept of *Imitatio* in Antiquity', *Modern Philology*, 34, no. 1 (1936), pp. 1-35; other studies have tracked its later history, see in particular, George Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33, no.1 (1988), pp. 1-32; see also Matthew Potolsky, *Mimesis* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 49-70; David Quint, *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); Nancy Struever, *The Language of History in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

<sup>33</sup> Greene, *The Light in Troy*, p. 54ff.

interrelated. In essence, the key premise was that proper cultural performances depended on the mimicking authoritative models. In its rhetorical and pedagogical definition, the models were textual archetypes. The mimic read and assimilated a text separating out whatever notable attributes were worthy of mimesis. These could then be reproduced in new compositions. Seneca the Younger (4 BC-AD 65) mingled rhetorical and moral mimesis. In doing so, he created a formula that was frequently repeated and commented on for centuries afterward. His *Epistulae Morales* advised imitation of bees. Readers were seek out particularly edifying 'flowers' or fragments and take them for their own use.

We should, so they say, mimic bees, which roam about and seek out flowers fit to be made into honey, which then set everything out to bring it to and distribute it throughout the honeycomb...[we should] separate everything we have collected from various readings (things kept separate last better). Then, applying the solicitude of our talent, [we should] mix the various libations into one sweetness, so that even if it will be evident from where a thing was taken, yet the thing should appear to be different from its original form...The foods we eat are a burden while they remain in the same form and swim, solid, in the stomach; but when they are changed from that which they were, they transform into strength and blood.<sup>34</sup>

Seneca referred to literary or rhetorical mimesis. Yet, his object was not just linguistic '*inventio*', but the mimesis of virtuous precedents in one's own life.<sup>35</sup> Excerpts were to be memorized for use in speech, but by process of 'arrangement' and 'separation' to be digested and absorbed as part of one's 'character'

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<sup>34</sup> Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, trans. Richard Gummere (London: Heinemann, 1918), 3 vols, vol. 2, Letter 84, pp. 276-280: '*Apes ut aiunt debemus imitari quae vaguntur et flores ad mel faciendum idoneos carpunt, deinde quidquid attulere disponunt ac per favos digerunt...quaecumque ex diversa lectione congegimus separare, melius enim distincta servantur, deinde adhibita ingenii nostri cura et facultate in unum saporem varia illa libamenta confundere, ut etiam si apparuerit unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse quam unde sumptum est appareat...alimenta quae accepimus, quamdiu in sua qualitate perdurant et solida innatant stomacho, onera sunt; at cum ex eo quod erant mutata sunt tunc demum in vires et in sanguinem transeunt.*'

<sup>35</sup> For *inventio*, see below, pp. 112-113.



[*ingenium*]. By breaking a text down, readers isolated useful material and avoided overstraining the limits of their memory. These excerpts might then form the basis of a daily exercise or meditation and prepare one against the ‘plagues’ that threatened one’s inner peace.<sup>36</sup> Mimesis was not just a matter of eloquence, it embraced imitation of all aspects of human behaviour.<sup>37</sup> Crucially, the result was not to be a slavish copy of the original. The model was to be mimicked not as a painting, for that is a ‘lifeless thing’, but only as ‘a son resembles a father’.<sup>38</sup> A key characteristic of classical mimesis was that the original should ultimately be displaced by its imitation.<sup>39</sup>

Mimesis alone did not entail awareness of historical disjuncture between past and present. Yet, by casting language as transitive and linguistic transmission as generational, it could certainly predispose a reader to identify historical difference.<sup>40</sup> The Roman orator Cicero presented mimesis as such, the *genera dicendi* of one age finding new forms in the next.<sup>41</sup> However, it was also an assimilative, intracultural tool.<sup>42</sup> It very easily became the tool of tendentious historical narratives and anachronism. The procedures characterised by mimesis structured the relations between textual forerunners and their followers. Readers perceived the *Imitatio* as a synecdoche for a notional past. For example, to Protestant readers it was an example of true worship of God during an age of Papal oppression. Mimesis allowed readers to cast as essential those elements of the text that best conformed to whichever narrative they brought to it. What was

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<sup>36</sup> Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, vol. 1, letter 2, p. 8: ‘semper lege, et...ad priores redi. Aliquid cotidie adversus pauperem, aliquid adversus mortem auxili compara, nec minus adversus pestes; pluribus quae legi et cum multa percurreris unum excerpe quod illo die concoquas’.

<sup>37</sup> Pigman, ‘Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance’ pp. 14-15.

<sup>38</sup> Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, vol. 2, letter 84, p. 280: ‘similem esse te volo quomodo filium, non quomodo imaginem; imago res mortua est’.

<sup>39</sup> Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 25-30; Elaine Fantham, ‘Imitation and Evolution: The Discussion of Rhetorical Imitation in Cicero De Oratore 2.87-97’, *Classical Philology*, 73, no.1 (1978), pp. 1-16, pp. 7 and 12; Pigman, ‘Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance’, p. 7.

<sup>40</sup> This is certainly implied by Greene, *The Light in Troy*, pp. 18-19 and 127ff; c.f. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>41</sup> *De Oratore* II.XXII.XCII: ‘cur aetates extulerint singulae singula prope genera dicendi?’; c.f. Quintilian, X.II.XXVIII; Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, PL, vol. 207, cols. 1-560, col. 209: ‘Nos quasi nani super gigantum humeros sumus, quorum beneficio longius, quam ipsi, speculamur’.

<sup>42</sup> Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation*, pp. 25-26.

uncongenial could be dispensed with as redundant. In essence, it legitimated a kind of creative anachronism. Apparent similarities between the past and the present authorized metaphorical or substitutional readings of the text. It was, to use Thomas Greene's terminology, a serendipitous anachronism. These readings palliated disjuncture between past and present.<sup>43</sup> Yet it was also eristic, that is to say a conscious struggle with the past. Readers were aware of disjunction. It was a source of self-conscious 'anachronistic crisis' to which mimetic assimilation provided a solution.<sup>44</sup>

Mimesis did not, therefore, resolve issues of anachronism. It formalised them.<sup>45</sup> Its main contribution to historicism was that it could be used to construct social identity in the present as emergent from or conformant with historic antecedents. The signification of a historic text depended on an anachronistic narrative mediated by the mimic. There have been only sporadic attempts to approach the reformers' appropriation of the literary heritage of traditional religion in terms of literary mimesis.<sup>46</sup> In these it usually warrants only a passing mention. Accounts of the technique almost always concern secular, usually classical, literature. Thomas Greene's study imbricated mimesis with 'Renaissance' historicism. From the fourteenth-century on mimesis actualised the humanist sense of historical disjuncture between their time and the lost classical past.<sup>47</sup> This was performed in acts of 'creative anachronism' or 'heuristic mimesis'. The mimic advertised the classical model used, but then overcame implied anachronism by declaring limited independence from their source. The context for Greene's thesis was that the historicism implied in mimesis revealed a sharp division between medieval and Renaissance conceptions of the past.<sup>48</sup> There is not space to discuss

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<sup>43</sup> Thomas Greene, *The Vulnerable Text* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 221.

<sup>44</sup> Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', p. 4 and 16ff; Greene, *The Light on Troy*, p. 18.

<sup>45</sup> C.f. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), p. 31ff.

<sup>46</sup> Lowell Gallagher, 'The Place of the Stigmata', in Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (eds.), *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 93-115 is a notable exception; Debora Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), pp. 128-166.

<sup>47</sup> Greene, *The Light on Troy*, passim; The Reformation is examined in Karl Morrison, *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 228-246.

<sup>48</sup> Greene's thesis is essentially a literary continuation of the historian Peter Burke's analysis of the distinction between medieval and Renaissance mentalities; see Peter Burke, 'The Sense of Historical

this at length, but it is worth pointing out that a hard division is unwarranted.<sup>49</sup> For example, David Quint's analysis of Desiderius Erasmus's (1466-1536) struggle to find an authoritative basis for meaning in *Stultitiae* (1509), has shown that the cultural relativism derived from mimesis did not prevent humanists interpreting history in terms of 'trans-historical' Christian values.<sup>50</sup> Janet Coleman also warns against reifying literary or artistic mimesis alone. Other mimetic discourses (her example is that of Franciscan mimicry of apostolic poverty) could entail historical relativism.<sup>51</sup> An awareness of historical disjointure and periodicity required only an awareness of historical transition.<sup>52</sup> More recent accounts of the development of modern historical consciousness, such as those of Daniel Woolf and Arthur Ferguson, have viewed it as a slow development, one that took place in stages.<sup>53</sup> Mimesis does not, therefore altogether resolve issues of anachronism, nor is it the only tool by which anachronism may be apprehended.

The *Imitatio's* success, and particularly its success across the Reformation, has typically been ascribed to anachronistic reading of the text. Kempis's editors and translators established a market for the *Imitatio* by distancing their versions from the original. Change in the *Imitatio's* semantic force brought it into line with the expectations of an apposite audience, for which the appropriator is taken to be synecdochal.<sup>54</sup> Change is the *sine qua non* of its continuing relevance. Dwelling on

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Perspective in Renaissance Italy', *Journal of World History*, 11 (1968), pp. 615-632; Idem, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969); Idem, 'The Renaissance Sense of the Past Revisited', *Culture and History*, 13, no. 1 (1994), pp. 42-56; Idem, 'The Sense of Anachronism from Petrarch to Poussin', in Chris Humphrey and William Ormrod (eds.), *Time in the Medieval World* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), pp. 157-173.

<sup>49</sup> Greene's use of humanist philology as an 'ideal' by which to 'fail' other kinds of history has been forcefully critiqued by James Simpson; See James Simpson, 'Subjects of Triumph and Literary History', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 35, No. 3 (2005), pp. 489-508.

<sup>50</sup> Quint, *Origin and Originality*, pp. 9-24.

<sup>51</sup> Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 567ff; Margareta de Grazia, 'Anachronism', in Brian Cummings and James Simpson, *Cultural Reformations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 13-32, p. 21ff; c.f. the discussion of Carthusian *Discretio* in Ch. I of this thesis, pp. 68-71.

<sup>52</sup> See John Pocock, 'The Origins of the Study of the Past', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4, No. 2 (1962), pp. 209-246.

<sup>53</sup> Arthur Ferguson, *Clio Unbound* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979); Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English historical culture, 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>54</sup> For example, David Crane, 'English Translations of the *Imitatio Christi* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Recusant History*, 13, no. 2 (1975), pp. 79-100; Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations*; Brenda Hosington, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort's Translations as Mirrors of Practical Piety', in Micheline White (ed.), *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500-*

difference has allowed historians to avoid charges of anachronism. Yet the attractions of the original text remain largely unexplained.<sup>55</sup> The *Imitatio* is presented as effectively shorn of context until it was edited or translated. This thesis, however, follows the more limited findings of Greene. Mimesis represented an act of creative anachronism that, nevertheless, aimed to establish a coherent link with an original context. It is this dialogue between coherence and anachronism in the *Imitatio* that the following chapters will unfold.

## II. Authorial Intention, *Rapiaria* and the Fragmentation of the Text

In order to assess the *Imitatio's* success, this thesis will study its uses. No monograph has yet made the use of the *Imitatio* the core of its study. This dissertation has benefited from the contributions of long standing scholarship as well as recent research into fifteenth and sixteenth-century religious change. It is also multi-disciplinary, inspired by developments in the history of the book, particularly the materiality of texts, the history of the emotions and in historically-minded reflection on spaces. In the following sections of the introduction, the critical concepts and pertinent scholarly literature in each of these domains will be surveyed, as a suitable prologomenon to the research presented in subsequent chapters.

This thesis takes an established corpus of research on the *Imitatio* in a new direction. Though the issue of authorship is less important, study of the *Imitatio's* use remains indebted to the work done in the pursuit of its author.<sup>56</sup> The avenues

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1625 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 185-203; Elizabeth Hudson, 'English Protestants and the *Imitatio Christi*, 1580-1620', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19, no. 4 (1989), pp. 541-557; Janel Mueller, 'Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr's "Prayers or Meditations" 1545', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 53, no. 1 (1990), pp. 171-197.

<sup>55</sup> Brendan Biggs, 'The Style of the First English *Imitatio Christi*', in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Medieval Translator 5* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 187-212, pp. 197-200, suggests that there was interest in the *Imitatio's* prose style in the English manuscript tradition; Nicholas Staubach, 'Von der persönlichen Erfahrung zur Gemeinschaftsliteratur. Entstehungs und Rezeptionsbedingungen geistlicher Reformtexte im Spätmittelalter', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 68 (1994), pp. 200-228, p. 209 suggests that Kempis's prose was particularly important in the text's success.

<sup>56</sup> As it is not the core interest of this thesis, the question of authorship will not be discussed except insofar as it is relevant to the question of use. For authoritative summaries of these debates, see Jacques Huijben and Pierre Debongnie, *L'Auteur ou les Auteurs de l'Imitation* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1957); Brendan Biggs (ed.), *The Imitation of Christ: the First English*

of enquiry opened up by these studies laid the groundwork for subsequent examinations of its cultural significance both in the fifteenth-century and beyond. A collation of sixty-seven manuscripts by Pierre Puyol aimed to find the author by tracing the manuscript circulation of the *Imitatio* back to an original stemma. Establishing a sense of the date and location of the earliest copies, it was hoped, would enable the codicologist to narrow the list of possible authors.<sup>57</sup> The task of finding a superior reading ultimately proved inconclusive, though not wholly futile.<sup>58</sup> The scale of the text-corpus and the complexity of its dissemination preclude a secure conclusion. Kempis continued to edit his text till 1441 and numerous Latin and vernacular versions, containing various book and chapter combinations, were already circulating by that point. There may have been several stemmata. As the issue of authorship receded, the wide circulation of the *Imitatio* was used to uncover local and international patterns of textual dissemination.<sup>59</sup> Between them, Costard and Neddermeyer have shown that the text enjoyed enormous success in the fifteenth-century but circulated mainly among monastic orders. In the sixteenth-century, with the advent of vernacular printed editions,

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*Translation of the 'Imitatio Christi'* (Oxford: EETS, 1997), p. XXXff; Staubach, 'Eine unendliche Geschichte?', passim.

<sup>57</sup> The oeuvre of Pierre Puyol remains among the most thorough attempts to find an author by collating some of the vast manuscript circulation. He supported the erroneous attribution of the text to the (possibly fictional) Abbot Gersen of Vercelli (fl. 1200?), originally put forward by the Benedictine Abbot Constantin Cajetan (d.1657) in the preface of his 1616 edition based on the so-called '*codex aronensis*', which attributed the text to '*Gessen*' or '*Gerson*' '*abbas*'. Nevertheless, his groupings of the Latin text remain widely accepted. See Pierre Puyol (ed.), *De Imitatione Christi Libri Quatuor ad Fidem Codicis Aronensis* (Paris: Retaux Bray, 1886); Idem, *Descriptions Bibliographiques des Manuscrits et des Principales Editions du Livre de Imitatione Christi* (Paris: s.n., 1898); idem, *Paléographie, Classement Généalogie du livre De Imitatione Christi* (Paris: s.n., 1898); idem, *Variantes du livre De Imitatione Christi* (Paris: s.n., 1898); idem, *L'Auteur du livre De Imitatione Christi* (Paris: s.n., 1899); see the critique in Biggs (ed.), *The Imitation of Christ*, pp. xxxv-xxxviii; see also George Udny Yule, 'Puyol's classes A and B of texts of "De Imitatione Christi"', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 14, no. 1 (1947), pp. 65-88, whose statistical analysis of Puyol's classes demonstrated the erroneous nature of the Italian attribution; Further codicological arguments for an Italian origin were made in Piergiorgio Lupo, *L'Imitazione Di Christo E Il Suo Autore* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1964), 2 vols; For a critical edition of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS. 5855-5861 (which acknowledges the problems of finding the author by codicological means) see Léon Delaissé (ed.), *Le Manuscrit Autographe de Thomas a Kempis* (Paris: Éditions Érasme, 1956), pp. 101-109; see also Huijben and Debongnie, *L'Auteur ou les Auteurs de l'Imitation*, pp. 193-225.

<sup>58</sup> Staubach, 'Eine unendliche Geschichte?', p. 31, rather harshly described the enterprise as 'hopeless' (*aussichtslos*).

<sup>59</sup> For example, Cebus de Bruin (ed.), *De Middelnederlandse Vertaling van de Imitatione Christi* (Leiden: Brill, 1954), p. 36ff;

there was an explosion in the number of secular readers.<sup>60</sup> This was equally true of the English circulation. Lovatt's seminal article on the English circulation of manuscript *Imitationes* during the fifteenth-century situated the text within the monastic orders. The Carthusians imported and disseminated it, the Bridgettines of Syon Abbey possessed copies, and there may have been Benedictine readers at Tewkesbury Abbey or Durham Cathedral.<sup>61</sup> By situating the *Imitatio*, these articles have opened the way to analyses of its meaning *in situ*. Chapters I and II, in particular, are indebted to Lovatt's discovery of the English manuscripts' fifteenth-century owners. From this, a reconstruction of the sites of devotion and the extra-textual determinants of meaning can be evolved.

The difficulties of codicological research impelled historians to use thematic evidence and inquiry into the *Imitatio's* sources to build up a view of the text's author. By discovering the author's sources, his identity might be revealed. Eduard Arens's article, the most complete survey of the *Imitatio's* antecedents, showed the essentially derivative nature of the work.<sup>62</sup> The main source was ultimately the Vulgate Bible.<sup>63</sup> Yet, the *Imitatio* was constructed out of excerpts derived from a list of texts running the length of Christian history.<sup>64</sup> The patristic period was

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<sup>60</sup> Monika Costard, 'Die "Imitatio Christi" im Kontext spätmittelalterlicher Laienkulture im Mutterland der Devotio Moderna', in Ulrike Bodemann and Nicholas Staubach (eds.), *Aus dem Winkel in die Welt* (Frankfurt: Lang, 2006), pp. 36-64, passim; Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio Moderna*, pp. 21 and 109; Neddermeyer, 'Radix Studii', passim.

<sup>61</sup> Roger Lovatt, 'The "Imitation of Christ" in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 18 (1968), pp. 97-121, passim; Idem, *The influence of the religious literature of Germany and the Low Countries*, vol. 2, pp. 113-132, essentially recapitulated the conclusions of the original article, while putting the *Imitatio* into a broader context of transmissions of religious texts from Northern Europe into England; c.f. Michael Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval English Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), pp. 225-240; Biggs (ed.), *The Imitation of Christ*, pp. xlv-xlvi, noted the discovery of two manuscripts of the English recension unknown to Lovatt. However, since their provenance is unknown, they do not affect Lovatt's original conclusion; The manuscripts were Mad.4311 and Colog.27.

<sup>62</sup> Eduard Arens, 'Zitate und Anspielungen in der Imitatio Christi des Thomas von Kempen', *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 112, no. 1 (1931), pp. 135-207, passim.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, pp. 147-153; Kenneth Becker, *From the Treasure House of Scripture* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), passim, collated the *Imitatio* with the Vulgate to show the intimate connection between the two texts.

<sup>64</sup> Giles Constable, *Three Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 240, erroneously claimed that except for two references to Henry Suso and John van Schoenhoeven, the author used only works written pre 1200.

represented by Saint Augustine (354-430).<sup>65</sup> More obscure writers, such as bishop Maximus of Turin (d. between 408 and 423), appear also.<sup>66</sup> Twelfth century works are present in the several references of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) and also to his fellow Cistercian William of St Thierry (c.1080-1148).<sup>67</sup> Thirteenth-century references include St Bonaventure's (1221-1274) *Life of St Francis* and Thomas Aquinas's liturgical compositions.<sup>68</sup> Kempis drew freely from the liturgy, with excerpts coming from the Windisheim Breviary and from the Roman missal.<sup>69</sup> Kempis's contemporaries were represented chiefly by Jan van Schoenhoeven, whose 1383 *Epistola ad Eemsteyn* (which Kempis drew upon) and 1428 *Epistola ad Egidium* (which drew on Kempis) have been used to tentatively date the writing of the *Imitatio*.<sup>70</sup> It was therefore with some justice that Inge presented the *Imitatio* as the 'ripe fruit' of 'medieval Christianity'.<sup>71</sup> Attempts to demonstrate the thematic 'benedictinism' or 'franciscanism' of the *Imitatio* revealed notable parallels with other texts and indeed the multiplicity of constructions that the *Imitatio* was open to.<sup>72</sup> Yet the diversity of sources ultimately confirmed that the

<sup>65</sup> For example, *Imitatio*, I.II: *Melior est profecto humilis rusticus qui Deo servit: quam superbus philosophus qui se neglecto cursum caeli considerat* and III.XLIX: *ne proprio pondere ad terrena labaris*; Augustine, *Confessiones*, PL, vol. 32, cols. 657-868, col. 709: *dubitare stultum est quin utique melior sit quam mentor coeli...negligens tui* and col. 744: *'moxque deripiebar abs te pondere meo.*

<sup>66</sup> *Imitatio*, II.IX: *Vicit sanctus martyr Laurentius saeculum cum suo sacerdote: quia omne quod in mundo delectabile videbatur despexit; et summum Dei sacerdotem Sixtum quem maxime diligebat: pro amore Christi etiam a se tolli clementer ferebat*; Maximus of Turin, *Homiliae*, PL, vol. 57, cols. 221-530, col. 409: (of St Lawrence) *doluisse, quia non ipse mundum cum suo pariter sacerdote vincebat.*

<sup>67</sup> *Imitatio*, II.I: *Cui sapiunt omnia prout sunt non ut dicuntur aut aestimantur, hic vere sapiens est*, III.XXXIII: *Fili noli credere affectui tuo qui nunc est; cito mutabitur in aliud* and I.V: *Omnis scriptura sacra eo spiritu debet legi quo facta est*; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de Sanctis. De Diversis*, PL, vol. 183, cols. 537-748, col. 587: *'Est enim sapiens cui quaeque res sapiunt prout sunt'*; idem, *De Consideratione*, PL, vol. 182, cols. 727-828, col. 729: *Noli nimis credere affectui tuo qui nunc est*; For Kempis's borrowing from William of St Thierry, see below, n. 612.

<sup>68</sup> *Imitatio*, III.L: *Nam quantum unusquisque est in oculis tuis, tantum est et non amplius: ait humilis sanctus Franciscus*; Bonaventura, *Legenda Sancti Francisci in Quaracchi*, vol. 8, pp. 565-582, p. 520.

<sup>69</sup> See the summary of the *Imitatio*'s liturgical borrowings in Arens, 'Zitate', pp. 161-168.

<sup>70</sup> See Huijben and Debongnie, *L'Auteur ou les Auteurs de l'Imitation*, pp. 22-23 and 57.

<sup>71</sup> William Inge, *Christian Mysticism* (London: Methuen, 1899), p. 189.

<sup>72</sup> Ildefonso Schuster, 'L'Ascetica Benedittina e la "Imitazione di Christo"', *Scuola Catholica*, 67, no.1 (1939), pp. 273-293, concluded that the dialogic structure of book III suggested that the author had been a benedictine; R. Symphorien, 'L'influence spirituelle de Saint Bonaventure et l'Imitation de Jesus Christ', *Études Franciscaines*, 33, nos. 1 and 34, (1922), pp. 36-77 and pp. 158-194 suggested that the books of the *Imitatio* correspond to the three ways of spiritual ascent described in Bonaventure, *De Triplici Via* in *Quaracchi*, vol. 8, pp. 3-27. Books one to three, he asserts, correspond, respectively, to Bonaventure's *via purgativa*, *via illuminativa* and *via perfectiva*; Heinrich Gleumes, 'Der hl. Bonaventura und die Imitatio Christi', *Fransiskanische Studien*, 15, no. 1 (1928), pp. 294-315, p. 312 and *passim*, demonstrated the flaws in Symphorien's arguments showing

best context for understanding the *Imitatio's* composition was still the excerpt-collecting culture of the *Devotio Moderna*. The *Imitatio* was produced within and for a culture of 'fragmented reading'.

Building on this work, this thesis will take a long view and so compare patterns of use over two centuries. The use of the *Imitatio* became inextricable from the paradigm of 'fragmented reading' articulated by Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton and recently by William Sherman and Jason Scott-Warren.<sup>73</sup> Readers considered texts to be sources of edifying excerpts rather than continuous wholes and read accordingly. Text users habitually divided and reconstituted texts outside of their original settings. Radical recontextualisations of the *Imitatio*, therefore, were made by individual readers as well as by editors and translators. Furthermore, as a devotional text and, as will be shown, a prayer book, the *Imitatio* demanded devotional acts. Its meanings were interpreted not only conceptually but as individualised emotional, verbal and physical performances. The role of text

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that the connection was not especially strong and that parallels between the two writers were more to do with their common use of St Bernard's writing. The interest of the Brethren of the Common life in *De Triplici Via* is certain. The *Tractatulus Devotus* of Florens Radewijns (1350-1400), Thomas à Kempis's mentor, was a commentary on Bonaventure's manual. For further examples, see Gerrit Gerrits, *Inter Timorem et Spem* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp. 133-134; Timothy Johnson, *Franciscans at Prayer* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 433. There are general correspondences between this *summa* of Bonaventure's and Kempis's devotional tract. For example, throughout the *Imitatio*, Kempis reproduced Bonaventure's emphasis on the importance of reading and meditating as a means of purging and illuminating the soul. However, neither *De Triplici Via* nor *Imitatio* outlined a prescriptive procedure of successive steps to achieve perfection. *De Triplici Via* did not survey the beginning, middle and end of contemplation, but the systematic application of meditation in reorienting a believer's inner life. Bonaventure took the titles of his ways from Pseudo-Dionysius' *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, in which they were the actions of the Holy Spirit working continuously in the Soul, see PL, vol. 122, cols. 1035-1069, col. 1045: '*Divina beatudo...pura quidem est...non indigens simul omnis perfectionis, purgans, et illuminans, et perficiens*'; Dayton Philips, 'The Way to Religious Perfection According to St Bonaventura's *De Triplici Vita*', in John Mundy (ed.), *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought* (New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1955), pp. 31-58, pp. 37-39; This continuous operation, as opposed to ascent, is much closer to the understanding apparent in Radewijns' *Tractatulus*, which emphasises the quotidian application of Bonaventure's ideas; see Henrico Nolte (ed.), *Tractatulus Devotorum* (Freiburg: Herder, 1862), pp. 7-56, p. 17ff. This also accords better with the distribution of material in the *Imitatio*, which does not constrain the purpose of its first three books to one of Bonaventure's ways, but includes elements of each way in each book. It should also be noted that the *Imitatio* did not begin life as one integrated text, but as several separately circulating books before the writing of the autograph copy.

<sup>73</sup> Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, 'Studied for Action: how Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 30-78, passim; William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (University of Massachusetts Press: Boston, 1997), pp. 60-62; See also Jason Scott-Warren, 'Unannotating Spencer', in Helen Smith and Louise Warren (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 153-164, p. 163; Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2013), p. 175.



creators, editors and translators was chiefly to guide the expectations of the reader as to what the text was generically and conceptually. Textual form reflected authorial or editorial categorial intentions and orientated the readers' experiences of the text.<sup>74</sup>

The *Imitatio's* syntactic structure reveals part of Kempis's categorial intentions. His emphasis on sentence-level acoustic ornament strongly encouraged partition of the text. He seems to have envisioned an audience familiar with fragmented reading. To retain the wisdom gathered while reading, adherents of *Devotio Moderna* kept spiritual scrap-books or *rapiaria*. In essence *rapiaria* should be collections of scholarly or moral excerpts (called *puncti*) gathered continuously from a variety of sources.<sup>75</sup> They did not originate with *Devotio Moderna*, but were adopted from contemporary schoolroom practice.<sup>76</sup> *Rapiaria* of the modern devout functioned as spiritual diaries full of quotations augmented with the thoughts and observations of the user. The practice was adopted by the secular brethren of the common life and was clearly used within the Windisheim congregation; there are suggestions that it spread to groups only distantly connected with the modern devout.<sup>77</sup> *Rapiaria* often survive as notebooks, yet there were no rules about what they should be written on or whether a *rapiarium* should be a single, bound object.<sup>78</sup> Gerlach Peters compiled his on old quires and slates.<sup>79</sup> Johannes Butzbach (1477-1516), Deventer-educated prior of Laach abbey, describing the

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<sup>74</sup> There is no question that the text's semantic meaning should be understood as properly that which Kempis understood by it; see William Wimsatt and Mary Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', in William Wimsatt (ed.), *The Verbal Icon* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), pp. 3-18, passim. Rather, this introduction makes the more limited claim that Kempis's understanding of genre and textual category are present to a reader in the text's structure; see Jerrold Levinson, *The Pleasures of Aesthetics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 188-189.

<sup>75</sup> Nicholas Staubach, 'Diversa Raptim undique collecta: Das Rapiarium im geistlichen Reformprogramm der *Devotio Moderna*', in Kaspar Elm (ed.), *Florilegien, Kompilationen, Kollektionen* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2000), pp. 115-148, p. 117.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, p. 121; see Johannes Busch, *Chronicon Windishemense*, in Karl Grube (ed.), *Des Augustinerpropstes Johannes Busch* (Halle: Otto Hendel, 1886), pp. 1-375, pp. 206-207 for the use of this practice in the school of Zwolle under the rectorship of John Cele in the late fourteenth century.

<sup>77</sup> See, Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* (Munich: Beck, 1918-1979), 4 vols, vol. 2, pp. 412, 422, 469 and 500.

<sup>78</sup> Staubach, 'Diversa Raptim', passim; A notable survival is examined in Ursula Weekes, 'Engraving the Mind: An Illustrated Rapiarium of the Fifteenth Century', in Jeffrey Hamburger (ed.), *Tributes in Honour of James H. Marrow* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 567-575, passim.

<sup>79</sup> Busch, *Chronicon Windishemense*, p. 164: '*Quem inquam libellum in diversis membranis quaternulis aut petris*'.

Italian poet, Henry of Settimello (fl. late twelfth-century), compared his note-taking on a 'greasy overcoat' to keeping a *rapiarium*.<sup>80</sup> Johannes Busch (1399-c.1480), Augustinian canon and chronicler of the Windisheim congregation, reported a case in which a wax diptych was used.<sup>81</sup> *Rapiarium* referred more to the act of collecting than to its material context. These collections were consumed piecemeal, each quotation potentially functioning as an opportunity for a meditative pause. Gerlach Peter's *Breviloquium*, for example, essentially an edited part of his *rapiarium*, was subtitled 'to give occasion for spiritual exercises'.<sup>82</sup> Their use was informal; John Cocobus (fl. early fifteenth-century), a disciple of Florens Radewijns, for example, advised recourse to it during the pause between saying the hours and manual work.<sup>83</sup> Within this tradition meanings were mutable, rather than fixed. Kempis's audience placed greater value on sententious phrases than cohesive texts.

When they were edited, either by their compilers or posthumously, for wider circulation, rapiaria became more organized. The result of this editing might be little more than a list of sayings, as in the case of Geert Grote's *Propositum*, or the sayings or exercises recorded by Kempis in his *Dialogus Novicorum*.<sup>84</sup> Other *rapiaria* became continuous, if rather disjointed, prose texts, as Gerlach Peter's *Breviloquium*, or posthumous *soliloquium*.<sup>85</sup> Otherwise, as in the case of the *Rosetum Exercitiorum* of Johannes Mauburnus (1460-1501), a canon of Agnietenburg and contemporary of Kempis, the material was gathered as more or less coherent chapters under thematic headings.<sup>86</sup> The *Imitatio*, though the details of its relationship to Kempis's own *rapiarium* are unknown, probably belonged to

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<sup>80</sup> Eduardus Böcking (ed.), *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (Leipzig: Teubnerianis, 1869) 2 vols, vol. 2, p. 389.

<sup>81</sup> Busch, *Chronicon Windishemense*, p. 197: *hec verba 'misere mei deus' aut alia hiis similia scriberet in dictica [diptyca] et statim complanando iterum ea deleret dicens: 'Domine deus meus, ad honorem tuum hoc feci', dans ei intellegere, quod minimum eciam bonum ab homine bone voluntatis ab honorem dei factum bene deo complaceret.*

<sup>82</sup> Busch, *Chronicon Windishemense*, p. 166: *pro danda occasione spiritualis exercicii.*

<sup>83</sup> Kempis, *Dialogus Novicorum*, p. 311: *Et si habes tempus stude parum in excerpto tuo.*

<sup>84</sup> The *Propositum* is translated in John van Engen (trans.), *Devotio Moderna Basic Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), pp. 76-78; Kempis, *Dialogus Novicorum*, pp. 107-109.

<sup>85</sup> Michel Kors (ed.), *Gerlachi Petri Opera Omnia* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 1-234, p 164ff.

<sup>86</sup> Johannes Mauburnus, *Rosetum Exercitiorum* (Basel: Jacobus Wolff, 1504), *passim*.

this last group.<sup>87</sup> Kempis himself advocated the practice of keeping a *rapiarium* as a means to reflect on personal progress or defects.<sup>88</sup> Yet in addition to originating in this milieu, the *Imitatio* was also intended to be used as the basis for future collections. The most striking evidence of this was Kempis's own written style.<sup>89</sup>

The *Imitatio's* complex phrasing contrasts with its lack of compositional *ductus*.<sup>90</sup> What is known about the composition of the text suggests that it was the product of a haphazard process. The four books it comprised were not at first considered a single text. There was little continuity between them. The vast majority of manuscripts produced before 1500 circulated as single books (usually book one) or various other combinations.<sup>91</sup> Between chapters, there is similar discontinuity of narrative or argument. Such was the weakness of the cohesion between its chapters that Eusebius Amort, the first scholarly commentator on the *Imitatio*, described it using this astronomical metaphor:

The parts of the material proceed confusedly, so that it is not easy to say what should be placed at the start, the middle or at the end. Such books have this attribute especially, that anyone may enter into a reading at whatever place he should want, indeed at the end, as in the manner of the Hebrews. And in this way, they are not works of study but so many pious lights scattered like a sky of stars

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<sup>87</sup> This origin has been widely speculated on, see Albert Deblaere, 'Volgen en navolgen en die *Imitatio Christi*', *Ons Geestelijk Leven*, 42, no. 1 (1965), pp. 207-219, esp. 207; Staubach, 'Von der persönlichen Erfahrung', p. 209; Jac Van Ginneken, *De Navolging van Christus, of het Dagboek van Geert Groote* (Brussels: Hergotenbosch, 1929), argued that the *Imitatio* was actually edited by Kempis from the remaining notes of Gerard Grote; c.f. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance*, p. 543ff attributes it to Gerard Zerbolt on the same grounds; These narratives command little support among modern scholars, see Staubach, 'Eine unendliche Geschichte?', pp. 29-32.

<sup>88</sup> Thomas à Kempis, *Libellus Spiritualis Exercitii*, in Pohl, vol. 2, pp. 329-355, pp. 332: *Frequenter etiam tuum inspice libellum: ut clarius tibi innotescant internus profectus tuus sive defectus*.

<sup>89</sup> Among the most compelling arguments in favour of Kempis's authorship is the comparison between the *Imitatio* and the Augustinian's other works, see Karl Hirsche, *Prolegomena zu einer neuen Ausgabe der Imitatio Christi* (Berlin: Carl Hebel, 1883), pp. 123-214 and 215-264.

<sup>90</sup> In rhetoric, *ductus* refers to the formal structure of a text, by which agency, it leads a reader, see Mary Carruthers, 'The Concept of Ductus', in Mary Carruthers (ed.), *Rhetoric Beyond Words* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 190-206, passim.

<sup>91</sup> Neddermeyer, 'Radix Studii', p. 460.

which may be reduced to constellations and systems as one pleases.<sup>92</sup>

Though some of the chapters have a discrete cohesive *dispositio*, the style tended to be aphoristic. Kempis's rhyming and rhythmical patterns extended this fragmentedness to phrase level. Kempis's writing was characterised by a highly artificial acoustic style, which will be referred to as 'euphuism' for the purposes of this thesis.<sup>93</sup> Euphuism is characterised by syllabic balance and repetition.<sup>94</sup> The characteristic figures of euphuism are mostly gathered together by rhetorical manuals as tools for creating 'correspondences' between cola (clauses).<sup>95</sup> *Isocolon* describes consecutive cola of approximately the same number of syllables. *Parison* is the equality of sounds, describing successive clauses or phrases with words of a

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<sup>92</sup> Eusebius Amort, *Scutum Kempense* (Cologne: Henricus Rommerskirchen, 1728), p. 41: *Membra materiae confuse proponit, ut non facile dici possit, quodnam primo potius loco quam medio aut extremo posui debuerit. Tales libri habent hoc speciale quod quivis lectionem inchoare possit, loco, quo voluerit, etiam in fine, more Hebraeorum. Adeoque non sunt opus studii, sed tantum pia lumina instar repensam coelo stellarum, quae nostro arbitrio in constellationes ac systemata ut libuerit reduci possunt.*

<sup>93</sup> Euphuism is a general term suggesting acoustic harmony that avoids the problems of more specific appellations. It is an anachronistic label coined by critics of John Lyly's (1553-1606), *Euphues: The Anatomie of Wit* (London: Gabriell Cawood, 1578 RSTC-17051), specifically Gabriel Harvey, *Four Letters* (London: John Wolfe, 1592 RSTC-12900), sig. E2v. Though anachronistic it succinctly characterises a written style based on the use of the figures of diction to create balance between *cola*. See Katherine Wilson, "'Turne your Library to a Wardrope": John Lyly and Euphuism', in Andrew Hadfield (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature 1500-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 172-186, passim; for this style before Lyly and the value of the label Euphuistic, see Morris Croll, 'The Sources of Euphuistic Rhetoric', in John Patrick et al (eds.), *Style, Rhetoric and Rhythm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 241-298, passim; Biggs, 'The Style of the First English *Imitatio Christi*', pp. 197-200 identified the rhetorical pattern but did not use the term Euphuism; In passing it should be noted that the emphasis on non-terminal rhymes is also similar to 'Leonine verse'. The *Imitatio* was undoubtedly prose, not verse; it is nevertheless possible that such verse-forms provided some inspiration for Kempis's style.

<sup>94</sup> Similar styles were common in Latin Christendom, Bede (c.672-735), *Homiliarum Geminarum Libri Duo*, PL, vol. 94, cols. 9-267, cols. 9-14 was an early exponent, see Croll, 'The Sources of Euphuistic Rhetoric', pp. 261-262 and 265; Hirsche gave numerous examples of late antique and twelfth century writers who wrote rhyming prose as possible precedents for Kempis, see Hirsche, *Prolegomena*, pp. 131ff; For uses of the style in Middle English, see John Schneider, *The Prose Style of Richard Rolle of Hampole, with Special Reference to its Euphuistic Tendencies* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1906), passim.

<sup>95</sup> More broadly they are part of the figures of diction; those features of a text that produce aural harmony. 'Figures of Diction' comes from *Quintilian*, IX.I.I and XV-XVII, which distinguishes between '*figurae verborum*' and '*figurae sententiarum*'. The one dealing with the expression and the other in the conception of a thought; In the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* they were '*verborum exornatio*' as distinguished from '*sententiarum exornatio*' which confers distinction on an oration through an idea rather than through the use of language, see *Rhetorica*, IV.XIII.XIX; Colon/cola is used here in the rhetorical sense, meaning a clause that is gramatically but not logically complete.

similar form. This embraces *homoeoteleuton*, that is, words with similar ending. In inflected languages like Greek and Latin, there was also *homoeoptoton*, similarity of inflection, and *polyptoton*, repetition of the same stem with different inflections. Repetition of words, sounds and syntax are the key characteristics of this form and the use of other figures, such as antithesis, are the tools that the euphuist uses to create their 'sound design'.<sup>96</sup>

Kempis used this style throughout the *Imitatio* to create correspondences between cola within a sentence or occasionally between sentences in a longer passage. The effect was to confer upon each phrase an acoustic scheme distinct from that of the phrases around it. Rather than unifying the text, these techniques decomposed it into strikingly phrased and easily memorised *puncti*. In this example from book I, chapter II, the separating effects of this style are pronounced.

*Quanto plus et melius scis: tanto gravior inde iudicaberis nisi  
sanctius vixeris. Noli ergo extolli de ulla arte vel scientia: sed potius  
time de data tibi notitia. Si tibi videtur quod multa scis et satis bene  
intelligis: scito tamen quia sunt multo plura quæ nescis.*<sup>97</sup>

Each sentence has a differentiated sound structure. Sentence one has a dense mixture of disyllabic and monosyllabic terminal rhymes (*quanto...tanto, plus...melius...gravius* and *scis...iudicaberis...vixeris*). The monosyllabic rhymes are arranged so that the first instances are stressed by the trochaic rhythm of the first colon (*plus...scis*).<sup>98</sup> Amphibrachic stresses in the second colon bring out the internal assonance between the '-er' sounds in *iudicaberis* and *vixeris*.<sup>99</sup> The second sentence has a much weaker rhythm but the trochaic '*noli*' is coupled with the amphibrachic *extolli* to produce a stressed rhyme. Rhythmic stress is not apparently involved in the disyllabic rhymes that terminate the second sentence's

<sup>96</sup> Croll, 'The Sources of Euphuistic Rhetoric', p. 241.

<sup>97</sup> *Imitatio* I.II; Since the analysis concerns syntax this passage is quoted in the original Latin.

<sup>98</sup> Coupling a monosyllabic '-is'/'-us' with polysyllables terminating with '-is'/'-us' in this way is probably a way to bring the later rhymes out. The final sound of polysyllabic words is almost never stressed in Latin.

<sup>99</sup> The metrical feet referred to in this thesis are amphibrachs, a stressed syllable between two unstressed; cretics, an unstressed syllable between two stressed; trochees, a stressed syllable followed by an unstressed one; iambs, an unstressed syllable followed by a stressed one.

cola (*scientia...notitia*). Instead, in contrast to the first and third sentences, the cola are quantitatively balanced, being seventeen and fifteen syllables respectively. Rhythm returns in the third sentence, but rather than the trochees of the first, it begins with two amphibrachs, moving on to a cretic, placing the stresses on the 'i' sounds of *tibi* and *scis*. To these are added the stressed trochaic 'i' sounds of *intelligis*. This emphasis on stressed 'i' sounds is maintained by the second colon's initial trochees (*scito...quia*). The third sentence does have a structural similarity to the first in its deployment of terminal rhymes in which the first, stressed monosyllabic occurrence of the sound is stressed and subsequent polysyllables are not (*scis...intelligis...nescis*). However the rhythmic effects are different and it does not have as many rhymes as the first sentence. Almost every phrase in the *Imitatio* was consciously shaped in this way to have its own acoustic arrangement. Where, as occasionally happens, these are shared across phrases, the effect is to indicate greater integration of parts. Yet, in general, the effect is to divide the chapters into apophthegms. So that they could function in this way, each phrase had to be able to stand more or less alone. Semantic meanings are often quite general and require the reader to project more detailed meanings onto the text.<sup>100</sup>

### III. Key Themes and Methodology

There is little evidence to suggest that *rapiaria* were ever compiled in England. Nevertheless, English readers and editors interacted with their copies of the *Imitatio* using a range of other practices. The excerption, annotation, abridgement and indexing, examined in this thesis were selective processes facilitated by Kempis's prose. Though the genre of edited *rapiaria* was not one that English readers would necessarily have recognised, the prose activated similar 'fragmented reading' processes. This thesis inquires into textual morphology using

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<sup>100</sup> The *Imitatio* may be thought of as an example of what Wolfgang Iser called an unavailable text. This is a relativistic term. It denotes a text that, to signify, requires more than usual effort by the reader to project meaning into it, see Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 17-18.

methodologies developed within the discipline of book history. Book history itself emerged from calls, most notably by Léon Delaissé and Robert Darnton to examine the material book as a cultural artefact.<sup>101</sup> Texts are always encountered as material objects. Their physical attributes record and structure use of the text. They situate books within social and economic networks and, importantly for this thesis, grant insight into how texts were conceptualised within given networks of circulation.<sup>102</sup> Sociologies of the book can therefore deepen and orient literary analysis of the texts they contain.<sup>103</sup> Critical to the development of book history's morphological methodologies was a concept of 'paratexts'. This came originally from the work of the French literary theorist Gérard Genette.<sup>104</sup> Paratexts are visual tools by which the text is presented to a reader. Annotations, indices and even blank spaces all have a paratextual function. They are essential to the phenomenology of the text, points of entry constraining the interpretative possibilities available to a reader.<sup>105</sup>

Genette subscribed to a view of textual interpretation that identified authoritative meaning with the mind of an author. Genette's paratexts had to be authorial, being part of the work as the author intended and anchored in the biography of that individual. However, such readings tend to analyse books at only one point in their lifetime. Book historians have tended to move away Genette's emphasis on authority to examine diachronicity in textual apparatus. One

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<sup>101</sup> Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of the Book', *Daedalus*, 111 no. 3 (1982) pp. 65-83; Léon Delaissé, 'Towards a History of the Book', *Codicologica*, 1, no. 1 ([1976]), pp. 75-83; Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); To some extent, Lucien Febvre and Henri Martin, *L'Apparition du Livre* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1958) represents book history *avant la lettre*; see also the summary in David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *Introduction to Book History* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 7-28.

<sup>102</sup> Albert Braunmuller, 'Accounting for Absence: the Transcription of Space', in William Speed (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), pp. 47-56, *passim*; Roger Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1997), *passim*, esp p. 85; Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 10-19.

<sup>103</sup> An idea coined by Donald McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning', in *Idem et al (eds.), Making Meaning* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 198-236, pp. 234-236.

<sup>104</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 1-3 and p. 7-8; Marie Maclean, 'Pretexts and Paratexts: The Art of the Peripheral', *New Literary History*, 22, no. 2 (1991), pp. 273-279, p. 243; This constraint may be of variable success, William Slights, *Managing Readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), *passim*.

<sup>105</sup> Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (London: Penguin, 2014), p. 17.

approach a little removed from Genette's has been to examine the work of particular known annotators across many different texts. Monographs focussing on an identifiable annotators have proven invaluable for establishing reading paradigms such as that of 'fragmented reading'.<sup>106</sup> However, most studies analyse paratexts as evidence of reading patterns in particular texts, as Armstrong's work with printed editions of the *Decameron* or Molekamp's work with Geneva Bibles, or else within a particular text genre, such as Sherman's analysis of manuscript annotations in printed Bibles.<sup>107</sup> The emphasis is less on the meaning as authorised by a particular individual and more on how paratexts structure textual meanings when encountered by persons other than their creators. Indeed, modern scholarly consensus stresses that medieval and early-modern paratexts show meaning being determined within networks of authors, scribes, printers, professional readers and users of the text, not by individuals.<sup>108</sup> Professional reader-emendators often completed the production of manuscripts and incunabula.<sup>109</sup> These editors often interpreted reader expectations, making the text more amenable to users. Alternatively, paratexts were added in an effort to control textual reception. Prefaces and margins were authoritative spaces from which to sanction one set of

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<sup>106</sup> Margaret Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household In England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), passim; Jardine and Grafton, 'Studied for action', passim; Sherman, *John Dee*, passim; Michael Sargent and James Hogg, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1984), 2 vols, passim.

<sup>107</sup> Guyda Armstrong, 'Paratexts and their Functions in Seventeenth Century English Decamerons', *The Modern Language Review*, 102, no. 1 (2007), pp. 40-57, passim; William Sherman, *Used Books* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), ch. IV; Femke Molekamp, 'Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2006) [Online edn. <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2006articles/pdf/article10.pdf> accessed 6th June 2016], article 10, pp. 1-13, passim.

<sup>108</sup> For the ambiguities involved in the production of early modern books and the problems involved in applying the term paratext to their contents, see Heidi Hackel, *Reading Material* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 92-94; Paul Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagement in the English Renaissance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 11, 15 and 116; Evelyn Tribble, *Margins and Marginalia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), p. 161.

<sup>109</sup> For professional emendators, see Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise Despres, *Iconography and the Professional Reader* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), passim and p. 69; Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, 'Professional Readers at Work', in Idem (et al.), *Opening up English Manuscripts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 207-239, passim; for professional annotation of *incunabula* see Paul Saenger and Michael Heinlein, 'Incunable Description and its Implication for the Analysis of Fifteenth Century Reading Habits', in Sandra Hindman (ed.), *Printing and the Written Word* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 225-259, pp. 243-244.



meanings or dismiss others.<sup>110</sup> Paratexts might also emerge later in a text's life representing a reader 'talking to himself'; demonstrating private efforts to participate in the meaning of a text.<sup>111</sup> Yet books inevitably have several owners over time, personal paratexts inevitably became third-party ones. Subsequent readers frequently augmented one set of marks with their own.<sup>112</sup> Paratextual additions often encoded normative reading patterns. Informal manuscript additions could come to be regarded as inextricable from the text and they might be reproduced in some form in later manuscripts or printed versions of the text. In some cases nineteenth and twentieth-century archivists bleached margins in order to erase unwanted accretions.<sup>113</sup> Annotations draw attention to the text as an object in constant flux. This thesis's *longue-durée* approach allows a succession of paratextual regimes attached to the *Imitatio* to be compared. These testify to what was different and what consistent in conceptions of the text across the reformation. The paratexts reveal a tradition of mimetic prayer.

Though readers were encouraged to engage in a fragmented reading style, that selection process was oriented by the thematic content of those phrases by which Kempis communicated another important categorial intention. The *Imitatio* belonged, broadly, to the consolation genre.<sup>114</sup> Consolation was simultaneously an emotion and, in its Christian sense, a grace. It was mutable and defied absolute definition. It is best summarised as the result of a culturally appropriate response to suffering; it need not necessarily imply, particularly in its Christian expressions, cessation of suffering.<sup>115</sup> Drawing on pagan classical philosophy and Christian theology, the genre offered readers consolation in respect of many kinds of

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<sup>110</sup> See for example, Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 126ff.

<sup>111</sup> William Slights, 'The Edifying Margins of English Renaissance Books', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42, no. 4 (1989), pp. 682-716, p. 682.

<sup>112</sup> As *Lam.536* and *Lam.475*.

<sup>113</sup> As much appears to have happened to *Bruss.15138*.

<sup>114</sup> *Consolatio* or one of its cognates occurs 141 times in the Latin *Imitatio* in contrast to only 7 appearances for '*imitatio*' and 103 appearances for '*Christus*'; Consolation embraces a number of closely related ideas, including peace (*pax*), inner peace (*interna pace*) and solace (*solacio*), quiet (*quietudo*).

<sup>115</sup> As a religious problem, the issue is not how to avoid suffering but how to suffer, Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Fontana Press, 1973), p. 104; Ole Riis and Linda Woodhead, *A Sociology of Religious Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 81-90.

suffering and through multiple avenues. What was constant was that consolation literature was an exercise in persuasion. It derived this characteristic from stoic sources.<sup>116</sup> Resting heavily on deductive logic, emotion was manipulated through a set of predicates or judgements about life.<sup>117</sup> Suffering was inevitable and fortune fluctuated. One obtained emotional peace or *apatheia* through conviction that that which could not be changed, such as death and suffering, should not trouble one. From the standpoint of such judgements, grief could be presented as rationally inappropriate. Since misery in the face of suffering served no natural need, it could be dispensed with.<sup>118</sup>

Christians transformed the content, but not the form, of consolation writing. It continued to use the same rhetorical models and the same arguments but was expressed within the framework of divine promises and ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>119</sup> Because consolation was now a grace, it became necessary to draw believers to trust in God. Christianity also brought new stimuli for consolation. Most significantly, consolation literature became bound up with anxieties around justification, fear of divine judgement and assurance of salvation. Christian consolation literature responded not only to extrinsic sources of misery, but also reflected on personal sin.<sup>120</sup> Peace ultimately rested in God's mercy, which, unlike the mutable consolations of the world, was constant. Suffering could not be wholly escaped. On earth, all were sinners and all stood under the threat of divine

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<sup>116</sup> Ronald Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 38-41.

<sup>117</sup> For the connection between logic and the emotions, see Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. Rhys Roberts [online edn. [http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/-384\\_-322,\\_Aristoteles,\\_Rhetoric,\\_EN.pdf](http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/-384_-322,_Aristoteles,_Rhetoric,_EN.pdf), accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2014], II.I; Wayne Proudfoot, 'Religious Experience, Emotion and Belief', *Havard Theological Review*, 70, no. 3/4 (1977), pp. 343-367, pp. 345-346.

<sup>118</sup> See for example, Seneca's epistolary consolation treatises, particularly *Consolatio ad Marciam*, in Idem, *Moral essays*, trans. John Basore (London: Heinemann, 1932), pp. 2-97; Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, PL, vol. 63, cols. 579-870.

<sup>119</sup> The rhetorical legacy is particularly evident in that the 'topics of consolation' became a standard part of the twelfth and thirteenth-century *Dictaminis* or letterwriting treatises, see for example, Peter of Blois's (1130-1211) *Libellus de Arte Dicandi*, in Martin Camargo (ed.), *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition: Five English Artes Dictandi and their Tradition* (Binghampton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), pp. 37-87, pp. 69-71; Boncompagnus's (c.1165-c.1240) *Rhetorica Antiqua*, in Ludwic Rockinger (ed.), *Briefsteller und Formelbücher* (München: Georg Franz, 1863) 2 vols, vol. 1, pp. 128-174, pp. 140-141.

<sup>120</sup> For this reason consolation is a theme that often appears in writing on the emotional function of canonical penance, see Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Penance on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 12-15.

reprisal. Indeed the recognition of sin and the fear of God were natural and necessary to salvation. One's only succour was to throw one's self on God's mercy.<sup>121</sup> The *Consolatio Theologiae* (1418) of Jean Gerson (1363-1429), by that time former chancellor of the University of Paris, was probably the fullest expression of the genre and recommended approaching God through despair.<sup>122</sup> It was in this vein that the *Imitatio* encouraged readers to raise accusations against themselves. In realising the futility of efforts to gain merit, they would come to rely more wholly on God, who alone could bestow the grace of consolation. Asceticism was a logical extension of this; by leaving the world, one escaped the causes of suffering and the temptation to rely on solaces apart from God.<sup>123</sup> As the only legitimate source of solace, abandonment of the world and mortification of fleshly desires, therefore, removed the obstacles between the Christian sufferer and God.<sup>124</sup>

In seeking peace through dwelling on their sinfulness and resigning themselves to God's mercy alone, the *Imitatio's* readers also participated in compunction. Rather than being a single emotion, it involved a sequence of affective performances which would eventually lead an orator to solace. The name was descriptive; *compunctio cordis* was often presented as a stinging or prickling in the heart, almost always accompanied by tears, caused by the memory of personal sinfulness.<sup>125</sup> Early treatises often represented compunction as synonymous with penitential contrition.<sup>126</sup> However, the spread of sacramental penance after 1215 began to clearly differentiate the two.<sup>127</sup> Compunction was

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<sup>121</sup> See, for example, Isidore of Seville, *Synonyma*, PL, vol. 83, cols. 825-868, cols. 839-846.

<sup>122</sup> Jean Gerson, *Consolatione Theologiae* in *Glorieux*, vol. 9, pp. 185-245, p.229.

<sup>123</sup> Through this, it could also embody themes from the vast *Contemptus Mundi* genre.

<sup>124</sup> C.f. Mark Burrows, *Jean Gerson and de Consolatio Theologiae* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), pp. 140-141.

<sup>125</sup> Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000), pp. 425-430; For tears of compunction, see below, pp. 137-139.

<sup>126</sup> See Gerrits, *Inter Timorem et Spem*, p. 179n.103; Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* contains a passage in which the two are conflated. The Christian expresses 'contrition' rather than compunction in the face of his sins, yet this is a response not to specific sins but a general state of sinfulness and consolation comes not from performance of penance but confidence in the mercy of God, see Isidore, *Synonyma*, cols. 834-839 for the state of sin, 839ff for the response and 846 for the consolation.

<sup>127</sup> The theologian and schoolmaster, Alan of Lille (c.1128-1202), for example, still integrated compunction and contrition, see *De Sex Alis Cherubim*, PL, vol. 210, cols. 265-280, cols. 274-275,

not satisfactory; it did not end with absolution and the performance of penance, but was an abiding and continuous response to human sinfulness.<sup>128</sup> It provided a response to Christian anxiety about sin that could, and indeed should, be performed alone and by means of prayer.<sup>129</sup>

The transformation that compunction described was the shift from fear to hope. The sixth-century pope, Gregory the Great (540-604), set the pattern by describing two successive kinds of spiritual stinging. Inspired by the grace of the Holy Spirit, one experienced a fearful, repentant stinging that inspired attitudes of humility and repentance. Having been thus afflicted, one proceeded to a joyful stinging. The Spirit instilled the realisation of God's mercy and a longing after the joys of Heaven, simultaneously cleansing the soul of the desire for worldly things.<sup>130</sup>

There are two kinds of compunction, because the soul, thirsting for God, is stung first by fear, and afterwards by love. First, indeed [compunction] moves [the soul] by tears, because while [the soul] recalls its evil-doings, it is afraid to suffer eternal punishment for them. But truly, when you are grieved for a long time, the fear shall be consumed with the worrying, then a certain security is born from presumption of favour and the mind is inflamed with the love of celestial joy.<sup>131</sup>

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translation in Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory* (Philadelphia: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 95-96; interestingly his discussion of contrition in *Liber Poenitentialis* does seem to make a distinction by not mentioning compunction, see *Liber Poenitentialis*, PL, vol. 210, cols. 279-304.

<sup>128</sup> For the continuousness of compunction see, for example, Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, PL, vols. 75-76, cols. 509-1162 and 9-782, vol. 75 col. 891.

<sup>129</sup> *Imitatio* I.XX: *In cubilibus vestris compungimini*; Compunction never replaced confession. It was rare, if not unheard of, for orthodox commentators to suggest one could obtain remission of the guilt of sins committed (absolution) without confession. Notably Jean Gerson and the tenuously orthodox theologian Wessel Gansfort (1419-1489) did question the value of confession if it failed to meet the requirements of consolation, see Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p. 75.

<sup>130</sup> Sandra McEntire, *The Doctrine of Compunction in Medieval England* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), pp. 50-60.

<sup>131</sup> Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, PL, vol. 77, cols. 149-430, col. 300: *compunctionis genera duo sunt, quia Deum sitiens anima prius timore compungitur, post amore. Prius enim sese in lacrymis afficit, quia dum malorum suorum recollit pro his perpeti aeterna supplicia pertimescit. At vero cum longa moereris anxietudine fuerit formido consumpta quaedam iam de praesumptione veniae securitas nascitur, et in amore coelestium gaudiorum animus inflammatur.*

This formula was frequently reworked in later descriptions of compunction and constituted an emotional stereotype well known to fifteenth-century readers.<sup>132</sup> Importantly compunction also incorporated the ascetic themes of consolation literature. According to Gregory the Great, there were four *loci* of compunction, being where the 'righteous man' has been (that is personal sinfulness), where he shall be (death), where he is (the evils and suffering of his present life) and where he is not (the blessings of the heavenly country).<sup>133</sup> The heart could be stung by both individual sin and the broader afflictions of human life. Compunction and consolation should thus be understood as two sides of the same coin. The Dutch mystic Gerard Zerbolt (1367-1398) underlined the parallels by describing the transformation of compunction as being from fear to *apatheia*.<sup>134</sup> Compunction became, for fifteenth-century commentators, the best route to successful consolation.

Emotional participation in textual meaning was the key criterion of a 'successful' devotional reading throughout the period. For this reason, this thesis will have recourse to theories of the emotions to describe the forms of affective experience articulated by texts and readers. Emotions are not pre-linguistic or pre-reflective; although emerging from biological impulses, they are not reducible to biology.<sup>135</sup> One interprets and judges one's feelings according to patterns of salience emerging from culturally established configurations. Emotions are defined by situations. As compunction shows, they are rarely experienced in

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<sup>132</sup> For reworkings, see Rhabanus Maurus, *De Universo*, PL, vol. 111, cols. 9-614, col. 150; Smaragdus, *Diadema Monacho*, PL, vol. 102, cols. 593-690, 613-614; Richard of St Victor, *Benjamin Maior*, PL, vol. 196, cols. 63-202, col. 98.

<sup>133</sup> See Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, PL, vol. 76, cols. 275-276: *Quatuor quippe sunt qualitates quibus iusti viri anima in compunctione afficitur cum aut malorum suorum reminiscitur considerans ubi fuit: aut iudiciorum Dei sententiarum metuens et secum quaerens ubi fuit; aut cum mala vitae praesentis solerter attendens, moerens considerat ubi est, aut cum bona supernae patriae contemplator, quae quia necdum adipiscitur, lugens conspicit ubi non est.*

<sup>134</sup> See Gerrits, *Inter Timorem et Spem*, p. 180; In this, he followed patristic tradition. For *apatheia*'s early monastic context, see Mark Sheridan, 'The Controversy over *Apatheia*', in Mark Sheridan (ed.), *From the Nile to the Rhone and Beyond: Studies in Early Monastic Literature* (Rome: Studia-Anselmiana, 2012), pp. 343-362, passim.

<sup>135</sup> Proudfoot, 'Religious Experience', pp. 344-6; Riis and Woodhead, *A Sociology of Religious Emotion*, pp. 24-25; Barbara Rosenwein, 'Emotion Words', in Piroska Nagy (ed.), *Le Sûjet des Emotions au Moyen Age* (Paris: Buchesne, 2008), pp. 93-106, pp. 96-97.

isolation but are often arranged into formal or informal ‘emotional scripts’.<sup>136</sup> These are socially constituted narratives or sequences of affect.<sup>137</sup> Owing to their fluid character, and building on William Reddy’s and Barbara Rosenwein’s work on the importance of linguistic prompts in emotional experience, rhetoric will provide the main tool for critiquing emotive texts.<sup>138</sup> Among the functions of rhetoric in the fifteenth-century was the articulation of religious emotion. In the Christian homiletic context, it was widely understood that to move one’s auditors, one had to be moved one’s self. It was for this reason that alongside discussions of the formal characteristics of sermons, *artes praedicandi* invariably prescribed holy living for preachers as a condition for speaking effectively.<sup>139</sup> Homilist and sermon were agent and formal cause in a process, with multiple co-present causes (God being the original cause), whereby the Holy Spirit was imparted to the auditors.<sup>140</sup> More importantly still, it was through rhetoric that the Bible was understood to communicate.<sup>141</sup> Often reiterated in the fifteenth-century was the Cistercian William of St Thierry’s admonition to the Carthusians of Monte Dei (at Raucourt in

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<sup>136</sup> Silvan Tomkins, ‘Script Theory’, in Silvan Tomkins et al (eds.), *Exploring Affect: The Selected Writings of Silvan S Tomkins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 312-388, passim.

<sup>137</sup> The fluid movement between emotions was characteristic of fourteenth and fifteenth-century theories of devotional activities, see Barbara Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), esp. pp. 235-236.

<sup>138</sup> For the concept of an emotion word, see Rosenwein, ‘Emotion Words’, passim. In essence, an emotion word describes an emotion that is culturally appropriate rather than attempting to homogenise human experience into a set of ‘biologically’ predetermined responses. In many ways Rosenwein extrapolates the arguments made in Raymond Williams, *Keywords* (London: Fontana Press, 1988) passim; c.f. the concept of the ‘emotive’ in William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), passim.

<sup>139</sup> See Guibert de Nogent, *Liber quo Ordine Sermo Fieri Debeat*, in Joseph Miller et al (trans.), *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), pp. 162-181, pp. 163-169; Humbert of Romans, *Treatise on Preaching, II.9-8*, in Joseph Miller et al (trans.), *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), pp.245-250.

<sup>140</sup> See Margaret Jennings and Sally Wilson (trans.), *Ranulph Higden: Ars Componendi Sermones* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), p. 34; Higden may have taken this from the English preacher Richard of Basevorn’s (fl. 14<sup>th</sup> century) *Ars Praedicandi* from which he lifted much of his material directly, see James Murphy, *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 115-116.

<sup>141</sup> The number of rhetorical interpretations of the Bible is very great. Perhaps the most influential in the long term was Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana*, PL, vol. 34, cols. 15-123, esp. book III; see also Cassiodorus, *In Psalterium Expositio*, PL, vol. 70, cols. 20-1056; Bede, *De Schematibus et Tropis* dwells at length on the rhetorical preeminence of Scripture, PL, vol. 90, cols. 175-186; For St Paul as a rhetor, see John Levison, ‘Did the Spirit Inspire Rhetoric’, in Duane Watson (ed.), *Persuasive Artistry: Essays in New Testament Rhetoric in Honour of George Kennedy* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 25-40, passim; Perhaps most striking of all was Gerson’s *De Modis Significandi* where he challenged the idea that logic could be used for exegesis at all. Rhetoric, he counselled was the only legitimate hermeneutic, see *Glorieux*, vol. 9, pp. 625-642, pp. 627 and 629-30.

the Ardennes) for reading Scripture: 'you will never understand David unless you clothe yourself in his affective experience of the Psalms'.<sup>142</sup> This affect was mediated to readers by rhetoric. The emotive effects of rhetoric, at least in the religious context, also functioned as forms of emotional expression.<sup>143</sup> The same hermeneutic was applied when reading the *Imitatio Christi*. However, rhetoric was a dynamic and changeable field. In acts of prayer or preaching, it entailed a fine balance between human and divine agency. As such it was very sensitive to changes in doctrine. Rhetorical tropes, schemes, figures and colours provide a vocabulary of critical terms for gauging changes in emotional regimes.

The meanings of the *Imitatio*, activated in the textual transformations indicated above suggest paradigms of emotional and somatic performance. Yet, spoken or silent acts of prayer or other bodily articulations of devotion were ephemeral, leaving few, if any, records or remnants. It is, however, possible to tentatively reconstruct the religious praxis of those readers using a concept of space.<sup>144</sup> Consolation, as explained above, was an ideal response but its elicitation,

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<sup>142</sup> The letter was attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux by the Nicholas Love (c.1407-1411), prior of Mountgrace Charterhouse, and Migne attributed it to the carthusian prior of Grande Chartreuse Guigo I (1083-1136); see *Epistola Aurea*, PL, vol. 184, cols. 307-364, col. 327: '*Numquam intelleges David, donec ipsa experientia ipsos Psalmorum affectus indueris*'; See also Jean Gerson, *Sermo in Festo Sancti Bernardi* in *Glorieux*, vol. 5, pp. 325-339, p. 334; Johann Geiler von Kaiserberg, *Celeberrimi Sacrarum Literarum Doctoris Ioannis Geiler Kaiserbergii* (Strasbourg: Mathias Schrürer, 1510 USTC-620871), sig. H5r.

<sup>143</sup> This is perhaps one of the reasons that rhetoric became so inextricable from medieval poetics. Notably the grammarian Geoffrey of Vinsauf (fl. 1200), whose *Poetria Nova* remained the standard introduction to poetics well into the fifteenth century, used a clothing metaphor to communicate the effect of amplification on writing, see Margaret Nims (trans.), *Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1987), p. 24.

<sup>144</sup> This reconstructive approach is a comparatively recent and distinct development in histories of religious culture. Many such accounts focus on liturgical and particularly processional movement, owing to the strong narrativity of these religious performances. Their origins lie, to a great extent in the reconstructive efforts of Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974) and Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth Century Lyon', *Past and Present*, 90 (1981), pp. 40-70; More modern examples of this technique and the inspirations for this thesis came from the articles in Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskén (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001); Sarah Blick and Laura Gefand (eds.), *Push me Pull You* (Leiden: Brill, 2011) 2 vols, esp vol. 2, pp. 423-558; Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobińska (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2000); Nils Holger Petersen et al (eds.), *The Appearance of Medieval Rituals* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); See also Paul Crossley, 'Ductus and Memoria: Chartres Cathedral and the workings of Rhetoric', in Mary Carruthers (ed.), *Rhetoric beyond Words* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 214-242; Kate Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

identification and performance depended on situation. The reader of any text is an embodied percipient occupying a multisensory field of meanings.<sup>145</sup> The text itself is one focal extension of this perceptible stage of religious performance.<sup>146</sup> As an eye's motion across a page is structured by syntax and paratexts, so a body's motion within space is structured by its visual and kinetic properties, its foci and its pathways.<sup>147</sup> Just as rhetoric provides the critical tool for reading emotional language, so is it crucial to historicise the sensoria of actors in the past. The meanings of phenomena and especially the behaviours contingent upon them depend on the mediating role that the senses were thought to perform. Once this is understood, the meanings of sensory phenomena can be explained.<sup>148</sup> The Carthusian cloister, for example, was designed to impose emotional and behavioural dispositions on its percipients by controlling sensory experience.<sup>149</sup> By contrast the bed-chambers used by the *Imitatio's* secular readers had to be creatively appropriated to function as sensorially suitable prayer spaces.<sup>150</sup> As words yield semantic meanings, spaces acquire and concentrate symbolic significance.<sup>151</sup> Just like readings, encounters with particular spaces are individual and unrepeatable; they cannot determine behaviour unfailingly.<sup>152</sup> Yet an awareness of the characteristics of historical spaces can be used to establish the horizons of the possible within given situations.<sup>153</sup> The *Imitatio* was one physical

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<sup>145</sup> Histories that interpret cultures through the spaces of the past are heavily reliant on phenomenological interpretation and the premise that all experience is essentially mediated by the human body; see Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Macmillan, 2002), pp. 3-28; see also Shaun Gallagher, *Phenomenology* (New York: MacMillan, 2012), *passim*; Christopher Tilley, *The Materiality of Stone* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), pp. 1-29.

<sup>146</sup> This somewhat inverts the more conventional analogy, which is to construe spaces as textual, see, for example, Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred* (London: SCM Press, 2001), pp. 1 and 17; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson (London: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 130-140. Lefebvre stridently denied that spaces were textual or linguistic, he preferred to conceive of spaces as prior to texts. By taking texts as objects interacting with the symbolic potencies and textures of the spaces that contain them, this account contends that an account of space must engage with and incorporate the philosophy of language within it.

<sup>147</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steve Rindall (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), p. 99.

<sup>148</sup> See below, p. 61ff.

<sup>149</sup> See Ch. I, *passim*.

<sup>150</sup> See Chs. II-IV, *passim*.

<sup>151</sup> This thesis draws heavily on the semiology of Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, *passim*; see also Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, p. 28.

<sup>152</sup> Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, p. 17.

<sup>153</sup> Tilley, *The Materiality of Stone*, p. 13.



object among many that structured the devotee's act of prayer. It is possible, therefore, to suggest what the devotional consciousness of readers was like if structured in relation to these perceptual objects.<sup>154</sup>

#### IV. Thesis Overview

The organization of this thesis is broadly chronological running from the earliest recorded entry of the *Imitatio* into England until the end of the sixteenth-century, just before the 1613 printing of the translation by the English Jesuit Antony Hoskins (1568-1615).<sup>155</sup> This time frame is at once manageable and long enough to examine use of the *Imitatio* both before and during the Reformation. The thesis will begin by situating the *Imitatio* within fifteenth-century monastic and secular contexts and these will be compared with its use within both early-evangelical and Elizabethan Calvinist contexts.

Chapters I and II are more conceptually oriented so as to examine the uses of the Latin *Imitatio* and establish the themes of flexible solitude, consolation and fragmented reading. The development of this heritage is then tracked in chapters III and IV, as these discuss protestant versions of the text. Chapter I demonstrates that among its earliest English readers, the Carthusian monks, the *Imitatio* was a tool by which to establish continuity of identity. It provided lessons in managing the sensorium so that the psychological benefits of solitude were not lost through contact with outsiders.<sup>156</sup> This allowed the Carthusians to conceive of their increasingly activist tendencies as emergent from and continuous with their historic identity as solitaries rather than aberrant. Chapter II follows the very early shift from cloister to *saeculum* and the devotional practices of London clergy. This chapter establishes the second trend in the *Imitatio's* use, which was the creative appropriation of its passages, especially in book three, for use in prayers. Less concerned with questions of historical identity, this chapter discusses the role of mimesis in acts of prayer. Rhetoric and poetics provided educated readers with a

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<sup>154</sup> Gallagher, *Phenomenology*, p. 26.

<sup>155</sup> Thomas à Kempis, *The Following of Christe*, trans. Anthony Hoskins ([St-Omer: English College Press], 1613 RSTC-23987).

<sup>156</sup> Owing to the distinctive reading of the *Imitatio* that developed within the Carthusian order, this chapter is less focussed on rhetorical practice than those following it.

framework for creative use of text and space in the pursuit of solitary and compunctious prayer and ultimately consolation.

This pattern of use continued, with slight but significant variations throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Despite devotional and doctrinal changes, the *Imitatio* continued to fascinate English readers. Chapter III and chapter IV point to significant thematic and practical continuity in private devotion over the course of the Reformation, transcending confessional change. Catherine Parr's (1512-1548) *Prayers or Meditations* (1545) shows that evangelical readings of the *Imitatio* were often differentiated from traditional ones by little more than rhetoric. The evangelical concept of *metanoia*, and later, the Calvinist doctrine assurance were sufficiently close to the conceptual content of traditional compunction for the *Imitatio* to remain a valuable resource to the reformers. This connection lent weight to Protestant claims of contiguity with strands within the pre-reformation Church. As chapter IV shows, the humanist Sebastian Castellio (1515-1563) and parish priest Thomas Rogers (1553-1616) re-formed the *Imitatio* in their translations.<sup>157</sup> Their texts were predestinarian. Yet the way in which that soteriology was to be experienced, as articulated in the text, remained couched in an essentially fifteenth-century conceptual narrative and framework. This discourse between reformed readers and Catholic past does not point to the incompleteness or failure of the Reformation. In this case, the creative dialogue with the pre-Reformation past strengthened rather than weakened Protestant identity. Protestantism not only had clear roots in traditional theology, but through mimesis of texts like the *Imitatio* it continued to be moulded by it.<sup>158</sup>

It has not been possible to treat of all versions of the *Imitatio* used in England during this time, so the selection has been made on the basis of four criteria. The first is the amount of evidence available to allow reconstruction of devotional practices. The second is the breadth of comparison that these examples

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<sup>157</sup> Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitando Christo*, trans. Sebastian Castellio (Basel: Peter Perna, 1563 USTC-630007), henceforth referred to as *Imitando*; Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans.

Thomas Rogers (London: Henrie Denham, 1585, RSTC-23976) henceforth referred to as *Imitation*

<sup>158</sup> C.f. Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 287-288.

enable and the balance between analyses of Catholic and Protestant use. The third is whether these versions have received substantial treatment already. The fourth is the availability of rhetoric to the users of the text. The vernacular manuscripts of the *Imitatio* produced by the Carthusian Order have received substantial treatment in Biggs's monograph. These English texts employed many Latin loan-words and would have been difficult reading for someone without Latin. They probably, therefore, served a similar audience to that of the Latin texts circulating mainly among male religious.<sup>159</sup> The 1504 *Ful Deuout and Gostely Treatyse* provides great insight into the devotional patterns of its patron and translator, Lady Margaret Beaufort.<sup>160</sup> However, there is comparatively little evidence for its reception beyond her. Lady Margaret was also not Latinate and the intensely liturgical orientation of her private devotions ultimately represented a tradition distinct from the one followed in this thesis. Though the 1530 *Folowing of Christe* is important to chapter III and IV, it is as background to the 1545 *Prayers or Meditations* and the 1580 *Imitation of Christ*.<sup>161</sup> Its use was bound up with Jesuit and recusant engagement with the *Imitatio* and these were ultimately too large a subject to include, despite the ample evidence of readers. This thesis also makes comparatively light use of continental printed editions because of the scarcity of surviving examples that definitely circulated in England.<sup>162</sup> Owing to the great emphasis on rhetoric throughout this thesis, those contexts where the participants were at least Latinate and who had access either to some form of 'preceptive grammar' or rhetoric will be preferred.<sup>163</sup> The Carthusian monks of chapter I were

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<sup>159</sup> Biggs (ed.), *The imitation of Christ*, p. lxxix; At least one manuscript may have circulated among female religious, see below, n. 178.

<sup>160</sup> Thomas à Kempis, *A Ful Deuoute and Gostely Treatyse*, trans. William Atkinson and Lady Margaret Beaufort (London: Richard Pynson, 1504 RSTC-23954.7).

<sup>161</sup> All subsequent references to this translation, unless specified otherwise, will be taken from Thomas à Kempis, *A Boke Newly Translated out of Latyn in to Englisshe, called The Folowing of Christe, with the Golden Epistel of Saynt Barnard*, trans. Anon. (London: Richard Redman, [1531?] RSTC-23961), hereafter referred to as *Folowing*.

<sup>162</sup> In fact, there is little firm evidence for Latin incunabula editions of the *Imitatio Christi* in England before 1504 when William Atkinson used one as the basis of his translation of the text into English. The benedictine monastery of Monk Bretton appears to have owned one, but the catalogue was compiled in the 1550s. See Richard Sharpe (ed.), *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (London: British Library, 1996), p. 271; A 1485 Venetian imprint, Oxford, Bodleian Library, IQ6.9(7-9), is inscribed with the name William King, sig. \*1r, an early sixteenth-century Augustinian Canon of Northampton or Haughmond (Shrops).

<sup>163</sup> For preceptive grammar, see pp. 107-109.

almost all proficient in Latin. Some, though by no means the majority of of London's Carthusians were also university graduates, particularly in the sixteenth-century.<sup>164</sup> Chapter II pertains to the London priesthood, who, by the fifteenth-century were increasingly though by no means all university trained.<sup>165</sup> Chapter III makes the case that Catherine Parr was not only well educated and Latinate but also that *Prayers* was proof of this. Chapter IV considers the work of Sebastian Castellio and Thomas Rogers, both of whom were university educated.

This thesis enables a deeper understanding of the use and the historical significance of devotional literature. The body of texts referred to as *Imitatio* or *Imitationes* incorporated a multitude of works in different languages, and with highly divergent meanings. Reading these *Imitationes* as products of mimesis in the *longue durée* reveals more sharply the continuities and differences that emerged within that *Imitatio* tradition. Readers and editors selected from *Imitationes* in keeping with their devotional goals. Their choices of, and changes to, the content and presentation of their texts informed subsequent acts of mimesis. Each devotional act was, therefore, a statement of historical situatedness. The devotee consciously and unconsciously performed their affiliation with, or differentiation from, the religious practices and identities of the past. The method applied in the chapters following establishes the historical use of texts at particular points within the broader framework of this tradition. In doing so, this study challenges the conventional narrative that posits an existential schism between traditional religion and Protestant reformism. It does not suggest that the changes of the sixteenth-century were insignificant. After all, reformers read *Imitationes* within radically altered frames of reference. Rather this thesis demonstrates the structural similarities that enabled doctrinal changes to take hold and allowed new, Protestant doctrines to be actualised in practice. Tradition and cultural change were not opposing forces in devotional literature but reciprocating imperatives, each contributing to the success of the other.

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<sup>164</sup> Andrew Wines, 'The University of Life and the London Charterhouse', in Caroline Barron (ed.), *The Church and Learning* (Donington: Shaun tyas, 2002), pp. 100-109, pp. 101.

<sup>165</sup> See table 2.

## Chapter I: Solitude and the Senses: Withdrawal and the London Charterhouse

### I. Introduction: Carthusian Solitude in Flux

The earliest English readers of Kempis's Latin text were members of the Carthusian Order. Their interest echoed that of their continental brethren, who were among the first readers to take an interest in the book in the Low Countries and northern Germany. The *Imitatio's* pronouncements on the subject of boundaries spoke to issues that concerned the Order as a whole. A Charterhouse was an environment of sensory control. By constraining the senses, the monks' *affectus*, that is their emotional and imaginative constitution, was moulded and perfected. Yet, growing involvement with the *saeculum* outside the monastery jeopardized the monks' identity. The Order required new strategies to protect the monks' *affectus*. The Carthusian reading of the *Imitatio* provided one such strategy. Rather than literary mimesis, the *Imitatio* was imbricated in the Carthusian casuistry of *discretio*. This was nevertheless a mimetic discourse by which the solitude that had historically defined the Carthusians was adapted to changing circumstances. Its contribution was to make the sense-world of the monastery a model for discourse. It complemented and extended the patterning and rhetoric of spaces that defined and protected the monks' seclusion. The *Imitatio's* admonitions were a last line of defence, defining and constraining the kinds of discourse that the brethren could have with outsiders. Following the case of the London Charterhouse, this chapter will show how, with the help of the *Imitatio*, its monks balanced their seclusion with the need to interact with outsiders who were admitted into the monastery. Far from living in unchanging isolation, the monks were adaptable, performing solitude within a changing and penetrable environment.

The English Carthusians' interest in the *Imitatio* persisted throughout the fifteenth-century and beyond. The various books of the *Imitatio* were very swiftly taken up and circulated around Carthusian houses throughout Europe. It had already reached Charterhouses both at Sheen and Aggsbach before Kempis even wrote his autograph text of 1441 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS. 5455-61).<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Puyol, *Descriptions Bibliographiques*, p. 28.

The *Imitatio* was highly attractive to the Carthusians. The brethren of the common-life and Windisheim congregation were deeply influenced by Carthusian spirituality.<sup>167</sup> The founder of the new devotion, Gerard Groote, acquired an appreciation for private spaces of prayer from Carthusians of Monnikhuizen.<sup>168</sup> Kempis himself commended the Carthusians in his text and even adopted a truism from the *Statuta Antiqua* (1259).<sup>169</sup> Both emphasised the singular importance of keeping to the cell for new solitaries, as frequent wandering abroad, they say, will swiftly cause the cell to become odious to the occupant.<sup>170</sup>

It was the Carthusians that first imported the *Imitatio* into England. The earliest version copied in England was a manuscript of the Latin book I, completed in 1439 by John Dygoun, a recluse at Sheen, now Mag.93. This manuscript bore the title *Musica Ecclesiastica*.<sup>171</sup> This name probably came from the Carthusian, Heinrich Kalkar's (c.1328-1408), *Cantuagium*. In the library of the Erfurt Charterhouse it was registered as '*Cantuagium id est musica ecclesiastica*'.<sup>172</sup> Though the link to the *Imitatio* is obscure, Kempis's text was bound with other

<sup>167</sup> The connections are traced in more detail in, Laveice Ward, 'Authors and Authority: The Influence of Jean Gerson and "Devotio Moderna" on the *faciculus Temporum* of Werner Rolevinck' in James Hogg (ed.) *Die Kartäuser and ihre Welt* (Salzburg: Institut für Amerikanistik und Anglistik, 1999), pp. 171-188.

<sup>168</sup> Kaspar Elm, 'Die Bruderschaft vom gemeinsamen Leben', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 59, no. 2-3 (1984), pp. 27-45, *passim*; Otto Gründler, 'Devotio Moderna atque Antiqua: The Modern Devotion and Carthusian Spirituality', in Rozanne Elder (ed.), *The Roots of the Modern Spirituality of Western Christendom* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), pp. 27-45; Ezekiel Lotz, 'Secret Rooms: Private Spaces for Private Devotion in Late Medieval Burgundy', in Julian Luxford (ed.), *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 163-176, *passim*.

<sup>169</sup> The *Statuta Antiqua* was the text which (in addition to the *Consuetudines* (1121-1128) of Guigo I, prior of Grande Chartreuse, and other pieces of capitular legislation, i.e. the *Statuta Nova* (1368) and *Tertio Compilatio* (1509)) served the Carthusians in place of a rule.

<sup>170</sup> See *Statuta Antiqua*, in *Statuta Ordinis Cartusiensis* (Basel: Industria J. Amorbachii, 1510 USTC-[unregistered]), sigs. [2]a1r-[2]p8r, sig. [2]k6v: '*si frequen[ter] et leuib[us] de causis exire inseuerit; cito habebit exosam*'; *Imitatio*, I.XX: '*Cella continuata dulcescit: et male custodita taedium generat. Si in principio conversionis tuae bene eam incolueris et custodieris: erit tibi postea dilecta amica et gratissimum solacium.*'

<sup>171</sup> Mag.93 is a miscellany. *Musica Ecclesiastica* appears between fol. 269r and 295v. On fol. 275v there is a colophon giving the date and copyist's name; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 15138 is a mid-fifteenth-century Latin text with contemporary English annotations that came into the possession of the Bruges Charterhouse, probably by way of the sixteenth century Carthusian exiles. See Lovatt, 'The Imitation of Christ in Late Medieval England', *passim*.

<sup>172</sup> Albert Ampe, 'Der Verspreiding der *Imitatio Christi* als *Liber Consolationis qui vocatur Musica Ecclesiastica*', in Michiels Tongeren, *Bijdragen over Thomas a Kempis* (Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique No. Special 4, 1971), pp. 158-171, *passim*.

works by Kalkar in the same library.<sup>173</sup> This origin is supported by the fact that the continental recensions of the *imitatio* closest in form to *Musica Ecclesiastica* were manuscripts that were circulating among the Charterhouses of south Germany.<sup>174</sup>

Dygoun later copied an incomplete transcript of books two and three (missing book III chapter LXI) and bound them with his copy of book one. Mag.93 was no exemplar for later manuscripts; none repeat the omission of LXI (LVI).<sup>175</sup> Later English manuscripts do, however, share the name *Musica Ecclesiastica*. Manuscripts of *Musica Ecclesiastica* were probably, therefore, descended from a lost 'third' manuscript brought into England by the Carthusians.<sup>176</sup> The only English text of this three-book type with a clear Carthusian origin is Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 15138. This belonged to Bruges Charterhouse, but belongs to the English recension and was probably brought to Brussels by exiled English monks in the sixteenth century. A fourth import may be represented by those manuscripts of *Musica Ecclesiastica* with chapters numbered up to fifty-nine and five unnumbered *Oraciones* in book III (Lam.536 and Laud.215) and those with sixty-four chapters. These manuscripts are of the same recension as the sixty-four chapter version. Either they share the same south-German *stemma* but were separate imports, or the change to sixty-four chapters took place after the importation of the 'third manuscript' and Lam.536 and Laud.215 represent an earlier stage of this recension. Further bibliographical evidence testifies to English Carthusians' interest in the *Imitatio*.<sup>177</sup> Two of the four fifteenth-century English-language manuscripts were copied by Carthusians at Sheen and Witham.<sup>178</sup> This raises the possibility that the first English translator also belonged to the Order. The London House appears to

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<sup>173</sup> Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands*, p. 341, 342.

<sup>174</sup> Biggs (ed.), *The Imitation of Christ*, p.xliv-xlv.

<sup>175</sup> Owing to the variations in book III's chapter numeration, if, when there is cause to refer to a chapter number in the main text, there is a discrepancy between it and the earliest fifty-nine chapter numeration, then the equivalent chapter in the fifty-nine chapter version will be given in brackets afterwards. The exception to this is in chapter IV section III, where there is cause to refer to the same chapters repeatedly, see below n. 966.

<sup>176</sup> Thus is also, incidentally, the conclusion of Puyol, *Descriptions Bibliographiques*, p. 260.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 120 and 260.

<sup>178</sup> Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS. 19, fol. 1r notes that the text was copied by Stephen Doddesham of Witham, who moved to Sheen in 1470; Glasgow, Hunterian Library MS. 136, an inscription on the flyleaf notes that the text was copied for Elizabeth Gibbs (d.1518), abbess of Syon, by the Carthusian of Sheen, William Darker.

have been the main library of the Order in England and distributed the text. A printed edition appears in a set of loans from London to Hinton in the early sixteenth-century, showing that the Order began to import printed copies of the Latin text.<sup>179</sup> One John Blacman (1408-1485), a former fellow of Eton College Oxford and dean of Westbury-on-Trym (Gloucs), who joined the London Charterhouse as a *clericus redditus* in 1457 acquired a copy during his time there.<sup>180</sup> In the 1530s, Prior Houghton of London wrote to the Charterhouse of Cologne to obtain 'twenty books of the work we call *De Contemptu Mundi*' for distribution in England.<sup>181</sup> The interest of the English Carthusians was thus part of an ongoing integration within continental book networks. Furthermore their interest mirrored that of the Order as a whole.

Historians of fifteenth-century monasticism once regarded the continuing Carthusian reputation for asceticism as exceptional among the monastic orders. The fall in donations to other orders, and declines in both vocations and new foundations appeared to present a general pattern of malaise.<sup>182</sup> The Carthusians were the exceptions that proved the rule.<sup>183</sup> Between 1370 and 1430 six new charterhouses were founded and all the houses continued to accrue property well into the sixteenth-century. While Cromwell's 1536 commissions, which

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<sup>179</sup> Vincent Gillespie (ed.), *Syon Abbey; with the libraries of the Carthusians* (London: British Library, 2001), pp. 614, 622 and 624.

<sup>180</sup> There are two inventories of John Blacman's library, one was made prior to his joining the London house and a second when he transferred to the Charterhouse of Witham in 1465, *Musica Ecclesiastica* appears only on the second list. The most likely explanation is that Blacman acquired or copied the manuscript while at the London Charterhouse; see Ethel Thompson, *The Carthusian Order* (London: S.P.C.K, 1930), pp. 320-321; N.B. A *clericus redditus* was a sort of half monk who was allowed to own property and leave the Order with good cause.

<sup>181</sup> Letter printed in Lawrence Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse* (S.I: Kegan Paul, 1889), pp. 366-369; Carthusians appear to have used *De Contemptu Mundi* to refer to the first book and by extension the whole of the *Imitatio*, see Puyol, *Descriptions Bibliographiques*, pp. 28, 99, 119, 183, 197, 314 and 324.

<sup>182</sup> See for example, Joseph Bettey, *The Suppression of the Monasteries in the West Country* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1989), pp. 20-21; Geoffrey Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London: Methuen, 1955), pp. 141-143, though he had changed his mind by *Tudor Constitutional Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 379; Roy Midmer, *English Medieval Monasteries* (London: Heineman, 1979), p. 24; Roger Palmer, *English Monasteries in the Middle Ages* (London: Constable & Co Ltd, 1930), pp. 217-218; John Tillitson, *Monastery and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), pp. 1-9; Geoffrey Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London: Blandford Press, 1966), pp. 41-42.

<sup>183</sup> Bettey, *The Suppression of the Monasteries in the West Country*, p. 8; Palmer, *English Monasteries in the Middle Ages*, p. 14; Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, p. 42; they are usually grouped with the Bridgettines and Observant Franciscans.



inaugurated the Dissolution of the Monasteries, returned with accounts of widespread monastic worldliness, the Charterhouses appeared largely untainted.<sup>184</sup> Revision of this narrative has scaled back Carthusian exceptionalism considerably.<sup>185</sup> *Longue-durée* histories of the Order show substantial declines in the austerity and isolation observed in the Order as a whole between their first foundation and the sixteenth-century. The foundation of urban Charterhouses from the thirteenth-century onwards marked a major transition.<sup>186</sup> Yet, Carthusian solitude was always selective, never absolute. Secular patrons provided for their material needs; they were intimately tied to local communities and networks of aristocratic patronage. English Charterhouses often stood in such physical proximity to areas of secular activity as to make contact unavoidable. They were founded not in isolated places but alongside towns as at London, Hull, Coventry; in deer-parks as at Witham (Som), Hinton (Som), Beauvale (Notts), and along major arteries of communication as Axholme (Lincs) and Sheen (Richmond).<sup>187</sup> Studies of particular houses have noted that they were subject to as much variation as the houses of other orders.

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<sup>184</sup> There is not space here to discuss the Dissolution in depth, see the account in David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948-1959) 3 vols, vol. 3, passim.

<sup>185</sup> At the same time, there has been a turn following Knowles work to seeing the fifteenth-century as a period of monastic vigour rather than decline; For examples of monastic vitality George Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 164; the articles in James Clark (ed.), *The Religious Orders in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002); Richard Dobson, 'Mendicant Ideal and Practice in Late Medieval York', in Peter Addyman and V. Black (eds.), *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M. W. Barley* (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1984), pp. 109-122; Robert Dunning, 'Revival at Glastonbury 1530-1539', in Derek Baker (ed.), *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1977), pp. 213-222; most accounts of the bridgettines of Syon Abbey before the dissolution stress its spiritual vigour, notably Roger Ellis, *Syon Abbey* (Salzburg: Institut für Amerikanistik und Anglistik, 1989); David Knowles, *Bare Ruined Choirs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 94-103; Clare Waters, 'Holy Familiars: Enclosure, Work and the Saints at Syon Abbey', *Philological Quarterly*, 87, no. 1 (2008), pp. 135-162.

<sup>186</sup> Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 41-46; James Hogg, 'Everyday Life in the Charterhouse in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in Heinrich Appelt (ed.), *Klösterliche Sachkultur Des Spätmittelalters* (Wien: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), pp. 113-146, passim; Idem, 'The Carthusian Order from its Foundation to the Present Day', in Dom Firmin la Ver (ed.), *A Carthusian Lexicographer: The Carthusian Order from its Foundation to the Present Day* (Salzburg: Institut für Amerikanistik und Anglistik, 2005), pp. 7-25, passim; idem, 'Life in an English Charterhouse in the Fifteenth Century', in Julian Luxford (ed.), *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, pp. 35-58, pp. 36-37, passim.

<sup>187</sup> Glynn Coppack, '"Make Straight in the Desert a Highway for our God": The Carthusians and Community in Late Medieval England', in Janet Burton and Karen Stöber, *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 168-179, p. 168.

Charterhouses had to adapt to their local environments.<sup>188</sup> Nevertheless, the Carthusians maintained and even enhanced their reputation for solitude among contemporaries (and historians).<sup>189</sup>

To fully understand the importance of the *Imitatio* to the Carthusians, it is necessary to contextualise its uptake in relation to long term trends within the Order. The Carthusians appropriated it in response to changes in their relationship with the *saeculum*. The move to urban foundations and the reformism of the fifteenth century placed new demands on the monks. This short account delineates the imperatives that drove the Order's deviation from their traditional solitude. For this reason, the Carthusians engaged in a mimetic discourse to reconcile their interactions with the world and the sensory-affective characteristics of solitude. It was as a tool for reconciling solitude and social interaction that the Carthusians valued the *Imitatio*. A short introduction into the Order's history also usefully relativises the importance of the *Imitatio*. The text did not cause the Carthusians to change. Rather its appropriation and reading responded to and facilitated changes that were ongoing within the Order.

From the thirteenth-century onwards, the Carthusians became increasingly drawn into the *saeculum*. Originally founded in 1084, by St Bruno (1030-1101) as an order of solitaries secluded in rural 'deserts', the Order began to change with the move to an urban setting. In 1257, the first urban charterhouse was founded at Vauvert, near Paris, by Louis XI. This was an experiment intended to cultivate the Order's longstanding relationship with the French Crown.<sup>190</sup> An explosion of

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<sup>188</sup> Bruno Barber et al, *The London Charterhouse* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2002), pp. 70-72; Coppack, "'Make Straight in the Desert a Highway for our God'", pp. 176-179; Philip Temple, *Survey of London: the Charterhouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 16-17.

<sup>189</sup> For example, George Bernard, *The King's Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 160; Jeremy Catto, 'Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century', in Hugh Lloyd-Jones (ed.), *History and Imagination* (London: Duckworth, 1981), pp. 43-55, 51-52; Tom Gaens, 'Fons Hortorum Irriguus Ceteras Religiones Irrigans Religiones', in Stephen Molvarec (ed.), *Fish out of Water* (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 52-103, passim; Marlene Hennessy, 'The Remains of the Royal Dead in an English Carthusian Manuscript, London British Library MS Additional, 37049', *Viator*, 33 (2002), pp. 310-354, p. 333.

<sup>190</sup> This relationship stretched back until at least the mid twelfth-century. A letter of Bishop Anthelm of Belley (1107-1178), former prior of Grande Chartreuse, to Louis VII (1120-1180), recalled to the king a visit to Grande Chartreuse in 1148, see Stephen Molvarec, 'Vox Clamantis in Eremo', in idem (ed.), *Fish out of Water* (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 13-49, p. 43.

foundations ensued; up from thirty-one in the thirteenth century, to more than one hundred in the fourteenth.<sup>191</sup> Many of these, though not the majority, were urban houses; by 1500, most major European urban centres could boast one.<sup>192</sup> However, urban locations led to a reorganization of how charterhouses were financed and, as a result, how Carthusian solitude was practised.<sup>193</sup> Urban foundations departed from an economy based on the large agricultural ‘deserts’ surrounding rural houses. Founding and financing an urban charterhouse necessitated the opening of that house’s doors to benefactors.<sup>194</sup> An initial incomplete foundation would be made, which financed the first few cells. It would then be left to others, usually the local urban elite, to pay for the House’s completion.

So it was with the London Charterhouse, established during a period of courtly enthusiasm for the Order between 1343 and 1415 (see table 1). This enthusiasm took the number of English foundations from two to nine.<sup>195</sup> The original donation of Sir Walter Manny (1310-1372) and Bishop Northburgh of London (1300-1361) financed only the first cell.<sup>196</sup> It was thirty years before a frater, an infirmary and a precinct wall were built. The Great cloister’s quadrangle of cells was not finished until 1419. The foundation of cells reveals the extent of the reliance on London patronage. Most were financed by the fishmonger and former mayor, William Walworth (d.1386), using the estate of John Lovekyn

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<sup>191</sup> Hogg, ‘The Carthusian Order from its Foundation to the Present Day’, p. 12 counts one hundred and six; Denis Martin, *The Honeymoon was over*, in Hogg (ed.) *Die Kartäuser and ihre Welt*, pp. 170-184, pp. 98-99 counts one hundred and two.

<sup>192</sup> Molvarec, ‘Vox Clamantis in Eremo’, p. 48; Denis Martin, ‘Carthusians during the Reformation Era’, *Catholic History Review*, 81 (1995), pp. 41-66, p. 44.

<sup>193</sup> Hogg also suggests that there may have been an issue of security involved. Rural charterhouses, as for example Pesio (Piedmont), were vulnerable to bandits and soldiers. Hogg, ‘The Carthusian Order from its Foundation to the Present Day’, p. 12.

<sup>194</sup> Hogg, ‘Everyday life in the Charterhouse’, pp. 127-128.

<sup>195</sup> Catto, ‘Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century’, pp. 51-52.

<sup>196</sup> David Knowles and William Grimes, *Charterhouse* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1954), pp. 1-9; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order*, pp. 167-173; Jonathan Sumption, ‘Mauny, Sir Walter (c.1310–1372)’, *ODNB* [online edn. 0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/17985 accessed 17<sup>th</sup> July 2014]; Roy Martin Haines, ‘Northburgh, Michael (c.1300–1361)’, *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/20324>, accessed 17<sup>th</sup> July 2014]; recently Andrew Wines has suggested that the traditional account of the foundation in the house’s chartulary obscures the importance of later benefactors in securing the house’s future; see Andrew Wines, ‘The Founders of the London Charterhouse’, in Julian Luxford (ed.), *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, pp. 61-71.

(d.1368) to found five cells; Adam Fraunceys (c.1310-1375), who founded a further five, was a London mercer and, as Walworth, former mayor.<sup>197</sup> Later, the grocer William Symmes financed one cell, paved the cloister walk and financed repair and decoration programs.<sup>198</sup> Another Londoner, John Blakeney, financed the chapel and the chapterhouse. This need for benefaction did not end with the completion of the house's buildings.<sup>199</sup> Reliance on urban patronage transformed the Carthusian way of life. Charterhouses had to cultivate the goodwill of their neighbours and provide services. They went beyond the normative solitude prescribed by the *Consuetudines* to attract benefactions. Masses for individual dead, the burial of outsiders within the cloister, allowing gifts (both of items and money) to be made to individual monks all transgressed the boundary with the *saeculum* that Guigo envisioned. All came to be tolerated within Charterhouses throughout Europe over the course of the fourteenth and particularly the fifteenth-century.<sup>200</sup>

James Hogg understood these changes to signal a shift from solitude to 'mere enclosure'.<sup>201</sup> This analysis does not fully describe the situation of the late-medieval Carthusians, nor does it account for the Carthusians' continued reputation for austerity. The Order also remained overwhelmingly rural, financed largely by aristocrats, and operated a strict system of visitation.<sup>202</sup> Admonitions from the General Chapter over the course of the fifteenth-century do not suggest that urban

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<sup>197</sup> Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, pp. 24-26.

<sup>198</sup> William St Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse* (London: SPCK, 1925) pp. 66-7.

<sup>199</sup> This was not the case for all urban houses, most of which continued to enjoy the patronage of rural and urban nobles and princes; see the tables in Martin, 'The Honeymoon was over'; For the economy of the London Charterhouse, see Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 193-197.

<sup>200</sup> Molvarec, 'Vox Clamantis in Eremo', p. 14; for requiem masses, see Hogg, 'Everyday Life in the Charterhouse', pp. 131-132; for burial of outsiders in the monastery see Julian Luxford, 'The Space of the tomb in Carthusian Consciousness', in Frances Andrews (ed.), *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages* (Donington: Shaun Tyas Press, 2011), pp. 259-281, passim and p. 267; for the accepting of gifts see Coppack, 'Make Straight a Way in the Desert for our Lord', pp. 176-177; Hogg, 'Life in an English Charterhouse', pp. 36-37.

<sup>201</sup> Hogg's emphasis on patronage as the driving force in the transformation of Carthusian life is shared by Brantley and Lindquist, though here the emphasis is aristocratic rather than urban; Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, pp. 61-68 and Sherry Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society at the Chartreuse de Champmol* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), passim.

<sup>202</sup> Martin, 'The Honeymoon was over', pp. 98-99; For details of this see A. Gray, 'A Catholic Carta Visitationis of the fifteenth century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 40 (1967), pp. 91-100, pp. 96-97.

life initiated a decline in the earnestness of Carthusians' pursuit of withdrawal either relative to that of rural Carthusians or absolutely across the whole Order. 'Mere enclosure' still had sensual content, if diligently kept. It still imposed habits of thought and action on the monks that lived it. Urban dwelling and solitude, albeit a solitude different from that prevailing in rural houses, were not mutually exclusive.

Their reputed earnestness of vocation underpinned the second component of the Carthusian turning towards the world. Interest in the reform and edification of the Church became important to the identity of the fifteenth-century Order. Hubert Jedin's attribution of this reforming enthusiasm to the Order's 'never-deformed' piety did not critically engage with the history of the Order.<sup>203</sup> However, he correctly observed that the Carthusians commanded considerable authority on the basis of their rigour. Building on this, Denis Martin suggested that narratives of their greater involvement in the world must be balanced with an appreciation of ability of the monks to adapt to changing circumstances without undermining the essence of solitary life. To this end, he prioritised the hermeneutic of *discretio* as the key to understanding the Order's transformation.<sup>204</sup> The Carthusians had always been embedded in the affairs of the *saeculum*. Even St Bruno left his solitude to advise Pope Urban II (1042-1099) and corresponded with churchmen and seculars.<sup>205</sup> Members of the Order were often called to fill pastoral roles and assist Church reform. Before 1257, twenty-three Carthusians became bishops.<sup>206</sup> The moves taken by the Order in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were

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<sup>203</sup> Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Ernest Graf (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1957), 2 vols, vol. 1, pp. 143-144.

<sup>204</sup> Denis Martin, 'Reform without Revolution: Discretio as the Legacy of the Carthusians', in Jürg Ganz and Margrit Früh (eds.), *Das Erbe der Kartäuser* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1999), pp. 170-184, passim; see below, pp. 68-71.

<sup>205</sup> It was as Urban's former master at the University of Paris, rather than as a solitary that Bruno was called. However, his case illustrates that Carthusians maintained their former contacts after entering the Charterhouse. Gregor Reisch (c. 1467-1525) and Johannes Heynlin of Steen (c.1430-1496) both remained in epistolary contact with Erasmus and his circle after entering the Charterhouses of Freiburg and Basel respectively. Denis Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 234-235.

<sup>206</sup> Molvarec, 'Vox Clamantis in Eremo', p. 28.

grounded in longer term engagement with the world. They do not necessarily suggest diminution of the Carthusian commitment to solitude.

On the basis of their self-adjudged austerity Carthusians developed reforming initiatives and ideologies. Reforming popes and bishops harnessed them as a useful spiritual resource. During the Great Schism (1378-1417) and the subsequent reform period, Carthusians wrote several conventional lamentations over the state of the Church and calls for reform. For Denis the Carthusian (d. 1469), the Church was 'a broken city'.<sup>207</sup> Adrian the Carthusian (d. 1411), prior of the Charterhouse of Liège, vehemently criticised both Popes in his *de Remediis utriusque Fortunae*.<sup>208</sup> In it, he took excerpts from the letter of the University of Paris to the French King demanding a general council to resolve the split.<sup>209</sup> The Order contained in its ranks some of the most strident Conciliarists of their age, such as the former Benedictine and Cistercian Bartholomew of Maastrecht (d. 1446), Vincent of Aggsbach (d.1460), another former Cistercian Jacobus de Clusa (also John of Paradies) (d. 1475), and to a lesser extent Denis the Carthusian.<sup>210</sup> Interest in Church renewal may explain the Carthusians' support for the Brethren of the Common Life. For example, Prior Arnold of the Monnikdam Charterhouse appended his seal to a 1416 testimonial by seven Augustinian priors sent to the Council of Constance in defence of secular communal life.<sup>211</sup> When Louis I Landgrave of Hessen (1403-1458) invited the brethren to settle in Kassel (1454), he asked the prior of the Eppenbergh Carthusians to act as visitor.<sup>212</sup> The Order's

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<sup>207</sup> See Denis the Carthusian *De Arcta Via Salutis ac Contemptu Mundi*, DTCOO, 44 vols, vol. 39, pp. 421-484, 450-451: *ipsa Ecclesia coparetur merito civitati antiquae majori ex parte collapsa, devictae, destructae*.

<sup>208</sup> Adrian the Carthusian, *de Remediis utriusque Fortunae* (Louvain: Johannes de Westphalia, 1484 ISTC-ia00057000), passim.

<sup>209</sup> See Gaens, 'Fons Hortorum', p. 54; the letter is printed in Henri Denifle and Emile Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiae* (Paris: Université de Paris, 1889-1897), 4 vols, vol. 3, pp. 617-625.

<sup>210</sup> See William Lundell, *Carthusian Policy and the Council of Basel* (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Toronto, 1996) [online edn. <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/12255/1/NQ35443.pdf> 9<sup>th</sup> July 2014], passim, p. 176; for reform in the conciliar age, see H. Bond, *Reform, Representation and Theology in Nicholas of Cusa and his Age* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), passim.

<sup>211</sup> Engen, *Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life*, p. 215.

<sup>212</sup> Gaens, 'Fons Hortorum', p. 59.

relationship was similar with the Windisheim Congregation, except that the Carthusians were less protectors than instructors and visitors.<sup>213</sup>

In the mid fifteenth century, the Order's involvement in reform was increasingly initiated by secular prelates. In 1418 Pope Martin V mandated the prior of Gaming, Leonard Petraer (d. 1435) to visit all the Benedictine houses in the lands of Duke Albert V of Austria (1390-1439).<sup>214</sup> In England, the conciliarist Archbishop Thomas Arundel sanctioned Nicholas Love's *Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, as a work 'for the edification of the faithful and the confutation of heretics'.<sup>215</sup> Instances in which Carthusians, particularly German members of the Order, were mandated by secular clergy to act as visitors are numerous. The enthusiasm of other episcopacies (England included) seems to have been more moderate.<sup>216</sup> Apostolic mission was increasingly, though never universally, accepted by the Carthusians as part of their identity. These few examples demonstrate that the Carthusian Order was drawn into the world by a sense of their own exemplarity, which was encouraged by the secular Church.<sup>217</sup>

Underlying the commitment to reform was a sense that asceticism was a resource the Church could use to restore itself. Nicholas Kempf (1416-1497), for example, was a strong supporter of the Council of Basel (1431-1449).<sup>218</sup> A former master at the the University of Vienna, he became a Carthusian at the Charterhouse of Gaming (Lower Austria) around 1439. Kempf was convinced that solitaries should play a central role in rebuilding the Church after the Great Schism (1378-1418). In an early text, *De recto studiorum*, written c.1447, Kempf set out his vision of a Church whose chief exemplars were solitaries. Through solitude one grew in

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<sup>213</sup> The Windisheim Statues echo those of the Carthusians, see Wybe Alberts (ed.) *Consuetudines Fratrum Vitae Communis* (Groningen: Kloninklijke Bibliotheek, 1959), passim.

<sup>214</sup> Gaens, 'Fons Hortorum', p. 78.

<sup>215</sup> W. Beckett, 'Love, Nicholas (d. 1423/4)', *ODNB* [Online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/53111?docPos=1>, accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> Sept 2014].

<sup>216</sup> Gaens, 'Fons Hortorum', pp. 78-79.

<sup>217</sup> Kempis, no less, advocated the exemplarity of the Carthusians, see *Imitatio* I.XXV.

<sup>218</sup> Lundell, *Carthusian Policy and the Council of Basel* p. 176; In *De Recto Studiarum*, he affirmed the supreme authority of the council over the Church, see Nicholas Kempf, *De recto studiorum*, in Bernardi Pezii, *Bibliotheca Ascetica Antiquo-Novo, tomi I-IV (V-XII)*. [A facsimile of the edition published at Ratisbon, 1723-40.] (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1967) 12 vols, vol. 4, pp. 257-492, pp. 349-350.

holiness and humility and demonstrated virtue without the presumptuous pride in the merits of one's own actions that often undermined the efforts of preachers:

You perfect yourself in religion for yourself and for the church, by living, praying and loving well or by training yourself in good affections. Through these, accordingly, you are able to train most perfectly in solitude. In doing this you acquire virtues for yourself and for the Church, avoid sins, correct your neighbour, preach best, confirm [others] in faith [and] please God. And everything else that you acquire for yourself and the church, whether corporeal or spiritual, by whatever exercise; they will not profit others whether through preaching or by teaching without these [virtues].<sup>219</sup>

Though a solitary, Kempf clearly cared deeply for the state of the church at large. He did not recommend solitude for all. Carthusian constancy was to inspire those that could resolve the divisions of the Church.<sup>220</sup> The Order would act as guide and protector in an age of deceit. Disparaging once again those that preached without humility, Kempf declared:

And by whom is the Church of modern-times helped and preserved from these [wolves and mercenaries] and from enemies visible and invisible, other than the solitary, with humble and devout prayer, good life and closeness to God?<sup>221</sup>

In a later text written soon after the close of the Council of Basel, *De Discretionem*, his enthusiasm for councils had waned. Councils had been another symptom of the disunity of the Church, and in the meantime 'seculars are

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<sup>219</sup> Kempf, *De recto studiorum*, p. 351: *Proficis autem tibi in religione ipsi & toti Ecclesiae bene vivendo, orando, & amando, seu in affectibus bonis te ipsum exercitando. Per haec siquidem, quae perfectissime poteris exercere in solitudine, tibi & Ecclesiae virtutes acquiris, peccata evitas, proximos corrigis, optime praedicas, in fide confirmas, Deum placas! & omnia alia, sive coporalia sive spiritualia, tibi & Ecclesiae efficacius acquiris, quam per quaecunque alia sive coporalia sive spiritualia exercitia: sed nec prosunt alia, sive praedicatio sive doctrina aut alia huiusmodi sine illis.*

<sup>220</sup> Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform*, pp. 85-87.

<sup>221</sup> Kempf, *De recto studiorum*, p. 351: *Et a quibus Ecclesia modern tempore plus adiuvantur & conservatur, & ab inimicis defenditur tam visibilibus et invisibilibus, nisi solitarius humilibus & devotioribus & bene viventibus, ac proximum & Deum amantibus?*



untaught'. Yet still, solitaries provided an immutable example of true piety to which the Church could look for guidance at a time of institutional chaos.<sup>222</sup>

The case of the London Charterhouse suggests that this new ecclesiology penetrated England too. A foundation narrative prefacing the House's cartulary, prepared in the 1490s, contains a purported letter from Michael Northburgh, bishop of London.<sup>223</sup> Addressing the priors of the Witham and Hinton, the letter made the case for an urban foundation. Its foremost argument was that an urban house would edify an undefined group of outsiders:

We think that there should be built a house near the city of London where the crux of the whole kingdom is; truly supposing that, in a few years, a house situated there will more advance the spiritual edification of the multitude than all the other houses of England have done.<sup>224</sup>

The letter may or may not be a copy of an original. If original, then Northburgh was an early example of a secular churchman affirming the pastoral value of the Carthusian Order, well before the Great Schism. However, Martin's survey of fourteenth and fifteenth-century founders shows that popes, bishops and clergy accounted only for around a quarter of all foundations of charterhouses, dropping off sharply thereafter. Of the examples Northburgh cites, Avignon, Bruges, Cologne, Paris and St-Omer, only two, Cologne and Avignon, were founded by secular churchmen.<sup>225</sup> Though Northburgh may have believed, with Carthusian observers, that a charterhouse could edify his diocese, his initiative was not

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<sup>222</sup> Nicholas Kempf (1416-1497), *De Discretione*, in Bernardi Pezii, *Bibliotheca Ascetica Antiquo-Novo, tomi I-IV (V-XII)*. [A facsimile of the edition published at Ratisbon, 1723-40] (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1967), 12 vols, vol. 9, pp. 380-532, p. 393.

<sup>223</sup> This Cartulary is TNA, LR2/61, the account of the foundation being on fols 11r-13v.

<sup>224</sup> See TNA, LR2/61 fol. 11r; following translations from this text are based on Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse*, p. 11ff: *estimamus. quod fiat una domus prope ciuitatem London. ubi concursus est tocius regni. veraciter supponentes. quod magis profecerunt una domus illic sita in paucis annis ad multorum edificacionem spiritualem quam omnes domus Anglie profecerunt.*

<sup>225</sup> Cologne was founded by Bishop Walram of Jülich (1304-1349) and Avignon (1352) by Innocent VI (1282-1362); Paris (1257) was founded by king Louis IX of France (1214-1270), St Omer by the knight John of St Aldegonde, and the foundation of Carthusian nuns at Bruges (1348) was established by the surgeon William Schott.

obviously replicated elsewhere.<sup>226</sup> Though bishops used Carthusians as monastic visitors, they were not notable for founding Charterhouses.<sup>227</sup>

The London Charterhouse furnishes abundant evidence for Carthusian observance in the late fifteenth century. Several archaeological accounts are available alongside numerous studies and a small number of first-hand accounts of life there.<sup>228</sup> Most notable is the account of Maurice Chauncy (c.1509-1581), the prior of the refounded Charterhouse at Sheen in 1555 and of the exiled *Sheen Anglorum*, whose quasi-hagiographical *Historia aliquot nostri saeculi martyrum*, written at the Charterhouse of Mainz (c.1550), contains an extensive account of life at the London Charterhouse before the dissolution.<sup>229</sup> Comparison of Carthusian legislation with the *chartae* of Carthusian General Chapters that pertained to the English province and the London House enables speculation on what practices were accepted and which were considered aberrant.<sup>230</sup> This chapter will explore Carthusian withdrawal as a situated practice that responded to local constraints. Yet by examining how theories of the senses, and devotional culture functioned in relation to architecture, it will offer some general models of how the Carthusians moderated their growing contact with the world.

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<sup>226</sup> Secular founders seem to have been more likely to regard the houses as memorial institutions; on the London Charterhouse, see Luxford, 'The Space of the tomb in Carthusian Consciousness', p. 264; on Gaming Charterhouse, James Hogg, *The Cross Stands while the World Revolves* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2004), p.10.

<sup>227</sup> Martin, 'The Honeymoon was over', pp. 98-99.

<sup>228</sup> Barber et al, *The London Charterhouse*; Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*; Temple, *Survey of London: the Charterhouse*; Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 167-198, 379-395 and 410-435.

<sup>229</sup> This chapter will make use of a translation, Maurice Chauncy, *The History of the Sufferings of Eighteen Carthusians in England* (London: Burns and Oates, 1890) henceforth referred to as *Chauncy*; for Chauncy see Michael Sargent, 'Chauncy, Maurice (c.1509–1581)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/5199>, accessed 14<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014]; John Clark and Peter Cunich, *The various versions of the Historia aliquot martyrum Anglorum maxime octodecim Cartusianorum* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2007).

<sup>230</sup> Joseph Gribbin, *Liturgical and miscellaneous questions, dubia and supplications to La Grande Chartreuse from the English Carthusian province in the later Middle Ages* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1999); James Hogg and Michael Sargent (eds.), *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter* (Salzburg: Institut für Amerikanistik und Anglistik, 1982-) 43 vols, vol. 2 contains a transcription of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson D. 318, which gathers material pertaining to the English Province of the Carthusian Order in the fifteenth-century.

Engagement with the secular world depended on the management of boundaries, that is to say, their limen. To be exemplary, the Carthusians needed to be simultaneously secluded and visible. The chronicler proclaimed the porosity of the Charterhouse's borders even as he invoked their inviolability. Victor Turner's concept of liminality provides a useful descriptive tool. Liminality was, originally, a spatial metaphor for a conceptual, ritual state.<sup>231</sup> Liminal rites provide a symbolic context for transitioning between identities, allowing 'liminars' to be separated from one stable identity and then assimilated into a new, one.<sup>232</sup> Among the features of liminars, as Turner saw them, was the loss of status by removal from a social structure (ritually, psychologically and often physically), a process that made them spiritually and socially dangerous. In anthropology, the spatiality of the metaphor was largely incidental, though Arthur van Gennep noted the significance of doorway rites as performances of liminality.<sup>233</sup> Yet, liminality has been found an effective way of capturing the influence of physical boundaries on cultural dialectics.<sup>234</sup> Subsequent users of the term tend to depart from an abstract sense of the word, stressing instead the ritual and dialogic function of physical gateways.<sup>235</sup> As Michel de Certeau suggested in his account of urban life, 'walking affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, respects, etc., the trajectories it speaks'.<sup>236</sup> Moving across a border is a ritual of social deference and control.<sup>237</sup> Performing

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<sup>231</sup> The concept of 'liminality' originated with Arnold van Gennep; see Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika Vizedom and Gabrielle Caffee (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), p. 11; see also Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* (London: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 80-82; *Ibid*, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 238.

<sup>232</sup> 'Liminal' in this context refers to one who is the subject of liminal rites.

<sup>233</sup> Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, pp. 21-24.

<sup>234</sup> For examples of the use of the concept in historical writing, see Natalie Zemon Davies, *The Gift in Sixteenth Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); though it does not explicitly invoke the concept of liminality see also Davis, 'The Sacred and the Body Social', *passim*; see articles in Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (eds.), *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012); Alexander Woodcock, *Liminal Images: Aspects of Medieval Architectural Sculpture in the South of England* (Oxford: British Archaeological Records, 2006).

<sup>235</sup> Especially so in literary criticism; the concept is often synthesized with Derrida's theory of deconstruction to argue that all reading is effectively liminal. Being performative, every act of reading is on the threshold of new realms of meaning. See the Articles in Manuel Aguirre (ed.), *Margins and Thresholds* (Madrid: The Gateway Press, 2000); Joseph Goering et al (eds.), *Limina Thresholds and Boundaries* (New York: Legas, 2005); Lucy Kay et al (eds.), *Mapping Liminalities* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007); see also Jacques Derrida, *Limited inc* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1977).

<sup>236</sup> de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 99.

<sup>237</sup> Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors*, p. 240.

the symbolic behaviours imposed by a border entails submission to the category distinctions of the limen's creators. The London Carthusians physically and emotionally guided their visitors to conform temporarily to the monks' restrictions on conversation. Their role was to limit the impact of outsiders on the monks' sensoria. The *Imitatio* fulfilled a supplementary role, encouraging the monk to treat outsiders as potentially threatening liminars. Liminality therefore captures the sense of a carefully managed transition and deep anxiety that the presence of outsiders within the monastery caused the Carthusians. They were to interpose a conceptual boundary between themselves and their secular interlocutors, refusing discourse about secular matters. Their reading of the text therefore protected the *affectus* so that the monks should not depart from the *habitus* of their solitude.

This chapter will establish the context for Carthusian appropriation of the *Imitatio Christi*. Carthusian statutes carefully delineated an ideal of sensory separation from the *saeculum*. Yet that separation was palliated by *discretio*. This permitted a middle way to be negotiated according to the exigencies of any given situation. The *Imitatio* imposed behavioural constraints in conversation that moderated its impact on monastic sensoria. The Carthusians used the *Imitatio* to mimic the solitude of their forebears. It essentialised the sensory characteristics of the cloister and justified departure from the letter of their foundational documents. The second part will consider how this was practically implemented at the London Charterhouse. The monastery was built to accommodate, not exclude lay people. Yet this was accommodation on the monks' terms. Outsiders were taken across the limen and temporarily absorbed into the *habitus* of the monastery, rendering them safe to communicate with. Within the conventions of solitude accepted by the Order as a whole, it was possible for the London house to maintain a kind of solitude in the midst of an urban environment. How far it did ultimately depends on the diligence with which the spatial strategies outlined below were practised. All the indications are that, but for a few aberrations, they were diligently observed.

## II. The Senses, Carthusian Legislation and the *Imitatio*

Ideally, Carthusian solitude established a hard limen between a sensually dangerous world and the salutary environment of the Charterhouse. The sanctity of solitude depended on attuning one's *affectus* to the sensory regime of the monastery.<sup>238</sup> However as the Order was drawn into contact with the world the monks had to develop a means of maintaining the boundaries to their sensoria. Carthusian interest in the *Imitatio* began so early because it responded to a pressing need. Emerging from the quasi solitude of *Devotio Moderna* and the apostolic aspirations of the Augustinian Order, it reconciled solitude with increased contact with the world.

Fifteenth-century religious practices took place in the context of a long established sensory culture. The texts that informed Kempis's understanding of the physiological underpinnings of moral behaviour are not known.<sup>239</sup> However, the *Imitatio's* terminology demonstrates its groundedness in readings of Aristotle and Augustine.<sup>240</sup> A believer's moral behaviour was grounded in the *affectus*: a psychological quality best described as a predisposition of the soul and latent inclination towards particular actions. The *affectus* was ultimately a product of sensory experiences. Sense impressions of whatever sort were, to use the analogy of the Dominican scholar Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), 'imprinted' in the mind as *imagines* or *phantasmata*: 'phantasms are the likenesses of the senses. But in this they differ, because they are apart from matter'.<sup>241</sup> Thus, the part of the mind by

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<sup>238</sup> Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1984), p. 112.

<sup>239</sup> This paragraph will refer primarily to the writing of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) because of its relative clarity and its pervasive influence on medieval religious culture. However, similar ideas were articulated in texts by Augustinian authors, to which Kempis probably had access; for example, the prior of the abbey of St Victor (Paris), Hugh of St Victor (1096-1141), *De Unione Corporis et Spiritus*, PL, vol. 177, cols. 285-294, col. 288; *Ibid*, *De Institutione Novicorum*, PL, vol. 176, cols. 925-952, col. 933.

<sup>240</sup> For outlines of how Aristotelian theories of sensation influenced Christian theology, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 57-89; Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), ch. 1-2; Heather Webb, *The Medieval Heart* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 50-58.

<sup>241</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *In Aristotelis De Anima* [online edn.

<http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1225->

1274,\_Thomas\_Aquinas,\_Aristotelis\_Libri\_in\_Aristotelis\_de\_Anima\_Librum,\_LT.pdf accessed 9<sup>th</sup> July 2014], Book 3, Lecture 13, p. 110: *Phantasmata enim sunt similitudines sensibilium. Sed in hoc differunt ab eis, quia sunt praeter materiam.*

which they were stored was known as *imaginatio* or *phantasia*.<sup>242</sup> Thought was mediated by *phantasmata* in a process analogous to that of sense impression itself:

He [Aristotle] concludes, that the phantasy is a kind of movement [of the soul] caused by a sense after the act [of sensing]. This movement does not happen without the senses, nor in those which do not sense. If there should be a movement [caused] by a sense following the act, it resembles a movement caused [directly by] a sense, and yet no such [cause] is found to exist except in the phantasy. It follows, therefore, that the phantasy will be the mover of this kind [of movement]. And from this, because it is a motion caused by sense, being similar to it, it follows that much is done and suffered by the considering of the phantasy.<sup>243</sup>

Sense perceptions acted as a kind of possession of the body.<sup>244</sup> The memory of a sense impression existed in the soul as a delayed impulse, able to cause action at a later stage. All sensory perception was potentially transformative of human percipients.

Through the gateways of his senses, a percipient monk lay 'open to his very soul'.<sup>245</sup> An active world constantly impinged on their selfhood, moulding the *imaginatio*. Solitude was a means to take control of their sensory environment. By being in the world, the *affectus* could be moved by sensation to worldly habits (to a *habitus* or practice of being) and fantasies that subverted the soul's high place in the order of creation. In the Augustinian model of solitude, the mature believer

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<sup>242</sup> Idem, *Summa Theologiae* [Online edn. [http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z\\_1225-1274\\_\\_Thomas\\_Aquinas\\_\\_Summa\\_Theologiae\\_\\_LT.pdf.html](http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z_1225-1274__Thomas_Aquinas__Summa_Theologiae__LT.pdf.html), accessed 9<sup>th</sup> July 2014], Book 1, Question 78, Article 4, p. 396; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 69.

<sup>243</sup> Idem, *In Aristotelis De Anima*, Book 3, Lecture 6, p. 96: *concludit, quod phantasia sit quidam motus causatus a sensu secundum actum; qui quidem motus non est sine sensu, neque potest inesse his quae non sentiunt. Quia si aliquis motus fit a sensu secundum actum, similis est motui sensus, et nihil aliud nisi phantasia invenitur esse tale. Relinquitur ergo, quod phantasia erit huiusmodi motus. Et ex hoc quod est motus causatus a sensu, similis ei, sequitur quod continget habentem phantasiam, multa agere et pati secundum eam.*

<sup>244</sup> Webb, *The Medieval Heart*, p. 51; in medieval theories surrounding bodily possession (good or bad), the body was thought to be invaded by a spirit through the senses, see Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 43.

<sup>245</sup> Webb, *The Medieval Heart*, p. 51.

retreated from reliance on physical sensation and perceived God using the inner powers of the mind.<sup>246</sup> Sensation, after all, could only take the devotee so far; one could see in matter the works of God, but not God himself. As a spiritual being, He could not be directly encountered with those senses that were purely physical.<sup>247</sup> God could only be reached internally, through the soul, the junction between the veridical, material world and the metaphysical cosmos.<sup>248</sup> By excluding worldly distractions, a solitary could cultivate a devout *affectus*.<sup>249</sup> The *Imitatio* frequently described the freedom of the solitary as liberty of the 'heart'. Most medical assessments that followed Aristotle's account of the senses implicated the heart as the site where sense impressions were stored.<sup>250</sup> Being the seat of the soul, the heart was the point of juncture between the material and metaphysical components of man. Solitude and freedom of heart, therefore, implied a well-controlled limen, restricting the stimulations crossing into a solitary's sensory field.

Withdrawal could not be a retreat from sense altogether. Pious insensibility or torpor would have been alien to the monastic understanding of the physiology of memory. It was a longstanding truism of western monasticism that the immortal soul could be 'purified and refined by clay'.<sup>251</sup> Instead, sensation provided opportunity for both salvation and damnation.<sup>252</sup> Internal processes of the mind were conceived of as operating relative to a sensory environment. Phantasms derived from sense structured all internal activity. Devotional texts, such as the

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<sup>246</sup> Milner, *The Senses and the Reformation*, p. 62.

<sup>247</sup> St Augustine, *Confessiones*, cols. 782-784.

<sup>248</sup> Milner, *The Senses and the Reformation*, p. 19.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid*, p. 63-4; Eugene Vance, 'Seeing God: Augustine, Sensation, and the Mind's Eye', in Stephen Nichols et al (eds.), *Rethinking the Medieval Senses* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp. 13-29, pp. 23-25.

<sup>250</sup> Webb, *The Medieval Heart*, p. 20; see for example the case of the Brabantine beguine, Beatrice of Nazareth (c.1200-1268) whose hagiographer reports that she stored the image of the cross in her heart; see Amy Hollywood, *Sensible Ecstasy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 258-259; for the case of the Umbrian tertiary Chiara of Montefalco (d. 1308) whose heart was discovered at autopsy, to have actually been imprinted with the *Arma Christi*, see Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), p.178.

<sup>251</sup> John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, PG, 88, cols. 631-1166, col. 868; Peter Brown, *Body and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 235-237.

<sup>252</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, 'The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages', in Michael Fehrer et al (eds.), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), pp. 160-219, pp. 164-165 and 170.

*Imitatio*, depicted a deeply sensual encounter with God, even as they demanded closure of the senses.<sup>253</sup> In a passage evoking the inner senses and recalling the beatitudes, the *Imitatio* implied the material sense world underpinning the inner powers of the mind:

Blessed is the soul that hears the lord speaking inside it: and accepts the word of consolation from his mouth. Blessed are the ears that receive the pulse of the divine whisper: and heed nothing of the whisperings of this world....Blessed are they that are eager to be empty for God: and who have cut themselves off from the impediments of the world.<sup>254</sup>

Attunement of the *imaginatio* to only those sensory possibilities afforded by the monastery was the objective of monastic observance. Distinctions between the monk as observing subject and the monastery as observed object were, ideally, to be dissolved. By constraining perception, monastic architecture imposed upon the monks an affectively informed *habitus*.<sup>255</sup> In a passage that John Dygoun amplified in Mag.93 with a cluster of marginal notes, the *saeculum* was cast as essentially insensible:

What can you see elsewhere that you do not see here? Behold the sky, the earth and all elements; for from these all things are made. What are you able see elsewhere that can last long under the sun? You believe that you are completely satisfied but you cannot achieve that. If you could see all present things, what would it be

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<sup>253</sup> The ur-text of this quasi-sensory encounter was Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermones in Cantica Cantorum*, in which he discusses throughout the 'tasting' of God's sweetness, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Cantorum*, PL, vol. 183, cols. 795-1198, passim. This reliance on sensory imagery continued in later writers, see, for example the discussion of divine light and heat in Kees Schepers (ed.), *Ioannis Rubrochii: De Ornatu Spiritualium Nuptiarum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), p. 347 or Gerson on the illumination of the mind, Jean Gerson, *De Theologia Mystica*, in *Glorieux*, vol. 3, pp. 250-293, p. 263.

<sup>254</sup> *Imitatio*, III.I: *Beata anima quae Dominum in se loquentem audit: et de ore eius consolationis verbum accipit. Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt: et de mundi huius susurrationibus nihil advertunt...Beati qui Deo vacare gestiunt: et ab omni impedimento saeculi se excutiunt.*

<sup>255</sup> Marc Wynn, *Faith and Place*, pp. 110-111.



but a vain vision? Raise your eyes to God...Remain, with him, in the cell, because you will not find so much peace anywhere else.<sup>256</sup>

As a mere assemblage of undifferentiated matter, Kempis subverted the imaginative power of the *saeculum*. It is to be essentially shapeless, matter without form, no different in substance to that within the cell. Similarly, Jan van Ruusbroec, in *The Perfection of the Sons of God*, another text well known to the Carthusians, instructed the contemplative to forget all things and also ‘the fourme and schappe of all thynges’.<sup>257</sup> A formless *saeculum* had no power over the *imaginatio* and therefore no power over the *affectus*, phantasms being products of sensible form.

Nevertheless, the sight and sound of other people was part of the Carthusian sense world. Their withdrawal depended on the Lay-brethren providing for the monks’ material wants, officers such as the doorkeeper and the cook liaised with ‘importunate’ visitors. Above all the procurator husbanded the house’s resources and liaised with the *saeculum*, and the prior provided *cura animarum* for the brethren. Contact between brethren took place under the purview of the prior. The brethren gathered once a week in chapter and each day to sing Matins and Vespers, the other hours being said alone in the cell. Every Sunday, after *nonas*, the brethren gathered in the cloister to discuss practical needs and to practise the liturgy.<sup>258</sup>

Opportunities for conversation between the brethren were few. Deputed seniors instructed novices for an hour each week. Brethren working together could

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<sup>256</sup> Mag.93, fol. 273r: *Q[ui]d potes alibi videre, q[uod] hic non vides. Ecce caelum et terra. et omnia elementa. nam ex istis o[mn]i[n]i[a] su[n]t facta. Q[ui]d alicubi potes videre. quod diu potest s[u]b sole manere. Credis te forsitan satiari sed non poteris p[er]tingere. Si cu[n]cta videres p[rae]sentia; quid esset nisi visio vana. Leva oculos tuos ad Deum...mane cum eo in cella: quia non invenies alibi ta[n]ta[m] pacem* (annotation: *no[ta] no[ta]/no[ta] et fac/[nota] et fac*).

<sup>257</sup> London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 37790, fol. 116r; *The Perfection of the Sons of God* was an English translation (almost certainly by a Carthusian scribe) of a Latin version of Ruusbroec’s Middle Dutch *Van Den Blickenden Steen*; this manuscript appears to have belonged to the Charterhouse at Sheen and was edited by John Genehalgh (d.1530) see Sargent, ‘The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval English Spiritual Writings’, pp. 227, 230 and 238; for a monograph on the manuscript, see Marleen Cré, *Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

<sup>258</sup> *Guigo*, ch. VII, art. I and IX.

converse as necessary for the work undertaken. A brother might exit his cell and break silence if lacking necessities such as 'bread, wine, water or fire' or in the event of danger, such as a fire in the house. Closest to ordinary conversation was the *colloquia* 'of good things' permitted between lunch and vespers on Sundays, feast days and the five days a year allotted for phlebotomy, presumably to ease the experience. This conversation was to be communal and not to be held 'in the cell'.<sup>259</sup> Though the Order did not develop a sign language, as the monks of Cluny had, excessive conversation was subject to penalties.<sup>260</sup> A weekly *Spatiamentum*, introduced at the end of the thirteenth-century, allowed the brethren to exercise outside of the Charterhouse.<sup>261</sup> This was an additional opportunity for *colloquia* without the prior's supervision and perhaps indicates a relaxation of this rule. Rather than a total eschewal of human contact, solitude involved avoiding familiarity and an emphasis on speaking only when necessary or edifying.

Carthusian legislation was stricter regarding contact between monks and outsiders. Though they drifted from their original stringency, early Carthusian legislation gives some indication of the spirit in which guests were to be received. In almsgiving, the *Consuetudines* allowed for the distribution of alms at the monastery door but forbade receiving paupers under the Charterhouse roof.<sup>262</sup> Guigo realised that some contact with outsiders would be unavoidable. The goal of the *Consuetudines* and of subsequent Carthusian legislation was to limit their ability to change the fabric or the pattern of life at the Charterhouse. Gift exchange was limited. No gold or silver was to be allowed the conventual church unless as a chalice or candelabra. Benefactors were not have their names entered into the martyrology, the extent to which they could be prayed for was limited, they could not endow feasts and could not be buried within the Charterhouse. Though Guigo

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<sup>259</sup> *Guigo*, ch. X, art I; ch. XXXIX, art. II.

<sup>260</sup> *Statuta Antiqua*, sig. [2]k6v: *Qui v[er]bo aliter silentiu[m] fregerit; culpa[m] sua[m] clamet. Et disciplina[m] accipiat i[n] cap[itu]lo p[ro]xi[m]o s[u]bseque[n]ti*; c.f. *Guigo*, ch. XXXI, art. III; c.f. Scott Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>261</sup> However, since the regulations forbade Carthusians from entering any settlement, urban houses did not, as a rule, partake of this practice. There is no record of the London brethren ever doing so.

<sup>262</sup> *Guigo*, ch. XX, art. I and IV.

did not quite outlaw the accepting of private gifts, he required that any (his example is a fish) should be handed over to the community.<sup>263</sup>

When receiving visitors, the guiding principle was the same. The *Statuta Antiqua*, a revision of Carthusian practice, were issued by the General Chapter in 1258 (one year subsequent to the foundation of the first urban Charterhouse at Vauvert). These rules clarified access to particular spaces. They created a hierarchy of access following changes in the standard Charterhouse design. Before 1257 conventional layout was that the lay brothers' house should be removed (by a mile in most cases) from the monks' house. Urban space constraints compressed both houses into one complex. This plan was quickly taken up for all new foundations. The changes also accompanied the shift in patronage patterns. The new rules accommodated lay aristocratic patrons, while continuing to prefer religious.<sup>264</sup> All guests were received in the lay-brethren's house, by the procurator. Yet it was with the Kitchener (a lay brother) they likely had most contact; he was required to provision them.<sup>265</sup> Guigo had simply stipulated that 'none but religious guests' were to access the upper house.<sup>266</sup> The *Statuta Antiqua* mitigated this rule, explaining that certain spaces were forbidden to seculars: 'In our choir, chapter and refectory we may receive religious guests only'. Exceptions were made seculars that came in the company of a bishop.<sup>267</sup> Prelates still had most rights, being able to 'converse when they please in the cloister or in the chapter'.<sup>268</sup> They had full access to the most restricted parts of the monastery and were not constrained to particular times for conversation. Lesser secular clerics were kept from the chapter but could converse in the cloister, suggesting that they were constrained to the weekly colloquium; laymen likewise.

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<sup>263</sup> Ibid, ch. XVI, passim; ch. XIX, art. I; ch. XXX, art. III; ch. XLI, passim.

<sup>264</sup> Martin, 'The Honeymoon was over', p. 86 and 98-99.

<sup>265</sup> *Statuta Antiqua*, sig. [2]g1r.

<sup>266</sup> *Guigo*, ch. XXXVI, art. IV.

<sup>267</sup> *Statuta Antiqua*, sig. [2]i5v: *In chorum et capitulu[m] et refectoriu[m] n[ost]r[u]m; hospites tantu[m] religiosos introducim[us].*

<sup>268</sup> Ibid, sig. [2]i6v: *Sermone[s] cu[m] placet facit ep[iscopu]s in claustro vel in cap[itu]lo; et abbas s[c]ilicet.*

In the Carthusian statutes, the weekly colloquium was conceived of as the moment when the monks were most likely to encounter the outside world. Permission to converse with outsiders came with considerable prophylactic legislation. Intimation of any 'secret' was forbidden. Guests were to be kept at arm's length and familiarity was prohibited:

Whenever we have a colloquium; we must great care in the presence of outsiders; so we avoid garrulousness and shouting and our discussions should be honest, not secular or contentious. Nor should we in common colloquium seek advice or whisper or say anything that we do not want everyone to know or hear. When guests are present, we ought never precede the prior in answering them, nor should we interrupt his conversations; when any of us is licensed by the prior to speak to someone for his edification...we must not exceed this licence.<sup>269</sup>

Conversation was to be audible and strictly regulated by the prior. The aim shifted slightly from protecting the solitude of the brethren to protecting the image of the house, represented here by the restriction on seeking counsel and discussion of secular things. The face that the brethren had to present to the world was one of self-contained, orderly hierarchy. They presented the image of solitude while only selectively solitary.<sup>270</sup>

The virtue of *discretio* was key to Carthusian solitude. Relaxations of their rules were measured responses to changing conditions, rather than backsliding.

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<sup>269</sup> *Statuta Antiqua*, sig. [2]k1r: *Ubiq[ui]mq[ue] colloquiu[m] habeam[us]; curandu[m] nobis est maxime cora[m] hospitib[us]; ut caueamus a multiloq[ui]o et clamore; et vt sermo[n]es n[ost]ri honesti sint; no[n] seculares. Vel co[n]tentiosi; Nullus in communi colloq[ui]o co[n]sulere debet vel sussurare; vel dicere aliq[ui]d q[ui]d nolit ab o[mn]ib[us] intellegi vel audiri: Cu[m] hospites adsunt. no[n] debem[us] in respo[n]de[n]do eis. Priore[m] p[ro]venire; nec eius sermo[n]es interru[m]pere. Et q[ua]n[do] aliq[ui]s ex nobis de lice[n]tia v[e]l iussu p[ri]oris aliq[ui]d eis ad edificatiōe[m] loquitur...non debet modu[m] excedere.*

<sup>270</sup> C.f. Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society*, pp. 205; Owing to space constraints, I have been unable to discuss dining practices; suffice it to say that those allowed to dine at the prior's table underwent a very similar transition, from restriction to prelates and their entourages to 'any honest person of great and grave reputation or who is a benefactor of the house or our Order or who is not easily refused' in the *Tertio Compilatio* (1509), see *Tertio Compilatio*, in *Statuta Ordinis Cartusiensis*, sigs. [2]v1r-[2]z8r, sig. x5v.

Patristic writing characterised *discretio* as synonymous with *prudencia*, loosely defined as discernment based on experience. In its late antique context, it was a communal hermeneutic (or casuistry) deployed by groups of hermits to resolve the ambiguities of solitary life. It could be an individual virtue, but was usually centred on the relationship between superior and subordinate. Human frailty required an extrinsic source of immutable authority; the subordinate depended on his superior's *discretio*.<sup>271</sup> Combining reason, experience and divine inspiration, the superior identified a 'middle way' between potentially dangerous alternatives.<sup>272</sup> By this virtue, the dangers of excessive observance could be avoided and safe compromises achieved. *Discretio* could be applied to virtually any situation. John Cassian's (360-435) examples ranged from the discernment of divine and diabolical spirits, to the question of whether to accept bread from bandits.<sup>273</sup> As Bernard of Clairvaux declared, it was the 'moderator and charioteer of virtue'.<sup>274</sup> Though little apparent in the Order's foundational documents, *discretio* was much vaunted by Carthusian spiritual writers.<sup>275</sup> It was exercised at every level of the Carthusian hierarchy. The General Chapter and its deputies had the last say but the prior arbitrated most of the decisions affecting the day-to-day running of a house and each monk was expected to cultivate the virtue in himself.<sup>276</sup>

Bishop Northburgh's letter to the priors of Witham and Hinton provides a glimpse of the implications of *discretio* for the Carthusians' sense of historical

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<sup>271</sup> See Brown, *Body and Society*, pp. 129-131, 236-237 and 277-278; see John Cassian, *Second Conference with Abbot Moses* [Online edn. [http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z\\_0360-0435\\_\\_Cassianus\\_\\_Conference\\_Of\\_Abbot\\_Moses\\_\[2\]\\_\\_EN.doc.html](http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z_0360-0435__Cassianus__Conference_Of_Abbot_Moses_[2]__EN.doc.html), 9<sup>th</sup> July 2014], ch. 2 and 10

<sup>272</sup> A good exploration of the concept is to be found in Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection and Imperfection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 22 and 72-74; John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, col. 1014; c. f. Denis the Carthusian, *De vitiis et Virtutibus*, DTCOO, 44 vols, vol. 39, pp. 9-242, p. 218; Martin, 'Reform without Revolution', passim; *ibid*, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform*, pp. 115-134; Krijn Pansters, 'Cor, Cella, Clastrum, Ecclesia', in Stephen Molvarec (ed.), *Fish out of Water* (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 199-209, passim.

<sup>273</sup> Cassian, *Second Conference with Abbot Moses*, Ch. 5-6.

<sup>274</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica Cantorum*, col. 1018: *est moderatrix et auriga virtutum*; Bernard borrowed the image of the charioteer from Plato (-427--347), see Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. Reginald Hackforth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 68-77.

<sup>275</sup> Guigo invokes *discretio* only once in his *Consuetudines*, see Ch. XIX; for Carthusian treatments of *discretio* see; Guigo de Ponte (d. 1297), *De Contemplatione* in Denis Martin (trans.), *Carthusian Spirituality* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1997), pp. 171-253, p. 227; Denis the Carthusian, *Summa de Vitiis et Virtutibus*, pp. 216-218.

<sup>276</sup> For the range of *discretio*, see Kempf, *De Discretione*, pp.385-387.

continuity. He gives a summary of the Carthusians' historical transition that the chronicler felt comfortable incorporating without comment or qualification into his account of the house's origins:

You will say that our way of life drives us away [from people], so that we may be separated in deserted places away from much contact. To that I say: it is true that this was at first your design, yet I confess to you, that wise and holy men inspired by the Spirit of Holy doctrine, considering the ancient solitude of your Order to offer little for the example of others, caused to be built, in other kingdoms, many houses alongside great cities and towns, as we have seen near Paris, Avignon, Bruges, Saint-Omer, within the city of Cologne and in many other places.<sup>277</sup>

The change described was mediated by *discretio*; a middle way between two evils through the counsel of wise men and inspiration from the Holy Spirit. There is no hint of a contradiction between extolling Carthusian exemplarity and compromising the defining characteristic of their historical identity. The Order changes and yet remains the same. A similar concept of Carthusian identity was presented by the Flemish monk Denis the Carthusian. Explaining the Order's reputation for undiminished asperity, in his *De Obedentia*, Denis invoked the Order's slogan of 'never deformed, never reformed'. Yet the vision of continuity he described was grounded in the flexibility *discretio* afforded:

The perfection of the Order stands chiefly in the perfection of the obedience that the religious promise [to observe]. Following this, the brethren of the Carthusian Order promise absolute obedience, and

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<sup>277</sup> See TNA, LR2/61 fol. 13r: *dicetis propositum nostrum exigit ut simus in locis desertis et a multa frequentatione segregatis. Ad quod aio. Certum est quod hoc fuit primum propositum vestram. sed quid ut vestrum fatear. Sapientes et sancti viri instinctu sancti spiritu edocti. Considerantes antiquam vestri ordinis solitudinem modicum proficere. ad exemplum aliorum. in aliis regnis fecerunt fieri plures domos iuxta magnas ciuitates. et villas. Prout vidimus. propre Parisius. Auinionem. Bruges. Sanctum Audomarum ac infra civitatem Colon. et in multis aliis locis.*

not having been bound and fixed to a rule because they do not have a rule, but statutes.<sup>278</sup>

Northburgh's letter and Denis's treatise indicate a paradox at the heart of the Carthusians' sense of historical continuity. The practices embodied in the foundational documents and which structured Carthusian life were always provisional, contingent on the situations in which the monks found themselves. If the English province and London Charterhouse were typical, then Carthusian life was frequently punctuated by periodic anachronistic crises. The monks constantly called upon the General Chapter's *discretio* to reconcile present exigencies with the historical archetypes of the Order. The castigations of the General Chapter indicate when the *discretio* has been improperly exercised on the ground.<sup>279</sup>

It was as a tool to inform their *discretio* that the Carthusians appropriated the *Imitatio Christi*. Seculars lay outside the purview of the monastery. Interaction with them risked what Turner described in his later writing as 'informal liminality'. This being a liminal situation in which regulation cannot bind both parties; activity of this sort is much more threatening to the integrity of a boundary.<sup>280</sup> The *Imitatio* instructed its readers to impose monastic moods and behaviours on the outsiders with whom they interacted. For its occupants, the monastery's sensory attributes offered a model for social interaction, a lexicon of withdrawal.<sup>281</sup> Limiting discussions to objects or subject-matter that belonged to this sensory regime, symbolically extended the physical bounds of the monastery to the sensorium of the monk. Thus the enjoinder to close the senses in book III chapter I found

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<sup>278</sup> Denis the Carthusian, *De Obedentia Superioribus Praestanda*, DTCOO, 44 vols, vol. 38, pp. 509-522, p. 518: *perfectio ordinum maxime attenditur penes perfectionem obedientiae quam religiosi promittunt. Unde cum Fratres Cartusienses promittunt obedientiam absolute et non secundum regulam debitam ac certam, propter quod nec regulam habent sed statuta*; c.f. Denis the Carthusian, *De Professione Monastica*, DTCOO, 44 vols, vol. 38, pp. 547-582, pp. 580-581.

<sup>279</sup> Though the practice of deferring to a the General Chapter suggests the exercise of *discretio*, the concept itself was almost never invoked in the fifteenth-century exchanges between the English Province and General Chapter; see Gribbin, *Liturgical and miscellaneous questions*, passim, esp. pp. 21, 33, 34, 36, 59 and 71; Vincent Gillespie, 'Cura Pastoralis in Deserto', in Michael Sargent (ed.), *De Cella in Seculum* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 161-181, pp. 169-172.

<sup>280</sup> Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, pp. 1-39.

<sup>281</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 119.

practical force in admonitions that the reader turn their perception away from harmful things. For example:

Son, you should be cut off from many things and consider yourself as if dead and crucified to the whole world. Indeed it is fitting to pass over many things with a deaf ear and think more those things that promote your peace. It is more useful to turn your eyes from displeasing things and to leave others to think for themselves than to engage in contentious speech.<sup>282</sup>

Monks were to 'avoid public gatherings' and any opportunity for discussion of worldly affairs; conversation was to dwell on 'spiritual matters'. Familiarity was to be eschewed and contact with the young, the great and with the opposite sex was to be kept to a minimum. Repeatedly, the monk was enjoined to disbelieve the reports of men, so that he would be better able 'to remain silent about others' and avoid 'repeating what one has heard.'<sup>283</sup> Kempis was a canon and had to leave the confines of his monastery to minister to the laity. Though a number of the male Augustinian houses of the Windisheim Congregation did 'enclose' their members, Agnietenberg (Kempis's home) was not among them.<sup>284</sup> Even those that did enclose their members allowed them to exit the precinct and enter what might be called public spaces.<sup>285</sup> In effect, the sense world of the monastery was a referent that Kempis's text aimed to reproduce in the monk's perception of the *saeculum*. It temporarily absorbed his secular interlocutor as part of the sense-world of the monastery.

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<sup>282</sup> *Imitatio*, III.XLIV: *Fili, in multis oportet te esse inscium; et aestimare te tamquam mortuum super terram: et cui totus mundus crucifixus sit. Multa etiam oportet surda aure pertransire: et quae tuae pacis sunt magis cogitare. Utilius est oculos a rebus displicentibus avertere; et unicuique suum sentire relinquere: quam contentiosis sermonibus deservire.*

<sup>283</sup> The following are only a selection of locations where this kind of admonition may be found, *Imitatio*, I.VIII, I.X and III.XLV; All of these chapters were marked with marginal annotations by Dygoun, Mag.93, fols. 270r-270v and 291r.

<sup>284</sup> Rafaël de Keyser and Paul Trio, 'De Inclusio van Melle uit 1447 Bijdrage tot de Insuiting van Windisheimse Kloosters', in Werner Verbecke (ed.), *Serta Devota* (Leuven: University Press, 1992), pp. 189-192, pp. 196-197.

<sup>285</sup> The movements of the 'enclosed' canons of Melle were limited to an imaginary box, the corners of which were the churches at which the brethren ministered, see the instrument of enclosure printed in *ibid*, p. 200.



It was the internalised idea of intentional solitude that the Carthusians imported from the Augustinians, via the *Imitatio*. Cases in which Carthusians unambiguously refer to the *Imitatio* are rare. Kempis's text was heavily influenced by Carthusian writing. Many of the *Imitatio's* teachings were already part of Carthusian practice. The *Statuta Antiqua* demanded that the brethren avoid vain words. Sensory separation was a commonplace of Carthusian writing on solitude.<sup>286</sup> Very little of the book had no analogue in texts already available to the Carthusians. Nevertheless, the *Imitatio's* appeal to the Carthusians was its suggestion that contact with persons from beyond the cloister could be had without dissolving the consonance of the *affectus* with the monastery that shaped it. Two tracts produced in Charterhouses in Southern Germany support this conclusion. Both deploy quotations from the *Imitatio* when discussing encounters with sensations that do not belong to the monastic *habitus*.

Johannes Brewer of Hagen (1415-1475), incorporated the *Imitatio* into his work *Nosce te*.<sup>287</sup> His text was addressed to contemplatives. Nevertheless, the question of the senses is addressed and how a monk might respond to temptation. Attributing the *Imitatio* to Jean Gerson, he included it as part of a group of excerpts from Gerson's work. The section begins with a quotation from Gerson's 'eighth' book of mystical theology, and the quasi-sensual, phantasmic nature of temptation:

Many very wise men have suffered diverse passions or affections; which arise sometimes by the movement of exterior objects, sometimes by an interior phantasm or imagination.<sup>288</sup>

Brewer followed this point with excerpts from the *Imitatio*. Temptation was inescapable even in the cloister; 'there is no order so holy and no place so hidden that there may be no temptations or adversities'.<sup>289</sup> Ultimately all one could hope

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<sup>286</sup> See for example, Guigo I, *Meditationes*, PL, vol. 153, cols. 605-606.

<sup>287</sup> [Johannes Brewer of Hagen], *Nosce te* (Venice: Niklaus Jenson, 1480 ISTC-ij00274000); Brewer was a critic of fellow Carthusian Jacobus de Clusa's extremely world denying *De Arte Bene Moriendi*, see Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform*, pp. 237-238.

<sup>288</sup> [Johannes Brewer of Hagen], *Nosce te*, sig. h2v: *Nonnulli expertissimi viri passiones diuersas annuauerunt; siue affectiones; quae oriuntur ab extrinsicor[um] obiectorum i[m]mutac[i]o[n]e nunc ab i[n]trinseca fantasia vel imaginatione.*

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid*, sigs. h.3.r-h.3.v: *Non est aliq[ui]s ordo tam sanctus: [et] locus tam secretus ubi non sint temptaciones: vel adversitates.*

for was a good conscience, even though good intentions would often meet with disparagement. In all of this, it was the internal witness of conscience that preserved the Carthusian against the motions of the affectus. For Brewer's righteous, resisting phantasms and the 'contradictions' and 'ill thinking' of (secular) men were the tests of the good monk: 'Whatever men do, intention judges all'.<sup>290</sup> Though the body might appear to the world, the mind, always detached, remained in the monastery. Brewer focussed precisely on the social nature of the threat to religious segregation. His admonitions therefore addressed themselves to weakening the power of conversation to undermine religious profession. Brewer's reading of the *Imitatio* emphasised the imposition of an internal barrier against the temptations created by social contact. Affections brought on by such contact or conjured by the memory of it in the *imaginatio* could be resisted either by practice or in intention.

A second case of Carthusian borrowing from the *Imitatio* comes from an anonymous work of south German origin, *Breviloquium Animae*. It was ascribed to Johannes Kramer (d.1439) of Buxheim Charterhouse on the strength of a note in a (now lost) copy to the effect that he had copied it in 1437 for the prior of Gaming Charterhouse. Nevertheless the frequent quotation of Carthusian writers in the second part of the work (a survey of monastic vices allegorized as twenty evil birds) strongly suggests its Carthusian provenance.<sup>291</sup> Its quotation of Kempis and heavy use of Gerlach Peters's *Breviloquium* in its first part confirms the interest of the Carthusians in *Devotio Moderna*. The *Imitatio* was invoked in a passage against the vice of spite, represented as the hawk. From it, the author lifted an image of disruptive discourse

You want to know how the envious may be revealed. Behold I have been taught by misfortune since the enemies of man are his household but if only that would lead to greater caution and not to foolishness on my part or yours! "Be discreet", says one "keep

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<sup>290</sup> Ibid, sigs h.3.r-h.4.r: *Quicquid aga[n]t homines intentio iudicat omnes*; Johannes Brewer excerpts from *Imitatio*, I.XII, XIII and II.VI.

<sup>291</sup> See Tom Gaens, 'Breviloquium Animi cuiuslibet Religiosi Reformativum sive Restitutivum', *Cartusiana.org* [<http://www.cartusiana.org/node/4310>, accessed 21st July 2016].

this to yourself”, which I say: hold in secrecy and read with silence. And while I am silent and believe it a secret, he cannot be silent, who requested discretion; but immediately he betrays both me and he and goes on his way and often he says more than there was before.<sup>292</sup>

The ideal response was patient, passive sufferance; the author prescribes Bonaventure’s advice, from *De Profectu Religiosi*.

If he hates you, the evil is enclosed in his heart and touches you not at all...Be silent therefore and others will fight before you and the Lord against your adversary...If your heart burns inwardly with rancour, restrain it.<sup>293</sup>

Again, internal barriers protected the monk from potentially dangerous sensory experiences. The monk would have to rely on his *discretio* to judge when this was necessary. The *Breviloquium* was not strictly discussing outsiders. However, the author presented experiences of spite as an encounter with the world, with something fundamentally opposed to the *habitus* of the monastery:

Nevertheless, weigh yourself: how do such small words cross into the heart, unless it is because you are still carnal and attend to

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<sup>292</sup> [Anon], *Breviloquium* in Bernardi Pezii, *Bibliotheca Ascetica, Bibliotheca Ascetica Antiquo-Novo, tomi I-IV (V-XII)*. [A facsimile of the edition published at Ratisbon, 1723-40.], (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1967) 12 vols, vol. 7, pp. 113-350, p. 213: *Vis nosse, quomodo invidus sit proditiosus contra proximum. Ecce doctus sum damno; quoniam inimici hominis domestici eius sed utinam ad cautelam maiorum et non ad insipientiam mihi nec tibi! Cautus esto ait quidam serva apud te, quod dico; tene sub secreto, et lege silentio. Et dum ego sileo et absconditum credo, nec silere potest, quod silendum petuit; sed statim me et se prodit et abit et saepe plus dicit quam fuit; c.f. Imitatio, III.XLIII: Quam prudenter praemonuisti cavendum ab hominibus; et quia inimici hominis domestici eius: nec credendum si quis dixerit ecce hic aut ecce illic. Doctus sum damno meo: et utinam ad cautelam maiorem et non ad insipientiam mihi. Cautus esto, ait quidam, cautus esto: serva apud te quod dico. Et dum ego sileo et absconditum credo; nec ille silere potest quod silendum petiit: sed statim prodit me et se et abit; John Dygoun also marked out this chapter, *Mag.93*, fol. 293r: (annotation *no[ta] b[e]n[e] istud ca[pitulum]*).*

<sup>293</sup> [Anon], *Breviloquium*, p. 214: *si odit te in corde suo malum intra clausum est et nihil tangit te...Tace igitur; & alii pro te pugnabunt, & Dominus contra adversarium tuum...Si autem cor tuum uritur intus ex rancore, reprime; c.f. Bonaventure, *De Profectu Religiosorum* in Adolphe Peltier (ed.), *S.R.E. Cardinalis S. Bonaventure Opera Omnia* (Paris: Ludovicus Vives, 1868), 15 vols, vol. 12, pp. 327-361, p. 397.*

humans more than is fitting?...Inspect yourself better, and you will admit it, because the world yet lives in you.<sup>294</sup>

The *Imitatio* provided the Carthusian writer with an example of what to avoid if solitude was to be preserved. It censured not just spite, but intimacy too. Familiarity made the monk affectively vulnerable to outsiders. Silence was preferable to an interaction that placed trust in an unregulated liminar, who was either unable or not obliged to maintain the sensory-affective regime of the Charterhouse.

No monastery, not even a Charterhouse, could totally separate its inmates from sensory encounter with the *saeculum*. Charterhouses were subject to an enormous number of external and internal pressures that drew them closer to the world beyond their monastery walls. As Denis Martin has convincingly argued, the Carthusian maxim, 'Never reformed because never deformed' could more accurately be put as 'muddling through, via *discretio* at properly discerned moments'.<sup>295</sup> The Carthusian response was deliberate and evolutionary, exercising the virtue of *discretio* to find a median path consistent with their original way of life. The adoption of the *Imitatio* was one means by which they could impose limited control over interactions with the *saeculum*. In essence, what Kempis had done, and what the two Carthusian imitators mentioned above drew from his text, was to adapt an argument for compunctious consolation into a symbol of solitary intention. The devout man retreated from the world and from human consolation because the capriciousness of men made them unreliable comforters. God, who alone was unfailingly merciful, could provide consolation.<sup>296</sup> In the *Imitatio*, the emphasis was adjusted. Avoiding the comfort of familiarity with human interlocutors functioned as a symbol of retreat from the world. By observing this

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<sup>294</sup> [Anon], *Breviloquium*, p. 215: *Verumtamen tu perpende ipse: quare tibi tam parva verba ad cor transeat, nisi quia adhuc carnalis es, & homines magis quam oportet attendis?...inspice te melius, & agnosces, quia vivit adhuc in te mundus.*

<sup>295</sup> Denis Martin, 'Reform Without Revolution', p. 170.

<sup>296</sup> For a more conventional version of the consolatory argument example Gerson, *Consolatione Theologiae*, pp. 188-189.

rule, the *affectus* remained unpenetrated by disruptive sense impressions and a monk's solitude remained unbroken.

### III. Managing visitors in the London Charter House

This section traces the London Charterhouse's negotiations with the *saeculum*. The extent to which the *Imitatio Christi* was responsible for the transformations of London Charterhouse cannot be fully assessed, but what can be shown is that the house followed a policy consonant with the principles outlined above. The London house established a gendered hierarchy of spaces admitting outsiders into their monastery in such a way as to restrict their sensual imprint on the brethren. Women were admitted but rendered invisible. Men were permitted greater access, with a smaller number of benefactors (usually clerics) allowed direct and regular contact with the monks themselves. The physical transition from the outside into the monastery was an opportunity to reorder relations. The spaces of the monastery subjected these interlocutors to a practice of space intended to encourage separation of their thoughts from the world and concentration of death.<sup>297</sup> In effect, they underwent a liminal transformation. Concentration on a single point in the history of the house risks giving an unrepresentative impression of a static structure. The shape of the Charterhouse reflected a long-term dialogue between solitaries and the secular world. This section will therefore consider how the spaces of the monastery adapted over time and how they accommodated contact while expressing a preference for continued solitude.

The Charterhouse chapel was a key site for regular interaction with their neighbours in London. Commemoration provided a ready source of income for the monks. Of sixty-one wills, recorded by William Hope, pertinent to the Charterhouse, thirty-two belonged to wealthy London guildsmen.<sup>298</sup> A solemn oath obligated the monks to pray for the souls of those that contributed to its fabric. In the 1490s, the house became embroiled in acrimonious exchanges with the General

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<sup>297</sup> Craig Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead 1480-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 8-9.

<sup>298</sup> Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse*, pp. 95-99; these wills are taken from unspecified episcopal registers and Reginald Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London A.D. 1268-1688* (S.I.: Corporation of the City of London, 1898-90), 2 vols.

Chapter over mass stipends or gifts to individual monks. Benefactors intended these to serve as retainers for the services of particular monks.<sup>299</sup> Altars were scattered throughout the chapel, both in the highly restricted space of the Choir and the more public nave.

Indulgences made seculars a permanent presence in the Carthusians' chapel. In 1399, Boniface IX granted the house a seven year indulgence of the *portiuncula* to any who visited the house on the Annunciation or the Assumption.<sup>300</sup> For this purpose, it was explicitly stated, women could enter the chapel and the cloister.<sup>301</sup> Six years later, in 1405, the chronicler mentions the building of a wall across the conventual chapel, so as to allow women to attend services there without being seen by the brethren.<sup>302</sup> This expedient, the chronicler recorded, was carried out 'for fear of the commons' as to prohibit women would have incurred public ire. Yet, even if the house feared 'the commons', they made every effort to engender their goodwill. A further seven-year indulgence was granted for the repair of the house in 1474. In 1481 a perpetual indulgence was made to all who visited the chapel every Saturday for a year. The beneficiaries of this final indulgence, who had to be locally based, were confirmed as a regular presence in the conventual chapel.<sup>303</sup> The architecture of the chapel therefore, could only regulate a notional 'outside' that existed in the shadowy interior of the brethrens' and the guests' *imaginaciones*.<sup>304</sup> Controlling both groups' sensoria was the only way to do this.

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<sup>299</sup> Gribbin, *Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions*, pp. 24-31.

<sup>300</sup> The indulgence of the *Portiuncula* is the same as the indulgence attached to the Chapel of *Porziuncola* in Assisi (Umbria). This was a plenary indulgence attached to a particular location on a particular day and appears to have been frequently used to pay for repairs to ecclesiastical buildings, for the mythical origins of the indulgence, see Assisi St. Maria Degli Angeli, *A Short Account of the Celebrated Indulgence of the Portiuncula* (London: Burns and Lambert, 1863), passim; there are numerous instances of its use to raise funds throughout the volumes of CEPR.

<sup>301</sup> CEPR, vol. 5, p. 256.

<sup>302</sup> If the chronicler is to be believed the very early years of the house were dogged by antagonism between the house and the commons, who had used the waste ground on which it had been founded as a playing field; see the account in LR2/61, fol. 12v.

<sup>303</sup> CEPR, vol. 13, Pt. 1, pp. 260 and 444-445; it should be noted that seculars were probably present irrespective of the indulgences. Another way to look at the 1481 grant is to suggest that the indulgence limited entry into the chapel to one day a week.

<sup>304</sup> In this, the anxiety surrounding solitude is analogous with that surrounding male chastity. Male chastity was untestable, being a psychological rather than a physical quality. One has to perform it

The wall that was installed in 1405 prevented visual exchange between the monks and women while permitting women to hear the liturgy. It was an exercise in *discretio*, the house demurring to the advice of the General Chapter. This wall stood at the west end of the church separating the chapel of St Anne, which functioned as a westward continuation of the nave. The western side of this wall was open to women. The chartulary chronicler recorded the hallowing of two altars in the said chapel (1405) so that women could worship there and so ‘by degrees be shut out of the church’.<sup>305</sup> There is, however, no further evidence that women were later prevented from attending services. A visitation report of 1470 expressed concern that English monks may even have had contact with women.<sup>306</sup> Women may have still been entering the site. A forbidding feature, this wall was recorded in the survey of the house carried out at the dissolution, ‘in the myddes of the sayd ende [west] a particion of timber wyth pykes of Iron above’.<sup>307</sup> If it bore any decorations, as did the rest of the Church, they went unrecorded.<sup>308</sup> For the General Chapter, it was a middle-way negotiation between the threat of the Londoners to the house’s solitude and the need to engage with them:

Women should not enter the church of the house of the Mother of God near London or even the chapel of the church that continues its length. [Yet], from the house’s foundation, neither the prior nor the convent have presumed to impede [them] for fear of the commons. [Therefore] we have firmly enjoined the prior and the procurator that, as soon as they can, they ought to build a wall around [the west end of] the church, just as we have told them they should do, and women should not be permitted within this under the penalties of the New Statutes.

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for it to be observed; hence the enormous number of male saints’ lives that include failed seductions. See John Arnold, ‘The Labour of Contenance: Masculinity and Clerical Virginity’, in Anke Bernau (ed.) *Medieval Virginites* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 102-118, p. 117; Jane Schulenberg, ‘Gender, Celibacy and Proscriptions of Sacred Space: Symbol and Practice’, in Michael Frassetto (ed.) *Medieval Purity and Piety* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), pp. 353-357, passim; Kathleen Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 91-118.

<sup>305</sup> TNA, LR2/61 fol. 13r.

<sup>306</sup> London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A ii, fol. 157r.

<sup>307</sup> TNA, LR 54/11, fol. 3v.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid*, fol. 3v.

Certainly the monks, saving the prior or procurator, should not pass the same wall at any time.<sup>309</sup>

The wall was duly installed so that St Anne's chapel was separated from the rest of the Church.<sup>310</sup> The monks could enter the choir from the north side of the church, without passing through the west entrance. Carthusian liturgy did not include processions, so this obstruction would have caused no inconvenience.<sup>311</sup> At no stage, in any liturgical celebration, did the brethren need to have direct sensory contact with anyone beyond that wall. The intention may have been chiefly symbolic; a screen already shielded the choir from the nave. However, rood-screens often admitted considerable visibility. Presuming that the partition served a practical purpose, it would have shut off, from both the choir and lay-brethren, contact with any women present in the body of the Church. Such a prohibition prevented the sight of women and the corresponding impressions in the *imaginatio*.

The threat was not only that the monks might observe women; women as observers were also dangerous. Hagiographical constructions of male chastity traditionally represented the trait as something 'assayed' by women. Lacking a physical test for male virginity, masculine chastity was represented through performance.<sup>312</sup> It therefore had to be constructed in relation to an active sexual threat from women. Thus, the question of male chastity tends to invert the subject and object relationship articulated above; it required an active female gazer and a passive male.<sup>313</sup> Carthusian legislation rarely dealt with the problem of

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<sup>309</sup> James Hogg and Michael Sargent (eds.), *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter*, p. 114: *ne mulieres ecclesiam domus Matris Dei prope London vel etiam capellam ipsi ecclesie in longitudine continuatam intrent, quod ab inicio domus nec Prior nec conuentus unquam propter timorem vulgi inhibere presumpserant...Priori & Procuratori districte iniunximus, quatenus quamcito poterunt murum circa ecclesiam prout ipsos informauius fieri faciant, mulieresque infra illum non permittant, sub penis Nouorum Statutorum. Scilicet nec monachi preter Priorem & Procuratorem eundem murum unquam exeant*; this pronouncement of the General chapter was copied into the chartulary narrative of the house's foundation, see TNA, LR2/61, fol. 13r.

<sup>310</sup> TNA, LR2/61, fol. 13r.

<sup>311</sup> *Guigo*, ch. VI, art. I: *in nulla solempnitate processione facimus*.

<sup>312</sup> For the distinctions signified by words used in medieval texts to discuss chastity, see Pierre Payer, *The Bridling of Desire* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1993), p. 6.

<sup>313</sup> Schulenberg, 'Gender, Celibacy and Proscriptions', pp. 353-357, *passim*; Kathleen Kelly, *Performing Virginity*, pp. 91-118.



encountering women.<sup>314</sup> However, Guigo's *Consuetudines* did fit the pattern of discussing male chastity in relation to an actively corrupting female:

We never allow women to enter our precincts [because no man]...may resist the flattery or frauds of females. ...No man can escape a pit of fire without burned clothes nor walk uninjured over coals or touch pitch without pollution.<sup>315</sup>

A discussion of a wall that cuts off sensory contact between chaste men and worldly women, must therefore account for the female gaze as well as that of the monks. Allowing for the possible obstruction of the choir screen, a meeting of eyes may have been possible in the relatively confined space of the chapel.<sup>316</sup> The risks of eye-contact with a member of the opposite sex could be dire for male chastity. The eye was not only a receptor, but also a communicative organ, capable of imparting love or lust into another person. Mutual gazing patterns are the 'most perfect reciprocity' available in nonverbal communication, and is most capable of expressing affiliative response.<sup>317</sup> Peter of Limoges' (1240-1306) popular preaching manual, *De Oculo Morali* (written c.1275-1289), compared the eyes of women to those of the Basilisk, able to 'infect' a man with her lust through eye contact.<sup>318</sup> The communicative power of the eye and the threat it posed to the psychological solitude of the monks was well known. Even when the exchange was between men (even if both were monks), the connection established through eye-

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<sup>314</sup> The exception being in relation to those brothers that had to interact with Carthusian nuns.

<sup>315</sup> Guigo, Ch. XXI, art. I-II: *Mulieres terminos intrare nostros nequaquam sinimus...potuisse blandicias evader vel fraudes mulierum...Nec Posse hominem aut ignem in sinu abscondere, ut vestimenta non ardeant, aut ambulare super prunas plantis illaesis, aut picem tangere, nec iniquinari.*

<sup>316</sup> The chapel was only 97' by 38' / 29.5m by 11.5m, approximately 3/4 the length of a penalty box on an association football field with about 1/2 the area (assuming that a standard penalty box is 132' by 54') so meeting of eyes at this range would have been quite possible.

<sup>317</sup> Michael Argyle, *Gaze and Mutual Gaze* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 86.

<sup>318</sup> Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*, trans. Richard Newhauser (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2012), pp. xxix and 99; Peter may have been informed by the 'extromissive theory of vision articulated by Roger Bacon (1214-1294), expounded in *De Perspectiva*, the *species* proceeding from eyes change the medium intervening between looker and object into a material extension of the eye. The object materially united with the eye and the 'essence' of the object made present in the soul. See Dallas Denery, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 94-96.

contact detracted from the internal focus on God that the monk had established.<sup>319</sup> L-shaped food hatches prevented visual contact with those bringing food to the monks. Writing in the mid sixteenth-century, Maurice Chauncy would note that:

The utmost guard was kept of the eyes – they [the brethren] recognised none in the cloister, whoever they might be but bowing passed him, and the same in church. They paid great attention to purity of heart and internal devotion, which are much impeded by such distractions.<sup>320</sup>

The *Statuta* forbade monks from setting eyes on women. Lay brothers and *redditi*, who dealt with them when necessary, were not even to receive money directly from women's hands; a servant was to act as intermediary.<sup>321</sup> The wall was, therefore, not only meant to regulate the monks as observing subjects, but also rendered them invisible as observed objects and protected them from the potentially harmful penetration by the female gaze.

The wall had a further significance, for the separation it created was incomplete, preventing sight, but permitting hearing. The wall was 'topped with pikes' indicating space between its top and the roof of the chapel. The monks could be heard as they performed the liturgy. It is clear that outsiders frequently attended the conventual chapel. Chauncy notes the house's reputation before the dissolution.

It was commonly said, if you would hear the service of the Church devoutly celebrated, go to the Charterhouse. There were to be found ambassadors of other nations, there the tribes of the Lord went up, old men with young, to confess the name of the Lord.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> Compare with the twelfth century instructions to Cistercian novices to avoid eye contact in the choir so as to allow them to focus on the liturgy; E. Mikkers, 'Un "Speculum Novitii" Inédit d'Etienne de Salley', *Collectanea Cisterciensis*, vol. 8 (1946), pp. 17-68, p. 49.

<sup>320</sup> *Chauncy*, p. 24; the rule of St Benedict prescribes monks eyes be permanently downcast as a sign of humility. Lack of eye contact could therefore function as a form of social signalling. See Benedict of Nursia, *Regula Sancti Benedicti* [online edn. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/benedict.html>, accessed 13<sup>th</sup> August 2014], ch. VII.

<sup>321</sup> *Statuta Antiqua*, sig. [2]m2r.

<sup>322</sup> *Chauncy*, p. 27.

The wall, far from simply being a tool of exclusion should be seen as part of a policy of liturgical inclusiveness on the part of the English Carthusian Province. If, as suggested, no further steps were taken to exclude them from the precinct, then this inclusivity extended to women too. The English Carthusians clearly cared deeply about uniformity of liturgy with the rest of the Order. The enormous number of questions submitted to the General Chapter throughout the fifteenth century on matters of pronunciation and hand position testify to this.<sup>323</sup> Yet by the fifteenth century, English houses had expanded their repertoire of liturgies, so that their celebrations could also conform more closely to those used throughout England. As Gribbin has argued, the liturgies of the English province demonstrated the Carthusians' openness to the devotional preferences of secular patrons; both in worship and commemorative liturgies.<sup>324</sup> A 1441 papal indult stated that the province had once celebrated a sung 'Office of our Lady' on Saturdays and the feast days of a number of English saints.<sup>325</sup> However, owing to the action of 'divers persons wishing to assimilate the ordinances, ceremonies and observances of the said houses to their rules' the houses had been 'inhibited' from this practice. Consequently, 'the devotion of the faithful waxes cold and manifold scandals have arisen'.<sup>326</sup> The Saturday Office of Our Lady originated during the Great Schism, when English Charterhouses were aligned with the Urbanist supporting General Chapter.<sup>327</sup> The seventeenth-century *Annales* of the French Carthusian, Le Couteulx, noted a permission given by the Urbanists in 1390 to sing 'every week a commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the hours of the Holy Virgin' and 'the dismissal of the daily office'.<sup>328</sup> The Blackburn Breviarium, which belonged to the London Charterhouse, and the Sheen Psalter contain lists of English saints' days, which enlarge upon those allowed by the indult.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> Gribbin, *Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions*, passim.

<sup>324</sup> Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1995), pp. 22-31.

<sup>325</sup> The feast days were those of Saints Edward, Edmund, Oswald, the translation of St Thomas, Hugh and Wulfstan, Edward the Confessor, George and the visitation of Mary and its Octave.

<sup>326</sup> CEPR, vol. IX, p. 202.

<sup>327</sup> This was held in the Charterhouse of Seitz (kingdom of Hungary, modern Slovakia).

<sup>328</sup> Carolus le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis ab Anno 1084 ad Annum 1429* (Monstrolii: S.I., 1887-1891), 8 vols, vol. 6, pp. 419-420.

<sup>329</sup> Joseph Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice*, p. 30.

For Gribbin, this was an example of the English province's measured independence from the rest of the Order. The request for a Papal indult was probably not a reaction by the English Province to an actual attempt from the General Chapter to suppress such celebrations. The visitors of the Province between 1425 and 1441 were all English and were unlikely to have reported a practice in which they were complicit.<sup>330</sup> The indult would have reinforced the province's position in the event of any such attempt. By participating in the yearly liturgical round of the English Church, the Carthusians engaged with a ritual system that their visitors would have recognised and which would engender habitual moods of devotion.<sup>331</sup> At the London house, the openness of the wall allowed the Carthusians to engender such moods both in female visitors as well as male. Architectural design made it possible, therefore, for the monks to fulfil the quasi-evangelical role envisaged for them at their foundation, while suffering no ill effects from sensory contact with the outside world.<sup>332</sup> In light of this practice, the indulgence granted in 1481 was calculated to increase the appeal of the Saturday office to outsiders. Saturdays may have functioned as a special day in which the Charterhouse was able to build its relationship with the outside world and Londoners in particular. Not only was there an indulgence on offer, but the liturgy would be familiar to anyone possessing a book of hours. In this way the chapel wall fits a long-term strategy to cultivate the devotion and patronage of outsiders to the house by allowing them limited access to the brethren. It created a compartment in the chapel of St Anne, where the Carthusians could be safely encountered by those whose presence would normally be considered contaminative.

Closer contact between the monks and outsiders generally took place outside of a liturgical setting. Few visitors crossed the wall to go into the nave and choir. Most obviously, witnesses had to enter the choir to ensure the monks fulfilled their commemorative obligations to the letter. Henry VII, for example, requested that the City of London send commissioners to guarantee the observance of his obit, imposing a 40s fine for every defect found with the carrying

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid, p. 30.

<sup>331</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 114-116.

<sup>332</sup> See Bishop Northburgh's letter to the Carthusian General Chapter, above p. 70.

out of his will.<sup>333</sup> There is much circumstantial evidence for the reception of guests into the Charterhouse. Yet it is comparatively difficult to say who these guests were or what passed at those meetings. There is no account of outsiders attending weekly colloquia at the London Charterhouse, the most natural opportunity. The most unambiguous evidence for meetings between the monks and outsiders is the testimony of Maurice Chauncy.<sup>334</sup> Chauncy described meetings between monks and seculars and mentioned the presence of ‘seculars on business’ in the cloister.<sup>335</sup> Though Chauncy identified the ‘admitting of seculars’ within the monastery as a ‘grave matter’, he was clear that this practice was not discontinued before the house’s dissolution.<sup>336</sup> Indeed, the expansion of the house’s service buildings and guest accommodation in the final years before the Dissolution suggests that there was no such intention. Though Chauncy refers to reception of guests in the individual monks’ cells, the house also had throughout its existence various combinations of reception spaces and guest accommodation that was situated on or around the cloister.<sup>337</sup> Accepting that Chauncy was accurate, the question remains as to how regular this contact was and with whom. Longer term evidence of meetings is supplied by the reprimands that the General Chapter delivered to the English Charterhouses, and the London house in particular. The English province had been castigated in 1416 for permitting its monks to dine in their cells with outsiders. The priorate of Edmund Storer (1469-1477) saw an extended controversy over the question of outsiders in the London Charterhouse. In 1470 he was chastised for asking permission to entertain seculars, yet in 1473 this permission was granted.<sup>338</sup> The following year, the prior was reprimanded for permitting hunts in the vicinity of his monastery.<sup>339</sup> These cases may have represented problems with Storer’s management specifically. Yet, when considered in relation to the development of a number of reception rooms and

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<sup>333</sup> LR2/61, fol. 106r-v.

<sup>334</sup> Michael Sargent, ‘Chauncy, Maurice (c.1509–1581)’, *ODNB* [online edn. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/5199>, accessed 14<sup>th</sup> August 2014].

<sup>335</sup> *Chauncy*, pp. 24 and 26-27.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27.

<sup>337</sup> See figure 3 and 4.

<sup>338</sup> Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, p. 310.

<sup>339</sup> Hogg and Sargent (eds.), *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter*, p. 224.

guest areas, they suggest that Storer had not departed from what had become convention at the London Charterhouse.

It is possible to glean an impression of the sorts of people who visited. Except for family members, access to the monks was very restricted. Guests were men of high social standing, more often than not ecclesiastics, and almost always rich enough to be major benefactors of the house. A small number of wills suggest knowledge of the internal layout of the house. As they concern burial sites, they universally suggest familiarity with the conventual chapel only, being the preeminent site for burial in the monastery complex. The 1485 will of one William Donyngton stipulated that he wanted to be buried 'afore the crucifix over the quire door'.<sup>340</sup> He referred either to the rood screen door or, suggesting a greater level of access, the north door leading into the cloister, through which the brethren entered to attend services. However, English charterhouses did allow important secular visitors to access more restricted parts of the monastery.<sup>341</sup> A commentary on the *Statuta Antiqua* from an unknown English Charterhouse states:

'We admit kings and princes and counts and great lords and their chaplains and canons, as well as notable persons *at least* into the church'.<sup>342</sup>

Gifts to individual monks suggest that donor and particular brothers had prior acquaintance. For example, the inventory of the monk Thomas Golwynne, compiled in 1519 when he transferred to Mountgrace, contained a number of gifts, offering a tantalising suggestion of his contacts with outsiders. In particular, he possessed a mantle given to him by 'Syr John Rawson knyght of the Roodes'. This was probably John Rawson (1475-1547) prior of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham, Dublin. He donated a printed breviary registered among a list of

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<sup>340</sup> Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse*, p. 97.

<sup>341</sup> The occasional tourist seems also to have been admitted to Charterhouses, William Worcestre (c.1415-c.1482), former secretary to Sir John Falstaff, was allowed into Sheen Charterhouse to measure the dimensions of the Cloister; see William Worcestre, *William Worcestre Itineraries*, trans. John Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 270-271.

<sup>342</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Manuscript Julius A ix, fol. 75r, comment on *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. 2, ch. 9: *Introducim[us] etiam reges et principes, duces et comites, et dominos et eorum capellanos, et canonicos, ac etiam notabiles personas saltim in ecclesia.*

books loaned by the London Charterhouse to Mountgrace.<sup>343</sup> The London Carthusians enjoyed a good relationship with the Knights of St John at Clerkenwell Perceptory. As a religious and a prior himself, Rawson was a comparatively uncontroversial guest.<sup>344</sup> The 1515-1516 prior's account records the accommodation of 'six knights of Saint John of Jerusalem of Kilmain' at the house, one of whom was certainly John Rawson.<sup>345</sup> However, benefaction clearly does not necessitate a meeting, though in this case a meeting almost certainly took place. Golwynne also listed gifts from a 'Mr Saxby' and 'Lady Conway'.<sup>346</sup> An untitled layman would have been an unusual, though by no means an unheard-of, guest. A woman would have been deeply problematic. Gifts alone, therefore, are suggestive of, rather than a reliable guide to, which outsiders gained access to the monks.

A small number of longer-term, secular residents of the Charterhouses in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries wanted to participate in Carthusian spiritual life without joining the Order. In 1490, John Russell (1430-1494), bishop of Lincoln, for example, was permitted to build a house within the precinct.<sup>347</sup> This house, though not on the cloister itself was built sufficiently close that at some point the wall separating it from an unlettered cell was knocked through and it became the prior's residence.<sup>348</sup> Though the house was built, the bishop was not a permanent resident, he died at his manor of Nettleham.<sup>349</sup> Russell's successor in the house was the 'knight' Thomas Thwaite (1435-1503), who took possession of

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<sup>343</sup> Gillespie (ed.), *Syon Abbey*, p. 628.

<sup>344</sup> Mary Ann Lyons, 'Rawson, John, Viscount Clontarff (1470?-1547?)', *ODNB* [Online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/23199>, accessed 31<sup>st</sup> August 2014].

<sup>345</sup> TNA, SC6/HenVIII/2112, m. 2.

<sup>346</sup> Mr Saxby's identity is unknown, though he was presumably a lay-man of substance; his gifts included a Journal with a clasp of silver engraved with the image of St Jerome, valued at 3li. Lady Conway was presumably one of the wives of Sir Hugh Conway (1453-1517/18), either Elizabeth Courtenay, daughter of Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon, and Lady Margaret Beaufort, or his second wife Joice. See Charles Moseley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage* (Stokesley: Burke's Peerage & Gentry, 2003), 3 vols, vol. 2, p. 2233; Alison Weir, *Britain's Royal Families: The Complete Genealogy* (London: The Bodley Head, 1999), p. 107.

<sup>347</sup> Temple, *Survey of London: the Charterhouse*, pp. 24 and 28.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28.

<sup>349</sup> John Thomson, 'Russell, John (c.1430-1494)', *ODNB* [Online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/24318?docPos=5>, accessed 31<sup>st</sup> August 2014].

the property in 1500.<sup>350</sup> Thwaite's indenture, by which he took possession of the bishop's house, renounced all title to 'the cell and certain rooms in the little cloister' along with a 'mansion and house built over the great West Gate' of the monastery.<sup>351</sup> The suggestion is that he was a longer term resident. Thwaite may even have once been a potential initiate into the Order, hence the reference to a cell. Russell's house may have subsequently been occupied by the churchman Robert Langton (1470-1524), whose will left the contents of 'my house here at the Charterhouse' to the Carthusians.<sup>352</sup> These cases parallel that of John Colet (1467-1519) at Sheen, who, in 1514 built for himself a 'very splendid' retreat ('nest') for himself.<sup>353</sup> This subsequently became a retreat for Cardinal Wolsey (1473-1530), from which he would go by a 'secret gallery' to the Chapel and would visit 'oon or other' of the monks 'in his sell'.<sup>354</sup> These residents do not appear to have possessed corrodies.<sup>355</sup> Thwaite's indenture did not mention a stipend or food privileges. It does mention a semiannual rent of 53s 4d; these residents were apparently expected to live of their own resources, which were clearly substantial. The main benefits of these residences appear to have been seclusion and proximity to the brethren.

There was a connection between retirement to the charterhouse and end-of-life preparations.<sup>356</sup> Russell was seventy when he built his house. Thwaite was sixty-five when he made his indenture. Colet, Langton and Wolsey were in their fifties by the time that they are known to have been resident at a Charterhouse.

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<sup>350</sup> Almost certainly the Thomas Thwaite the mercer of Calais implicated in the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy, who escaped with his life in 1495; see Anne Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade Goods and People 1130-1578* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 325.

<sup>351</sup> TNA, E 326/2163.

<sup>352</sup> Henry Summerson, 'Langton, Robert (1470–1524)', *ODNB* [Online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/16042>, accessed 1<sup>st</sup> September 2014].

<sup>353</sup> Joseph Trapp, 'Colet, John (1467–1519)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/5898?docPos=1>, accessed 31<sup>st</sup> August 2014].

<sup>354</sup> George Cavendish, *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, ed. Richard Sylvester (Oxford University Press: EETS, 1959), p. 130.

<sup>355</sup> For Corrodies see Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in Late Medieval England 1150-1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 179-180.

<sup>356</sup> Similar to those observed in Allison Fizzard, 'Retirement Arrangements and the Laity at Religious Houses in pre-Reformation Devon', *Florilegium*, vol. 22 (2005), pp. 59-79, *passim*.



When old age begins is relative and subjective rather than absolute. However, actions concomitant with their withdrawal also fit a broader pattern of death preparation.<sup>357</sup> Colet drew up his will in the same year that he began construction of his residence. Langton is only known to have been resident at the Charterhouse in 1524, the same year he made his will.<sup>358</sup> Considering the Carthusians' close association with death, it is possible that these secular residents sought preparation for the afterlife.

Retirement to a monastery, either in old age or at the point of death, was a well established tradition, going back into late antiquity.<sup>359</sup> Yet the action here does not fit the twelfth-century pattern of monastic conversion; none of these men became monks. A cursory examination of the ages of Englishmen professed as Carthusians, or who considered profession, in the second half of the fifteenth-century and early sixteenth, who are recorded in the *ODNB*, suggests a tendency for profession in the mid-twenties (see table 2). The severe regime may have been regarded as too harsh for older bodies not already used to it. Furthermore, Russell, Colet and Wolsey were not permanent residents. Furthermore, Colet, Wolsey and Langton applied to retire from their priestly responsibilities.<sup>360</sup>

Becoming a monk signalled a voluntary initiation of the process of separation from the world and participation in the hereafter.<sup>361</sup> In the original 1485 *Dance of Death*, printed in Paris, the Carthusian, resigned to his fate, was uniquely greeted with courtesy by death.<sup>362</sup> The Carthusians were acknowledged masters of

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<sup>357</sup> Shahar Shulamith, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 12.

<sup>358</sup> TNA, PROB 11/21/384.

<sup>359</sup> Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth Century Leon and Castille* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 56; Constance Bouchard, *Sword Miter and the Church and Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 56; Jonathan Lyon, 'The Withdrawal of Aged Noblemen into Monastic Communities: Interpreting the Sources from Twelfth Century Germany', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Old Age and the Renaissance* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 143-169, passim; Georges Minois, *A History of Old Age*, trans. Sarah Tenison (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 141 and 167.

<sup>360</sup> Russell did try to retire, see CEPR, vol. XIV, p. 127; For priestly retirement see Kirsi Salonen, 'What Happened to Old Priests in the Late Middle Ages', in Christian Krötzel and Katariina Mustakallio (eds.), *On Old Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 186-195, passim.

<sup>361</sup> Hennessy, 'The Remains of the Royal Dead', pp. 324-325.

<sup>362</sup> Pierre Vaillant (ed.), *La Danse Macabre de 1485* (Grenoble: Éditions des 4 Seigneurs, 1969), fol. 6v; compare this to the complaints and despair of the cardinal, the various degrees of bishop and the priest, *Ibid*, fols. 2r-3v and 8r.

dying well.<sup>363</sup> This fact was not lost on these secular residents. In a letter to Erasmus, John Colet wrote that he intended to 'take refuge among the Carthusians' and when Erasmus returned, he would find Colet 'dead to worldly things'.<sup>364</sup> Wolsey's resort to the Carthusians followed his fall from favour in 1528. His visit may have been in response to that personal crisis and perhaps the threat of trial and execution or at least disgrace. His biographer George Cavendish reports that he visited the monks to be 'perswadyd from the vainglory of thys world' and that he received from his encounter a hair shirt, which he often wore thereafter.<sup>365</sup> A visit to the charterhouse may have functioned as a quasi-ritual performance in the sense that it involved participation in a system of symbols designed to provoke powerful moods and motivations.<sup>366</sup> The mood represented by the hair shirt was penitential, closely related to the preparation for death.<sup>367</sup> In a similar case, Cardinal Henry Beaufort (1375-1447), bishop of Winchester, developed an interest in the Order after suffering a sickness. His Carthusian confessor (probably one William Mede) was based at Sheen. Much of the three letters written by Mede concern preparations for death and the proper disposition of the Cardinal's considerable estate.<sup>368</sup> He died best who best prepared to die.<sup>369</sup> Residence at a Charterhouse allowed limited participation in the symbolic practices of Carthusian living-death; such as segregation from the world and mortification of the body. Each of these visitors detailed above came to the Carthusians at a time when death was evidently on their minds. For them, the location and inhabitants provided an occasional intensification of the anticipation of one's mortality; a lesson in *Ars Moriendi*.

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<sup>363</sup> Luxford, 'The Space of the tomb in Carthusian Consciousness', pp. 275-278.

<sup>364</sup> Roger Mynors et al (trans.), *The Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975) 84 vols, vol. 3, p. 48.

<sup>365</sup> Sylvester (ed.), *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 130.

<sup>366</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 90.

<sup>367</sup> See the discussion of bodily penance in relation to Lady Margaret Beaufort, who also visited the Carthusians of Sheen, in chapter III of this thesis.

<sup>368</sup> See Anselm Gribbin, 'Tribularer si nescirem misericordias tuas : cardinal Henry Beaufort and his Carthusian confessor' in Luxford, *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, pp. 73-106.

<sup>369</sup> Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum, 2001), pp. 37-40; for example, Anon, *A Lityll Treatise Shorte and Abredged Spekyng of the Arte and Crafte to knowe well to Dye*, trans. William Caxton (London: William Caxton, 1490 RSTC-789), sig. a1r.

Guest accommodation was extensive; the number and range of people who might have had contact with the London monks may in fact have been great. The little cloister contained a guest house on its west side, abutting the conventual church.<sup>370</sup> There was a guest hall on the north side and various sources refer to 'Egypt', a flesh kitchen outside the precinct, which presumably prepared meals for non-Carthusians. A small number of other residents also lived about the precinct. Their relationship with the monks remains mysterious. These include one Richard Crook, said in Thwaite's indenture to be living in an apartment over the great gate, and one John Whalley, a married fishmonger, to whom prior Houghton leased 'the little house' (position unknown) in 1534.<sup>371</sup> These people are less likely to have had access to the monks. The apartment over the great gate placed Crook in the outer cemetery and therefore in an area in public use anyway. Their situation does not suggest that they occupied a privileged space within the monastery.

Visitors seeking contact with the Carthusians, either for the Sunday colloquium or for private contact, were carefully controlled. Each one was a liminal presence. They experienced what might loosely be called 'rites of separation' to neutralise their potential to undermine the brethren's solitude. The London house underwent a number of architectural adjustments over the course of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century. Most of the modifications only slightly changed the strategies to control visitors. The main changes came with the loss of the first parlour in 1475, the building of the garden gallery in 1494 and the establishment of prior in his new cell at some time after 1524.<sup>372</sup> The following account, rather than dealing with these changes in sequence, will examine the different stages of a visitor's progress into contact with the brethren. The organisation and practice of claustral space impressed upon visitors and monks alike a sense of oversight, encouraged phantasms of mortality appropriate to the brethren's solitude and maintained a psychological and physical barrier between the brethren and visitors.

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<sup>370</sup> Philip Temple, *Survey of London: the Charterhouse*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid*, p. 29.

<sup>372</sup> See the plans given in figure 3.

In the first place, all conversation was ultimately controlled by the Prior, who oversaw the weekly colloquium and all other contact with the monks.<sup>373</sup> Guests were met by the procurator in the lower house; he was then to 'conduct or lead such worthies to the prior as he judges fit'.<sup>374</sup> No guidelines were given on the form for admitting an outsider for private conversations, but it likely followed the spirit of the guidelines on conversation between monks:

If any of our number comes to the cell wanting to speak with us or enter the same, he is to be asked first if the prior permits it; otherwise he is not to be conversed with or permitted entry; unless he is one as would not come illicitly.<sup>375</sup>

The Prior's authority was given symbolic force by the layout of the Charterhouse (See Figure 1). The great cloister was accessed from an entrance to the South west, through the little cloister and service buildings. Before the priors took up residence in bishop of Lincoln's house, probably after 1524, visitors to the London Charterhouse would have emerged immediately before the prior's cell. Sitting on the axis between the world of the monks and the world outside, the prior's position reflected his role as enforcer of the statutes. It would have reinforced in the minds of both monks and visitors that the cloister was a regulated and privileged space. The effect of moving through successive thresholds to emerge before the prior's cell, at least six (probably more) if entering through the little cloister, impressed upon the visitor that they were entering a privileged space; more so if, as the large rotary keys found on the site suggest, this passage would have involved the unlocking of some very hefty external doors.<sup>376</sup> The movement of the Prior's cell after 1524 may not have wrought a very great change on the symbolism of the cloister. Visitors may even have had to enter the cloister through it rather than passing through the service areas of the Little Cloister. The inventory taken at the

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<sup>373</sup> See above, pp. 65-68.

<sup>374</sup> *Statuta Antiqua*, sig. [2]i5r: *ad p[ri]ore. Q[uo]s dignos iudicat co[n]grue[n]ter tra[n]smittit vel adducit.*

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid*, sig. l1r: *Q[uod] si ex n[ost]ris ad cella[m] venerit aliq[ui]s vole[n]s loqui nob[is] vel i[n]trare nobiscu[m] int[er]rogat[ur] p[ri]us si p[ri]or iusserit; alit[er] ad colloquiu[m] no[n] recipit[ur] nec i[n]trare p[er]mittit[ur]: nisi talis fuerit de q[uo] sit crede[n]du[m] q[uod] sine lice[n]tia no[n] venerit.*

<sup>376</sup> Barber et al, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 57; see figs. 3 and 4.

Dissolution lists the contents of a room called the 'Drinking Parlour', which Philip Temple believes was situated in the Prior's new cell.<sup>377</sup> Given Chauncy's report that guests were still received onto the cloister, this location would have made sense. It may have functioned as a temporary reception room through which one passed before obtaining permission to continue onto the cloister.

The sensory differences between cloister and world outside enhanced the sense of transition. One moved from the noise of Smithfield market (if one were coming from outside the Charterhouse) and the more public areas of the monastery to the silence of the cloister and the shade cast by its arcade. Before 1524, the cloister was entered from the south west, its lowest part. The cloister was rectangular, some 340 feet east to west and 300 feet north to south. The east was 4 feet higher than the west and the north higher than the south; the south and west cloister walks rose at a very gentle incline.<sup>378</sup> The most natural posture for a visitor to adopt in this position would have been to look up and along the gallery; if a visit to the prior's cell was required, then one would have looked up the west walk. Thus, as they moved around the cloister, their eye would have been drawn to the most prominent piece of visual design, the morbid inscriptions on or over the cell doors. The texts were recorded, in a small manuscript compilation of *Artes Moriendi*, by the same John Blacman mentioned above.<sup>379</sup> These lines, purportedly for the consumption of the brethren, could equally have functioned as memento-mori for Latinate visitors.<sup>380</sup> The verses over the prior's door applied to anyone in a position of authority:

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<sup>377</sup> LR 54/11, fol. 4r; Philip Temple, *Survey of London: the Charterhouse*, p. 29.

<sup>378</sup> Philip Temple, *Survey of London: The Charterhouse*, p. 24.

<sup>379</sup> London, British Library, MS. Sloane 2515, fols. 3r-4v; see also Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.53, fols. 25r-26v; Oxford Bodley MS 131, fols. 144v-145v; see also Michael Sargent and Marlene Hennessy, 'The Latin Verses over the Cell Doors of the London Charterhouse', in Julian Luxford (ed.), *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism*, pp. 179-197, passim.

<sup>380</sup> Michael Sargent and Marlene Hennessy have suggested that the admonitory tone of the lines was intended for novices, Sargent and Hennessy, 'The Latin Verses Over the Cell Doors of the London Charterhouse', p. 184.

You may aspire to the Kingdom of Heaven with a faithful mind [but] you should not exalt, however many you may be a master to, because you may die tomorrow.<sup>381</sup>

Similar lines were placed on the doors of other cells, most reminders to the reader that he might soon die, but also of the benefits of the cell, such that above cell C:

The cell is the seat of God in which you may give yourself well, here, when you die, you will leave a victor with praise.<sup>382</sup>

Couplets F and G originated in the anonymous, twelfth-century *Carmen Paraeneticum ad Rainaldum*, a long poem on contempt for the world.<sup>383</sup> Another, S, came from the thirteenth-century poet, Matthew of Vendome's metrical paraphrase of Tobit.<sup>384</sup> If, as Chauncy reports, the normal body posture for the monks in the cloister was eyes down, then these lines might not ordinarily have been in the monks' visual field.<sup>385</sup> Eyes downcast would nevertheless have provided the monks with ample substance for *memento mori*. The floor of the cloister walk was peppered with grave slabs and memorial brasses.<sup>386</sup> The Door inscriptions were integral to new encounters with the cloister as suggested by Blacman's manuscript, written when he was a newly professed *clericus redditus*.<sup>387</sup> The lines were part of his conversion narrative, which he characterised as a death; throughout he quotes Daniel 13, the apocryphal story of Susanna and the Elders, 'if I do this thing, it is death to me'.<sup>388</sup> It is the moment of encounter that the lines

<sup>381</sup> London, British Library, MS Sloane 2515, fol. 3r: *Ad regnum celi suspires mente fideli: Non exalteris quamvis multis domineris, Nec iam leteris, quia forsas cras morieris.*

<sup>382</sup> Ibid, fol. 3r: *Cella Dei sedes in qua si tu bene te des; Hinc cum discedes victor cum laude recedes.*

<sup>383</sup> Anon, *Carmen Paraeneticum ad Rainaldum*, PL, vol. 184, cols. 1307-1314, cols. 1308 and 1309: 'Fools are deceived by the love of this world/But the wise man knows how full of sorrow it is (*Fallitur insipiens vite presentis amore/Sed bene scit sapiens quantum sit plena amore*); 'The glory of newborns is their sweet delight/All shall be left behind and never found thereafter'. (*Gloria natorum, dileccio dulcis eorum/Cuncta relinquuntur nec postea inuenientur*).

<sup>384</sup> Matthew of Vendome, *Paraphrasis metrica in librum Tobiae*, PL, vol. 205, cols. 927-979, col. 948: 'May the law of God be rest unto you, the flesh a sacrifice, the world/a place of exile, heaven a homeland, and God'. [be your] life (*Sit tibi lex Domini requies, caro victim, mundus/Exilium, celum patria, vita Deus*).

<sup>385</sup> See above, p. 82.

<sup>386</sup> No brasses have been found, though slabs with fittings for brasses have been discovered on the cloister walk, see Barber et al, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 25.

<sup>387</sup> Blacman occupied cell M.

<sup>388</sup> London, British Library, MS Sloane 2515, fol. 3r: *Si hoc egero, mors michi est.*

come into play, as ‘teachers’ to the new monk. Acutely aware of the need to construct a new subjectivity appropriate to his surroundings, Blacman set out ‘to align the steps of death with those of his mind’.<sup>389</sup> The space itself structured his transition to a mortal train of thought. Such was the subject of the meditations and *Artes Moriendi* that filled the rest of Blacman’s manuscript. Yet, the preparation for death topos was one that the Carthusians shared with the *saeculum*. For visitors, provided they had internalised the Church’s message of preparation for death, the cloister would act as a prompt to familiar patterns of mortal thought.<sup>390</sup>

The cloister temporarily assimilated visitors into the Carthusian *habitus*, offering visual cues for thoughts appropriate to the solitude of the brethren. Conversations with outsiders presented a considerable problem for the Carthusians. Visitors and newcomers, such as Blacman, possessed an impure *affectus*. The monks’ own devout *affectus* might easily be moved to contemplation of the *saeculum*: when we are among men, Kempis lamented, ‘we rarely return to silence without injury to our conscience’.<sup>391</sup> Carthusian legislation and instructional texts were very clear on the sorts of subjects to be avoided. The *Statuta Antiqua* commanded that, in the colloquium, ‘we ought to ask nothing of secular things, nothing of contentious things’.<sup>392</sup> To this the *Statuta Nova* added that among the prior’s duties was a responsibility to prevent ‘vain and undisciplined words’ and to ‘firmly forbid’ their monks from other subjects:

[they shall speak] neither of the lords of the earth, nor of princes or of their deeds in colloquium nor shall they have any other inordinate words.<sup>393</sup>

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<sup>389</sup> Ibid, fol. 4.r: *componere gressus morti concefalicam*.

<sup>390</sup> Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 65-86; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 301-327.

<sup>391</sup> *Imitatio* I.XI: *raro sine laesione conscientiae ad silentium redimus*.

<sup>392</sup> *Statuta Antiqua*, sig. [2]k1r.

<sup>393</sup> *Statuta Nova*, in *Statuta Ordinis Cartusiensis*, sigs. [2]p6r-[2]t8r, sig. [2]r6r-[2]r6v: *Priores solliciti sint ad rescindendum vana et indisciplinata colloquia et monachis suis aliisq[ue] subiectis firmiter interdicant: ne de dominis terre et principibus factisq[ue] ipsoru[m] in colloquiis vel alibi verba inordinate habe[n]t*; London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius A ix, fol. 77v, makes the same point.

Whoever broke these rules was to be excluded from the colloquium and punished, novices could even be imprisoned for breaking these rules. Kempis went as far as to say that the ‘telling of tales’ caused one to ‘return a lesser man’.<sup>394</sup> Yet whereas living kings and their deeds were forbidden, the death of monarchs was a legitimate subject for meditation.<sup>395</sup> As Kempis prescribed:

Blessed is he that always has the hour of his own death before his eyes and daily readies himself to die. If you have ever seen a person die, think of them because you will travel by the same path.<sup>396</sup>

Kempis enjoined the reader to summon up a phantasm. Such a phantasm was a legitimate sensory and memorial component of the enclosed religious. The sense environment of the cloister provided monks and visitors with visual prompts to thoughts and discussion that remained within the boundaries of the monks’ enclosure. Visitors were rendered ‘safe’ by temporarily absorbing their subjectivity into that of the monastery.<sup>397</sup>

The effect of these lines would then have been largely contingent on the sort of contact the visitor was going to have with the monks. The normative documents of the Carthusian Order presented Sunday colloquia as taking place in the cloister. This is likely what took place in the London house; the 1492-1501 rental of possessions contains a note on payments made for the installation of ‘diverse seats for the convent to sit’ in the ‘communal garden’, presumably the cloister garth.<sup>398</sup> In this case, interlocutors would have been surrounded by

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<sup>394</sup> *Imitatio*, I.XX: *Quotiens inter homines fui: minor homo redii*; Kempis was paraphrasing Seneca, *Epistolae Morales*, vol. 1, Letter 7, p. 30: ‘*Avarior redeo, ambitiosior, immo vero crudelior et inhumanior, quia inter homines fui.*’

<sup>395</sup> As per the *Dialogue between Emperor Antiochus and his dead Father* in London, British Library, Additional MS, 37049, fols. 86v-87r; Hennessy, ‘The Remains of the Royal Dead’, passim.

<sup>396</sup> *Imitatio*, I.XXIII: *Beatus qui horam mortis suae semper ante oculos habet: et ad moriendum cotidie se disponit. Si vidisti aliquando hominem mori: cogita quia et tu per eandem viam transibis*; *Mag.93*, fol. 274r: annotation ‘*no[ta] optime ist[u]d capitulu[m]*’; c.f. *Ibid.*, I.XI: *Si frequentius de morte tua, quam de longitudine vitae cogitares: non dubium quin ferventius te emendes.*

<sup>397</sup> How this was always true in practice is not clear. The London Carthusians received the reports of the Holy Maid of Kent, though she was only loosely ‘of the world’ in the usual pejorative sense. Rumours circulated freely between charterhouses. Letters from Thomas Salter and an unknown Carthusian renegade to Thomas Cromwell reported excesses among the monks of Mountgrace and Sheen.

<sup>398</sup> TNA, SC/25/55, m. 55.



reminders of death: not only these inscriptions, but also the funerary slabs both on the cloister walk and in the garth, which served as the house's primary burial site.

Before it was converted into the chapel of St Agnes in 1475, the house had a parlour (*colouquii*) on the south walk, presumably for receiving visitors into more intimate communications. It was probably too small to accommodate the convent during colloquium.<sup>399</sup> The function of the parlour on the south walk was probably to accommodate contact of the sort Chauncy later described as having taken place in the cells. If so, then the visibility of the doorway inscriptions would have been considerably diminished. Assuming that a visitor still had to visit the prior's cell and was then conducted to the parlour, then their view of the inscriptions beyond cell A would have been beyond the frater and there are no records of inscriptions on the south walk. Yet fragments of plaster excavated from cell J carry what appears to be fragments of lettering. It is possible that this programme of inscription continued within the cells and perhaps even in the parlour, reproducing the effect of being in the cloister within these rooms.

After 1475, the Charterhouse lost its parlour. Barring that which may have existed in the prior's cell, there is no record of another reception space until 1494 and the building of a gallery in the Cooks garden to the north of the little cloister. The account records that it was built 'for the recreacion of greate especiall frende. and ther to be secrete w[ith] our lerned counceill in matiers of charge and weight'.<sup>400</sup> Such an arrangement would have meant that guests did not have to enter the cloister to speak to the monks, indeed the monks would have had to leave their cloister in order to come to them. However, the reference to 'our' learned counsel might have simply referred to that of the prior and the procurator, who were the only members of the convent who had any business leaving the great cloister. By the time of Chauncy's account (the early 1530s), visitors were entering the cloister and being invited to enter the cells. The garden gallery had by then

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<sup>399</sup> TNA, LR2/61, fol. 13r.

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid*, m. 55.

either been abandoned and reception of guests into the cloister resumed, or its use had always been the prerogative of the Charterhouse's officers alone.

Reception of guests into the cells in the 1530s might have been a continuation of a long-term practice. As mentioned before, in 1416 the English Province of the Carthusian Order had been chastised by the General Chapter for permitting monks to dine with company in their cells:

We see that in certain English houses, persons of the Order do not dread to eat and drink in [their] cells with others. This thing we strictly forbid, because no person may be permitted to eat or drink with anyone either of the house or foreign to it, in their cell or that of another.<sup>401</sup>

The cause for the General Chapter's concern was a desire to prevent convivial forms of sociability that the Order's regular dining arrangements sought to undermine. The *Consuetudines* bluntly declared that 'diners of whatever sort they may be, keep silence'.<sup>402</sup> Mealtimes, as the *Statuta* enjoined, were to be used for spiritual edification and not for potentially disruptive conversations; lectors read to the assembled brethren and communication was to be done by signs.<sup>403</sup> Thus, dining with others in the cell in breach of the Order's strictures on sociability, was harshly punished. There were, however, precedents for conversing in cells, as, for example when two brethren were working on binding books together. In such a situation, the brothers were allowed to speak to each other if they had the prior or the vicar's blessing, but the door of the cell had to be open.<sup>404</sup> Full privacy was impossible, the open door being symbolic of the convent's oversight. Regarding conversation in the cell, Chauncy noted that 'one rarely heard an idle word', suggesting that such conversations were audible and corroborating the idea that the door might have been left open as with conversations between the brethren.

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<sup>401</sup> Hogg and Sargent (eds.), *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter*, p. 118: *percepimus quod in quibusdam domibus Anglie persone Ordinis in cellis cum aliis comedere et bibere non verentur, ideo districcius prohibemus, quod nulla persona comedat vel bibat cum aliquot, siue intranio siue extraneo in cella sua, vel etiam permittat.*

<sup>402</sup> Guigo ch. LV, art. I: *Edentes ubicumque sint silentium tenant.*

<sup>403</sup> *Statuta Antiqua*, sig. [2]k3r.

<sup>404</sup> *Statuta Antiqua*, sig. [2]l1r.

Moreover, the internal organization of the cell allowed the brethren to restrict visitors' access to more intimate spaces within the cell. Archaeological evidence from the London Charterhouse shows that the ground floor (and probably the first floor) of their cells was divided into two chambers and two very small atrial lobbies facing the cloister.<sup>405</sup> When receiving a guest, it would have been relatively easy to restrict them to one chamber, keeping them from spaces of the monk's day-to-day activities; the oratory, the bed-chamber and the study. Indeed cells B, C and T of the London house had doors that allowed one to access the cell-garden directly from the cloister walk. In this case, they may have obviated the need for a visitor to enter the cell at all.<sup>406</sup> The monk could maintain a physical and psychological division between the spaces of daily devotion and the visitor who remained outside them. Compartmentalisation of their cells guided the brethren to maintain the liminal characteristics of the visitor, as one who was out of place and therefore spiritually problematic.

In conclusion, the London Charterhouse controlled contact with the outside world, absorbing outsiders while rendering them sensually safe. The final result was a gendered hierarchy of space. Women and seculars were present but invisible in the Chapel of St Anne. Particularly favoured men were admitted to the cloister and even the cells but underwent a liminal transformation that temporarily absorbed them into the morbid *habitus* of the monastery. Yet in the final analysis, this making safe of outsiders reveals, again, the complicity of outsiders in maintaining the monks' solitude. Visitors had to tacitly accept the moods imposed upon them by the house. Yet, ultimately it was up to the monks themselves to restrain conversation to edifying subjects:

In conferences or private meetings, one rarely heard an idle word, or a word about idle affairs. If anyone mooted such inconsiderately, he was admonished by his hearer, and thus the mind of the speaker was converted. Speakers often withdrew from their cells in tears, saying 'Truly God is in this place.' For the

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<sup>405</sup> Barber and Thomas, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 19.

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid*, p. 58.

Brothers were accustomed on the first arriving of any visitor, and of receiving the salutation of seculars to request them not to acquaint them with any rumours, or with what was going on in the world.<sup>407</sup>

Though their solitude was always under threat the monks were protected not only by the walls of their monastery, but also by the acquiescence of their neighbours.

### Conclusion

In the final analysis, the liminal strategies that the *Imitatio* provided were a way for the monks to exercise a degree of control over a relationship in which the balance of power was not in their favour. The sensual separation from the *saeculum* to which they aspired left them at the mercy of their secular benefactors. Contact was necessary if the material and architectural conditions for separation were to be established. The compunctious asceticism of the *Imitatio* prescribed a flight from intimacy. Though he might have to interact with other men, a devout man could not place faith in or take consolation from mutable and fickle human beings. The Carthusians shifted the emphasis of this injunction to reconcile their historical identity with the exigencies of the present. So long as contact with outsiders was constrained by the *habitus* of the monastery then the devotion of the monks remained unaffected by that contact. In essence, the Carthusians took the *Imitatio* as an injunction to raise topical and emotional boundaries between themselves and their secular interlocutors. In addition to the morbid spaces of the Charterhouse, its teachings provided a final behavioural shield for the monks' *affectus*. Their solitude was less a state of physical isolation than a state of psychological distance.

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<sup>407</sup> Chauncy, p. 27.

## Chapter II: Rhetorical Reading of the *Imitatio*.

### I. Introduction: *Musica Ecclesiastica* and Fifteenth-Century Annotators

This chapter situates the *Imitatio Christi* within the hermeneutic and devotional habits of fifteenth-century, university-educated men. Habits of mind developed through rhetoric and prescriptive grammar shaped their devotional reading and performance.<sup>408</sup> The role of both these disciplines in fifteenth-century prayer will be analysed in this chapter through the marginal marks left by readers in some manuscripts of the Latin *Imitatio Christi* circulating in England. Such marks are by no means infallible indicators of rhetorical training. Yet, in the context of fifteenth-century Latin education and devotional practice, rhetoric provides an essential guide to the use of the text. These annotations represent a devotional style grounded in the rhetorical *inventio*. Readers collected *loci* detailing the attributes or *circumstantiae* of compunctious consolation. The reading of these *loci* preceded rhetorically informed prayer performance or *mimesis* of the voice of the textual speaker.<sup>409</sup> Rhetoric then provided a formal system by which they could represent to themselves the somatic and emotional scripts that made private religious rituals authentic and effective.<sup>410</sup> Prayer was, therefore, a creative and structured engagement with a text that was, in a limited way, inscribed on the margins.

The Carthusians circulated the *Imitatio Christi* within England until the last quarter of the fifteenth-century. The most widely read recension was the Carthusian *Musica Ecclesiastica*. Most manuscripts of *Musica Ecclesiastica* were

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<sup>408</sup> On rhetoric and reading see Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation*, esp. chapter VI; Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), esp. chapter I; Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace Books and the Structuring of Renaissance thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), chapter I; Alastair Minnis, *The Medieval Theory of Authorship* (London: Scholar Press, 1984), chapter IV; see also Richard McKeon, 'Rhetoric in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 17, no. 1 (1941), pp. 1-32, passim.

<sup>409</sup> To avoid confusion, this chapter will refer to the English recension as *Musica Ecclesiastica* and not *Imitatio Christi*. However, Dig.97 and Emma.94 do not belong to this recension and where these texts are involved the chapter will revert to *Imitatio*.

<sup>410</sup> For the importance of words and actions in creating ritual authenticity, see Daniel Lee, 'Making it Look Right', in John Hoffman (ed.), *Understanding Religious Ritual* (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 115-135, passim; Stanley Tambiah, *Culture Thought and Social Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), esp. chapter I; This processual form of devotion recalls the meditative reading of *Lectio Divina*, see, for example, Guigo V, *Scala Claustralium*, PL, vol. 184, cols. 475-484, col. 475; Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalion*, PL, vol. 176, cols. 739-838, cols. 797-798; [William of St Thierry], *Epistola Aurea*, cols. 327-8.

descended from the lost 'third' manuscript brought into England by the Carthusians.<sup>411</sup> There is evidence of awareness of an external tradition. Roy.8 and Trin.365 have different titles, *De imitatione Christi et contemptu mundi* and *Imitatio Christi*. As noted previously, Lam.536 and Laud.215 number the chapters differently, having fifty-nine chapters with five prayers whereas all the others don't differentiate and have sixty-four.<sup>412</sup> Nevertheless, all four belong to the same recension as the other manuscripts.<sup>413</sup> The only firm evidence for non *Musica Ecclesiastica* recensions of *Imitatio Christi* is that of Emma.94 and Dig.97. Dig.97 does not share the *Musica Ecclesiastica* title, and is titled instead, *De imitatione Christi et contemptum vanitatum mundi*.<sup>414</sup> Comparison of the text with other copies of *Musica Ecclesiastica* reveals much variance; it probably was not the same recension.<sup>415</sup> Dig.97 was likely a late manuscript, written when continental printed editions were available. The title is similar to that of several early printed copies.<sup>416</sup> It may have been copied from such a printed book. Nevertheless, this manuscript probably circulated in England; it was bound with a rare instructional booklet *Instructiones ad parochos de sacramentiis et eorum administratione* by the thirteenth-century Oxford master Elias Trikyngham.<sup>417</sup> Dig.97 suggests therefore the earliest possible end-date for the supremacy of the Carthusian recension as being some time after the earliest continental printing in 1471.

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<sup>411</sup> This is also, incidentally, the conclusion of Puyol, *Descriptions Bibliographiques*, p. 260.

<sup>412</sup> Potentially, this means that Lam.536 and Laud 215 are older than the other manuscripts since the fifty-nine chapter version is associated with Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal MS. 5455-61, the autograph manuscript. This numeration is therefore usually considered the earlier of the two. However this is far from proof. The sixty-four chapter arrangement did exist before the autograph manuscript was penned and is not unique to England.

<sup>413</sup> Brendan Biggs continued to regard them as part of the corpus, see Biggs (ed.), *The imitation of Christ*, pp. xl-xlv; my own collation of Roy.8 with other manuscripts suggests that it is probably part of the same recension.

<sup>414</sup> Ampe considered its inclusion into the insular circulation to be spurious for this reason, see Albert Ampe, *L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ et son Auteur* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia et Letteratura, 1973), p. 25 n.4.

<sup>415</sup> Biggs did not think its continued attribution to the recension problematic, see Biggs (ed.), *The imitation of Christ*, p. xli; Roger Lovatt asserted that it and Bod.632 were descended from Dygoun's 1438 one-book recension. Comparison of the texts suggests that is problematic. Bod.632 has much more in common with the 'third manuscript' copies like Seld.93. Dig.97 shares almost no variants with book one of Mag.93, see Lovatt, 'The "Imitation of Christ"', p. 103.

<sup>416</sup> For example, Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitac[i]o[n]e [Christi] [et] [Con]temptu Damni Vanitatum Mundi* (Augsburg: Gintherum Zainer, 1471).

<sup>417</sup> Dig.37, fols. 134r-141r; for Elias Trikyngham see Reginald Lane Poole and Mary Bateson (eds.), *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), p. 69.

In containing book IV, Emma.94 is unique among manuscripts of the *Imitatio* that circulated in England. It had no general title and did not belong to the *Musica Ecclesiastica* recension. The source text of book IV must have been continental; the hand was Flemish.<sup>418</sup> The earliest record of its existence is a note that it was gifted by Thomas Godsolve (d.1542), registrar of Norwich Consistory Court, to Richard Redman, chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, Richard Nix (c.1447-1535), in 1531.<sup>419</sup> Continental books clearly interested Godsolve. He owned a Latin Bible printed by Anton Koberger and a fragment of John Boendale's (1280-1321) fourteenth-century chronicle, *Brabantsche Yeesten* held at the Norfolk Record Office bears his signature along with that of another inhabitant of Norwich, Christopher Wrightson.<sup>420</sup> The evangelical scholar, John Bale (1495-1563), also records an extensive library of Latin monastic and scholarly texts. It is possible that he acquired these following the dissolution of the monasteries, from which he was a great beneficiary.<sup>421</sup> Emma.94 could have been made for Godsolve; he was wealthy, and, being from Norwich, had links with the Low-Countries, yet how and when he obtained it is unknown. The note at the end of the Emma.94 suggests the latest date (1531) at which the circulation of the Latin manuscripts of *Imitatio Christi* in England ceased to be isolated from the continental traditions after the importation of the Carthusian 'third' manuscript.<sup>422</sup>

The domination of the work's manuscript circulation by the Carthusian houses affected its distribution in England. The *Imitatio Christi* was read chiefly in the south-east, especially in London. The earliest evidence for its circulation outside of the charterhouses was the 1453 donation by the London priest John Pynchbek to Syon Abbey when he entered the monastery, recorded in the Abbey

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<sup>418</sup> Lovatt, 'The "Imitation of Christ"', p. 118.

<sup>419</sup> Emma.94, fol. 108v; There is little information on Redman. He appears in several of depositions following his master's death. Redman was the chief executor of Nix's estate, but was unable to prevent the despoliation of the bishop's property by his former servants; TNA, E117/14/55, fol. 3v; TNA, E315/128, fol. 87r.

<sup>420</sup> The Koberger Bible is mentioned in Paul Ganz, 'A New Portrait of Sir John Godsolve by Hans Holbein the Younger', in *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 14 (1914), pp. 46-48, p. 46; for the fragment of *Brabantsche Yeesten*, see Norwich, Norwich Record Office, Act 5 bk. 5 1533-8.

<sup>421</sup> He possessed, among other things a copy of the opera of Ailred of Rievaulx, see Poole and Bateson (eds.), *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>422</sup> There is further suggestion of engagement in the continental circulation of the *Imitatio* in Laud.215 and Seld.93, see below n. 435.

regstrum.<sup>423</sup> A later donation, by another London priest, John Lawsby, is recorded for 1473.<sup>424</sup> A time and a location of origin, almost uniquely, can be assigned to Seld.93. A colophon dates the manuscript to 1469.<sup>425</sup> Circumstantial evidence connects this text with Robert Bale (c.1410-after 1473), supposed author of the London chronicle contained in Dublin, Trinity College Dublin, MSS. 509 and 604, his commonplace books.<sup>426</sup> Seld.93 contains one short verse in praise of London and some enthusiastic lines about Edward IV.<sup>427</sup> Since the chronicle had a strong Yorkist bias, the support for Edward IV suggests that it may have been the same man. Furthermore, Seld.93 tantalisingly attests to an interest in history writing: fols. 140r-142r contain an 'Order for the narration of [world] history here explained'.<sup>428</sup> John Bale identified Robert Bale as a public notary and judge, ascribing to him the authorship of a number of historical and administrative texts, of which only the history of London survives.<sup>429</sup> He was identified by Kingsford as a Scrivener with

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<sup>423</sup> John Pynchbeck was a Cambridge graduate, who was a chantry priest of St Mary Aldermanry 1453-1457, and rector of St Leonard's Colchester in 1457. Between 1457 and 1459 he was rector of St Mary Abchurch. In 1459 he became a brother of Syon, but secured an indult in 1461 to become a friar.

<sup>424</sup> John Lawsby was rector of st Bartholomew the Less between 1467 and 1468 and from 1468 and 1476, vicar of Ware (Herts). For the donations, see Gillespie (ed.), *Syon Abbey*, pp. 256 and 281: see also Alfred Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to AD 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 357-466.

<sup>425</sup> Seld.93, fol. 134: *Scriptus erat liber iste. Anno verbi incarnationi [Ihesu] millesmo quadragensimo [sic]. lix.*

<sup>426</sup> An inscription '*per R. Bale*', in the same hand as the text and annotations, appears on fol. 138v; An edited version is printed in Ralph Flenley (ed.), *Six Town Chronicles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 114-115; Mary Rose McLaren has cast doubt on his authorship, suggesting that the link between Bale and the manuscripts of the London Chronicle he is supposed to have authored, Dublin, Trinity College, MSS 509/604 is tenuous, being based entirely on John Bale's attribution. Even if he was the author the possibility still remains that these miscellanies which contain his chronicle are not by his hand; nothing in them records his name. See Mary Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 33-34.

<sup>427</sup> Seld.93, fol. 134: refers to Edward as *d[omi]ni n[ost]ri domini Edwardi dei gratia regis angliae et franciae ac veri et indubitate heredis regum castille et legionum octauo*; fol. 142r a commendation of London from the Latin poem 'The Stores of the Cities' *turris/ campana/ pons flumen. Se[r]ia lana/ et decus eccle[s]i[a]e sunt tibi London* with the added note *haec d[i]c[t]a su[n]t Sigismun[d]i d[omi]n[i]*; see Arthur Rigg, 'The Stores of the Cities', *Anglia*, 85 (1967), pp. 127-37.

<sup>428</sup> Seld.93, fol. 140r: incipit *Ordo narrationis historicae hoc expostulat*; I cannot find another example of this text and it may be Bales's own composition.

<sup>429</sup> John Bale claims that Robert Bale wrote *Londinensis urbis chronicon, Instrumenta libertatum Londini, Gesta regis Edwardi tertii, Alphabetum sanctorum Angliae, and De praefectis et consulibus Londini*; Another Robert Bale is attested in Johannes Vaissier, who notes a fifteenth-century inscription by one Robertus Baile in Durham, University Library, Cosin MS. V. III. 24, fol. 91v. Since the manuscript is East Anglian and John Bale recorded a Carmelite of Norfolk with the same name (d.1503), he does not associate this text with the London Bale, see Johannes Vaissier (ed.), *A Deuout Treatyse Called the Tree & xii. Frutes of the Holy Goost* (Groeningen: J. B. Wolters, 1960), pp. xvi-xvii.



property in Southwark, an identification challenged by Anne Sutton, who suggests that the evidence for his life is highly problematic and contradictory.<sup>430</sup> Nothing confirms that he was a judge or had anything to do with civic government.<sup>431</sup> Excluding Godsalve's book, the only clear evidence that we have for the manuscript circulating outside of a monastic context is these three London manuscripts.<sup>432</sup> *Musica Ecclesiastica* may thus be thought of as a London book distributed, primarily, through the Charterhouses of London and Sheen.<sup>433</sup>

The identity of the annotators is usually unknown as are the dates of annotation. In a few cases, the evidence suggests near contemporaneity with the manuscript. In Mag.93 and Seld.93 the annotations are in the same hand as the scribe, whose name is known. In Seld.93 they appear to have been by 'R. Bale', but were made at different times and in a number of inks. Emma.94 was annotated by the scribe who wrote the text but he is unknown. Lam.536 and Bruss.135 are marked in a fifteenth or sixteenth-century hand.<sup>434</sup> With the rest the historical connections are unclear. The manuscripts in the British Library, Bruss.15138, Trin.365, StJohn.C.6, Lam.475, Laud.215 and Bod.632 give few clues as to their annotators or the date of annotation.<sup>435</sup> The other manuscripts are either

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<sup>430</sup> Charles Kingsford, 'Robert Bale, the London Chronicler', *English Historical Review*, 31 (1916), pp. 126-128.

<sup>431</sup> Anne Sutton, 'Robert Bale, Scrivener and Chronicler of London', *English Manuscript Studies*, vol. 14 (2008), pp. 108-120, *passim*.

<sup>432</sup> It is possible that the text had a wider circulation among monasteries. Syon Abbey had the two copies aforementioned. Cam.6855 belonged to the Augustinians of Southwark, see fol. 1r. It is possible that Roy.7 belonged to Tewkesbury abbey, in addition to book I of *Musica Ecclesiastica* a calendar with obits of the abbots of the house up to 1440. Its binding is certainly fifteenth century. Trin.365 and Bod.632 have connections with Durham. The flyleaves of Trin.365 were from a Durham account roll and it was bound with a confessional written by William Le Stiphel, who produced manuscripts for the Cathedral from 1381-1386. The flyleaves of Bod.632 belong to an account roll pertaining to the diocese, which may suggest it was read outside of a monastery.

<sup>433</sup> For discussion of the concept of a 'London book' see Julia Boffey, *Manuscript and Print in London, 1475-1530* (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 20-21.

<sup>434</sup> Lam.536 had two fifteenth or sixteenth-century annotators. This chapter will refer only to annotator-one; Mad.4311 has only a couple of user additions: a recipe for soup on fol. 91v and some pen tests with an unfinished prayer on fol. 92v.

<sup>435</sup> It should be remembered that manuscripts were often copied annotations and all. Marginalia need not represent cognitive engagement with the text. This does not seem to have been the case with the *Imitatio*. No annotations are shared between except for one note accompanying I.XIII, indicating a quote from Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* (actually part of a longer quotation from Jan van Schoenhoeven's *Epistola ad Eemsteyn*). The annotation usually took the form *versus* and appears in European manuscripts as well as two of the English ones, Laud.215, fol. 7r and Seld.93, fol. 12v. For the corresponding passage in Ovid, see *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. John Mozley (London: Heinemann, 1929), p. 184; c.f. Arens, 'Zitate', p. 173.

unannotated, or in the case of Dig.97, the annotations clearly belong to a later period. This chapter will concentrate primarily on the annotations of Emma.94, Lam.536 and Seld.93, two of which manuscripts definitely circulated in a secular milieu. In these texts the annotations are also least opaque. Unlike most manuscripts with only graphic marks (such as lines, clubs and swirls) or *notae*, these have marginal phrases that reveal more about the way annotation could structure readers' thought processes. The conclusions drawn from this information reveal a hermeneutic common to all annotators, a hermeneutic grounded in rhetorical knowledge.

This chapter continues this study's interest in devotional spaces by analysing the relationship between the marked texts and the devotional spaces of London's priests. Though no surviving manuscripts can be tied directly to parish priests, it is evident from Lawsby and Pynchbeck and to some extent from Redman that clergymen were interested in the *Imitatio*. Clerics were much more likely to read Latin and were the most likely consumers of the text outside a monastic context. From the second quarter of the fifteenth-century, the educational standard of London's beneficed clergy dramatically improved.<sup>436</sup> Pynchbeck and Lawsby were part of a wave of graduate priests responding to the need for able clerics able to properly serve their parishes and combat the threat of heresy.<sup>437</sup> By 1522, of fifty-two incumbents in the city of London, six were doctors, thirty-three were masters and a further sixth of all unbeneficed priests were themselves masters.<sup>438</sup> In addition, the ritual structure of priests' days allow for a deeper contextualisation of the annotations within the rhythms of their lives. There is an abundance of wills and inventories from which greater detail of priests' devotions emerge.<sup>439</sup> By contrast the evidence for other, secular owners is thin. Robert Bale's identity is hard to establish, as is his wealth, social status and residence. The evidence for Godsalue's life is better but does not allow for detailed contextualisation of the text

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<sup>436</sup> See Richard Newcourt *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londoniense* (London: Benjamin Motte, 1708-1710), 2 vols, vol.1, for a sudden rise in incumbents with university degrees.

<sup>437</sup> Sheila Lindenbaum, 'London after Arundel', in Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh (eds.), *After Arundel* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 187-209, pp. 187-189; see Gerald Lewis Bray (ed.), *Records of Convocation* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 20 vols, vol. 5, pp. 64-66, 70-74, 384-393 and 411-412.

<sup>438</sup> Peter Heath, *English Parish Clergy* (London: Routledge, 1969), p. 81.

<sup>439</sup> See below, p. 141ff.

within the places or rhythms of his life.<sup>440</sup> Redman is extremely enigmatic and he handed his book on in under a year to the William Huddleston, last abbot of the Cistercian House of Stratford Langthorne (Essex). This chapter will, therefore, offer a comparatively broad view of devotional practice in fifteenth-century London. Though the physical situation of devotional practice to be considered is the priest's chamber, the concepts that structure it were part of a much broader Latinate culture and therefore relevant to a much broader class of university educated men.

A rhetorical approach is appropriate to the understanding of the *Imitatio's* persuasive aim and the hermeneutic that informed the making of annotations to it. However, for the fifteenth century, rhetoric describes a wide range of scholarly practices and overlapped considerably with other disciplines. For the purposes of this chapter, rhetoric is to be understood broadly as referring to a range of hermeneutic and compositional methods unified by their persuasive function.<sup>441</sup> As an art without a subject matter, it can only be understood in terms of its uses and ends.<sup>442</sup> For much of the twentieth century, histories of rhetoric emphasised its atrophy as a discrete discipline during the Middle Ages.<sup>443</sup> There was little specifically rhetorical teaching before the fifteenth century at either Oxford or Cambridge.<sup>444</sup> The first statutory appearance of rhetoric as a discipline at Oxford was in 1431; aspiring masters had to attend lectures on Boethius, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or Virgil's *Poetriae*.<sup>445</sup> At Cambridge it was 1488

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<sup>440</sup> His will, Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, NCC Will Register Mingaye, fols. 285r-286r is also not especially illuminating regarding his private devotional life. He was a member of the Guild of St George in Norwich and involved in some heresy trials but was also an enthusiastic beneficiary of the Dissolution. Though interesting as an example of the religious ambiguities and contradictions of sixteenth-century magistrates, Godsalue does not yield much to the historian of private devotional practice, see also Muriel McClendon, *The Quiet Reformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 78.

<sup>441</sup> Tzvetan Todorov, 'The Splendor and Misery of Rhetoric', in Catherine Porter (trans.), *Tzvetan Todorov: Theories of the Symbol* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1977), pp. 60-84, p. 61, any writing may be rhetorical so long as it achieves its object, be that to move, to instruct or to please the auditor.

<sup>442</sup> Martin Camargo, 'Defining Medieval Rhetoric', in Martin Camargo (ed.), *Essays on Medieval Rhetoric* (Ashgate: Variorum, 2012), pp. 21-34, p. 29.

<sup>443</sup> Those arguing for the impoverishment of rhetoric during the Middle Ages include most notably Charles Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York: Macmillan, 1928); Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

<sup>444</sup> Alfred Cobban, *English University Life* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 155.

<sup>445</sup> Strickland Gibson (ed.), *Statuta Antiqua Vniversitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 234.

and the institution of a lecture on Terence.<sup>446</sup> Yet a growing literature, following the work of Richard McKeon, has demonstrated that, far from being a vestigial appendage to medieval thought, practices of rhetorical composition were applied to a wide and diverse range of subjects.<sup>447</sup> Rhetoric was not the forensic subject of Cicero and Quintilian, but was integrated into other disciplines. Yet such applications were no less rhetorical for having departed from the apparent purity of classical precepts. In the lectures aforementioned rhetoric was understood as a characteristic of preceptive grammar, or *artes poetriae*.<sup>448</sup> These disciplines dealt with the many of the formal characteristics of composition that rhetoric did.<sup>449</sup> Medieval rhetoric overlapped with grammar and grammatical studies frequently featured rhetorical components.<sup>450</sup> To speak, or write properly (*artes recte loquendi*) was also to speak or write winningly. Likewise, rhetoric and dialectic have always been closely related.<sup>451</sup> Both argue from *topoi* or places and share the inventional practices that were the key interpretational framework in which annotations may be understood.<sup>452</sup> This chapter will take an inclusive approach to

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<sup>446</sup> Christopher Nugent, *History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 93.

<sup>447</sup> The seminal article was Richard McKeon, 'Rhetoric in the Middle Ages'; subsequent treatments, especially James Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) have built on this thesis to show that by defining rhetoric more broadly and by thinking in terms of its medieval applications, rhetorical thought becomes a ubiquitous part of intellectual life. On this basis, Charles Briggs challenged the idea of rhetoric's unimportance to university life, arguing that Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was valued for its observations on moral philosophy, Charles Briggs, 'Aristotle's Rhetoric in the Later Medieval Universities: A Reassessment', *Rhetorica*, 25, no. 3 (2007), pp. 243-268; see also Camargo, 'Defining Medieval Rhetoric', *passim*; For an imaginative exploration of just how great the influence of rhetoric might be see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and the articles in Mary Carruthers (ed.), *Rhetoric Beyond Words* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>448</sup> For preceptive grammar see Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, p. 136ff.

<sup>449</sup> James Murphy aptly illustrates the connections between preceptive grammar and rhetoric in terms of bricks that may be used to construct either a warehouse or a school, see, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 188-190; For the origins of the *artes poetriae* in rhetoric see also Martin Camargo, 'Tria Sunt: the Long and the Short of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Documentum de Modo et Arte Dictandi et Versificandi', *Speculum*, vol. 74 (1999), pp. 935-995, *passim* esp. pp. 949-950.

<sup>450</sup> Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 137; Martin Camargo and Marjorie Curry-Woods, 'Writing Instruction in Late Medieval Europe', in James Murphy, *A Short History of Writing Instruction* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 114-147, p. 115; Marjorie Curry-Woods, 'Among Men Not Boys: Histories of Rhetoric and the Exclusion of Pedagogy', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 22, no. 1 (1992), pp. 18-27, *passim*; H. R. Mead, 'Fifteenth Century Schoolbooks', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 3, no. 1 (1939), pp. 37-42, *passim*.

<sup>451</sup> Aristotle defined rhetoric as a department of dialectic, rhetoric provided a means of presenting truths having been found, see Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I.I.

<sup>452</sup> Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation*, pp. 153-154; See below, pp. 94-95.

rhetoric, drawing from varied sources and varied disciplines to create a bank of critical concepts that were available to most fifteenth-century, university educated readers.<sup>453</sup> It will make use of manuals of preceptive grammar and dialectic, particularly the classical texts that possessed long term influence and were the basis of fifteenth-century university education. However it will also make use of the more characteristically non-classical forms of rhetoric such as letter-writing and homiletics. With these it will be possible to reconstruct some of the ways in which fifteenth-century readers navigated their texts.

Readers understood that the emotional phenomena they wished to internalise were available in the text as rhetorical fragments. By marking them, they built up a bank of 'emotives' with which to transform themselves in acts of devotional reading and performance.<sup>454</sup> The critical texts of rhetorically-minded devotion are those described by Barbara Joye as the '*artes orandi*'. *Ars orandi* is a historian's term and was never used by the art's practitioners to describe their own work; it was never a self-conscious genre. Joye defines them as 'how to' treatises that prescribe compositional strategies for prayer.<sup>455</sup> The most important of these to this chapter are *De Modo Orandi* by the twelfth-century master, Hugh of St Victor, and *Rhetorica Divina* by the thirteenth-century Bishop of Paris, William of Auvergne (1180-1249).<sup>456</sup> These authors used rhetorical principles to produce an emotionally satisfactory prayer experience. Both texts enjoyed a resurgence during the fifteenth-century. The chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Gerson, recommended them both to his colleagues at the College of Navarre and to the students of his lectures on mystical theology. He acclaimed them 'for their abundance of moral statements, for the style and elaboration in words and for the

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<sup>453</sup> Inspiration has been taken to a very large extent from Minnis, *Medieval theory of Authorship*, especially pp. 44-50.

<sup>454</sup> An 'emotive' is a short verbal expression describing one's feelings. So expressing, one modifies one's relationship with interlocutors and thereby modifies one's emotional state by performing a socially constituted emotional role, see Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, passim.

<sup>455</sup> Barbara Joye, *Artes Orandi* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), p. 84.

<sup>456</sup> Hugh of St Victor, *De Modo Orandi*, PL, vol. 176, cols. 977-988; William of Auvergne, *William of Auvergne: Rhetorica Divina*, trans. Roland Teske (Paris: Peeters, 2013).

special expertise in poems and stories'.<sup>457</sup> *De modo orandi* had a very wide circulation and appears to have generated interest in English universities during the period of this study.<sup>458</sup> Of sixteen manuscripts recorded in England, four either have a provenance in universities or were used during the fifteenth century.<sup>459</sup> *Rhetorica Divina's* popularity was certainly marked in continental Europe; if it circulated in England, that circulation left little evidence. It enjoyed a succession of printings in southern Germany and Paris before the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>460</sup> Though there is little evidence to suggest *Rhetorica Divina* was well known in London, the principles that it articulated about verbal composition were derived from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. It did not articulate ideas about structuring speech that would have been alien to English readers. Furthermore, it fleshes out many of the ideas of *De Modo Orandi* and permits a fuller analysis of the use of rhetoric in prayer. For these reasons, this chapter will use it as a tool with which critically to approach the use of the *Imitatio Christi*.

The key emotional scripts guiding fifteenth-century readers to mark their copies of *Imitatio Christi* were consolation and compunction. Through the process of *inventio*, readers created a tool for a subsequent practice of mimesis. Readers appropriated phrases and passages to confirm to themselves certain judgements about the world and their place within it that conformed to the aforementioned emotional scripts. In the ensuing mimesis, readers ruminated on and transformed this material to make it more memorable. This chapter will then explore the spatial

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<sup>457</sup> Jean Gerson, 'Aux Messieurs de Navarre', in *Glorieux*, vol. 2, pp. 30-35, p. 34: *pro copia sententiarum moralium, pro stylo et ornatu verborum poematum et historiarum qualicumque peritia*; Incidentally, he also illustrates in this statement the practice of mimesis discussed below.

<sup>458</sup> Timothy Spence, 'The Prioress's *Oratio ad Mariam* and Medieval Prayer Composition' in Scott Troyan (ed.), *Medieval Rhetoric* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 63-93, passim; *De Modo Orandi* is known to exist in two-hundred and sixty-six manuscripts, See Joye, *Artes Orandi*, p. 92; see also, for example, Gillespie (ed.), *Syon Abbey*, p. 278.

<sup>459</sup> Cambridge, Peterhouse College, MS. 113, a fifteenth-century compilation, contained the text; Oxford, Eton College MS. Ff.ii.1-96, contains *De Modo Orandi* as its first item. This is a thirteenth century manuscript, but fol. 2r has a fifteenth century table of contents; Cambridge, St John's College, MS.E.28 (131), was a miscellany donated by the Cambridge graduate Thomas Steyke (d.1513) to Syon Abbey; another donation was recorded by the Syon *Registrum* by the fellow of Pembroke Hall John Fewterer (d. 1536), see Gillespie (ed.), *Syon Abbey*, p. 169; Cambridge, University Library, MS. Hh.IV.3 and li.VI.30 both contain copies made in England during the fifteenth-century, though there is nothing indicating a precise provenance.

<sup>460</sup> The first edition was William of Auvergne, *Rhetorica Divina* (Ghent: Arend de Keyser, 1483 ISTC-ig00713000).

settings within which these performances took place. This chapter will then look in detail at the way rhetoric functioned in compunctious prayers derived from the *Imitatio*. The case of Lam.536 chapter LV will provide the case study. It will show that a structured verbal performance could, for some readers, be intrinsic to producing an authentic devotional *affectus*. Finally, it will be shown that the annotations can, to some extent, provide a guide to patterns of salience within these rooms during devotional performance. Different properties of the space were actualised as devotees moved through the stages of a devotional performance.

## II. Interpreting *Musica Ecclesiastica* through Annotation

Reading with annotations was reading with a purpose. Annotations were 'local' interventions into a text and tools for discontinuous 'fragmented reading'. Marking margins transformed the *ordinatio* of a page to fit a reader's objectives.<sup>461</sup> Marks that could be absorbed at a glance enabled page and book to be traversed discontinuously. Commentary or cross-references augmented textual meaning and guided how the textual contents might be conceptualised. Each note was a liminal point by which to enter or exit the text.<sup>462</sup> In essence their purpose was 'inventional' in the sense of finding out matter of importance. Not all notes record reading practices. Many record book ownership, others record things entirely unrelated to the text. Annotations can only give a partial view of how readers could interpret their books. The anonymity of most inscriptions precludes their being read in light of biographical information. Furthermore books often had many owners; marks would usually have been encountered by readers other than those who had inscribed them. Therefore, the rhetorical hermeneutic by which the annotational locations would have been interpreted provides the best way to

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<sup>461</sup> There is a parallel to be drawn with scholastic reading methods and the introduction of glossation in the twelfth century; Alastair Minnis, '*Nolens Auctor sed Compiler Reputari*', in Mireille Chazan and Gilbert Dahan (eds.), *La Methode Critique au Moyen Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 47-63, passim; Malcom Parkes, 'The influence of Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in Jonathan Alexander and Margaret Gibson (ed.), *Medieval Learning and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 115-138, passim.

<sup>462</sup> See Hackel, *Reading Material*, p. 165.

understand how they cohered.<sup>463</sup> This at least was a fairly stable body of knowledge that many, if not most of the *Imitatio*'s English readers would have shared. In the case of the *Imitatio*, readers used the annotated margin to facilitate mimesis of the judgements that underpinned compunctious humility through which they hoped to obtain grace of consolation.<sup>464</sup>

*Inventio* was the discovery of plausible and persuasive arguments according to a system of proof.<sup>465</sup> It implied the syllogistic forms of deductive and inductive logic; proposition or predicable and supplement.<sup>466</sup> Inventors initially sought *loci* or 'seats' of argument. That is to say they sought predicables or propositions from which plausible arguments logically ensued.<sup>467</sup> Rhetorical manuals invariably prescribed formal apparatus through which to conceptualise material gathered. As marking of *loci* was a material act of *inventio*, reading with annotations logically employed similar techniques of ratiocination. Systems for finding and expanding

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<sup>463</sup> See for example Jardine and Grafton, 'Studied for Action: how Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', pp. 31-32, 72 goal orientation also forms the basis of more modern phenomenologies of reading, see Richard Gerrig, *Experiencing Narrative Worlds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 80-82.

<sup>464</sup> It is worth drawing a parallel with the slightly later practice of commonplacing, which was the selection of 'loci' and their copying into a 'commonplace book' under certain preestablished headings. Most classical theorists of oratory advised collecting excerpts from practised speakers to use in one's own composition, see *De Oratore*, I.XXXIII.CXLIX-I.XXXIII.CLIII; *Rhetorica*, II.II.III; *Quintilian*, X.I-II. However, it was the theories of the dutch dialectician Rudolph Agricola (c1444-1485), especially *De Inventione Dialectica*, first published in 1479 (and not available in England much before 1500) that informed the sixteenth century practice; see Matthew DeCoursey, 'Continental European Rhetoricians, 1400–1600, and Their Influence in Renaissance England', in Edward Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit: Gale, 1978- ) 375 vols, vol. 236, pp. 309-343, pp. 316-317; see also Hackel, *Reading Material*, passim and p. 165; Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 43-45; for commonplace books see Moss, *Printed Commonplace Books*, passim.

<sup>465</sup> *Rhetorica*, I.II.III: *Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium quae causam probabilem reddant*, (underlining my own); by a system of proof, I refer to the premises shared by disputants that undergird logical argumentation, what Boethius referred to as the maximal proposition, see Boethius, *De Differentiis Topicis*, PL, vol. 64, cols. 1173-1216, col. 1185: *Locus namque est (Marcus Tullius placet) sedes argumenti cuius diffinitionis quae sit vis paucis absolvam. Argumenti enim sedes partim proposition maxima intellegi potest, partim maximae propositionis differentia. Nam cum sint aliae propositiones quae cum per se notae sint, tum nihil ulterius habeant quo demonstrantur, atque hae maximae et principales vocentur, sintque aliae quarum fidem primae ac maxime suppleant propositiones*; Boethius followed Aristotle's dictum that there was a point beyond which the regression of an argument was fruitless, see *Posterior analytics*, trans. G. R. G. Mure [online edn. [http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/-384\\_-322,\\_Aristoteles,\\_01\\_Organon\\_4\\_Posterior\\_Analytica,\\_EN.pdf](http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/-384_-322,_Aristoteles,_01_Organon_4_Posterior_Analytica,_EN.pdf), edn. Accessed 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2015], I.III.

<sup>466</sup> McKeon, 'Rhetoric in the Middle Ages', pp. 10-11; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I.II, presented rhetoric as the counterpart of dialectic. Both are systems of presenting proof according to logical principles; Cicero, discusses outlines a similar system by which to guide the invention of useful material see *De Inventione*, I.XXXVII.LXVII.

<sup>467</sup> Notwithstanding of course the seeking out of places of stylistic value.



loci, however, were various, and the terminology fluid.<sup>468</sup> Undergirding most methods of *inventio* was a concept of circumstances.<sup>469</sup> These were usually expressed as some variation on the theme of ‘who, what, why, where, when, how and by what means’.<sup>470</sup> Circumstances were something of a medieval synthesis of several classical ideas about argumentation. A concept of circumstances was central to most important rhetorical manuals but most varied in the details.<sup>471</sup> It was medieval scholars and theologians who unified the concept, drawing into one a number of statements that used diffuse terminology.<sup>472</sup> However, there remained several ways of critically expanding the material found by asking a different set of questions of it. What was universally agreed on, within the corpus of classical theory on rhetorical and dialectical *inventio*, was the idea that the constituents of argument were spatially bounded fragments (*loci*) nested within conceptual ‘topics’ or subject headings (such as consolation). What all the models seem to share is the idea that arguments inhere within the circumstances of a thing. The marking of such *loci* therefore indexed not only a fact but a persuasive function; that is to say a statement that produced (or could be used to produce) belief about a thing.

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<sup>468</sup> Richard McKeon, ‘Creativity and the Commonplace’, in Richard McKeon et al (eds.), *Selected Writings of Richard McKeon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 2 vols, vol.2, pp. 42-50, p. 42-45 contains a narrative of some of the changes that took place in late antiquity.

<sup>469</sup> See Durant Waite Robertson Jr, ‘A Note on the Classical Origin of Circumstances in the Medieval Confessional’, *Studies in Philology*, 43, no. 1 (1943), pp. 6-14, passim.

<sup>470</sup> Pseudo-Augustine attributes these to the Greek orator and co-founder of the art of rhetoric Hermagoras see [Pseudo Augustine], *De Rhetorica*, in Carolus Halm (ed.), *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Lipsiae: In Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1863), pp. 135-151, p. 141; among the most important in communicating this idea in this form beyond the world of late antiquity was Boethius, see *De Differentiis Topicis*, col. 1205; *quis, quid, ubi, quando, cur, quomodo, quibus adminiculis*.

<sup>471</sup> Cicero expressed version of the *circumstantiae* in *Topica*, II.VIII, where he refers to arguments emerging either from the *locis in quibus argumenta inclusa sunt* or from *extrinseca*, i.e. *ex toto, tum ex partibus eius, tum ex nota, tum ex eis rebus quae quondam modo affectae sunt*. However the most important passage was *De Inventione* I.XXVI.XXXVII-I.XXVII.XLI where he discusses the substantives necessary to make a *narratio* plausible (*persona, factum, causa, locus, tempus, modus, facultas*); *Rhetorica ad Herennium* expounded no formal terminology of *circumstantiae* but it did outline a circumstantial system of *causae* for handling issues, see *Rhetorica*, II.II.II-III.V.

<sup>472</sup> The *circumstantiae* became an important critical tool for thinking about ethics and found practical application in confessional manuals. Notably when Aristotle’s *Nichomachean Ethics* were translated into Latin, the moral particulars of an act were described as *circumstantiae* see Albert Jonsen, *The Abuse of Casuistry: A History of Moral Reasoning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 131ff; see also Thomas Aquinas’ analysis of the *circumstantiae* of Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologia*, Book 2, Question 1, Article 7.

Interest in compunction is to be found across all of the marked *Imitationes*.<sup>473</sup> The annotations of Emma.94, in particular, picked out circumstances that provided the traditional foundations of consoling arguments, reflections and prayers. They also demonstrate that the logic that gave consolation literature its force was inextricable from the judgements that made up compunction. The notes did not reference compunction directly but the ascetic logic that they signposted was implicitly compunctious.

At fol. 20v of Emma.94, a note abutting book III, chapter XVIII (XVI) identified an enthymeme as being ‘of true solace’:

If I alone had all the solace of the world and could enjoy all delights, it is certain that they could not last long. For that reason, you cannot, my soul, be fully consoled or refreshed, except in God the comforter of the poor and the protector of the humble.<sup>474</sup>

The deduction that the ephemerality of worldly things made them unreliable sources of comfort was commonplace even in pre-Christian and less salvifically minded consolation writing.<sup>475</sup> It was the key to cultivating *apatheia*. Yet, the extension of the logic, to reject the fleeting world for the changelessness of divine mercy was compunctious. On the same page, the note ‘the devout man’ marked an evocation of reliance on divine mercy:

The devout man carries his comforter, Jesus, everywhere and says to him: ‘Be with me, Lord Jesus, in every place and time’.<sup>476</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> It should also be noted here that *Imitatio*, l.XXI, ‘*De Compunctio Cordis*’ was among the most often marked passages of *Musica Ecclesiastica*, see Bruss.135, fols. 13r-13v; Bruss.15138, fol. 21r; Bod.632, fol. 118r; Mag.93, fol. 273r; StJohn.C.6, fol. 25r; Emma.54, fol. 46v; Lam.475, fol. 15v; Lam.536, fol. 14v.

<sup>474</sup> Emma.94, fol. [20v]: *Quod si omnia solacem mundi solus haberem et omnibus deliciis frui possem, certum est quod diu non durare possent. Unde non poteris, anima mea, plene consolari nec perfecte recreari: nec in Deo consolatore pauperum as susceptore humilium* (annotation: *de vero solacio*).

<sup>475</sup> See for example, Seneca, *Ad Polybium De Consolatione*, in Idem, *Moral essays*, pp. 356-415, p. 356; Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, col. 661; It was Peter of Blois fifth place of consolation, see Peter of Blois, *Libellus de Arte Dicandi*, p. 71.

<sup>476</sup> Emma.94, fol. [20v-21r]: *Deuotus homo ubiq[ue] fert secum consolatorem suum [Iesum] et dicit ad eum Adesto michi [Iesum] domine [Iesu] in omni loco et tempore* (annotation: *deuotus homo*).

Such passages evoked Gregory the Great's second and, implicitly, fourth *loci* of compunction, where a man is and where a man is not, or the sorrows of life and the joy of Heaven.<sup>477</sup> This perception of the mutability of earthly things was the guiding proposition for Emma.94's annotation. At book III, chapter XIII (XII) the note 'of carnal concupiscences/of abundant consolation' flanked another rejection of the world for divine consolation.<sup>478</sup> At chapter XXIX (XXV), the note foregrounded the second stage of compunction, the desire for Heaven, with the note 'of the peace to be enjoyed', which accompanied another statement of the inevitability of disappointment in the world.

Yet never to feel any tumult or heartache or bodily affliction is not [the state] of the present time, but is the state of eternal peace.<sup>479</sup>

Even annotations on apparently unrelated subjects fitted into this compunctious pattern. The margin of book III, chapter XV (XIII) was annotated 'Of obedience':

And who seeks private things loses what is common. Whoever does not freely and spontaneously submit to their superior, it is a sign that their flesh is not obedient to them.<sup>480</sup>

However the next visual cue or saccade target lower down the same page was the annotation 'of proper [i.e. self-] contempt', which accompanied the passage:

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<sup>477</sup> See above, pp. 36-37.

<sup>478</sup> Emma.94, fol. [17r]: *O quam breves quam falsae quam inordinatae et turpes omnes sunt...Tu ergo fili post concupiscentias tuas non eas a voluntate tua evertere[.] Delectare in Domino & dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui Etenim si vis veraciter delectari & abundantius consolari* (annotation: *de concupiscentia carnalibus De abun[dantia] [con]sola[tione]*).

<sup>479</sup> Emma.94, fol. [31v]: *Nunquam autem sentire aliquam turbationem nec aliqua[m] pati cordis vel corporis molestis no[n] est pr[a]esentis temporis sed status [a]eternae quietis* (annotation: *De pace fruenda*).

<sup>480</sup> Ibid, fol. [17v]: *Et qui quaerit priuata amittit co[m]munia Qui non libenter & sponte suo superiori subdit signum [est] q[uod] caro sua necdum sibi obedit* (annotation: *De ob[edent]ia*).

Truly you must develop contempt for yourself if you want to prevail against flesh and blood. Because you still love yourself inordinately, you fear to submit to the will of others.<sup>481</sup>

On the facing page a 'nota' indicated a monition from Christ 'I became humble so that you could overcome your pride'.<sup>482</sup> The notes foregrounded obedience not as a virtue *qua* itself, but as a symbol of self-contempt and a rejection of pride.<sup>483</sup> Obedience was subsumed into a compunctious reading of human sinfulness.<sup>484</sup> Rather than a virtue to be obtained or an instrument of moral growth, the obedience that the annotations picked out was characterised by its absence or imperfection. The notes did not so much instruct the reader as provide a spur to compunctious reflection on personal sin. Across all the annotated manuscripts of the *Imitatio*, the annotators marked or set down generalised admonitions to the reader of the need to apply humble obedience in the cleansing of the soul. Seld.93, for example, annotated book III, chapter LV (LIII); 'who indeed holds himself in subjection, so that [his] sensuality obeys [his] reason and reason obeys Me in all things, this man truly conquers himself and is a master of the world' with the line, 'note well and trample down [sensuality]'.<sup>485</sup> Annotations such as this referred to compunction indirectly but still present a general pattern of consciousness of sin and compunctious response. Readers were constantly reminded of the need to grind themselves down in order to purge their sinfulness.

The circumstances of compunction marked in *Musica Ecclesiastica* implied compunctious performance. Marking loci was meaningless without emotional and

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<sup>481</sup> Ibid, fol. [17v]: *Vere te assumere tui ipsius contemptu[m] si vis prevalere aduersus carnem et sanguinem Quia adhuc nimis inordinate te diligis i[de]o plene te resignare alioru[m] voluntati trepidas* (annotation: *De [pro]pria contemptu*).

<sup>482</sup> Ibid, fol. [18r]: *Factus sum omnium humilimus et infimus ut tuam superbiam mea humilitate vinceres* (annotation: *nota*).

<sup>483</sup> In the monastic tradition of consolation literature, obedience, that is to say placing oneself under an external rule and the authority of an abbot, was an instrument of consolation, see Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform*, p. 134; see the example of Cassian, *Second Conference with Abbot Moses*, ch. 13.

<sup>484</sup> For compunction as the fruit of humility see Jean Leclercq, 'Smaragdus', in Paul Szarmach (ed.), *Introduction to the Mystics of Europe* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1984), pp. 37-52, pp. 46-48.

<sup>485</sup> Seld.93, fol. 122: *Qui enim seipsum subiectum tenet ut sensualitas rationi et ratio in cunctis obediat mihi. hic vere victor est sui et d[omi]n[u]s mundi* (annotation: *nota et exculca*); see also, for example Lam.536, fol. 49v: *Dixi t[ibi] s[ae]pissim[e] et nu[n]c it[er]u[m] dico. Reli[n]q[ue] te resig[na] te et frueris mag[na] i[n]t[er]na pace* (annotation: *Ad internam pacem quid requiritur*).

somatic praxis of the arguments they contained. Emma.94 made this quite explicit in the annotation of book IV, chapter II as ‘humility’. The humility here observed was performative; it was expressed as a prayer:

‘You know your servant and you see that he has no good in him for which you should give him that [grace]. Therefore I confess my lowliness, recognise your goodness, praise your tenderness and I give thanks for your exceeding love’.<sup>486</sup>

Annotation of *loci* was central to the concept of mimesis, in its rhetorical and behavioural senses.<sup>487</sup> This was the decomposition of a text into pithy *eloquentia*, *sapientia* and *prudencia* to be deployed in their own writing and speech.<sup>488</sup>

Likewise, it could be used to digest a moral lesson or moral disposition into a collection of comparatively memorable maxims. The boundary between these two traditions, of rhetorical and moral mimesis, was porous, the persuasive function of rhetoric and the transformative effect of a moral exemplar being closely related.<sup>489</sup> The anatomisation of consolation and compunction was part of an effort to effectively and fully imitate the textual exemplar.

The Senecan model of mimesis, represented by the bee metaphor quoted in the introduction, came to have a distinctive meaning for rhetoricians and devotional compilers from the twelfth-century onwards. Medieval writers, particularly those who gathered from Scriptural or patristic sources tended to soften the transformative element.<sup>490</sup> In this, the medieval devotional and scholarly traditions diverged considerably from the classical rhetorical tradition. The scholar and diplomat, John of Salisbury (1120-1180), used it, while changing it

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<sup>486</sup> Emma.94, fol. 80r: *Tu nosti [ser]uu[m] tuu[m] & scis quia nil boni in se habet unde hoc illi praestes Co[n]fiteor igitur vilitatem meam agnosco tuam bonitate[m] laudo pietate[m] tua[m] et gratias ago p[ro]pter nimiam caritatem* (annotation: *humilitas*); this comes in the midst of a chapter in praise of the sacrament of the Mass.

<sup>487</sup> See above pp. 15-17; *Imitatio*, I.I.

<sup>488</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, p. 62.

<sup>489</sup> Quintilian, for example, argued, though with some reserve, that the rhetoric was a virtue and a rhetor should be a virtuous man, see *Quintilian*, II.XX.VIII-IX.

<sup>490</sup> As, for example, in the case of the abbess Herrad of Landsberg (1130-1191) whose preface to *Liber Sacrarum Sententiarum* employed the bee metaphor without the rhetorician’s enjoiner to change what was absorbed, see Relindis of Hohenburg and Herrad of Landsberg, *Notitia et Fragmenta*, PL, vol. 194, cols. 1537-1542, col. 1540.

to describe the ambiguities involved in using classical authorities. Intellectual 'food' became strength only in his formulation, as the blood (a metaphor for what was repugnant to Christian doctrine in antique authorities) was separated out by divine command.<sup>491</sup> More typical in the university context was the Paris Master, Thomas Hibernicus (1295-1338), who quoted Seneca's apian metaphor but not his intestinal one; a scholar gathered, but he did not deform the flowers of his searching.<sup>492</sup> The emergent genre of scholarly *florilegia* was grounded in the idea that extracts from the *auctores* should be tampered with as little as possible.<sup>493</sup> A scholarly discourse emerged of *compilatio*, which stressed the fidelity of a work to its authoritative original and the lack of compilatorial input.<sup>494</sup> Similar reserve was often exercised in relation to more devotional prunings.<sup>495</sup>

Yet devotional hermeneutics did continue to stress the transformative practice and effects of meditation. Guigo V used a digestive metaphor when setting out a form for the practice of *lectio divina*. He advised the reader to 'chew and break' a phrase of Scripture in the mind. By successive transformations of the text in the mind, the reader comes to understanding and is himself transformed, the Spirit of God entering the heart in response to the devout affectus cultivated through reflection on Biblical sentences.<sup>496</sup> Likewise when the Austrian

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<sup>491</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* (Lyon: Johannis Maire, 1639), pp. 443-444; the Biblical reference is to Leviticus 17.

<sup>492</sup> Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of medieval Studies, 1979), pp. 236-238.

<sup>493</sup> This genre informed and eventually gave way to the much more rhetorically oriented commonplace book; a number were even printed as commonplace books for the use of preachers, see Moss, *Printed Commonplace Books*, p. 42; see, for example, Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale* (Venice: Hermannus Liechtenstein, 1494 ISTC-iv00294000) or Thomas Hibernicus, *Manipulus Florum* (Piacenza: Jacobus de Tyela, 1483 ISTC-ih00149000).

<sup>494</sup> See Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio', p. 129.

<sup>495</sup> See for example the devotional florilegia produced by Florens Radewijns (1350-1400), co-founder of the Brethren of the Common Life, *Omnia Inquit Artes* and *Tractatulus Devotorum*, both of which were essentially biblical and patristic quotations arranged by topic, see Gerrits, *Inter Timorem et Spem*, p. 17; See also Nolte (ed.), *Tractatulus Devotorum*, passim.

<sup>496</sup> Guigo V, *Scala Claustralium*, col. 477: *Incipit hanc unam masticare et frangere*. This use of Seneca's bee metaphor was fairly common, in devotional writing; see for example Bernard of Clairvaux, *Vitis Mystica*, PL, vol. 184, cols. 635-741, col. 725: *Apes eiusmodi, ut puto sunt illi qui pennis contemplationis elevari sicut possunt...et ad hortum deliciarum transvolare in quo omnium florum divitias et divites delicias inveniunt*; Bonaventure, *Vitis Mystica*, in Quaracchi, vol. 8, pp. 159-232, p. 187: *apiculae sedulitatem imiteris ad conficiendum mel devotionis*; A probable allusion also appears in Ruusbroec's *Perfection of the Sons of God*; see London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 37790, fol. 107; See also the examples of digestive metaphors in Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 54ff; for the anagogical sense of

Carthusian, Nicholas Kempf, quoted Seneca's apian metaphor in its full transformative sense, he gave agency to the Holy Spirit, in conjunction with the human intellect in digesting the 'flowers' of Scripture into anagogical 'sweetness of honey'.<sup>497</sup> Medieval devotional mimesis, therefore, creatively adapted the reading practices of classical rhetoric. It implied a slightly different form of mimesis. These meditative transformations were an avenue to grace. Annotation imposed a new *ordinatio* on the devotional text, which facilitated this internalisation of important phrases and concepts and, importantly, their recapitulation in subsequent meditative acts. One did not aim to displace the words but to draw from them a spiritual meaning by which the reader would be transformed.

Mimetic 'digestion' of this sort, as a rhetorical practice, prefaced an act of rhetorical composition. In devotional mimesis, this composition would have been be a prayer formulated according to rhetorical principles, using material invented in reading acts. The final composition is invisible, yet the ruminative transformations that preceded it are discernible in a number of annotations, where a structure for future mimesis was imposed on the text. This effect is evident where annotators marked striking metaphors and emphasised or created references to external texts. At book III, chapter LII, Annotator-one of Lam.536 copied in the margin a quotation in the text from Job 10:21; 'a land of darkness and the shadow of death.'<sup>498</sup> The context of the quotation is a plea for time to repent before death. The line recalls the familiar themes of the medieval death *topos*. Death is the goad by which the believer is encouraged to be aware of the immanent need for repentance. The text was part of the fourth reading at the third nocturne of matins for the dead. Evoking the liturgical context of commemoration, it was a metaphor for burial and the darkness of the grave.<sup>499</sup> Likewise it was an ideal locus for compunctious

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Scripture, see Henri Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, trans. Edward Macierowski (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2000), 2 vols, vol. 2, p. 163ff.

<sup>497</sup> Nicholas Kempf, *de Ostensione*, quoted with translation in Martin, *Fifteenth century Carthusian reform*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>498</sup> Lam.536, fol. 58r: *Sine me paululu[m] ut planga[m] dolore[m] meu[m]: an[te]q[uam] va[dam] ad t[erram] te[nebrosam] et op[ertam] m[ortis] ca[ligine]* (annotation: *terram tenebrosam et mortis caligine*).

<sup>499</sup> Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla Super totam Bibliam* (Venice: Bonatellus Locatellus, 1488) [online edn. <http://www.umilta.net/nicholalyra.html> accessed 10th March 2015], sig. vv9r: *Ad terram tenebrosam i[d est] sepeliar in terra qui de natura dua est opaca*.

meditation. The remembrance of death, which could be a *locus* of compunction, agitated the meditator into fearful turning to God.<sup>500</sup>

For Annotator-one the function of the loci was likely a tool for fixing these ideas in the mind. He evidently appreciated ornamented prose. At book III, chapter XLVI, he marked a passage describing the transience of harsh words with an adaptation of a line from Ovid's elegy XVI; 'a word, as we have seen, is carried away by the wind and breeze'.<sup>501</sup> In chapter XXVII he has even inscribed a pun. Alongside a warning against caring too much for things of the world, the annotator wrote: *Ubi missa est quietudo*.<sup>502</sup> This can conceivably be translated as 'where [or perhaps when] peace is thrown away', alternatively it can mean 'where the Mass [is] there is peace'. So once again, artfully chosen words are lodged within a framework of poetic and liturgical reference; the annotations summarise and create mental links between words and ideas. Metaphor and poetic imagery of this sort were key tools to mnemonic techniques. The cognitive faculty of the mind, the *intellectus*, apprehended sense impressions and stored *phantasmata* as intelligible species.<sup>503</sup> The transformation from sense and phantasmata, from image or concept, to species and then to intellection was understood to be analogous to metaphor, but where analogy implied a real relationship.<sup>504</sup> Metaphor required the formation of cognitive links between a 'verbal moment' of linguistic expression or apprehension and another experiential moment, in light of which the verbal moment can be meaningfully understood.<sup>505</sup> Metaphor therefore engaged and exercised the

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<sup>500</sup> For another example, see Henry Suso, *Horologium Sapientiae* (Paris: Jean Petit, 1521 USTC-[unregistered]), book II, chapter II, for example, sig. n3v: *Heu quam felix qui h[aj]ec novissima pr[a]evidet et sibi a peccatis cavet, qui se omni temporis ad hanc horam disponit.*

<sup>501</sup> Lam.536, fol. 53r: *Quid e[n]i[m] v[er]ba n[isi] v[er]b[a]: p[er] aere[m] vola[n]t: s[ed] lapide[m] no[n] laedu[n]t* (annotation: *Verbu[m] [sic] (p[ro]ut visus est) ventus et aura ferunt*); the original line from Ovid is *inrita, qua visum est, ventus et unda ferunt*, see Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, trans. Grant Showerman (London: Heinemann, 1914), p. 432.

<sup>502</sup> Lam.536, fol. 44v: *Sta ad b[e]n[e]placitu[m] meu[m] et nullu[m] patieris detrimentu[m]. Si q[uaer]is hoc [vel] illud, et volu[er]is e[ss]e ibi [vel] ibi p[ro]pter tuu[m] co[m]modu[m] et p[ro]p[ri]u[m] b[e]n[e]placitu[m] magis habe[n]du[m]* (annotation: *Ubi missa est quietudo*).

<sup>503</sup> See chapter I for a detailed sketch of the relationship between sense and the internal faculties of the mind, p. 61ff.

<sup>504</sup> Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memory*, p. 489; John Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones Quodlibetales* (Paris: Josse Bade, 1518) fols. 41v-45r.

<sup>505</sup> Paul Ricouer, *The Rule of Metaphor: The Creation of Meaning in Language* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 253.



faculties of memory. It is telling that the *artes memoriae*, based on the teachings of rhetoric, relied on this metaphorical faculty.<sup>506</sup> Though the methods enjoined were criticized by subsequent theorists of language and memory, the principle was never rejected.<sup>507</sup> The marking of metaphors and references to other texts made reading a fundamentally intellectual experience employing the *intellectus* to create valuable phantasmata and internal dispositions of thought that would contribute to a fruitful devotional *mimesis* and transformation of the self.

Bale invented a different connection with the consolation topos in Seld.93 by establishing a connection with the Passion. Inscribed by a passage of book II, chapter III, was, ‘note well of the psalm, O God my God’. The text it flanks itself refers not to the psalm, but admonished man to bear his sufferings in the word:

Everyone would freely have peace and choose [to be] more often among those they agree with, but to be able to live peaceably among hard, perverted or undisciplined people or those opposed to us, that is great, laudable and an exceedingly manly deed.<sup>508</sup>

Psalm twenty-two (XXI) was that uttered by Christ on the Cross, ‘O God my God, why have you forsaken me’.<sup>509</sup> The link established was with the popular Latin and vernacular devotional theme of the seven last words of Christ. Bale’s annotation was meditative *mimesis* in the truest sense. He teases out a compunctious contemplative subject from an otherwise didactic passage by fragmenting and reworking the meaning to fit his chosen devotional theme. Christ’s suffering was

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<sup>506</sup> The chief source for the *artes memoriae* was the third book of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, see *Rhetorica*, III.XVI.XXVIII-XXIV.XL.

<sup>507</sup> Albertus Magnus, was unconvinced by the classical systems, but he described metaphor as an aid to memory and means to move the soul, see Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 65; Geoffrey of Vinsauf questioned the value of the complicated system of imagistic mnemonics suggested by the rhetorics, though he conceded that it might work for some, see Nims (trans.), *Poetria Nova*, p. 89; the principle was however wholeheartedly embraced in the emphasis on imagery in fifteenth-century preaching, see Kimberley Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), *passim*.

<sup>508</sup> Seld.93, fol. 38r: *unusquisque libenter pacem habet, et secum sentientes magis diligit, sed cum duris et peversis ac indisciplinatis aliis nobis contrariaribus pacifice posse vivere: magna est et laudabile nimis viriliquefactum* (annotation: *nota bene de Psalmo de[us] de[us], meus*); the Psalm in question is Psalm 22(21).

<sup>509</sup> Mark 15:24; Matthew 27:46.

an icon of human sin and human redemption; his pains could encapsulate a compunctious transition from pious sorrow to hope in God's mercy. In Suso's *Horologium*, for example, the compunctious pattern is evoked by consideration of the Crucifixion.<sup>510</sup> The image evokes repentant tears as the speaker considers the terrible cost of His sins; 'Pour out tears, O my eyes, weep and do not cease'.<sup>511</sup> Yet, having suffered as a man, Christ's mercy and understanding of the human condition were assured.<sup>512</sup> As in the *Fifteen Oes*, the speaker reminded himself of the mercy implied in divine suffering and the hope of redemption: 'by this paynefull anguysshe forsake not us in the anguysshes of our deth our blessed God'.<sup>513</sup> In the Sarum use, this Psalm was sung during the Palm Sunday Mass in foreshadowing of Christ's coming sacrifice.<sup>514</sup> This followed immediately the Palm Sunday Procession which culminated in the dramatic uncovering and veneration of the crucifix.<sup>515</sup> It was then followed by the recitation of the passion narrative from the Gospel of St Mark.<sup>516</sup> The reference, therefore, was lodged within a nexus of images and symbolic performances connected with the central narrative and image of Christian suffering, patience and obedience. The annotation extracts this image of persecution and re-situates the text of *Musica Ecclesiastica* within a set of familiar devotions on Christ's passion. In so doing Bale created a referential stimulus to compunctious reflection.

Devotional reading with notes mirrored the excerpting enjoined in rhetorical pedagogy. Just as a good rhetor marked out 'adages, examples and pithy remarks worth memorizing', the annotations for readers marked virtuous admonitions and material worth using in their own devotional practice. In each manuscript, the annotation took a form distinct from other marginal marks, but its

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<sup>510</sup> Suso, *Horologium Sapientiae*, book I, chapter IV.

<sup>511</sup> Ibid, sig. c3r.

<sup>512</sup> Ibid, sig. c8v.

<sup>513</sup> [anon], *Fifteen Oes* (London: William Caxton, 1494 RSTC-20195), sig. a5v; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 250.

<sup>514</sup> Francis Henry Dickinson (ed.), *Missale ad Usum Insignis et Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum* (London: Burntisland, 1867), cols. 262-263.

<sup>515</sup> The importance of this part of the service to giving the whole its symbolic resonance should not be underestimated. The Augustinian Canon of Lilleshull John Mirk (fl. C.1380-c.1420) used his Palm Sunday Sermon to discuss veneration of the cross, see Susan Powell (ed.), *John Mirk's Festial* (Oxford: EETS, 2009), 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 101.

<sup>516</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 25.

function was essentially the same. This *ordinatio* of the page gave the eye greater freedom than an unadorned text. It could roam the margins, eyes darting from the margins the text to peruse select passages.<sup>517</sup> Such free roaming allowed readers to resume devotional attitudes in subsequent devotional performances. Readers created tools that allowed them to partake of a swift recapitulation and affirmation of the *quid* and *quomodo* of compunction prior to devotional performance.

### III. The Rhetoric of Compunctious Prayer

Mimesis, in rhetorical composition, always concluded with performance. The inventor transformed their sources to fit a new context and their distinct requirements. In devotion, performance was equally important. Reading the *Imitatio* could not directly offer grace. A chasm yawned between the reader of the *Imitatio* and their putative goal that could only be bridged by an act of genuine compunction and corresponding gift of grace. Readers using rhetoric to identify the emotional content of a text would go on to use rhetoric in their private prayers. Yet rhetoric in this context possessed a troubling functional ambiguity. Rhetorical composition occupied a liminal space between emotion induction on the one hand and emotion articulation on the other. Yet rather than generating uncertainty, this ambiguity resolved questions over the genuineness of one's emotional engagement in a prayer act. By imposing a formal verbal structure on his orations, an orator 'made it look right'. Rhetoric allowed the orator to represent his devotion not only to God, but importantly to himself. Just as the rhetoric of Scripture articulated the legitimate patterns of religious emotion, so could the orator use similar rhetorical formulae to express his own.

Reading or excerpting prayers from the *Imitatio* was a common practice. The division of book three into fifty-nine chapters, with five prayers attached to

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<sup>517</sup> Paul Saenger, "Silent Reading: its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society", *Viator*, vol. 13 (1982), pp. 367-415, p. 385.

chapters III, XV, two in XXIII and another one in XXVII facilitated this use.<sup>518</sup> Annotators, both in England and on the continent, often preferred to mark first person passages from book III as prayers. In contrast to the didactic tone of books I and II, book III (excepting chapter one) was a dialogue between *Dominus* and *Filius*. Much of the book is taken up with first person singular passages addressed to God which could easily be read as prayers. Annotator-one of Lam.536 created three prayers from chapters LV, a section of LVII and from LIX.<sup>519</sup> Emma.94 did the same, marking book III, chapter XXIII (XXI) and possibly chapter LX (LV).<sup>520</sup> The practice of using the first person passages as prayers also existed in continental *incunabula* editions of the *Imitatio*. The owners of British Library, IA22785 and IA9267 inserted finding notes for their preferred prayers in the back of their books. The rear-flyleaf index of IA22785 directed the reader to chapter IV (III *oratio*) as ‘Prayer to implore the grace of God’ and chapter XVII (XV *oratio*) as ‘Prayer to bring about the pleasure of God’.<sup>521</sup> The second rear-flyleaf of IA9267 indexed chapter LV (L) as ‘A prayer for a time of war’ and the final fifteen lines of chapter LXIV (LIX) as ‘Golden prayer to be said daily’.<sup>522</sup>

Effective prayer required the use of conscious verbal strategies. Prayer composition, the so-called *ars orandi*, was governed by rhetorical rules derived

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<sup>518</sup> At least two of these prayers enjoyed an independent circulation. The prayers from chapter III and XV are found in a number of fifteenth and sixteenth century Latin prayerbooks, usually belonging to benedictine nuns. See Oxford, Keble College MS. 19, fol. 168r; see Malcom Parkes (ed.), *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College Oxford* (London: Scolar Press, 1979), pp. 57-59; Uelzen, Ebstorf Klosterbibliothek. MS. IV 15, fol. 101v; see Renate Gierman and Helmar Härtel (eds.), *Handschriften des Klosters Ebstorf* (Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 72-80; Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. C.492, fols. 7v-8r; Margarete Andersson Schmitt et al (eds.), *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1992), pp. 223-228.

<sup>519</sup> Lam.536, fols. 60v: *or[at]io pro sup[er]anda natura*, 62r: *oratio* and 63v: *oratio*.

<sup>520</sup> Emma.94, fols. 25v: *Amabilis oratio* and 67r which is more ambiguously marked: *Dixi*.

<sup>521</sup> London, British Library, IA22785, [Thomas à Kempis], *De Imitat[i]o[n]e [Christi]* (Venice: Francisci de Mediis, 1486 ISTC-[unregistered]), rear flyleaf: *Oratio ad implorandum devotionis gratiam...Oratio pro beneplacito dei perficiendo*; IA22785 used the sixty-four chapter numeration. The first of these references was to one of the designated prayers following chapter II in the fifty-nine chapter version (chapter IV here). The second was to what had been the prayer following chapter XV (chapter XVII here).

<sup>522</sup> London, British Library, IA9267, [Thomas à Kempis], *Tractatus de Ymitatione Cristi* (Ulm: Johann Zainer, 1487 ISTC-ii00013000), flyleaf: *Oratio t[em]p[or]e Martis...Oratio Aurea indies [in dies] dicenda*; An *ex libris*, in a different hand, on the title page locates the book in the Capuchin friary of Salzburg after its foundation in 1594. It is not clear if the index precedes that date.

from classical rhetoric and the medieval *artes dictaminis*.<sup>523</sup> Reading prayers involved sensitivity to form as well as content.<sup>524</sup> The rhetoric of prayer was for the orator and not for God. Almost all *artes orandi* and theories of prayer insisted that no prayer could change the mind of God, God being omniscient and changeless.<sup>525</sup> It followed that all prayers had an edificatory function. Hugh of St Victor's *De Modo Orandi*, among the most successful *Artes Orandi*, made the point succinctly:

God does not have to be informed [by prayer], so that he knows but He should be entreated so that he assents. But by no other way is God sooner swayed than if the mind of the orator is converted to a state of complete devotion to Him. Therefore, whatever the words of a prayer may be, they are not absurd if they can be competently produced to either arouse the affections to the contemplation of God or (which is better) if they show his love.<sup>526</sup>

Words cannot influence God but they can influence men; if God is moved it is by the effect of prayer in the orator and not by the words themselves. Prayer was effective, therefore, when it moved the worshipper to a particular affective state in which they were receptive to grace. The orator might aspire to various conditions, compunction among them. By virtue of its persuasive function, rhetoric was therefore the natural means for structuring prayer:

All the words I have collected here and compiled for you are taken from among powerful words composed for entreating, and

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<sup>523</sup> See below for Hugh of St Victor's borrowing from the *artes dictaminis*, n. 537; For the *artes dictaminis*, see, Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976); Carol Poster, *Letter-writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007).

<sup>524</sup> Spence, 'The Prioress's Oratio ad Mariam and Medieval Prayer Composition', p. 65.

<sup>525</sup> Rachel Fulton-Brown, 'Oratio/Prayer', in Amy Hollywood and Patricia Beckman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2012), pp. 168-177, p. 169.

<sup>526</sup> Hugh of St Victor, *De Modo Orandi*, col. 982: *Deus non necesse habet doceri ut sciat sed supplicandus est ut annuat. Sed non nullo alio modo citius Deus ad annuendum flectitur, quam si precantis animus toto devotionis affectu ad ipsum convertatur. Quaecunque ergo sunt verba orantis absurda non sunt, si tantummodo ad hoc competenter proferri possint ut vel orantis affectum ad moram Dei excitent, vel (quod amplius est) si iam amore eius flagrant, excitatum demonstrent; see also Hugh of St Victor's comments on *narratio* see below, pp. 131-132.*

even if it is not possible that the immobile and absolutely immovable God be moved by them, they still seem to me powerful and very strong in some way for preparing the person in some way for grace of devotion and gratitude towards the God of unimaginable generosity and beneficence.<sup>527</sup>

The *artes orandi* therefore, constituted a special form of reflexive rhetoric where the speaker was his own judge.

Reading or *inventio* was the precondition for this mimesis, but it was the new composition that most powerfully fired the affections.<sup>528</sup> This concern for form and function was reflected in the *artes orandi*. William of Auvergne's *Rhetorica Divina* compared the ill composed prayer to a messenger who could not walk.<sup>529</sup> In his sermon on the Lord's Prayer, the Strasbourg preacher Johann Geiler von Kaiserberg (1445-1510) gave an account of prayer that was explicitly rhetorical. He recommended processes not only of *inventio* and mimesis but also of *dispositio* and *elocutio*, while at the same time suggesting awareness of the levels of style.<sup>530</sup>

Use with Him, the enlargement of the voice. That round ring [the prayer] should be perfect not broken and polished, the words entire and the voice [apt]. If one stands, about to speak, in the sight of a prince, one chooses the words, attends to the order and speaks clearly. Why would you not do this for the Lord of Lords? Therefore, we should use the words that the

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<sup>527</sup> William of Auvergne, *William of Auvergne: Rhetorica Divina*, p. 179: *omnia verba haec quae hic aggregari tibi atque congeSSI, de verbis potentibus sunt et ad deprecandum compositis quae, et si non sit possibile per ea moveri immobilem, per omniaque immutabilem Deum, potentia tamen mihi videntur et validissima ad movendum, inquam, et praeparandum utcunque ad gratiam devotionis et gratitudinis in largitatis et beneficentiae incogitabilis Deum*; see also the argument of another rhetorician of prayer, the Cistercian abbot Gunther of Pairis (1150-1220), *De Orationis, Jejeuno et Elemosyna*, PL, vol. 212, cols.97-221, col. 105.

<sup>528</sup> See also Richard Witford, *The Pomander of Prayer* (London: Robert Copland, 1532 RSTC-25421.6), sigs B3v-B4v.

<sup>529</sup> William of Auvergne, *William of Auvergne: Rhetorica Divina*, pp. 268-269: *Nemo enim sapiens in longinquam regionem mittit nuntium qui non valeat ambulare*.

<sup>530</sup> For the doctrine of the levels of style in prayer see Rita Copeland, 'Richard Rolle & the Rhetorical Theory of the Levels of Style', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1984), pp. 55-80, passim.

Holy Spirit placed in the Psalms to [speak] to Him, we ought to pronounce them studiously and not negligently...the affection [with which a prayer will be said] is bound to the sense [of the words].<sup>531</sup>

Through assimilation and composition along systematic rhetorical lines, the orator produced an affectively powerful oration. This would be a personal, cognitive effort. It is largely inaccessible to the historian, save indirectly through the exemplars and methods outlined in various *artes*. Nevertheless, it was this graduated series of steps, from study, to composition to performance informed Annotator-one of Lam.536 and the annotator of Emma.94. When they marked out the 'orationes' at the end of Book III, they attended to matters of form and style as much as to the thematic content of the prayer.

An experienced orator, encountering chapter LV would have probably categorised it either as a *postulatio* or *supplicatio*, depending on the taxonomy being used.<sup>532</sup> They may have noted that it was arranged roughly according to the rules of William of Auvergne's *Rhetorica Divina*. If unfamiliar with that work, they would have recognised some similarities to the disposition of material prescribed in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. They likely also observed its use of a number of rhetorical techniques and amplifications to reinforce textual meaning to the speaker. It should be stressed that the prayer was not itself necessarily expected to have the emotional effects that its form implied. Rather it instanced a form that the orator might use to compose a prayer and a physical performance that would

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<sup>531</sup> Johann Geiler von Kaiserberg, *Celeberrimi Sacrarum Literarum*, sig. N5r: *s[er]u[m] ipsa vocis assidua p[ro]latio. Sit ille annulus rotu[n]d[us] p[er]fectus no[n] fract[us]/ & expolit[ur]/ verba integra et vox. Si is q[ui] stat in [con]spectu p[ri]ncipis oratur[us] v[er]b[a] co[m]ponit/ ordine[m] servat/ & rotu[n]dem loquit[ur]. Cur no[n] id faciet oratur[us] d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]nantium. Itaque verba q[uae] sp[irit]us s[an]ctus in psalmis posuit ut eis in orationibus n[ost]ris utamur/ pronunciare debem[us] studiose et no[n] neglig[en]ter...affectus...iugendus est sensui; c.f. Nicholas Watson (ed.) *Emendatio Vitae* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995), p. 50, where the English hermit Richard Rolle (1290-1349) declares that the inspired Christian attends to every word and syllable of their oration.*

<sup>532</sup> 1 Timothy 2:1 would provide the starting point for many typologies of prayer, but most commentators expanded on it considerably: *Obsecro igitur primo omnium fieri obsecrationes orationes postulationes gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus.*

effect the affective changes that advanced forms of fifteenth-century prayer required.

There was no fixed technical language of prayer composition and distinctions between terms were often little more than differences of tone.<sup>533</sup> There was after all no acknowledged genre of *Ars Orandi* with a clearly defined vocabulary. The selection of compositional approaches could be omnivorous and borrowed elements from elsewhere, including traditional rhetoric and poesis. Hugh of St Victor, for example, divided prayers according to their form and purpose into *supplicationes*, *postulationes* and *insinuationes*; he mixed devotional-Biblical language with rhetorical.<sup>534</sup> A *supplicatio* was defined as ‘an undivided petition and devout prayer’, a *postulatio* contains an ‘uncertain narration for a petition’ and an *insinuatio* implies its petition through ‘narration alone’.<sup>535</sup> In the case of chapter LV, the prayer contains both *narratio* and *petitio*, and would be a postulation. Yet Hugh subdivided postulations by tone into ‘beseeching, asking and simply demanding’, beseeching being the highest and demanding the lowest form of postulation. Beseeching he defined further as ‘when vigorous devout need impels [one] to prayers’; there were no further diagnostic criteria.<sup>536</sup> Yet even the better defined distinction between *supplicationes* and *postulationes* may have been largely notional. Hugh subdivided *supplicationes* into *captationes*, *exactiones* and *pura oratio*, which were essentially complements of *postulationes*. *Captationes* were to be said before *postulationes* as preparation, *exactiones* after and *pura oratio* was a phenomenon when the orator was suffused with the love of God and forgot their petition; they were effectively lost for words.<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>533</sup> By Abbot Isaac’s rules, for example, it would not have been a prayer (*oratio*) at all, since prayers for him were essentially vows, but rather supplication; see Cassian, *First Conference with Abbot Isaac* [Online edn. [http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z\\_0360-0435\\_\\_Cassianus\\_\\_Conference\\_Of\\_Abbot\\_Isaac\\_\[1\]\\_\\_EN.doc.html](http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z_0360-0435__Cassianus__Conference_Of_Abbot_Isaac_[1]__EN.doc.html), 9th July 2014], ch. IX.

<sup>534</sup> Insinuation recalled the indirect approach taken in the *exordium*, used when arguing a *causa turpis* and a direct handling of the material would likely not engender a judge’s good will.

<sup>535</sup> Hugh of St Victor, *De Modo Orandi*, col. 979: *Supplicatio est sine determinatione petitionis humilis et devota precatio. Postulatio est determinatae petitioni incerta narratio. Insinuatio est sine petitione per solam narrationem.*

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 980: *Quando vehementior necessitas devotius precibus insistere cogit.*

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 979-980; the use of *captatio* illustrates Hugh’s debt to the *artes dictaminis*, *captatio benevolentiae* was the second part of the correct *dispositio* of a letter, see Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, p. 206.



*Supplicationes*, therefore were short thanksgivings and framing activities for the *narratio* and *petitio* of postulations.<sup>538</sup> In many ways, Hugh's *captationes* and *exactiones* were analogous to the more explicitly rhetorical partitions of prayer that William of Auvergne used in his *dispositio*. The *Rhetorica Divina* defined prayer as a species of petition; he did not subdivide further. In addition to *exordium* before and *confirmatio*, *infirmatio* and *conclusio* after, orations all possess both *narratio* as well as *petitio*.<sup>539</sup>

All these definitions suggest that, however defined, the petition was the central compositional *res*, or characteristic that structured a prayer. In poetic *inventio*, it was the '*res*' that guided the initial act of *inventio*, determining the choice of material (*materia*), the words (*verba*), the tone (*decorum*) and the structure (*dispositio*) that would be employed.<sup>540</sup> In chapter LV, the petition may be summarised with the line 'grant me that grace which you show so great and necessary to health: that I may conquer my evil nature, which is carrying me to sin and perdition'.<sup>541</sup> The remainder of the prayer was composed around the compunctious desire for grace to purge one's sinful inclinations.

In classical rhetoric, the purpose of the *exordium* was to win the benevolence of one's judge(s); the orator sought to win their receptiveness, attention and benevolence.<sup>542</sup> One does this by discussion of three persons; the orator, the judge and one's opponents. In chapter LV, the judge is God; the opponent is human nature. Yet, owing to the inverted nature of the *artes orandi*, the speaker is also the object of persuasion. The speaker has two judges, the one

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<sup>538</sup> Hugh's fine distinction between *postulationes* and *supplicationes* was not always replicated in the work of other commentators on prayer. Aquinas, though clearly building on Hugh of St Victor's definitions, distinguished between *postulatio* and *supplicatio* but both were defined as petitions; one certain, the other uncertain. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Book II-II, Question 83, Article 17.

<sup>539</sup> William of Auvergne, *William of Auvergne: Rhetorica Divina*, pp. 32-33; In having only one form of prayer, William of Auvergne follows Origen, who espoused a five stage pattern of introduction, thanksgiving, confession, petition and conclusion for prayers, see Origen, *Libellus de Oratione*, PG, vol. 11, cols. 415-562.

<sup>540</sup> See Nims (trans.), *Poetria Nova*, p. 17; Marjorie Curry-Woods (trans.), *An Early Commentary on the Poetria Nova* (New York: Garland, 1985), pp. 18-19.

<sup>541</sup> Lam.536, fol. 60r: *co[n]cede m[i]hi ha[n]c gra[tia]m qua[m] os[te]ndisti ta[m] magna[m] & nec[essar]ia[m] ad salute[m] ut vi[n]ca[m] pessima[m] natura[m] mea[m] t[ra]hente[m] ad p[er]cc[at]a et in p[er]dic[i]o[n]e[m].*

<sup>542</sup> *Rhetorica*, I.IV.VI: *docilem, benivolam, adtentum auditorem.*

to whom he calls out ‘O Lord my God who made me in your image and likeness’, and an implied one, himself. In classical oration, the key distinction was between an honourable *causa bona* and a dishonourable *causa turpis*. Whichever best characterised the subject would determine the structure of the *exordium*.<sup>543</sup> The structures recommended by the *artes orandi* and represented in chapter LV, suggest that the orator was arguing a *causa turpis*.

The advice of classical rhetoric was that in such a case, the orator was to use an insinuating opening. They should focus on persons rather than deeds and take as concessive a line as possible.<sup>544</sup> Both Hugh of St Victor and William of Auvergne recommended an opening that dwelt on personal fault. Hugh’s prefatory *captationes* were short often fearful prayers occupying the ‘vilest place’ in the hierarchy of *supplicationes*. Though they could take the form of commendations of one’s self or another, they might also be ‘when we say anything, by which the cause or person of our enemy is disparaged in the mind of the hearer, so that when odium seems more appropriate than love’.<sup>545</sup> Hugh could have meant the devil, but in the next sentence he makes enemy plural, implying that he was actually making a more general point and drawing a comparison with classical rhetoric. The enemy, as in chapter LV, could be the orator themselves. Much the same approach is recommended by William of Auvergne:

For from no aspect of the guilty and of sinners can matter be found that can make the hearers more attentive, benevolent propitious and favourable than the humble, devout and accusing confession and complaint-filled, heaping up of miseries. But the reason for this is the immensity of the mercies of God...which it is clear to every humble and

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<sup>543</sup> Ibid, I.IV.VI.

<sup>544</sup> Ibid, I.VI.10.

<sup>545</sup> Hugh of St Victor, *De Modo Orandi*, cols. 979-980: ‘quando aliquid dicimus, per quod apud animum auditoris causa adversarii nostri sive persona deprimitur, ut odio potius quam amore digna videatur’.

believing person is most profuse and overflowing to all those in misery who desire to turn around and come back to God.<sup>546</sup>

The exordium to Chapter LV did all of these things, iterating the beneficence of the judge and stressing the speaker's slavery to the temptations of his senses, while pointedly mentioning no specific acts.<sup>547</sup> Form reinforced the sense in a way that would have been recognisable to a reader familiar with rhetoric. Someone who prayed using this extremely concessive, self abasing model began from the premise that they were personally a *causa turpis*. Their subsequent performance would demand a corresponding attitude of humility.

This process of converting the speaker to an attitude of humility continued with the self-abasement used in the *narratio*. *Narrationes* in the *artes orandi* functioned quite differently to those of classical rhetoric. Cicero's *De inventione* described *narratio* as a brief, clear and plausible account of events to make hearers remember, understand and believe what was said. It was to be as short as possible, with no or little digression.<sup>548</sup> In prayer, by contrast, the *narratio* was a meditative segment that allowed an orator to better consider his petition. For this purpose, it needed neither brevity nor to be free from digression. Chapter LV, for example, breaks the rule espoused by the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, that the *narratio* should not begin at the remotest origin.<sup>549</sup> It begins the consideration of the weakness of human will with the Fall of Adam.<sup>550</sup> For Hugh of St Victor, it was an optional extra continue the task of cultivating devotion in the speaker:

the narration of a prayer is unnecessary unless perhaps a man speaks to this purpose, that he himself may understand his

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<sup>546</sup> William of Auvergne, *William of Auvergne: Rhetorica Divina*, pp. 50-51: *Nulla enim ex parte reorum et peccatorum inveniri potest materia quae magis attentos benevolos propitiosque et favorabilis efficere valeat auditores quam miseriam humilis, devota et accusatrix confessio et querulosa exaggeratio. Causa autem in hoc est immensitas misericordiae clementissimi iudicis Dei...quam consolat omni fideli et eruditio in omnes miseros qui ad Deum converti.*

<sup>547</sup> Lam.536, fol. 60v: *D[om]i[n]e d[e]u[s] m[e]u[s] q[ui] me creasti ad ymagine[m] et si[m]ilitudine[m] tua[m]... Se[n]cio en[im] i[n] carne mea lege[m] p[er]cc[at]i [con]t[ra]dice[n]te[m] legi m[en]tis m[ea]e & captiuu[m] me duce[n]te[m].*

<sup>548</sup> *De inventione* I.XX.XXVIII; c.f. *Rhetorica*, I.VIII.XIV.

<sup>549</sup> *Rhetorica*, I.VIII.XV.

<sup>550</sup> Lam.536, fol. 60r: *Na[m] per p[ri]mu[m] ho[m]i[n]e[m] ada[m] lapsa & viciata per p[er]cc[at]u[m].*

petition, so that through his narration he may consider the advice that he desires and through consideration of his petition he may burn with devotion.<sup>551</sup>

Hugh did not specify the content of a *narratio*. Yet in discussing species of *insinuatio*, prayers that consisted only of *narratio*, he hinted at their affective purpose. Each species of *narratio* was governed by a particular emotion; his examples are fear, confidence or contempt.<sup>552</sup> For William of Auvergne, the *narratio* was to be expressly penitential, continuing the self-abasement begun in the *exordium*:

it is evident that it is most salutary and necessary for those who seek mercy not only to show but to shout their miseries into the ears of God, who most generously bestows mercy, and to exaggerate and make them worse to the extent that truth and conscience permit and tolerate.<sup>553</sup>

Chapter LV continued in this exaggerated vein.<sup>554</sup> The *narratio* proceeded as a short meditation on the fallen-ness of human nature and the division between healthy reason and natural, sinful inclinations. More notable is the second half of the *narratio*, which took the form of a self-examination borrowing heavily from the second half of Paul's letter to the Romans. This passage was written as a kind of *periphrasis* or *circumlocutio*, emphasising its meditative function. A series of sentences, each possessed of a similar meaning, draw out a simple statement that the speaker cannot perform any good deed without the inspiration of divine

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<sup>551</sup> Hugh of St Victor, *De Modo Orandi*, col. 982: *narratio necessaria non est nisi forte homo ad hoc narret, ut ipse suam petitionem melius intelligat ut et per narrationem suam admonitus quid petat consideret, et per considerationem petitionis suae excitatus non devotius oret.*

<sup>552</sup> Ibid, col. 981, contempt in this case is very much the contempt of self.

<sup>553</sup> William of Auvergne, *William of Auvergne: Rhetorica Divina*, pp. 52-53: *manifestum est misericordiam petentibus saluberrimus ac necessarium esse miseras suas non solum ostendere, sed etiam clamare in aures miseratoris largissimi Dei exaggere eas atque aggravare, quantum veritas et conscientia permittit et patitur; c.f. Gerson's doctrine of consolation, see above, p. 35.*

<sup>554</sup> Exaggeration was also a trope recommended by Gerson in his *Consolatione Theologiae*, see p. 232: *Accusatus inter talia reus non defensoris sed accusatoris. Testis et iudicii in se partes agit, exaggerans quantum potest.*

grace.<sup>555</sup> This form of amplification was a means of lengthening a thought so that it might be less easily passed over by a listener.<sup>556</sup> Here, it reinforced the exaggeratedly negative self-representation that these lines imply and the sense of separation they were intended to instil. Romans 7 had been used, before the fourteenth-century, to express the tension between reason and nature active in the experience of the baptized Christian. Sinful impulses continued to assail the spirit, but the regenerate Christian resisted them.<sup>557</sup> However, the Franciscan theologian and exegete, Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1349), reinterpreted the passage in his influential Bible Commentary.<sup>558</sup> Paul now spoke as if he were unregenerate or lapsed.<sup>559</sup> Taking on the 'I' of this passage implied that the orator spoke with the voice of someone without the grace of baptism. His sinful state was so egregious, it warranted comparison with that of an unbeliever. The *narratio* of chapter LV gave the orator a space to undergo a brief, exaggerated rite of psychological despair. This cognitive desperation would be subsequently resolved with the *petitio* and its cathartic emphasis on the power of grace.

There was no theory or formula of *petitio* to be borrowed from the *Artes Dictaminis*.<sup>560</sup> Typically the *ars dictaminis* justified this by the great variety of petitions, that no one compositional formula would be appropriate for all.<sup>561</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> Lam.536, fol. 60r: *eo q[uod] mot[us] ei[us] s[ibi] relictus ad malu[m] et i[n]feriora trahit. Na[m] modica vis quae remansit e[st] tanq[uam] scintilla quaedam late[n]s in cin[er]e. H[a]ec e[st] ip[s]a r[at]io naturalis c[ir]cu[m]fusa mag[na] caligi[n]e adhuc iudiciu[m] h[abe]ns boni et mali. veri falsiq[ue] distancia[m] licet i[m]pote[n]s sit adi[m]pler[e] o[mn]e q[uod] approbat. nec pleno ia[m] lu[m]ine v[er]itatis nec sanitate affectionu[m] suar[um] pociatur.*

<sup>556</sup> See Nims (trans.), *Poetria Nova*, p. 24: 'Since a word...passes swiftly through the ears, a step onward is taken when an expression made up of a long and leisurely sequence of sounds is substituted for the word.'

<sup>557</sup> Most commentaries followed Augustine, *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos*, PL, vol. 35, cols. 2063-2088, col. 2072.

<sup>558</sup> Philip Krey, 'Nicholas of Lyra's Romans Commentary of 1329', in Philip Krey and Janette Smith (eds.), *Nicholas Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 255, n. 14.

<sup>559</sup> Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, 1488 ISTC-ii00010000) [online edn. <http://www.umilta.net/nicholalyra.html> accessed 10th March 2015], sig. Q10r, commentary on Romans 14: *Et loquitur apostolus ut s[i] dictum est in persona generis lapsi.*

<sup>560</sup> James Murphy, *Medieval Rhetoric: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 225.

<sup>561</sup> The *Rationes Dictandi*, by an anonymous Bolognese writer, simply listed nine kinds of tone that could be used according to the the recipient, see Murphy, *Three Medieval Rhetorical arts*, pp. 16-17; Adalbertus Samaritanus, a twelfth century secular teacher of Bologna, typologised petitions according to whether the recipient was higher, equal or lower than the sender. A higher degree of flattery was necessary in letters sent to social superiors, see Adalbertus Samaritanus, *Praecepta*

There is a corresponding lack of detail in the *artes orandi*. Hugh of St Victor differentiates certain and uncertain petitions, but does not go beyond stating the necessity that the emotion with which they are performed should match the nature of the petition.<sup>562</sup> William of Auvergne specifies that the *petitio* is useful for ‘producing faith about obtaining what is asked and for strengthening the confidence of obtaining it’.<sup>563</sup> So saying, William implied that a prayer composed according to his rules would abruptly shift its verbal and emotional tone. Exaggerated self-deprecation of compunction would turn to assurance of divine mercy. The remainder of Chapter LV appears to have followed William’s implied transformation in the tone and emotional content. It has an effusive tone, using rhetorical *amplificatio* more abundantly than the *narratio*.<sup>564</sup> The *petitio* and *peroration* also demonstrate most clearly that the annotator was engaging in an act of *inventio*. Annotator-one marked two rhetorical *figurae* and in one case used rhetorical terminology to tag a particular effect.

The *petitio* was key to ‘producing faith’. In Aristotelian rhetoric there were only two ways of producing belief (or confidence). An orator could prove a point either by syllogism or induction, through using examples.<sup>565</sup> Alongside amplification, which dilated and emphasised the matter, this system of proof was employed in the *petitio*. The *petitio* comprised two apostrophes of grace.<sup>566</sup> Literally ‘turning aside’, apostrophe was usually characterised by medieval critics as another form of delaying or drawing out a thought.<sup>567</sup> It derives its emotive

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*Dictamen* in Franz-Josef Schmate (ed.), *Adalbertus Samaritanus Praecepta Dictaminum* (Weimar: Hermann Nachfolger, 1961), pp. 33-34.

<sup>562</sup> Hugh of St Victor, *De Modo Orandi*, cols. 979 and 983: *Similiter quando de nostra miseria coram eo orantes agimus, quaecunque sint verba, quantumcunque prolixa quid in his cor nostrum dicit nisi hoc unum, quod confitemur nos misericordiam eius quaerere, et in eo omnem fiduciam nostrum collocare? Quae devotio quanto humiliati propinquior, tanto est Deo acceptibilior.*

<sup>563</sup> William of Auvergne, *William of Auvergne: Rhetorica Divina*, pp. 52-53: *ad faciendum fidem de impetrando quod petitur et ad firmandum fiduciam obtenendi.*

<sup>564</sup> There is a school of thought that the *narratio* is not the place for amplification; classical rhetoric manuals prescribed brevity and clarity. However, given the meditative function of the *narratio* in the *artes orandi*, there is no reason to assume that this was not a conscious compositional decision.

<sup>565</sup> Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I.II; see also *De Inventione* I.XXXIV.LVII-I.XXX.LXVII; see also above pp. 112-113.

<sup>566</sup> Lam. 536, fol. 60v: the first beginning, *O vere caelestis gr[ati]a. sine qua nulla su[n]t p[ro]p[ri]a m[er]ita. nulla q[uo]q[ue] dona naturae po[n]dera[n]da*, the second beginning, *O b[eat]issim[is] gr[at]ia quae paupere[m] sp[irit]u[m] v[ir]tutib[us] diuite[m] facis.*

<sup>567</sup> This is especially true of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, see Nims (trans.), *Poetria Nova*, pp. 25-26; see also his *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* in Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XIIIe*

force by shifting from a third person or first person speech to a second person address.<sup>568</sup> The prayer only does this once, in the second apostrophe.<sup>569</sup> Yet in the first apostrophe the prayer fulfils the ‘turning aside’ criterion by shifting the address from God to a personified grace through the vocative openings. The use of apostrophe is probably a self-conscious mimesis of Scripture.<sup>570</sup> It was a trope for rousing listeners to pity or indignation.<sup>571</sup> In this case the first apostrophe encourages an attitude of dependence of grace, or, more simply, faith. At the heart of this section, and marked by annotator-one, with a plain ‘no[ta]’, was an enthymeme, with the predicable (‘No arts, no riches,...have any value...without grace’) and the supplement (‘For the gifts of nature are given to good men and bad alike...you choose [those worthy] of life eternal’).<sup>572</sup> Strengthened with a punchy *repetitio* of the words *nulla* and *nihil*, all merit - and therefore all salvation - was represented as contingent on grace.<sup>573</sup> Having broken down the orator’s belief in his own ability to merit salvation, the prayer proceed to make the same logical judgement that underpinned the Gersonian model of compunctious consolation. The heartfelt apprehension that all hope for salvation rested on the mercy of God was the first step to receiving these gifts and the consolation that followed.

Following the Aristotelian advice about the *dispositio* of a rhetorical composition, the prayer then follows up the enthymematic statement with

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*et du XIIIe siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge* (Paris: É. Champion, 1884), pp. 72-73 and 275-6.

<sup>568</sup> See the comments of the twelfth-century Bolognese benedictine Alberic of Monte Cassino in his *Flores Rhetorici*, the founding text of the *Artes Dictaminis*, in John Miller et al (trans.), *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), pp. 131-162, p. 159.

<sup>569</sup> Lam.536, fol. 60v.

<sup>570</sup> There are numerous examples of this device in Scripture, Cassiodorus (c.485-c.585) for example noted apostrophe in his commentary on the Psalms, though he made little of the observation, see Cassiodorus, *In Psalterium Expositio*, commentary on Psalms 46(45), 21(20) and 50(49).

<sup>571</sup> *Rhetorica*, IV.XV.XXI-XV.XXII; Alan of Lille recommended it in his influential *ars praedicandi* as a means of rousing the auditors of sermons to disgust at sin; see Alan of Lille, *Summe de Arte Praedicatoria*, PL, vol. 210, cols. 109-198, col. 116.

<sup>572</sup> Lam.536: 60v: *Nichil artes. nihil divici[a]e. nichil pulc[hri]tudo [vel] fortitudo. nihil i[n]geniu[m] [vel] eloq[ue]ncia vale[n]t apud te d[omi]ne sine gr[ati]a. Na[m] dona natur[a]e bonis et malis su[n]t co[m]munia. elec[t]o[r]um a[utem] p[ro]p[ri]u[m] donu[m] e[st] gr[ati]a sive dilectio qua i[n]signiti digni h[abe]nt[ur] vita et[er]na.*

<sup>573</sup> *Repetitio* itself was characterised as an emotionally charged technique; see Alberic of Monte Cassino in John Miller et al (trans.), *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric*, pp. 143-145; see also Matthew of Vendome’s *Ars Versificatoria*, where most of the *figurae* are forms of *repetitio*, translated and printed in Rita Copeland et al (trans.), *Medieval Rhetoric and Grammar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 559-572.

examples of the confidence that could and should be placed in divine mercy.<sup>574</sup> The selection of scriptural examples delineated the emotional transformation that the orator underwent as a result of prayer. The persuasive form used was similar to the classical device of reminding the judges of previous favourable judgements.<sup>575</sup> Hugh of St Victor described the trope as *commemoratio*; ‘from commemoration of good things [from God] arises delight’.<sup>576</sup> The choice of Psalm 90:14, ‘Come, descend on me and fill me this morning with your consolation’, dramatically emphasised the transition. Lyra’s commentary connected this passage allegorically to the rescue of Israel from Pharaoh’s army and Augustine’s exposition held it a metaphor for the ‘dawning’ of grace in the heart.<sup>577</sup> In the quotation of 2 Cor 12:9, ‘I pray, O Lord, that I shall find grace in your eyes, indeed your grace is sufficient for me’ Paul spoke no longer as the archetype of the faithless, but with the voice of the elect.<sup>578</sup> Likewise, Psalm 23:4, ‘Even if I have been tempted and troubled with many tribulations, I shall fear no evil’, was understood to refer to God’s protection of His faithful.<sup>579</sup> The selection of biblical material was quite specifically calculated to ‘strengthen faith of receiving’ and ‘delight’ the orator in contrast to the humble sorrow that prevailed in the narratio.

The prayer rises to a rhetorical crescendo in the peroration. Here annotator-one marks an asyndetic pronomination of grace, with the tag ‘grace

<sup>574</sup> Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II.XXV: ‘If we can argue by Enthymeme, we should use our Examples as subsequent supplementary evidence. They should not precede the Enthymemes: that will give the argument an inductive air, which only rarely suits the conditions of speech-making’.

<sup>575</sup> *Rhetorica*, I.V.VIII.

<sup>576</sup> Hugh of St Victor, *De Modo Orandi*, col. 985: *ex commemoratione bonitatis surgit dilectione*.

<sup>577</sup> Lam.536, 60r-v: *veni desce[n]de ad me. reple me mane [con]solatione tua*; Psalm 90(89):14: *Repleti sumus mane misericordia tua; et exultavimus, et delectati sumus omnibus diebus nostris*; Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla Super Psalterium* (Paris: Ulrich Gering, 1483 ISTC-io00048800), sig. [2]B5r: *submersit dominus exercitum egyptio[rum] in mare rubro...h[ic] fuit factu[m] i[n] vigilia matuti[n]a.*

<sup>578</sup> Lam.536, fol. 60v: *Obsecro d[om]i[n]e ut invenia[m] gratia[m] in ocul[is] tuis. sufficit e[n]i[m] m[ihi] gr[at]ia tua*; 2 Cor 12:9 *et dixit mihi: Sufficit tibi gratia mea: nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur*; Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, 1488 ISTC-io00048800) [online edn. <http://www.umilta.net/NL5.pdf> accessed 5th March 2015], sig. X3r: speaking with the voice of the Holy Spirit, *no[n] e[st] necessariu[m] vel vitale q[ui] a te discedat i[n]firmitas corp[or]al[is] vel secu[n]du[m] alios te[n]tat[i]o[n]es carnis. Quia gr[at]ia mea qua[m] h[ab]es e[st] tibi ita vigorosa ut absque i[m]patie[n]tia i[n]firmitas tolerari possit te[n]tatio sup[er]ari.*

<sup>579</sup> Lam.536, fol. 60v: *Si fu[er]o te[m]ptat[us] & vexatus tribulatio[n]ib[us] m[u]lt[is]: no[n] ti[m]ebo mala du[m] mecu[m] fu[er]it gr[at]ia tua*; Psalm 23(22):4 ‘*non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es*’; Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1492 ISTC-[unregistered]) [online edn. <http://www.umilta.net/NL2.pdf> accessed 5th March 2015], sig. k3v: *In Psalmo iste nouus deo regratia[n]do narrat qu[omodo] ad vita eterna deducit[ur].*



described'.<sup>580</sup> The mark itself is significant as 'description' was among the rhetorical 'figures of thought' listed by the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. In its forensic context, it deals with vivid conjurations, generally of hypothetical situations, designed to rouse auditors to pity or indignation.<sup>581</sup> In this context, however, the pronomination is the key trope, and the aim appears to have been to conjure a vivid image of divine beneficence.<sup>582</sup> Asyndeton was used to confer animation onto the image and *homoeoptoton* (similar sounding endings) polish.<sup>583</sup> The prayer concluded with the Collect for the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity. The choice of a liturgical passage completed the orator's transition from sadness to confident delight in God. The passage recalled his membership of the universal Church and participation in the infinite grace to be had through the communal worship of the Church.

Like the tears of compunction, the rhetoric of compunction provided the orator with a symbol of genuine affective response. The prayer's shift in tone between the plain *narratio* and the amplified *petitio* strongly recalled the formulaic emotional shift associated with the doctrine of compunction. Compunction was a corporeal passion. Its honest performance required a bodily expression of interior pain and repentance. Tears, above all else, were thought to express the emotional distress of compunction most genuinely.<sup>584</sup> Thus, chapter LV implicitly narrated a somatic ritual. The words represented an emotional

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<sup>580</sup> Lam.536, fol. 60v: *gr[at]ia descripti[on]e*.

<sup>581</sup> *Rhetorica*, IV.XXXIX.LI.

<sup>582</sup> Lam. 536, fol. 60v-61r: *doctrix discipli[na]e. lume[n] cordis. solamen pressur[a]e, fugatrix tristiti[ae]. ablatrix t[ri]m[or]is. nutrix devocio[n]is. p[ro]ductrix lac[ri]ma[rum]*; The *Rhetorica* suggested that pronomination, that is the use of 'adventitious epithets' was useful for praising elegantly.

<sup>583</sup> *Rhetorica*, IV.XX.XXVIII.

<sup>584</sup> For a number of commentators, this bodily experience was the means by which behavioural change was achieved. Physical excretions changed the humoral balance of the body. John Climacus argued that the moisture leaving the body by tears would reduce the moisture available in the body for the production of semen. Copious and repeated weeping protected monks from their baser nature, see Brown, *Body and Society*, p. 238; see also the arguments concerning compunction and catharsis in See Patrick Gallacher, 'Food, Laxatives and Catharsis in Chaucer's Nun's Priests Tale', *Speculum*, 51, no. 1 (1976), pp. 57-58; Hugh of Folieto, *De Medicina Animae*, PL, vol. 176, cols. 1183-1202, col. 1197 connects purgation of guilt in confession with a healthy sweat; Notably, Hildegard of Bingen connected weeping with the drying effect of the Holy Spirit in the Body, see *Liber Divinorum Operum*, PL, vol. 197, cols. 739-1038, col. 832; c.f. Nagy, *Le don des larmes*, pp. 95-101 see also the longer description of compunction above pp. 35-37.

narrative that would be actualised in bodily communication. The orator's weeping would symbolise his experience of a culturally constituted model for emotional performance. Even solitary rituals, such as private prayers, are fundamentally communicative and performances to an audience. All took place under the omniscient eye of God. The orator aware of divine immanence would scrutinise his own ritual performance to ensure that it adhered to a socially communicated standard.<sup>585</sup> The reader perceived that he or she was perceived and responded with a received programme of gestures. Doing so displayed through one's body (and soul) that the orator was a 'properly desiring subject'.<sup>586</sup>

Tears and rhetoric were not simple signs, as both were human forms of communication, hence both could deceive.<sup>587</sup> Both were merely human forms of communication, yet both were also ascribed considerable redemptive power.<sup>588</sup> It is telling that William of Auvergne combined the two in *Rhetorica Divina*. Tears of compunction were a kind of gestural rhetoric. Indeed, they were the most potent device available to the Christian orator as paradoxically they could move the immovable:

Tearful Prayer...is not only pleasing and pleasant to God, but even violent toward him, since even the omnipotence of the creator, who is entirely invincible, necessarily has to yield and surrender to it in defeat.<sup>589</sup>

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<sup>585</sup> Lee, 'Making it Look Right', p. 129.

<sup>586</sup> Taken from Gary Kuchar, *Divine Rhetoric* (Pittsburgh: Duchesne University Press, 2005), p. 2 and passim, by this is meant little more than an intense desire to serve and experience God, irrespective of the form that this desire ultimately takes; see Paul Ricoeur, 'The Logic of Jesus and the Logic of God', in Mark Wallace (ed.), *Figuring the Sacred* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), pp. 279-289, passim; George Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), p. 261.

<sup>587</sup> For a discussion of the sincerity in weeping ritual tears see Gary Ebersole, 'The Function of Ritual Weeping Revisited', *History of Religions*, vol. 39 (1993), pp. 211-246, passim; see also Lyn Blanchfield, 'Considerations of Weeping and Sincerity in the Middle Ages', in Elina Gertsman, *Crying in the Middle Ages* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp. xxi-xxx.

<sup>588</sup> Deborah Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 48.

<sup>589</sup> William of Auvergne, *William of Auvergne: Rhetorica Divina*, pp. 200-201: *Lacrimarum igitur placito est Deo, immo etiam violentia in ipsum, cum ei cedere vel succumbere necesse habeat invincibilis usque quaque omnipotens creatoris victa*; this sentiment is present in the *Imitatio*, see *Imitatio*, III.XXI: *Ecce adsum; ecce ego ad te: quia invocasti me. Lacrimae tuae et desiderium animae tuae: humiliatio tua et contritio cordis inclinaverunt me et adduxerunt ad te.*

William compounded this paradox, also describing tears as an effect of grace; man should ask God for that which deters His wrath. For William, tears were God speaking to himself. They were signs of a correct or 'fitting' experience of God.<sup>590</sup> An analogous circularity existed in rhetoric. In many ways rhetoric, as a tool for moving the emotions, was the natural complement of a theology of prayer that represented affect as prior to grace. However, the persuasive force of rhetoric sat uneasily with the doctrine of grace. A purely human art could never be ascribed the power to render men acceptable to God.<sup>591</sup> An orator might use rhetoric in prayer, but if rhetoric alone could convert a man to religion, then religion would be no greater than any other aesthetic conviction.<sup>592</sup> Augustine had defended rhetoric. However, his defence was qualified; rhetoric could move an orator's will to do what they knew already to be right, but it could not instil faith.<sup>593</sup> Yet the prayer of chapter LV pre-empts or simulates grace, representing it as a rhetorical formula, as part of the model available for mimesis. This may not have been so very problematic. It was, after all, grace that made a preacher eloquent.<sup>594</sup> Nevertheless, it is by the human art of rhetoric that the spiritual change is made apprehensible.

The fifteenth-century solution to the problem of stimulating compunction resonates with William Reddy's theory of the 'emotive'.<sup>595</sup> Reddy argued that short, first person emotional claims can function as performative instruments for intensifying changing and building emotional feeling. Such claims communicate a social idea of an emotion, and by eliciting responses from interlocutors these statements structure one's relations with others. In solitary prayer, the orator was the judge of the sincerity of his affective performance. Prayer-rhetoric was not self-deception. It structured the ritual actor's relations with the omniscient God.

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<sup>590</sup> For emotions as 'fitting' a cultural script see Blanchfield, 'Considerations of Weeping', pp. xxvi-xxvii; Barbara Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review*, vol. 107 (1999), pp. 821-857, passim.

<sup>591</sup> See Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric*, p. 48.

<sup>592</sup> Rita Copeland, 'Secular and Sacred: The History of Rhetoric and Religious Community', in Lawrence Besserman (ed.), *Secular and Sacred: The History of Rhetoric and Religious Community* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), pp. 135-148, p. 138.

<sup>593</sup> Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric*, p. 48.

<sup>594</sup> Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>595</sup> Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 105ff.

That rhetoric was formulaic does not imply it was insincere. Emotions are always understood and interpreted within systems of cultural signs and practices.<sup>596</sup> Ritual makes use of the communicative equipment available to a society to provide models for being to their participants. Rituals create genuine emotions precisely because they are formulaic; they are the context in which authentic emotions are understood to happen.<sup>597</sup> Scriptural and devotional models of emotion were couched in rhetoric; it was through rhetoric that they could be imitated in the orator. The purpose rhetoric served here, was as a model for 'making it look right'.<sup>598</sup> In such solitary rituals the orator could only guess at the judgement of God; his own judgement would ultimately come from his ability to fulfil the received criteria for a proper performance. These criteria would be culturally constituted but subjectively understood. As tears were both the movers of, and yet moved by, grace, so rhetoric, for the Latin orator of the fifteenth-century, was a tool for eliciting and expressing a relationship with God. It enabled him to navigate the inchoate ontological experience of affective devotion and produce an emotionally satisfactory act of prayer. What the marks of annotator-one's *inventio* suggest is that rhetoric provided him with the cognitive matrix within which he experienced God's presence. It was both how he communicated with God and how he expressed the effect of that communication on himself. The Holy Spirit was a rhetor acting within him.

#### IV. Reading and Prayer in the Chambers of Fifteenth-Century London Priests

*Inventio* anticipated an embodied application of the invented material and its location in space. The *ordinatio* created by annotation suggests some of the ways in which parts of a chamber were integrated into acts of devotional *inventio* and subsequent acts of prayer. Locating the act of reading and praying, of *inventio*

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<sup>596</sup> Arlie Hochschild, 'Emotion Work, Feeling-Rules and Social Structure', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 85 (1979), pp. 551-575, passim; Michelle Rosaldo, 'Towards an Anthropology of the Self and Feeling', in Richard Schweder and Robert Devine (eds.), *Culture Theory: Essays on the Mind, Nature and the Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 137-157, p. 140; Rosenwein, 'Emotion Words', pp. 93-96.

<sup>597</sup> Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 94-97.

<sup>598</sup> Lee, 'Making it Look Right', passim.

and mimesis is necessarily conjectural; nevertheless some conclusions can be drawn from the contents of priests' homes. Priests read and conducted their private devotions in their chambers and so contended with constraints upon their privacy and their time for private prayer. Chambers were shared spaces and particularly vulnerable to distractions such as street noise, and priests also had liturgical duties to attend to. Briefly, the act of praying involved a sequence of actions that transformed the foci and orientations of the space of the chamber. The sequence of *inventio* and mimesis imposed an order on the movements that orientated the orator in relation to the assemblage of objects in the room. As one action ended and another began, different features of the room became functionally and symbolically salient to that action while others receded.<sup>599</sup> From a reading act that required light and the apprehension of exterior stimuli, the priest-reader turned progressively inwards, to an imaginative, compositional and performative prayer-act. In some cases, this sequence may have culminated in the visualisation of the Church triumphant through contemplation of the ubiquitous image of St John's head. Through spatialization it is possible to come to a reconstruction of a practice that most likely existed but which has left few traces.

What inventories of London priests survive, suggest that the chamber, rather than a private closet or study, was the key site of private devotions. Few fifteenth-century priests' wills or probate inventories record a closet.<sup>600</sup> By contrast, several London Priests had chambers containing an alabaster St John's head or religious texts.<sup>601</sup> This is significant for the practice of piety because these chambers were almost never a solitary space. Fifteenth century London priests

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<sup>599</sup> de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 98-99.

<sup>600</sup> This does not rule out the presence of such rooms, it may reflect only that at the time of the survey there was either nothing there or that the value of goods therein was negligible; The probate inventory of John Mowbray, parish priest of St Nicholas Cole Abbey, (1496), TNA, Prob2/119 records a closet, but the space was filled almost exclusively with textiles and is strongly suggestive of an airing cupboard.

<sup>601</sup> For St John's heads see John Mowbray, TNA, Prob2/119; John Veysy, parson of St James Garlickhythe, (1492), TNA, Prob 2/53, m. 2; The will of Thomas Nelson bequeathed an alabaster St John's head to the wife of Richard Avery, the bequests that precede and follow it, a mass-book to use in the recipient's chamber, and a featherbed, suggest that it may have been in his chamber; see Ida Darlington (ed.), *London Consistory Court Wills* (London: London Record Society, 1967), p. 24. John Mowbray, TNA, Prob2/119 had several religious texts in his chamber along with a holy-water stoup; William Atce, petty canon of St Paul's Cathedral, (1492), TNA, Prob2/61, kept several liturgical books in his chamber.

tended to share their chamber with at least one servant.<sup>602</sup> Even if closets or a studies were available, their function as reading spaces interfered with their function as private spaces. Owing to the need for natural light, such rooms almost always projected out from the house over streets and thoroughfares.<sup>603</sup> This seems to have been the arrangement in the medieval tenements at 16 Cornhill, 47-48 Fenchurch Street, 28 Pudding Lane and 23-25 Abchurch Lane.<sup>604</sup> If a chamber had windows with many lights, these tended to face onto the street.<sup>605</sup> London custom required that any windows looking over other properties be at least sixteen feet off the ground and covered in some way, so that the owners could not look into the private business of their neighbours.<sup>606</sup> Closets and chambers may well have projected over public spaces so as to avoid litigation of the sort recorded in the calendars of the London Assize of Nuisances.<sup>607</sup> This suggests that Londoners, when it came to reading, preferred cheap daylight over silence.<sup>608</sup> The private devotions of fifteenth-century city-dwellers were performances susceptible to being seen or heard by others. Equally, they probably took place in settings where the outside world was equally present, whether by sight or by hearing. There might even have

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<sup>602</sup> John Mowbray, TNA, Prob2/119, had a chamber with two featherbeds; John Veysy, TNA, Prob 2/53, m. 1, had two featherbeds in his chamber; William Atce, TNA, Prob2/61, his inventory records two beds, but does not specify what room they were in; John Ostewyck, parish priest of St Magnus the Martyr (1495) TNA, Prob 2/96, had a featherbed and a mattress in his chamber. In the case of Robert Knight, parson of St Michael's Woodstreet, his will records a featherbed and another bed, but since the servant in question was a maid, she presumably slept in the Hall; see Darlington (ed.), *London Consistory Court Wills*, p. 22.

<sup>603</sup> John Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell* (London: London Topographical Society, 1987), p. 21; The surveys of Ralph Treswell were conducted for Christ's Hospital in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Many of the properties recorded were fourteenth and fifteenth century builds. Though room use and the internal layout may have changed, the floorplans and descriptions of upper floors provide an invaluable guide from which tentative conclusions may be drawn, see John Schofield, *London Medieval Houses* (London: Museum of London, 2003), passim; John Schofield and Alan Vince, *Medieval Towns* (London: Equinox, 2003), p. 88.

<sup>604</sup> Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, pp. 31, 65, 72, 110.

<sup>605</sup> As in the wealden arrangement popular in south-eastern England, where chamber windows were usually set into jettied upper storeys at the bay ends, either side of a central hall, along the frontage with the street; see Anthony Quiney, *Town Houses of Medieval Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 242-244.

<sup>606</sup> Schofield, *London Medieval Houses*, p. 106.

<sup>607</sup> See Helena Chew and William Kellaway (eds.), *London Assize of Nuisance 1301-1431, a Calendar* (London: London Record Society, 1973) [online edn. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol10/pp163-183>, accessed 7<sup>th</sup> May 2015], Case Nos. 623, 635, 642, 644, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652 and 654 for a selection of cases between 1380 and 1426.

<sup>608</sup> This is apparently in stark contrast to the scholars of Erasmus's parodic *Ciceronianus*, Desiderius Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, DEROO, ordo. I-2, pp. 612-613.

been an element of pious display involved. In an exceptional case, the canon William Atce appears to have kept this paraphernalia of private devotion in his parlour. There he had a tester and selour with no bed, but rather a 'cupboard with a deske' and 'a cloth for a saint John's head'.<sup>609</sup> This suggests that he could create curtained closet within his parlour.<sup>610</sup> If the room were used, at other times, for entertaining, then his devotional booth would be visible.

The importance of lighting becomes apparent when considering the times of day when these devotions were practised. There are hints from the annotations that *Musica Ecclesiastica* was used in the morning. Among the most heavily annotated chapters (nine annotators marked it, which is as many as took an interest in any other chapter) was book I chapter XIX, 'Of the Exercises of a good Religious'.<sup>611</sup> This chapter discussed daily activities and divided them up into morning and evening practices:

If you cannot continue your recollection, you should in all events try to do so now and then and at least once a day, in the morning or the evening. In the morning set out what you are going to do and in the evening condemn your ways, what you have to done today in word, work and thought, because perhaps in these you often offended man and God.<sup>612</sup>

Among the more heavily marked passages of this chapter was the short morning-prayer: 'Help me, oh Lord God, in my good intention and your holy service: and give me now, today, perfectly to begin, for hitherto I have accomplished nothing'.<sup>613</sup>

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<sup>609</sup> TNA, Prob 2/61, m. 2.

<sup>610</sup> Presumably similar to the curtained cubicle in which St Jerome is depicted in fifteenth-century Great Bible of Henry V, see London, British Library, Royal MS. 1 E IX, fol. 165v.

<sup>611</sup> Bod.632, fol. 117r; Bruss.135, fol. 10r; Lam.475, fol. 12v; Lam.536, fol. 12r; Laud.215, fol. 10v; Mag.93, fol. 272v; Seld.93, fol. 18v-19v; St John.56, fols. 21v-22v; Roy.vii, fol. 153r; In Dig.37, the chapter is titled 'the exercises of a good monk [*monachi*]'.  
<sup>612</sup> *Imitatio*, I.XIX: *Si non continue te vales colligere; saltem interdum et ad minus semel in die: mane videlicet aut vespere. Mane propone, vespere discute mores tuos, qualis hodie fuisti in verbo, opere et cogitatione: quia in his saepius forsitan Deum offendisti et proximum; Kempis appears to have been channelling William of St Thierry, Epistola aurea, col. 326: Mane, praeteritae noctis fac a temetipso exactionem, et venturae diei tu tibi indicito cautionem. Vespere, diei praeteritate rationem exige, et supervenientis noctis fac indictionem.*

<sup>613</sup> Bod.632, fol. 117r; Bruss.135, fol. 10r; Lam.475, fol. 12v; Lam.536, fol. 12r; Seld.93, fol. 18v; This prayer rarely has any variants.

The reader of Bruss.135 emphasised the repetitious ritual drive of this admonition, paraphrasing the text, he wrote 'Every day renew this proposition'. Seld.93 emphatically marked this command with the words, 'note, note well and note'. Though this evidence does not admit of a precise interpretation, the idea of a regular and particularly morning activity evidently held a powerful appeal for the annotators. Morning devotions would fit well with the evidence of Londoner's preference for reading by daylight rather than candle-light, inasmuch as artificial light could be dispensed with during the summer months.<sup>614</sup> Morning use would also follow daily rhythms of waking and rising, locating the reader in the room where books were habitually stored.

A pattern of salience emerges here. Assuming he was a priest, the reader of *Musica Ecclesiastica* engaged in a morning devotional ritual that interposed barriers between himself and the world as they negotiated their duties. A priest's morning ritual would be governed by when (and to some extent if) he performed the canonical hours.<sup>615</sup> Though traditionally a night service, taking place just after midnight, the timing of matins varied in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>616</sup> Diocesan legislation tended to avoid specifying times for any of the hours.<sup>617</sup> Local custom and personal inclination ultimately prevailed; in the parish of Masham (Yorks), for example, in 1519, it was arranged that matins would be at seven o'clock during summer and seven-thirty for the rest of the year.<sup>618</sup> If the priest rose at the

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<sup>614</sup> Lucubrations (night-time study) cannot be ruled out; they were a well established practice, see for example Jean le Célestin's report that Gerson rose nightly to pray; Jean le Célestin, 'a Anselme' in *Glorieux*, vol. 10, pp. 554-561, pp. 560-561.

<sup>615</sup> In his popular handbook for priests, John de Burgh (fl. 1370-1398), chancellor of Cambridge University required all priests to say the hours in Church, see *Pupilla Oculi* (Strasbourg: Paul Goetz, 1514 USTC-181490), fol. 32v.

<sup>616</sup> A traditional, pre-dawn timing for parish matins was described by William Langland (c.1332-c.1386) in *Piers Plowman, Passus VIII*, see William Langland, *Piers Plowman: a new Translation of the B-Text*, trans. Schmitt. Aubrey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 58.

<sup>617</sup> The statutes of Bishop Fulk of London, 1245 prescribe the singing of all the canonical the hours in church but do not prescribe a time, see Frederick Powicke and Christopher Cheney, *Councils and Synods* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1964), 2 vols, vol. 2, p. 641: *Precimus ut rectores ecclesiarum, vicarii et capellani qui ecclesia deservint vespervas matunitas et horas canonicos cantent in ecclesia cum nota et devotione*; Mirk envisaged the saying of the hours in church but allowed that its timing could, exceptionally, vary according to the custom of the place or the statutes of the province, see *Manuale Sacerdotis*, book IV chapter II, in London, British Library, MS. Harleian, 5306, fol. 41r: *consuetudinem loci...statutum p[ro]vinciale[m]*.

<sup>618</sup> Heath, *The English Parish Clergy*, p. 5; in other places, the times were earlier; a 1423 papal permission granted the parish Church of Ottery St Mary to perform matins at 4:00 throughout the



traditional hour for a midnight service, he would rise in darkness. Any preliminary act of devotion would require candle-light. His canonical duties dispensed, he may well have then returned to bed.<sup>619</sup> He would then rise again at dawn for prime. If matins were performed later, as at Masham, then the priest might rise in daylight, during the summer-months. The situation would have been much the same if he slept after having sung matins after midnight and then risen again before prime. *Musica Ecclesiastica* was probably taken up in one of these periods, either before matins or prime. It provided the focus, therefore, of a lucubration or a dawn devotion. An annotated *Musica Ecclesiastica* likely suited priests with a limited amount of time before their next liturgical engagement. *Inventio* was likely very a swift affair; reading with annotations is referential rather than linear; the reader could dip in and out of the text.

The phenomenological context, and hence the shape of one's private devotions, were therefore seasonal. Assuming that the devotions were practised after the second sleep, to obtain light to read by, one's first action was to open a window.<sup>620</sup> The devotional performance of London priests, therefore, began with the intrusion of the outside world into the prayer-space, whether by external noise or a drop in room temperature. One's senses were laid open to the world and the danger of distraction was present. In winter a morning devotion would be like a

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year (they had previously celebrated it at sunrise from Easter to the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on 14<sup>th</sup> September), another of 1479 allowed Salisbury Cathedral to hold Matins at 5:00; see CEPR, vol. VII, p. 277 and vol 13, pt. 2, p. 662; For variations in the time of matins in the cathedrals, see Stamford Lemberg, *The Reformation of the Cathedrals* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 10; The household ordinances for Prince Edward (1470-c.1483), for example, envisaged matins ending at about six-o'clock, whereupon the prince would proceed straight to mass, see Anon (ed.), *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), sig. e1r.

<sup>619</sup> Such a sleep pattern would be in keeping with the 'preindustrial' first and second sleep pattern as examined in depth in Roger Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-Industrial Slumber in the British Isles', *American Historical Review*, 106, no. 2 (2001), pp. 343-386, passim; Thirteenth century legislation from the diocese of Exeter was aimed at stopping the priest returning to bed on feast days, see Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, p. 1018: *precimus ut presbiteri parochiales ab ecclesiis suis reddere non presumant donec festiuis diebus ante missam vel post canonicas horas.*

<sup>620</sup> Most windows were unglazed, though glazing was certainly present in some fifteenth century homes. Even when glazed, the lighting qualities of such windows may have been limited, windows were translucent rather than transparent, as evidenced by the fact that disputes over windows overlooking another's property and thus violating privacy, could be settled by glazing the offending aperture; see Schofield, *Medieval London*, p. 108.

lucubration; one read by candle or rush-light.<sup>621</sup> The orator then assumed a position for reading. This could have been standing or reclining on the bed or sitting or kneeling, depending on the preferences of the individual. Body position was rarely prescribed by theorists of prayer.<sup>622</sup> Not all chambers contained seating.<sup>623</sup> Cushions in almost all chambers might have provided a surface to kneel on. Alternatively the bed might have been used for reading. The significance of body position is that it orientated the orator relative to his counterpart(s) in the same room. As a shared space, the chamber was the stage for bodily symbolism. Synchronisation of postures presented a visual basis for communal solidarity in religious action.<sup>624</sup> Priestly householders may have taken the opportunity to pray with the servants that shared their chamber, in which case there would have been physical reciprocation, in kneeling or prostration or perhaps even vocalisation. What manner of prayer this was can only be conjectured. The conventional quasi-liturgical privately sung matins of the primer was redundant for priestly orators who sang the hours in church.<sup>625</sup>

Differentiation in the use of the body, however, emphasises separation or hierarchy. The taking up of a marked *Musica Ecclesiastica*, for example, was an act of exclusion. The reader withdrew from the bodily synchronicity of a shared

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<sup>621</sup> By 1417 there was an organised system of street lighting in London, though the exterior lanterns mandated did not provide light to read by, see E. de Beer, 'The Early History of London Street Lighting', *History*, 25, no. 100 (1941), pp. 311-324.

<sup>622</sup> Glenn Ehrstein, 'Passion Spectatorship: Between Private and Public Devotion', in Elina Gertsman, *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 303-322, pp. 309-310.

<sup>623</sup> John Veysy's did not, John Ostewyck had only one chair in his chamber.

<sup>624</sup> Sebastian Schuler, 'Synchronised Ritual Behaviour' in David Cave and Rebecca Norris (ed.), *Religion and the Body* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 81-101, p. 96.

<sup>625</sup> Though there are many cases of mistresses praying with their female servants in private in aristocratic households, it is comparatively difficult to find a males carrying out private devotions with anyone other than chaplains. It is harder still to find examples of practice within the households of secular clergy; The servants of the thirteenth-century Bishop, Edmund of Abingdon (1175-1240), deposing in support of his canonisation, appear to have been present when he celebrated 'private' mass in his chamber, see Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, p. 194. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester was reportedly notable in praying alone, saying his 'dailie service...without helpe of any chaplen' and dispatching his servants before falling to his prayers in the evening; see Ronald Bayne, *The English Works of John Fisher* (London: EETS, 1921), p. 16. Perhaps nearest we come to the provision of pastoral care within the household is Richard Whitford's *Werke for Householders* (London: Robert Redman, 1530 RSTC-25422), fol. B1r, in which he admonishes that a good head of a household sets an example to his children and servants by praying privately but visibly.

sleeping space, into a private 'body schema'.<sup>626</sup> It was possible for readers to share a book; reading in preparation for mental prayer necessitated comprehension.<sup>627</sup> The movement through an annotated book suggest that it was not a shared experience. The physical handling of the text was uncongenial to shared action. The reader either had to be able to use the marginal indexing mark or, where annotations gave no contextual information, the contents page, using chapter titles to find material relevant to the subject of their devotions. The reading style was referential rather than linear, involving an irregular flicking back and forth from contents-page to text and back again, making swift glances between chapter headings and annotations. Mimesis, itself, was grounded in a highly individualised comprehension of the text. Even if a servant knew some Latin, he was almost certainly unable to participate in the silent, internalised comprehension and transformation of the text taking place within his master's mind. Perhaps more than the Latinity of the text, the physical manipulations implied by the annotations, were themselves a barrier to communal experience and an attribute that divided the Latinate reader from his non-Latinate chamber-companions.

Once *inventio* was completed and the servant departed from the room, the orator had much greater freedom. The window or door could be shut, the curtain around the bed drawn. The orator could move about the room with greater freedom responding to different foci and stimuli. Descriptions of compunctious prayer often suggest very animated set of body movements; in his lectures on mystical theology, Gerson describes 'heavy groaning, sighing erupting from deep within the breast, bitter cries, broken off complaints humble prostrations, teary eyes, the face full of blushing shame, now of chalky pallor'.<sup>628</sup> The orator should be thought of as mobile rather than stationary, changing location and focus mid-prayer. The striking ubiquity of the St John's head alabasters in priestly (and non-

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<sup>626</sup> A body-schema is a non-conscious system of processes that constantly regulate posture and movement; see Shaun Gallagher, 'Dynamic Models of Body-Schematic Processes', in Helena de Preester and Veroniek Knockaert (ed.), *Body Image and Body Schema* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin's Publishing, 2005), pp. 233-235, p. 234.

<sup>627</sup> See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 213.

<sup>628</sup> Jean Gerson, *De Mystica Theologia Practica*, in *Glorieux*, vol. 8, pp. 18-47, p. 36: *gemitum lugubrem, qui suspira ex immo pectore euta, qui rugitus amaros, qui plangores interruptos, qui prostrationes humiles, qui madentes oculos, qui faciem nunc rubore nunc pallore suffusam.*

priestly) homes suggests that these might have become devotional foci during these prayers. Alabaster St John's heads were produced in very large quantities between the second quarter of the fifteenth and the second quarter of the sixteenth-century.<sup>629</sup> They developed an older iconography of John the Baptist, drawing influences from the Germanic *Johannesschüssel* and the reliquary of the head of John the Baptist translated to Amiens following the Fourth Crusade (1206).<sup>630</sup> *Johannesschüsseln* were generally small processional images made in an enormous variety of sizes and materials. The relationship between these public icons and the private images produced in England is unclear, but the English images borrowed a number of their characteristics including the mark above John's left eye said to have been left when Herodias struck the head in a fit of rage.<sup>631</sup>

The St John's head joined the rhetorical prayer of compunction with the apotropaic power of iconic presence.<sup>632</sup> The iconographic similarity of the salver to the Eucharistic paten had led to a typological identification of the precursor's death with the sacrifice of Christ.<sup>633</sup> Images of the St John's head were expressly Eucharistic; the fifth reading of the *York Breviary* for the *Decollation* of Saint John stated that 'John's head on the salver signifies Christ's body, which we eat from the holy altar and which was given to the churches of the nations to save and heal souls'.<sup>634</sup> The saint's face on the salver, the image of the Eucharistic host, was a sacramental mediator for the grace of consolation.<sup>635</sup> Through ocular communion

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<sup>629</sup> Francis Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984), pp. 317-332.

<sup>630</sup> The Amiens relic was one of several heads of St John brought back from the crusade; Annemarie Carr, 'The Face Relics of John the Baptist in Byzantium and the West', *Gesta*, 46, no. 2 (2007), 159-177, pp. 166-167. For the *Johannesschüssel* see Charles Little (ed.), *Set in Stone: The Face in Medieval Sculpture* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), pp. 191-193; Barbara Baert, 'The *Johannesschüssel* as *Andachtsbild*', in Catrien Santing et al (eds.), *Disembodied Heads in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 117-168, passim.

<sup>631</sup> Baert, 'The *Johannesschüssel* as *Andachtsgild*', p. 120.

<sup>632</sup> See Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), esp. chapter XIV.

<sup>633</sup> See for example the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony (1295-1378) as quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 125n.22: *Quid ergo tu faceres si haec videres? Numquid non te priiceres super ipsum dominum.*

<sup>634</sup> Stephen Lawley (ed.), *Breviarium ad usum insignis Ecclesie Eboracensis* (London: Surtees, 1882), col. 517: *Caput Iohannis in disco: signat corpus Christi, quo pascimur in sancti altari et quod ecclesi[a]e gentium in salutem et remedium animarum.*

<sup>635</sup> A 'sacramental' is a material mediator for divine power, the effectiveness of which is contingent on the faith of its user, see Robert Scribner, *Popular Culture in Reformation Germany* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1988), pp. 13-17.

with the saint, the church triumphant was made present to the compunctious orator.<sup>636</sup> English images tended to lean heavily on the Christological, symbolic properties of the image. The most numerous type of the English alabasters to survive is that identified by Cheetham as 'Type F': the head and salver were flanked by images of saints with an image of the *pieta* beneath and the soul ascending in a napkin above.<sup>637</sup> The image combined motifs of earthly suffering salvation and heavenly glorification. The flanking saints and rising soul surround the sacramental image with a narrative of redemption for the gazer to internalise. The contemplation of this image might then have accompanied the emotional transition of the act of compunction. The way in which the icons were kept supports the idea that this might have been a dramatic action of revelation. St John's Heads were typically covered with a St John's Cloth.<sup>638</sup> The act of lifting the cloth and contemplation of the image might have accompanied the pivotal transitional moment in the act of prayer. Dramatic uncovering, or revealing of an image was a well-established devotional device in the Latin west; the uncovering of the Crucifix on Palm Sunday, for example was the culmination of the processional liturgy. The use of the St's John's head gave the devotee a visual counterpart to his verbal devotions.

Ultimately this study of prayer in the private chambers of London priests can only suggest a horizon of possibilities. Prayer in this setting cannot be imagined as a uniform activity but one that involved the making of a series of choices about how the orator wanted to use the space. Their use of a location was analogous to their selection from a text and vice versa. Rooms were experienced in parts, their meanings narrated by changing patterns of use. However, the emotional script of compunction and awareness of the physical contents of a space do allow a general principle to be drawn. The processual form of compunctious devotions associated

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<sup>636</sup> For 'ocular communion' see Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

<sup>637</sup> See Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, p. 318; See for example London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A.127B-1946, painted alabaster, 29cmx18.7cm. Here John's head is flanked by St Anthony, St Thomas Becket, St Peter and St James, however the identity, arrangement and number of saints can vary; for the image of the souls ascending in the napkin see Thomas Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages* (London: Hames and Hudson, 1972), pp. 31-43.

<sup>638</sup> St John's cloths are recorded in TNA, Prob 2/61, m. 2; TNA, Prob 2/119.

with marked copies of *Imitatio Christi* allowed orators progressively to maximise the potential of their chambers as solitary spaces. London priests could create from their chambers a highly individuated space ideally suited to the experience of compunction.

## Conclusion

The annotated *Imitatio* was a site where ideas about grace, space, the body and the formal structure of language met. In the quest for the grace of consolation, rhetoric provided readers with a divinely sanctioned tool for inducing, apprehending and obtaining sanctified emotional states. It helped resolve the ambiguities surrounding the power of any human art to move God. In devotional contexts rhetorical devices were inextricable from the divine eloquence of Scripture; rhetoric was the tool with which God spoke to His Church. More importantly it provided the crucial *accessus* that made the compunctious emotional and body schemata of the *Imitatio* replicable. Readers had the freedom to play with meaning and reinvent it for new contexts. The result was a largely conventional compunctious performance, taking place within the sensory regimes and devotional structures of late fifteenth-century English religion. What this chapter has shown is not so much a new departure or a dramatic reinvention of the material, but how the conventional, the ritualistic, the formulaic, was made emotionally satisfying. Through creative application of rhetorical hermeneutics to the text, the *Imitatio* became an effective, if somewhat uncommon, tool for cultivating consolation and assurance of salvation among London's Latinate population.

### Chapter III: Euphonious prayer, Katherine Parr, and Evangelical Casuistry

#### I. Introduction: *Prayers or Meditations* as a 'Vague' Text

In 1545, Katherine Parr (1512-1548), Henry VIII's queen-consort, published *Prayers or meditations*. This short devotional work was a redaction of an anonymous English translation of *Imitatio, The Following of Chryste*.<sup>639</sup> An enigmatic text, critics have described *Prayers* variously as innocuous or nonpartisan, as an early expression of the queen's adherence to the cause of reform, and as an intervention into the contested religious politics of the 1540s.<sup>640</sup> This chapter will argue that it was all three. *Prayers* combined generalised religious sentiments with a heavy dose of rhetorical ornamentation. It was an oration with a refined rhetorical sensibility that made no explicit doctrinal claims. Its doctrinal affiliations were studiously indeterminate, to be defined within the communities of practice that used it. *Prayers* satisfied Parr's reformed sentiments while submitting to the requirements of a hostile state.<sup>641</sup> Even so, it did not alienate her conservative subjects. Rather than being instructive, it was emotive. Euphonic compositional strategies conferred on Parr's otherwise anodyne statements an acoustic force. Whatever the doctrinal formulations a reader brought to the text, *Prayers* provided and aural-affective tool with which express them.

*Prayers* was an act of casuistry.<sup>642</sup> Parr circumvented the risks of controversy by keeping her writing within the bounds of the shared linguistic

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<sup>639</sup> Its source was first identified in Charles Fenno-Hoffman Jr, 'Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 23, no. 1 (1960), pp. 349-367, p. 355; Parr's *loci* are detailed in Janel Mueller (ed.), *Katherine Parr: Complete Works and Correspondence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. 396-421.

<sup>640</sup> Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 67; Mueller, 'Devotion as Difference', *passim*; David Starkey, *Six Wives* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2003), p. 757-758.

<sup>641</sup> In stressing the interiorising, temporizing reaction in conformist evangelical literature to the pressures of the Henrician regime, this chapter broadly aligns itself with the arguments of Colin Burrows, 'The Experience of Exclusion: Literature and Politics in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII', in David Wallace, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 793-820, pp. 808-809; see also Greg Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 414ff.

<sup>642</sup> The historiography of confessional coexistence and toleration is summarised in Alexandra Walsham, 'Cultures of Coexistence', *The Seventeenth Century*, 28 (2013), pp. 115-138, *passim*. For surveys, see Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided By Faith* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), *passim*; Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), *passim*.

resources of evangelical and conservative communities of practice.<sup>643</sup> After the heyday of evangelical influence, during the vicegerency of Henry VIII's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540), the reformists of the 1540s found themselves in a dilemma. 1538-1543 saw a rush of conservative legislation.<sup>644</sup> The 1538 Proclamation against sacramentaries signalled a distinct change in the mood of Henry's government away from continued reform.<sup>645</sup> Discussion of the Eucharist was reserved for the universities and all liturgical ceremonies then in use were confirmed. The 1539 Act of Six Articles laid down traditional positions on six key points of doctrine, stipulating fearsome penalties for transgressors.<sup>646</sup> Thomas Cromwell's execution in 1540 threw open the possibility of a conservative recrudescence in court and government. In 1543, the same year that Katherine Parr married Henry, access to Scripture was restricted by statute and a new, conservative formulary of Henrician orthodoxy was promulgated, *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man*.<sup>647</sup> Conscience bound evangelicals to obey God and yet ethical and pragmatic constraints bound them to obey His representative on Earth.<sup>648</sup> Though martyrdom was a possibility, it was the course only of a valiant minority. Most quietly conformed. Yet despite the dim view of

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<sup>643</sup> This chapter uses the terms evangelical and conservative rather than Protestant and Catholic. The religious identities of Henrician England were more fluid and less doctrinally secure than the terms Protestant and Catholic imply. Evangelical and conservative are preferable because they denote inclinations and tendencies towards reform or tradition rather than fixed identities; see Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. xv-xvi; for communities of practice see Penelope Eckert, *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), passim; William Hanks, *Language and Communicative Practice* (Boulder: Westview, 1996), pp. 208ff; Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), passim.

<sup>644</sup> Opinion is divided over how deep the reaction was. This chapter broadly accepts the view that this was a period of curtailed but continuing reform; see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 424-427; Diarmuid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: a Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 297-348; Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, passim. Christopher Haigh interpreted this period as one of trenchant conservatism, calling it England's first 'counter reformation', see Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 152; Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2006), pp. 144-145.

<sup>645</sup> Paul Hughes and James Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 3 vols, vol. 1, pp. 270-276.

<sup>646</sup> John Raithby (ed.), *The Statutes at Large* (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1811), 9 vols, vol. 3, pp. 287-289.

<sup>647</sup> Ibid, pp. 388-389; For *The Necessary Doctrine*, see Charles Lloyd (ed.) *Formularies of Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1856), pp. 213-377.

<sup>648</sup> For the doctrine of obedience, see Ryan Reeves, *Evangelicals and Tudor Obedience, c.1527-1570* (Boston: Brill, 2014), passim, esp. pp. 61-94; Richard Rex, 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's word and Henry's reformation', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), pp. 863-894, passim.



them taken by continental reformers and religious exiles, conformists should not be considered apostates.<sup>649</sup> The Henrician state was prepared to entertain a certain ‘pragmatic toleration’.<sup>650</sup> Evangelicals had no religious rights, but outward submission was usually sufficient to ensure their survival.<sup>651</sup> *Prayers* offers a rare chance to see the reciprocal ‘pragmatic integration’ of the tolerated minority, establishing a niche within the boundaries set by authority. Parr took up the impeccably orthodox statements of *Folowing* to create a devotion that compromised with the regime. It was an act of submission, the silences of which could enable enormously divergent readings.

Evidence concerning *Prayers*’ readership is largely confined to those connected to Katherine Parr’s household. A book-bill of Parr’s recorded a special printing of *Prayers* carried out for the Queen by the king’s printer, Thomas Berthelet (d.1555). It listed two copies bound in white satin and ten printed on vellum, nine of which were bound in white leather with gilding; these were presentation copies.<sup>652</sup> The appearance of a copy in the household of the Earl of Arundel, Henry Fitzalan (1512-1580), whose wife, Mary Fitzalan (d.1557) was one of Catherine’s Ladies of the Household, suggests that these books were distributed within the Queen’s household. A translation into Latin was undertaken by Mary Arundel’s son, John Radcliffe (1539-1568), as a new-year’s gift for his step-father.<sup>653</sup> This can only be tentatively dated. Henry Fitzalan’s children, particularly his

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<sup>649</sup> See Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 63-82; for an English exile’s view, see John Bale, *The Epistle Exhortatory of an Englysh Christyane* (Antwerp: s.n., 1544 RSTC-1291a), fol. 29.

<sup>650</sup> The term is taken from Victoria Christman, *Pragmatic Toleration: The Politics of Religious Heterodoxy in Early Reformation Antwerp, 1515-1555* (Wodbridge: Boydell, 2015), p. 9: ‘the lived reality of religious coexistence as a practical necessity rather than a commitment to a theoretical or philosophical principle’. Most toleration during the sixteenth century was of this pragmatic grudging kind, with no intrinsic principle of mutual acceptance, see Kaplan, *Divided By Faith*, p. 8; Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, p. 4. Nevertheless ‘pragmatic toleration’ distinguishes an informal from a formal arrangement, a practice rather than a rule.

<sup>651</sup> As evidenced by Parr’s use of submission to defuse the 1546 plot instigated by the conservative Earl of Southampton, Thomas Wriothesley (1505-1550) and Bishop Stephen Gardiner of Winchester (1483-1555) to unseat her, as detailed in Thomas Freeman, ‘One Survived: The Account of Katherine Parr in *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs*’, in Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah Lipscombe (eds.), *Henry VIII and the Court* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 235-254, passim.

<sup>652</sup> TNA, E.101/424/12, fol. 15r.

<sup>653</sup> Radcliffe was Mary’s son by her former marriage to Robert Radcliffe (1482-1542); John Radcliffe’s translation is now London, British Library, Royal MS 7 D IX, hereafter referred to as *Radcliffe*.

daughter Mary (1539-1557), made a tradition of gifting translations to their father at new-year.<sup>654</sup> These translations were probably undertaken after 1553, when the library of the former Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), was obtained by Henry Fitzalan. Since Radcliffe's preface implies that Henry Fitzalan had received gifts of this kind before, his translation probably dates to the mid-1550s.<sup>655</sup> In 1545, the thirteen-year-old princess Elizabeth (1533-1603) also undertook a translation of the text into Latin, French and Italian, a new-year's gift for Henry.<sup>656</sup> In addition to these there exists an incomplete and abridged English manuscript at the Kendle mayor's office. No unambiguous details survive as to its relationship with the printed text or Parr's social network. Though Mueller has identified the text as Parr's own hand, Carley has contested that attribution, suggesting that it was the work of a professional scribe.<sup>657</sup>

*Prayers'* wider reception is more difficult to gauge. From the number of printings, it seems to have been a popular text. However, it was also an ephemeral one, often printed without a colophon to identify its date of publication. There were five editions by Thomas Berthelet dated to 1545 (RSTC-4818.5, 4819, 4822.5, 4823, 4824) and one to 1547 (RSTC-4822). In RSTC-4823 and 4824, the Prayer for the King appended to the main text is for King Edward rather than Henry. Therefore they are post 1547. Another RSTC-4824a has no colophon, but the prayer for Edward suggests some time between 1547 and 1553. RSTC-4825 printed either by or for the London bookseller Anthony Kitson, has a prayer for King Edward but is dated to 1556. In RSTC-4820, the prayer for the King became a prayer for the King and Queen's majesties. Thomas Berthelet had a monopoly on the text throughout Henry's reign and the prayer for the King and Queen appears in none of

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<sup>654</sup> Fully detailed in Elizabeth McCutcheon, "Your daughter most devoted": The Sententious Writings of Mary Arundel, Duchess of Norfolk, given to the Twelfth Earl of Arundel', in Matthew Dimmock et al (eds.), *Art Literature and Religion in Early Modern Sussex* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 147-168.

<sup>655</sup> Radcliffe, fol. 1v: '*expertus sum dominationem tuam ex huiusmodi donis plus delectationis percepturam esse*'.

<sup>656</sup> London, British Library, Royal MS 7 D X; In general Elizabeth's translation stayed very close to the meaning and structure of Parr's original (though she made no attempt to capture its euphony in her Latin), see Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel (eds.), *Elizabeth I: Translations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 127-200, esp. p. 131.

<sup>657</sup> The text is transcribed in Janel Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, pp. 387-395; James Carley, 'review of Katherine Parr: Complete Works and Correspondence, ed. by Janel Mueller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011)', *Times Literary Supplement* (June 3 2011), pp. 3-5, p. 4.

his editions. The king and queen are probably Philip and Mary.<sup>658</sup> At least nine further editions were printed under Elizabeth. The print record suggests *Prayers* enjoyed moderate continuity of success throughout the mid sixteenth century, even during the conservatism of Mary's short reign. These Marian printings along with Radcliffe's translation, which displayed a fairly strong conservative inclination, testified that *Prayers* could also be assimilated into a conservative devotional regime.<sup>659</sup> However though widely taken up, it is *Prayers'* use within Parr's household that best demonstrates how it functioned as a form of 'pragmatic integration'. The graduated restrictions of courtly spaces enabled Parr to establish a clandestine community of practice. Behind closed doors, the aural experience of *Prayers* functioned as an act of ritual participation, establishing moods and social bonds that could then be discreetly recapitulated in more public settings.

Parr's source for *Prayers* was devotionally and theologically conservative. *Folowing* was translated from a continental Latin text and was first published in 1531.<sup>660</sup> The complete text went through six editions before 1545 and three more before 1600.<sup>661</sup> A separate imprint of book IV alone was published by Robert Wyer c.1531.<sup>662</sup> This translation has been ascribed to the monk of Syon Abbey, Richard Whitford (d.1543).<sup>663</sup> Appended to *Folowing*, was a translation of Bernard of Clairvaux's *Golden Epistle*. Whitford had translated a version of this text, so the

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<sup>658</sup> Susan James, *Kateryn Parr* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), p. 218 has also dated 'one edition...by Henry Wykes and now in the British Library' to the reign of Mary. She does not develop her reasons for doing so. The editions in the British Library do not appear to have been enrolled in the short title catalogue. Nevertheless, they are all 1560s. The copy being referred to, C.17.A.20, has no printed date. A note on the inside of the back cover records that 'Henry Wyckes had licence to print this book in 1556' and refers the reader to William Herbert et al, *Typographical Antiquities* (London: Printed for the editor, 1786), 3 vols, vol. 2, p. 940, where the licence is actually recorded for 1566.

<sup>659</sup> The religious position of Mary Fitzalan (John's mother) is difficult to gauge. Susan James describes her as having a 'commitment to the new religion', however it is not clear how easily this judgement can be made. She was a patron to the young Elizabeth Tyrwhit who married an evangelical and became a lady of Parr's privy chamber. How far this reflects on Mary is not clear. Mary's position in Parr's household was more a function of her rank than any particular closeness to the queen. She held the same position in the households of Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves and Catherine Howard, See James, *Kateryn Parr*, p. 155; Muriel Byrne (ed.), *The Lisle Letters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 6 vols, vol. 5, p. 58.

<sup>660</sup> It contains all four books. As no English manuscript contained all four books, it was almost certainly translated from a continental printed exemplar.

<sup>661</sup> Before 1545, RSTC-23961, 23963, 23964, 23964.3, 23964.7 and 23965; After 1545, RSTC-23966, 23967 and 23967.5.

<sup>662</sup> RSTC-23962.

<sup>663</sup> This is still the case in the STC records for these items.

adjoining translation has also been thought the Bridgettine's work.<sup>664</sup> However, the translation appended to *Folowing* during the 1530s and 40s was not Whitford's translation.<sup>665</sup> Only in 1556, in its seventh edition, was his version actually attached to it.<sup>666</sup> The English of the *Golden Epistle*, printed with the early editions of *Folowing*, was anonymous. It had been included in a compilation of Whitford's writing also printed in 1531 by Richard Redman. Yet here, it was expressly referred to as 'nat of the tra[n]slacion nor edicio[n] of this auctor'.<sup>667</sup> Commentators on this translation remain divided about the attribution.<sup>668</sup> As assigning this translation to Whitford is problematic, *Folowing* will remain unattributed in this chapter.

The translation strategy employed in *Folowing* was elaborative. That is to say that to clarify Kempis's meaning, this interpreter often added words or short phrases not in the Latin.<sup>669</sup> This paraphrastic tendency often changed the meaning. For example, in book I, chapter II, a general disparagement of learning in the original Latin was qualified into a criticism of vain learning as Satan's tool in the English:

Cease from too great desire to know things. Because there is  
found distraction and deception.<sup>670</sup>

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<sup>664</sup> Richard Whitford, *The Golden Pystle* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1530 RSTC-1912).

<sup>665</sup> Veronica Lawrence, 'Richard Whitford and Translation', in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Medieval Translator 4* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), pp. 136-152, p. 137; Glanmor Williams, 'Two neglected London-Welsh clerics: Richard Whitford and Richard Gwent', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* vol. 1 (1960), pp. 23-44, p. 31.

<sup>666</sup> Thomas à Kempis, *The folowinge of Christ*, trans. Anon (London: John Cawood, 1556 RSTC-23966).

<sup>667</sup> Richard Whitford, *Werke or Preparacyon...unto Communion* (London: Robert Redman, 1531 RSTC-25412), this book contains two translations of the golden epistle. The first, sigs. G2v-G6v is that printed with *Folowing* the *Imitatio Christi* is mentioned not ascribe the translation to Whitford. The second, sigs. L2r-L8r is Whitford's translation.

<sup>668</sup> James Carley and Ann Hutchison, 'William Peto, O.F.M.Obs., and the 1556 Edition of The Folowinge of Chryste: Background and Context', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 17 (2014), pp. 94-118.

<sup>669</sup> A tendency observed by Crane, 'English Translations of the Imitatio Christi', pp. 81-83; Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations*, pp. 98-104; This method of translation was described by the Valencian humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540) in his *De Ratione Dicendi* (1533), who advised the addition or subtraction of words to find the most suitable language, see Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi* in Mayans (ed.), *Joannis Ludovicis Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia*, (Valence: Benedicti Monfort, 1782-1790), 8 vols, vol. 2, pp. 89-237, p. 233.

<sup>670</sup> *Imitatio*, I.II: *Quiesce a nimio sciendi desiderio. Quia magna ibi invenitu distractio et deceptio.*

Let us cease fro the desyre of such vayne knowledge for oft tymes  
is founde theryn great dystraction and deceyte of the enemye.<sup>671</sup>

This elaborative style aimed to make the text more amenable to lay readers.<sup>672</sup>

Technical or metaphorical language was often simplified; ‘*unctionem*’, for example became the much simpler ‘consolation’.<sup>673</sup> In other places, the translation brought the text more into line with the popular devotions of the day. In book III, chapter XXXVI (XXXI), quotations from Psalm 54:7 and Matthew 6:22 became an evocation of the Passion and devotion the wounds of Christ:<sup>674</sup>

He sought to fly freely who said, ‘who will give me the wings of a  
dove [for then] I will fly away and rest? What is more peaceful  
than an unaffected eye?’<sup>675</sup>

He couetyd to flye wythout let that said this/ who shal gyue me  
winges lyke a doue [that] I maye flye in to the bosome of my  
sauyoure and in to the holes of this blessyd woundes and rest me  
there.<sup>676</sup>

It may have been this elaborative (and unerringly conservative) reading of the *Imitatio* that made the text appealing as a tool of feminine religious instruction. Three surviving copies had female owners. Two of these had been gifted by a male benefactor.<sup>677</sup> In the case of C.122.c.29, the donor, the English Cardinal

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<sup>671</sup> *Folowing*, fol. 2r.

<sup>672</sup> This is also the theory of Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations*, pp. 98-104

<sup>673</sup> *Folowing*, fol. 96v; Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations*, p. 97.

<sup>674</sup> For popular devotions to the wounds of Christ, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 238-248

<sup>675</sup> *Imitatio*, III.XXXI: *Cupiebat libere volare: qui dicebat: Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbae et volabo et requiescam? Quid simplici oculo quietius; Folowing* uses the sixty-four rather than the fifty-nine chapter numeration.

<sup>676</sup> *Folowing*, fol. 102, see also fol. 32v for a similar adaptation.

<sup>677</sup> London, British Library C.122.c.29 has a flyleaf inscription showing that it was given by William Peto to Elizabeth Pope (d.1593), third wife of Thomas Pope (d.1559) the founder of Trinity College Oxford. In the seventeenth century, this book came into the hands of a protestant reader, Edward Bagnall, who tried to edit it, see below, pp. 217-218; Cambridge, University Library, Syn.8.53.70, sig. A2r-A3r, bears an inscription from Thomas Tyrrell, knight of Suffolk, to his granddaughter Elizabeth Clere, daughter of John Clere (c.1511-1557), a knight of Norfolk. This book also appears to have had a male owner too, one John Wynbie who has not been identified; London, Lambeth Palace [zz]1556.1 was the property of Dorothy East (d. 1588), wife of the recusant Thomas Fitzherbert (1552-1640).

William Peto (d.1558), even gave advice on how to read it.<sup>678</sup> As the 1556 reprint, patronised by Cardinal Peto, demonstrated, the text that Parr appropriated had impeccably conservative credentials.<sup>679</sup> In the new preface of the 1556 edition, Peto explained that during his exile, his own copy had ‘worne away’ through constant consultation.<sup>680</sup>

*Prayers* was an act of mimesis that produced a short work belonging to the consolation genre. Parr’s first publication had been a theologically uncontroversial translation of Bishop John Fisher of Rochester’s (1469-1535) Latin *Psalmi seu Precationes* with the title *Psalms or Prayers*.<sup>681</sup> *Psalmi seu Precationes* was an exercise in the ‘*ars orandi*’, each prayer composed of psalm excerpts arranged according to the rules of rhetorical *dispositio*.<sup>682</sup> For *Prayers*, Parr engaged in her own exercise of mimetic excerpting.<sup>683</sup> The result did not use classical *dispositio*. It took the form of a series of *petitiones* for grace alternating with *narrationes* of personal weakness, divine beneficence and the hazards of the world. Its themes remained recognisably within the genre of consolation; its full title described it using commonplaces of consolation.

Prayers or medytacions, wherein the mynd is styrred paciently to  
bear all afflictions here, to set at nought the vayne prosperitee of  
the world and allwaie to longe for euerlastynge felicittee.<sup>684</sup>

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<sup>678</sup> This was given by the English Cardinal William Peto (d.1558) to Elizabeth Pope (d.1593), third wife of Thomas Pope (d.1559) the founder of Trinity College Oxford.

<sup>679</sup> Carley and Hutchison, ‘William Peto’, *passim*.

<sup>680</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98; Thomas à Kempis, *The followinge of Chryste*, sig. A2v.

<sup>681</sup> John Fisher, *Psalms or Prayers*, trans. Katherine Parr (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1544 RSTC-3002.3).

<sup>682</sup> The style of Fisher and subsequently of Parr and her imitators has been termed ‘Psalm collage’ by a number of critics. They tend not to relate it to rhetorical literary practices more generally. Susan Felch relates it more to the paraphrase genre, see Susan Felch, ‘“Halff a Scrypture Woman”’, *Heteroglossia and Female Authorial Agency in Lady Eliabeth Tyrwhit, Anne Lock and Anne Wheathill*, in Micheline White (ed.), *Religion and Textual Production 1500-1625* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 147-166, p. 150; Janel Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, p. 201.

<sup>683</sup> Janel Mueller suggests that her almoner, George Day, who had been a fellow of St John’s College Cambridge under Bishop Fisher’s guidance, was her literary mentor; see Janel Mueller, ‘Katherine Parr and her Circle’, in Mike Pincombe and Cathy Schrank (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 222-237, pp. 222-223.

<sup>684</sup> *Prayers*, sig. A1r.

The idea of learning to bear the suffering of the world through *apatheia* and hope in the promises of God were sustained throughout the text.<sup>685</sup> The content was left, for the most part as it was in the source text, with most of the editing being of a stylistic nature. To all intents and purposes, *Prayers* recapitulated the predominant themes of the *Imitatio*.

Several historians have argued that *Prayers* embodied a distinctly reformist identity. Mueller, and those that follow her, see *Prayers* as a transgressive, reformist text.<sup>686</sup> Excerpting from *Folowing*, Parr undermined what Mueller identified as the processual structure of an elite monastic devotion.<sup>687</sup> By simultaneously removing almost all intimations of the speaker's masculinity, she universalised it.<sup>688</sup> At a stroke, she dismantled the monastic 'constraints' on the scope of the original and silenced its 'ecstatic intimacies'. According to Mueller, Parr's 'silences' were her 'most potent compositional strategy'.<sup>689</sup> However, in light of the mimetic practices described in chapter II, the extent of Parr's transgression becomes less clear. Violating textual integrity was normal in fragmented reading. Her objections to the remnant can only be assumed. Dorothy East and (possibly) Elizabeth Clere inscribed marginal marks throughout their copies of *Folowing*, indicating the same process of textual disintegration.<sup>690</sup> Though Clere's religious inclination is not known, East's was avowedly conservative.<sup>691</sup> The fact alone of Parr's editing was not evidence of the *Prayers*' evangelicalism. Furthermore, Parr's

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<sup>685</sup> See above, pp. 34-37.

<sup>686</sup> Janel Mueller first articulated her position in 'Intertextuality in Katherine Parr's *Prayers or Meditations*' 1545', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 53, no. 3 (1990), pp. 171-197. She repeated her argument, more or less verbatim in her preface to her edited text of *Prayers or Meditations* in Mueller (ed.), *Katherine Parr*, pp. 369-384; Her followers include James, *Kateryn Parr*, pp. 215-218; Patricia Pender, *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 70-72.

<sup>687</sup> Mueller, 'Devotion as Difference', p. 178; Mueller asserts Symphorien's argument that the *Imitatio* conformed to an elevation of the soul through the gradations of moral and spiritual proficiency delineated by Bonaventure in *De Triplici Via*; For this position and critiques of it, see above, n. 72.

<sup>688</sup> Mueller, 'Devotion as Difference', p. 177. How far this was a departure from the norm is difficult to say; as shown above, *Folowing* was seen as a suitable text for female readers. Tacit feminization of its pronouncements must have been a normal reader response. Though important, it has not been possible to engage with the questions surrounding the femininity of the text except insofar as they bear on the questions of confession and devotion.

<sup>689</sup> Mueller (ed.), *Katherine Parr*, p. 375.

<sup>690</sup> East's annotations are in the same hand as her signature, see London, Lambeth Palace, [zz]1556.1, front fly leaf; The marks in Clere's book are unsigned.

<sup>691</sup> Carley and Hutchison, 'William Peto', p. 102.

silences were not available to subsequent readers.<sup>692</sup> Her readers never suggested knowledge of its source. The title page describes the text as ‘Collected out of holy workes’ without elaboration.<sup>693</sup> Though the silences alienated some conservative readings, they did not repudiate all conservative readings.<sup>694</sup> Rather than belonging, lexically, to either evangelical or conservative worlds, *Prayers’* meaning was deliberately left in the hands of the reader. According to William Haugaard, whose critique came before Fenno Hoffman’s article and before its source became known, *Prayers* could be reconciled to ‘virtually any’ Christian doctrine.<sup>695</sup> Hyperbolic as this is, *Prayers* was light on clear doctrinal statements and circulated within varied communities of practice. *Prayers’* silences were significant and they were an expression of incipient confessionalisation. However, their power was not in shutting off interpretations, but in the freedom that they allowed the reader in constituting the meanings of their text.

*Prayers* could function as an evangelical text because it communicated on multiple levels. At each level, it was a bricolage of verbal and non-verbal elements. As a public document, distributed within a ‘non-focal’ audience, it had to remain within the horizons of legally authorised doctrine.<sup>696</sup> Printed *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, it would have been read and approved, either by the Privy Council or their deputy.<sup>697</sup> However, as a local statement that was

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<sup>692</sup> Compare the preface of the evangelical printer, William Marshall (d.1540?), in his 1534 Primer, where he explained specifically why he removed rubrics and prayers to the saints from the text, see [William Marshall], *A Prymer in Englishe* (London: John Byddell, 1534 RSTC-15986), sigs. B1r-B1v.

<sup>693</sup> *Prayers*, sig. A1r. The young Princess Elizabeth, a reader close to Parr, suggests understanding of Parr’s act of mimesis. Though as much could be surmised from the title page, she described it in her Latin preface to Henry VIII as ‘*tum ingeniose collectus et aptissimo ordine dispositus*’, suggesting an understanding of the *inventio* and *dispositio*. By contrast, John Radcliffe described the text as ‘*composuit*’ by Parr, suggesting no awareness of Parr’s procedure. Neither suggests any knowledge of her source. See *Radcliffe*, fol. 1r and London, British Library, Royal MS. 7.D.X, fol.3v.

<sup>694</sup> See below, p. 169ff.

<sup>695</sup> William Haugaard, ‘The Religious Convictions of a Renaissance Queen’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 22, no. 4 (1969), pp. 346-359, pp. 354-355; see also Kimberley Coles, *Religion Reform and Womens’ Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 54-56.

<sup>696</sup> The distinction between focal and non-focal communication is broadly the difference between reply and response. Non-focal participants are not in direct dialogue with the speaker but may express a reaction (typically to position themselves within their immediate social surrounds). One can have non-focal communicators and addressees, see Erving Goffman, *Forms of Talk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), *passim*, esp. pp. 40-43.

<sup>697</sup> Though this was strictly a commercial guarantee, it was in practice often read as a signal of royal endorsement; see Joseph Lowenstein, *The Author’s Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 80-81.



made within a 'focal' community of religious practice *Prayers* would draw on local symbolic resources for its meaning.<sup>698</sup> For the text to have a 'happy' performative value, to function as a successful act of prayer, intra-communal, non-linguistic conditions had to be met by the text's users.<sup>699</sup> Parr's household contained and sustained an evangelical community of practice. The martyrologist, John Foxe (1518-1567), reported that afternoon collations were held in Parr's privy chamber.<sup>700</sup> Owing to the necessarily muted character of Henrician evangelicalism, it is difficult to determine when Parr herself became an evangelical.<sup>701</sup> She was clearly identified as either evangelical or sympathetic to their cause by 1546, when a conservative plot attempted to unseat her.<sup>702</sup> Speculation on a date, however, risks missing the extent to which conversion is a moment defined in the convert's subsequent behaviour and socialisation.<sup>703</sup> Parr's evangelicalism, therefore, is evident in the company she kept. Her household contained a high proportion of either known evangelicals or persons who later displayed evangelical convictions.<sup>704</sup> Of her closest servants, her maids of the privy chamber, Anne Herbert (1515-1552), Maud Lane (1507-1557) and Elizabeth Tyrwhit (d.1578), were married to evangelicals, Tyrwhit penning an evangelical prayer book by 1553.<sup>705</sup> Her chaplain, John Parkhurst (1511-1575) had begun to

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<sup>698</sup> Eckert, *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*, p. 214.

<sup>699</sup> John Austin, *How to do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), passim; Though this chapter envisages the *Performance* of prayers as a communal act, a similar set of conditions would have to be met in the event of solitary performance, see above, pp. 139-140.

<sup>700</sup> See below, pp. 192-193.

<sup>701</sup> Susan James has placed the conversion in the early 1540s, citing a letter of 1544 from the reform minded priest, Francis Goldsmith, which praised the provision for religious instruction within her household, *Kateryn Parr*, pp. 194-195; for the letter, see Mueller (ed.), *Complete Works*, pp. 75-78; Anthony Martenson, *Queen Katherine Parr* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1973), pp. 179-180 puts it down to the influence of Thomas Cranmer during Catherine's regency; David Starkey speculatively placed Parr's conversion as far back as the mid 1530s. She lacked enthusiasm for the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) and had connections, through her then husband, John Neville 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Latimer (1493-1543) to the reformer Francis Bigod (1507-1537), *Six Wives*, pp. 700-704.

<sup>702</sup> Freeman, 'One Survived', passim.

<sup>703</sup> Marshall, *Religious Identities*, pp. 36-38; Oliver Wort, *John Bale and Religious Conversion* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 4-5.

<sup>704</sup> For an in depth examination of the religious inclinations of Parr's household, see James, *Kateryn Parr*, pp. 144-161; for her more general evangelical connections, see Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and her Circle', passim.

<sup>705</sup> John King, 'Underhill, Edward (b. 1512, d. in or after 1576)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/27997?docPos=1>, accessed 27 February 2016]; c.f. Derek Wilson, *In the Lion's Court* (London: Hutchinson, 2001), p. 468; Susan James, 'Lane, Maud, Lady Lane (c.1507-1558/9)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0->

profess evangelicalism in the 1530s and was appointed to Parr's service in 1543.<sup>706</sup> On the more public side of her household, her Chamberlain, Lord William Parr of Horton (1480-1547), was an avid supporter of the new religion.<sup>707</sup> In 1547, her Master of Hawks, later Vice-Chamberlain, Anthony Cope (1486-1551), wrote his deeply evangelical *A Godly Meditacion* as a new year's gift to his mistress.<sup>708</sup> The enthusiasm of Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk (1519-1580), and of Clement (1515-1573) and Nicholas (1515-1571) Throckmorton, sons of the committed conservative George Throckmorton (1489-1552), probably began during their time in Parr's household.<sup>709</sup> Though there were conservatives in her service, notably her almoner George Day (1502-1556) and her chancellor Thomas Arundell (1502-1552), Parr's closest company consisted of evangelicals.<sup>710</sup> In the afternoon collations, they had a ritual context for performing their religious difference. This community, within the rarefied space of the privy chamber, became 'focal' participants in prayer acts that signalled their evangelicalism to their coparticipants.<sup>711</sup>

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[www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/70800](http://www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/70800), accessed 27 February 2016]; Patricia Brace, 'Tyrwhit, Elizabeth, Lady Tyrwhit (d. 1578)', in *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/46929>, accessed 27 February 2016]. The religious complexion of her other maid, Mary Wotton is less clear.

<sup>706</sup> Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Parkhurst, John (1511?–1575)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/21362?docPos=1>, accessed 27 February 2016]. Her other chaplains Thomas Reynolds and Thomas Layton came with Parr when she had come south to marry Henry; their religious inclinations are unknown, see James, *Kateryn Parr*, pp. 148-149.

<sup>707</sup> Susan James, 'Parr, William, Baron Parr of Horton (c.1480–1547)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/58528?docPos=3>, accessed 27 February 2016].

<sup>708</sup> Elizabeth Allen, 'Cope, Sir Anthony (1486/7–1551)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/6250?docPos=1>, accessed 27 February 2016]; Anthony Cope, *A Godly Meditacion* (London: [Richard Grafton], 1547 RSTC-5717).

<sup>709</sup> Susan Wabuda, 'Bertie, Katherine, duchess of Suffolk (1519–1580)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/2273?docPos=1>, accessed 27 February 2016]; Jennifer Loach, 'Throckmorton, Sir George (c.1489–1552)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/38067>, accessed 27 February 2016].

<sup>710</sup> Malcolm Kitch, 'Day, George (c.1502–1556)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/7364?docPos=1>, accessed 27 February 2016]; Pamela Stanton, 'Arundell, Sir Thomas (c.1502–1552)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/725?docPos=1>, accessed 27 February 2016].

<sup>711</sup> Lee, 'Making it Look Right', p. 132; Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, p. 139.

To produce a simultaneously satisfying and uncontroversial prayer, Parr brought to bear considerable learning. The extent of her education has frequently been disputed. The consensus is that she possessed considerable acumen. The influence of humanist enthusiasm for female education is fairly certain. James points to the influence of the humanist scholar, Cuthbert Tunstall (1474-1559), cousin of Katherine's father, Sir Thomas Parr (1485-1517).<sup>712</sup> Tunstall remained close to his cousin's family after Thomas died and was the principal executor of Maud's will. The programme of education can only be speculated on. The most vexed question was whether it included Latin instruction.<sup>713</sup> Crucial evidence for Parr's command of Latin is the ascription to her of the translation of *Psalmi seu Precationes*.<sup>714</sup> Her translation of the piece is fairly secure, made primarily on the basis of two prayers she wrote, for the king and for men going into battle, both printed in *Psalms or Prayers* and in *Prayers*.<sup>715</sup> By contrast, Maria Dowling contends that Parr was not especially well educated. Citing a 1546 letter from Prince Edward to his stepmother praising her progress in Latin, she argues that Parr's education in that language did not begin until her adult life.<sup>716</sup> That Parr commissioned the translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrases*, and even encouraged Mary to participate in the translation of the paraphrase on the Gospel of John, and yet took no part in the translation was confirmation that she remained a comparative novice.<sup>717</sup> Dowling does not address the question of *Psalms or Prayers*. For her reading of *Folowing*, Parr did not require a knowledge of Latin. However, in the course of extracting,

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<sup>712</sup> James, *Kateryn Parr*, p. 29.

<sup>713</sup> Ibid, pp. 28-19; Martenson assumed that because Catherine's mother, Maud Parr (1492-1531), was given lodgings at the court between 1518 and 1529, Katherine received the same upbringing as Princess Mary (1516-1558). There is little, however, to bear this out. Martenson, *Queen Katherine Parr*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>714</sup> Those who argue this premise include: James, *Kateryn Parr*, p. 33; Mueller, 'Katherine Parr and her Circle', p. 223; see also ibid, *Katherine Parr*, pp. 197-213; Micheline White, 'The psalms, war, and royal iconography: Katherine Parr's Psalms or Prayers (1544) and Henry VIII as David', *Renaissance Studies*, 29, no. 4 (2015), pp. 554-575, passim; C.f. Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp. 694-695, Parr received an 'introduction' to Latin in her mother's household.

<sup>715</sup> *Psalms or Prayers* also appears on the 1546 book-bill, see above p. 153; The first, the prayer for the king, was an edited translation of a prayer by the Catholic reformer, Georg Witzel (1501-1573), for Charles V, see White, 'The psalms, war, and royal iconography', p. 556.

<sup>716</sup> Janel Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, p. 117-118.

<sup>717</sup> Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, pp. 223-235; C.f. Fenno Hoffman Jr, 'Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters', pp. 350-352, described her education as essentially 'practical', being taught English and French but 'very little' Latin.

editing and arranging material for *Prayers*, Parr demonstrated a sophisticated compositional sensibility that suggests access to Latin texts. She was aware of rhetorical and poetic concepts, most notably the tropes grouped in modern literary criticism under the heading of ‘euphuism’ and of the rules of *decorum*. Parr was also able to mimic the rhetorical strategies of evangelical prayer. Furthermore, Parr was theologically literate and capable of negotiating the minefield of contemporary confessional debate. For these reasons, this chapter will prefer the argument that Parr was a woman of considerable scholarly prowess and probably fairly proficient in Latin.

This chapter will situate Parr’s selective practice within the compositional processes current in sixteenth-century England. She had access to a selection of intellectual tools that raised her awareness of the need to tailor her text to what was commonly held by her audience or audiences. Through hints and vague statements Parr allowed her readers to assimilate *Prayers* into either conservative or evangelical devotional regimes. In so doing she not only negotiated with the Henrician state, but also represented the regime’s pragmatic attitude to moderate heterodoxy. To give her prayer emotional force, Parr employed a carefully modulated acoustic design. Her excerpts became ‘euphonic’ versicles. Her oration achieved its full rhetorical force when vocalised. As it was intended to be spoken, it may be inferred that it was intended to be heard. For this reason, though it contained no outright evangelical content, it could still function as a performance of evangelical identity within their gatherings.

## **II. Vagueness and the Negotiation of Confessional Difference**

In negotiating competing religious identities, Parr exercised considerable caution in inventing and organising her material. She demonstrated a keen awareness of the theological tenor of both conservative and reformed theories of justification. In emphasising the role of grace in salvation Parr did not automatically align herself with evangelical thought. Rather, she occupied a middle space in which the minimal synergism of traditional fifteenth century theology (which was averred in *The Necessary Doctrine*) and the radical monergism of Lutheran-

influenced evangelicalism overlapped.<sup>718</sup> By deploying Colossians 3:1 as an initial *status caussae*, Parr oriented her reader's expectations towards whatever body of justificatory doctrine they had internalized. The reader could subsequently reconstruct the remainder according to that doctrine. The result simultaneously enabled a degree of freedom to the conscience while ensuring that the outward act was submissive, and entirely in keeping with Henrician orthodoxy.

In selecting her *loci*, Parr would have followed a strategy of *inventio* similar to that outlined in chapter II.<sup>719</sup> She would have chosen passages according to the topics of a prepared theme.<sup>720</sup> Underwriting the theories of *inventio* current in 1545 was an epistemology that authoritative speech was grounded in awareness of social reference. Following the doctrine of Northern European humanists such as Agricola (1444-1485), Erasmus (1466-1536) and Melanchthon (1497-1560) compositional *inventio* was increasingly underpinned by the theory and practice of commonplacing.<sup>721</sup> Under certain fixed headings, scholars systematically collected *loci* from their reading that would together provide *copia* or copious material for subsequent writing efforts.<sup>722</sup> Drawing from various authoritative texts, *loci communes* were common because they pithily embodied social consensus on a subject matter.<sup>723</sup> For example, the Frisian dialectician, Agricola, argued in his 1484 *De Inventione Dialectica* that the critical function of *loci* was that they allow anyone to 'speak probably' on a subject.<sup>724</sup>

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<sup>718</sup> The difference between monergism and synergism is that between doctrines of justification in which God alone saves and those in which man's free will cooperates.

<sup>719</sup> See above, p. 112-113.

<sup>720</sup> Parr may have had access to these ideas through her connections with graduates from St John's College, Cambridge, notably George Day, John Cheke and Roger Ascham (see below, pp. 185-186) Henry VIII's 1535 injunctions to the University of Cambridge required instruction in the rhetorical writing of Rudolph Agricola and Melanchthon's *De Rhetorica*; see James Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1873), p. 630.

<sup>721</sup> For commonplacing, see Crane, *Framing Authority*, passim; Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), passim.

<sup>722</sup> Walter Ong, *Rhetoric Romance and Technology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), p. 29.

<sup>723</sup> Crane, *Framing Authority*, p. 75; Marta Spranzi, *The Art of Dialectic Between Dialogue and Rhetoric: The Aristotelian Tradition* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), pp. 89-91.

<sup>724</sup> C.f. Lisa Jardine, 'Distinctive Discipline: Rudolph Agricola's Influence on Methodical thinking in the Humanities', in Fokke Akkerman and Arie Johan (eds.), *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius, 1444* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), pp. 38-57, pp. 38-45.

What we call 'probable' in discussion is not only what is probable, [but] it is namely (as Aristotle said) what appears to be the case to all, or to most, or to the most knowledgeable...This allows a good orator to speak convincingly even on things which nobody else has seen nor which anyone will believe.<sup>725</sup>

Here Agricola and his co-theorists of commonplaces were developing Aristotle's concept of *doxa* or *endoxa*. The idea of *doxa* appeared throughout Aristotle's corpus. The most significant use for inventional practice was that in the *Topics*, where Aristotle defined dialectic as a process by which to 'find a line of inquiry whereby we shall be able to reason from opinions that are generally accepted'.<sup>726</sup> Hence Agricola's later statement in *De Formando Studio* (1484) that the function of *loci* was 'to convey common things and, so to speak, public things to everyone'.<sup>727</sup> Likewise the thesis of book I of Melanchthon's *De Rhetorica* was that the strongest arguments come through *loci communes* determined by social use:

I therefore call commonplaces the forms of things that best conform to the uses of human things and letters.<sup>728</sup>

These textual fragments functioned as proverbial appeals to the intellectual, ethical or emotional character of one's auditors:

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<sup>725</sup> Rudolph Agricola, *De Inventione Dialectica* (Strasbourg: Iohannes Knoblochus, 1521 USTC-691264), fols. 51v-52r: *probabilile in dissere[n]do non solu[m] id esse, quod reuera probabile est, hoc est, quemadmodum Aristoteles inquit, quod uel omnibus uidetur, uel plurimis, uel sapientibus...quae neque quisquam alius uidit, neque quisqua[m] sit crediturus*; c.f. Aristotle's definition in the Aristotle, *Topics*, trans. W. Pickard Cambridge [Online edn. [http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z\\_-384\\_-322\\_\\_Aristoteles\\_\\_01\\_Organon\\_5\\_Topics\\_\\_EN.pdf.html](http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z_-384_-322__Aristoteles__01_Organon_5_Topics__EN.pdf.html), accessed 7<sup>th</sup> January 2015], l.l: *endoxa* are 'those opinions are 'generally accepted' which are accepted by every one or by the majority or by the philosophers – i.e. by all, or by the majority, or by the most notable and illustrious of them'.

<sup>726</sup> Aristotle, *Topics*, I.I and VIII.XIV; see also Robert Boulton, 'Aristotle: Epistemology and Methodology', in Christopher Shields (ed.), *The Blackwell Guide to Ancient Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 151-162, passim. The translation of *endoxa* as *probabilius* comes from Cicero and Boethius, see Spranzi, *The Art of Dialectic*, p. 90.

<sup>727</sup> Rudolph Agricola, *De Formando Studio* (Paris: Prigentii Calvarini, 1550 USTC-[unregistered]), sig. B3r; Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 169-173, Agricola also extended the content of dialectic to include those things that were certain, i.e. that which was indisputably true for all people.

<sup>728</sup> Philip Melanchthon, *De Rhetorica Libri Tres* (Basel: Iohannes Frobenius, 1519 USTC-683808), p. 70: *voco igitur locos communes, formas rerum, quae fere in usum rerum humanum et literarum cadunt*.

if...probability, has the first place among the parts of persuasion,  
 what then, I ask, is more probable than what no one denies?  
 What has greater appearance of truth than that which the  
 consensus of the ages, of the nations, as if by voting, will  
 approve?<sup>729</sup>

*Inventio* was therefore a case of discerning and judging how and when to defer to community belief in order to achieve 'probable' speech.

Parr positioned herself within multiple spheres of social reference by selecting a textual form and a *status* that depended on internal dispositions. She made no controversial doctrinal statements and she did not imply a non-linguistic setting or framework that affiliated her text with either conservative or evangelical practice. The language of *Prayers* was substantially performative rather than constative. That is, following the definition of the philosopher John Austin (1911-1960), that the words constituted an act (of prayer in this instance) by virtue of their being uttered. They derived their force through the speaker's meeting of certain non-linguistic 'conditions of felicity'.<sup>730</sup> Stated correctly, according to a 'conventional procedure', a 'happy' performative' may be said to have taken place.<sup>731</sup> Among these conditions of felicity is a correct inward disposition, whether of thoughts or emotions.<sup>732</sup> *Prayers or meditations* invokes these dispositions, but it does not define them. There was a 'division of linguistic labour' between textual speaker and reader, where the reader reconciled these invocations with their own theological referents.<sup>733</sup> Switching the referential

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<sup>729</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagia*, DEROO, ordo. II-1, passim, pp. 63-64: *si...probabilitas, ad persuadendum vel primas obtinet partes, quid, quaeso, probabilius quam quod nemo non dicit? Quid verisimilius quam id quod tot artatum, tot nationum consensus et velut idem suffragium comprobavit*; See Daniel Kinney, 'Erasmus Adagia: Midwife to the Rebirth of Learning', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 11 (1982), pp.169-192, passim, esp 177-182.

<sup>730</sup> Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, pp. 12-15; see also David Bellos, *Is that a Fish in your Ear* (London: Particular Books, 2011), pp. 72-73; Austin's definition has been critiqued by John Searle, who argues that performatives still have constative value, being either true or false. Nevertheless, he concedes that performatives still require the fulfilment of the nonlinguistic criteria to have force, see John Searle, 'How Performatives Work', in Daniel Vanderveken and Susumu Kubo (eds.), *Essays in Speech Act Theory* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002), pp. 85-108, passim and p. 98.

<sup>731</sup> Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, p. 14.

<sup>732</sup> See above, pp. 139-140.

<sup>733</sup> Typically the 'division of linguistic labour' between speakers in the same language allows them to rationalise the meaning of a vague term within a shared frame of reference, where the definition is

context from evangelical to conservative or vice versa did not undermine the performative value of *Prayers* for readers in each community.

The un-interpreted quotation from Colossians 3:1-2 at the opening of the text hints at this emphasis on inner dispositions. There is no way of confidently asserting the headings under which Parr selected her *loci*. There are no textual divisions or sub-headings. The nearest thing to a paratextual orientation point in her composition is this quotation prefacing the main text:<sup>734</sup>

If ye be risen again with Christe, seeke ye the thinges, whiche are aboue, where Christe sitteth on the right hande of god. Sette your affection on thinges which are aboue: and not on thynges, whiche are on the earth.<sup>735</sup>

This does not state the commonplace heading, but it may perhaps be thought of as the *status causae*.<sup>736</sup> The *status* of an oration was a term from Melanchthon's treatment of deliberative rhetoric in *De Rhetorica*.<sup>737</sup> It may be thought of as the statement of the case, or origin point from which an oration proceeds. Less determinate of the *inventio* than a heading, the *status* was nevertheless a critical tool for the reader as well as the author. It intimated something of how the parts of an oration would cohere.<sup>738</sup> Colossians 3:1-2 was about the orientation of the

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either understood imperfectly by the speakers or is contextual, in this case it allows a reader to make what they would of the material, see Hilary Putnam, *Representation and Reality* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), p. 22ff.

<sup>734</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 196ff.

<sup>735</sup> *Prayers*, sig. A1v. Notably, Parr takes the quotation from Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, see *The Newe Testament*, trans. William Tyndale (Antwerp: H. Peetersen van Middelburch, 1535 RSTC – 2828), fol. 228r.

<sup>736</sup> This is not to say that this was a rhetorical practice of which Parr was certainly aware, but rather than it fitly characterises the function of this quotation in interpreting the text; As argued above, Parr kept company with a large number of Cambridge-educated humanists, all of whom were required to have read Melanchthon's *De Rhetorica*. Therefore it is perfectly possible that she was acquainted with the concept, see above, n. 720.

<sup>737</sup> Melanchthon, *De Rhetorica*, p. 75: *Est igitur status, ut paucis dicam, nihil aliud quam principale ac summum thema, in quo consistit controversia, & ad quod referri debent argumenta orationis omnia*; It should be pointed out that *Prayers* does not belong really to the genre of deliberative rhetoric, which concerned events in the future and deciding on a course of action, see Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I.VI. However, though Melanchthon declared the *status causae* to be properly a part of deliberative rhetoric, he did not exclude it from other genres.

<sup>738</sup> Melanchthon, *De Rhetorica*, pp. 75-76: *Ideoque de statu quaeritur in capite oration[m], ut sciri possit quorsum sint argumenta referenda. Multo fefellit in literas neglectus status, ita ut*



believer's affection and will. Traditional readings of the passage tended to give a voluntaristic interpretation, founding personal redemption upon 'right intention'.<sup>739</sup> This turning to the things of Heaven was an act of the will in concert with grace. By contrast, Protestant commentary stressed that the quest for things above was posterior to an irresistible motion of the grace of God. Melanchthon, for example, connected it to the doctrine of good works. Based on a severe interpretation of original sin and the bondage of the human will, he denied that man could do any good deed without grace.<sup>740</sup> The Italian convert, Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562), concluded from the verse that a Christian could will rightly or wrongly after election, without any subsequent infusion of grace. Yet, all such acts were still contingent on the first infusion of the grace of election.<sup>741</sup> From this departure, therefore, the text could be read in drastically different fashions.

John Radcliffe's response to the *status*, for example, showed how *Prayers* could be assigned theologically conservative meanings. Translating for his traditionalist step-father, Radcliffe altered the text's content and the syntax (*inventio* and *elocutio*) to assign the orator greater agency in achieving salvation. Most unequivocally conservative in their connotations are two passages where

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*nonnunq[ue] dilaniata sint argumentorum membra, quae natura cohaerebant, aut comissa inte se violenter, quae dissidebant, ob id solum, quod uera status ratio exciderat.*

<sup>739</sup> See, for example, Thomas Aquinas, *Super Epistolam Colossienses*, [Online edn.

<http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1225->

1274,\_Thomas\_Aquinas,\_Biblica.\_Super\_Epistulam\_ad\_Colossenses,\_LT.pdf, accessed 7<sup>th</sup> January 2016], chapter III, lectio I: *Circa primum duo facit, quia primo instruit eos de habenda recta intentione finis: secundae de rectitudine humanae actionis, ibi mortificate*; Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (Venice: Octavian Scot, 1488 ISTC-in00132000) [online edn.

<http://www.umilta.net/NL5.pdf>, accessed 4<sup>th</sup> January 2016], sig. 10r-v: *ap[osto]l[u]s i[n]dixit, colos[sienses], ad tenendu[m] fidei v[er]itate[m] & ad p[er] caue[n]du[m] pseudo ap[osto]l[orum] falsitate[m]. hic c[on]ueniente[r] inducit eos ad s[er]ua[n]du[m] vit[a]e s[an]c[t]itate[m] ipsos de morib[us] i[n]forma[n]do...[non] i[n] bonis terrenis po[n]endo fine[m]...sed i[n] bonis caelesti[bus] q[ui] no[n] appare[n]t.*

<sup>740</sup> Philip Melanchthon, *Scholia in Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses* (Wittenburg: Joseph Klug, 1545 USTC-692353), sig. L2v: *Nunc addit doctrinam de bonis operibus, quae est altera pars doctrinae Christianae. Neq[ue]; vero satis est Christianos nosse haec praecepta morum, seu legem. Verum oportet prius tenere doctrinam beneficio Christi. Primum enim necesse est scire quomodo consequamur remissionum peccatorum...propter Christum...fide accipi. Deinde necesse est nos obedire legi Dei. Sed quoniam non praestamus integram obedientiam propter horribilem naturae nostrae infirmitatem.*

<sup>741</sup> Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Una Semplice Dichiaratione sopra gli XII Articoli delle Fede Christiana*, trans. Mariano di Gangi et al, in Mariano di Gangi et al (eds.) *The Peter Martyr Library* (Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1994) 9 vols, vol. 1, pp. 27-79, p. 49.

Radcliffe introduced the idea of human will as 'satisfactory'. When Parr petitioned God to make her will identical with His own, Radcliffe asked that his will become satisfactory:

May your will be mine and mine [yours], ever satisfactory to  
yours.<sup>742</sup>

Later, when Parr petitioned that she be punished to correct her, Radcliffe asked for the same thing as before:

Strike my backe and my bones as it shall please the, and make  
me to bowe my croked will unto thy will.<sup>743</sup>

Castigate me, according to your kindness, that my will satisfies  
yours.<sup>744</sup>

This articulation of satisfaction situated Radcliffe within traditional ideas of sacramental penance. The final part of the penitential act, satisfaction (after contrition, confession and absolution) was the atonement, through works, for sins committed.<sup>745</sup>

The minimalisation of voluntary effort in individual sanctification was consonant with the theologies of justification circulating within the Church from the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>746</sup> Radcliffe's speaker identified satisfaction with the believer's right will responding to and cooperating with grace. Good works were effectively redundant for satisfaction. In this he represented the theology of grace and justification associated with the enjoinder that a believer is 'to do what is in him'.<sup>747</sup> As a pastoral tool, this formulation tended to be used in response to

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<sup>742</sup> Radcliffe, fol. 4r: *Tua voluntas sit mea et mea sit, semper tuae satisfatiam*; For Parr's English, see below p. 189.

<sup>743</sup> Prayers, sig. c7v.

<sup>744</sup> Radcliffe, fol. 27r: *Castiga me pro tua bonitate, ut voluntas mea tu[a]e satisfaciat*.

<sup>745</sup> See Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, passim.

<sup>746</sup> This is not meant to attribute theological literacy to a boy who may have been no older than fifteen. Rather, Radcliffe's ready acceptance of a minimum requirement of a right intention was result of theological developments that were widely applied in devotional literature and preaching in the two-hundred years prior to his translation.

<sup>747</sup> For the origins and detailed analysis of this idea in theological writing, see Berndt Hamm, *Reformation of Faith* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp.88-105; Heiko Obermann, 'Facientibus quod in se est Deus non denegat Gratiam: Robert Holcot, O.P. and the Beginnings of Luther's Theology', *Havard*

penitential scrupulosity. When penitents felt insufficiently aggrieved by their sins or insufficient love of God, they were enjoined to 'do what is in them'.<sup>748</sup> The popular Dominican preacher, Johannes Herolt (d. 1468), explained in his sermon for the eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost that:

all grace comes from God and yet man is unjustified without grace because prevenient grace, by which God anticipates man, is always ready to activate and stir up free will in him because it is in [man] to do and to consent to [God]. Which thing being done [man] will have sanctifying grace...because God's intention moves the human heart to grace; when man does what is in him he may have all grace.<sup>749</sup>

God's mercy, not a penitent's works, were the efficient cause of salvation. God had freely committed himself to give grace to those who did what is in them, who desired salvation, even though that act had no condign value.<sup>750</sup> By responding positively to God's prevenient grace (*gratia gratum data*) the penitent would be infused with sanctifying grace (*gratia gratum faciens*), which would justify them.<sup>751</sup>

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*Theological Review*, 55, no. 4 (1962), pp. 317-342, passim; Susan Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 43-46; Charles Trinkaus, 'The Problem of Free Will in the Renaissance and Reformation', in *Renaissance Essays*, vol. 1 (1968), pp. 187-199, p. 190-191.

<sup>748</sup> Anne Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 130-131.

<sup>749</sup> Johannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli Super Epistolas Dominicales* (Ulm: J.Jainer [1475] ISTC-[unregistered]), sig. o6r: *omnis gratia a deo veniat & tamen inexcusabilis est homo si gratia non habuerit, quia gratia gratis datur per qua[m] homo preuentus a deo semper presto est liberum arbitrium excitare & commouere et hoc quod in se est facere & ei consentire...quia hoc est ad gracia[m] se habilitare quia de intentione dei mouentis cor hominis ad gratiam est q[ua]n[do] facit homo quod in se est omnem gratia[m] habeat*; This idea, though not always this form of words appears throughout late medieval preaching, the widely printed Italian Franciscan, Roberto Carracciolo, (1425-1495) discussed it in sermon 28 in *Sermones Quadragesimales de Poenitentia* (Lyon: Nikolaus Phillipi, 1479 ISTC-ic00178000), fol. 148v; see also Mirk, *Festial*, vol. 1, p. 65: 'we mythe do also myche penance as alle oure ospring mythe do/ it were to lytyl to quyton vs to oure Lorde God. Bot god of his grace aloweth a gode wylle'; The influence of these preachers is evident from the print circulation of their sermons. The various collections of Herolt's sermons went through more than eighty-four editions. Carracciolo's went through more than fifty and Mirk's went through nineteen. See Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the reformation*, appendix; see also Suso's discussion of desiring salutary emotional states while going through the motions of prayer; Suso, *Horologium Sapientiae*, sigs. K1r-v: *si nec affectu passionis nec gratulationis desiderio moueris...Verumtamen perseuera petendo: pulsando: qu[a]erendo donec accipias*.

<sup>750</sup> For the terminological distinction between condign and congruent merit see Obermann, 'Facientibus quod in se est', p. 328.

<sup>751</sup> Alistair McGrath, *Iustitia Dei* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 96-111.

Radcliffe demonstrated the importance he attached to a responsive, cooperative will in his alterations to the syntax of *Prayers*. He frequently recast the orator as an active coparticipant in the work of personal sanctification rather than as a passive recipient of grace. Early on, he changed a passive description of God's immutable blessedness by making the speaker into a first-person blesser:

If thou wilt I be in light, be thou blessed. If thou wilt that I be in darkness be thou also blessed. If thou vouchesafe to comforte me, be thou highly blessed.<sup>752</sup>

If you should want me to be in light, I will bless you, or if you want me to be in shadow I will give you thanks. If you should be pleased to console me I will praise your name.<sup>753</sup>

Later the orator was adjusted from an indirect object to a first person actor.

And therefore what so euer I haue beside the, it is nothing to me: for my heart maie not rest ne fully be pacified, but only in the.<sup>754</sup>

And whatever I have besides you, I regard that as nothing, for my heart may not be quieted.<sup>755</sup>

On at least two further occasions, this pattern repeats itself, with Radcliffe casting the speaker as a more active coparticipant in their salvation.<sup>756</sup> In effect, these statements changed from constative statements to synergistic performatives, if accompanied by the appropriate inclination of the will.

Radcliffe's use of the concept of mortification also indicated his synergistic view of salvation. Translating Parr's metaphor of crucifying the flesh, Radcliffe

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<sup>752</sup> *Prayers*, sig. A3v.

<sup>753</sup> *Radcliffe*, fols. 5v-6r: *Si uolueris me esse in luce, benedicam tibi, uel si uolueris me esse in tenebris gratiam etiam agam tibi. Si tu dignatus fueris consolari me laudabo nomen tuum.*

<sup>754</sup> *Prayers*, sig. A7r.

<sup>755</sup> *Radcliffe*, fol. 10r: *Atque meo quicquid habeo praeter te, id nihili estimo nam cor meum non potest quiescere.*

<sup>756</sup> *Radcliffe*, fol. 4v, his use of a first-person subjunctive arguably assigns greater agency to the orator than the imperative used in *Prayers*, sig. A2v and On *Radcliffe* fol. 15r, he changes an imperative supplement, to be carried out by God, into a first person declaration, *Prayers*, sig. b3v.

chose the formulation 'mortifies his flesh'.<sup>757</sup> Parr mentioned mortification earlier in *Prayers*, but her use of the term was passive, describing an effect of grace. There was also no implication of physicality.<sup>758</sup> Parr consistently removed intimations of physically penitential activities from her excerpts.<sup>759</sup> For example, culling a passage from chapter LV (L), she removed from it references to castigation of the flesh:

but if thou withdrawe thyselfe from me as thou hast sometyme done/ than may not thy seruant renne the waie of thy commaundementes as he dyd fyrste/ but then he is compelled to bowe his knees and knocke his breste/ for it is nat with him as it was before.<sup>760</sup>

But if thou withdrawe thysefe from me (as thou has sometyme dooen) then may not thy seruant renne the waie of thy commandements, as I did before. For it is not wyth me as when the lanterne of thy gostly presence did shyne upon my head.<sup>761</sup>

Parr's only reference to mortification was therefore left vague. Radcliffe's divergence from Parr was one of emphasis and context rather than absolute distinction. Protestants did have a concept of physical mortification.<sup>762</sup> However, in light of his references to satisfaction and use of active syntax, Radcliffe's deployment of mortification conveys a sense of salvific agency.<sup>763</sup> For Radcliffe,

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<sup>757</sup> Radcliffe, fol. 24r: *Beatus est ille homo...qui virtute spiritus carnem suam mortificat; Prayers*, sigs. C3r-v: 'Blessed is that man, that...with the feuour of the spirite crucifieth his fleshe'.

<sup>758</sup> *Prayers*, sig. A2v.

<sup>759</sup> Parr made similar alterations elsewhere, removing passages that either dealt with physical mortification or implied a desire for bodily abstinence. In *Prayers*, sigs. B2r, B2v B3r and she removed a references to bodily necessity from a list of urges to be resisted, a petition for God to quell the corruption of bodily feeling and a mention of the 'troublousness' of bodily necessity all from chapter XXX (XXVI), *Folowing*, fols. 96r-96v. On sig. B5r, she removed a reference to mortification of the flesh from an excerpt from chapter XXXIX (XXXIV), *Folowing*, fols. 106r-106v.

<sup>760</sup> *Folowing*, fol. 128r.

<sup>761</sup> *Prayers*, sig. C5v.

<sup>762</sup> Melancthon, for example, who seems to have identified mortification chiefly with fasting and temperance, emphasised that mortification was not satisfactory; Philip Melancthon, *Loci Communes* (Basel: Johannes Oporini, 1562 USTC-673135), pp. 661-662.

<sup>763</sup> Bynum demonstrates how mortifying practices functioned as a form of agency; in the case of holy women physical mortification allowed to make their bodies into symbolic sites of devout feeling; see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 293-294.

mortification was a cooperative activity in which the believer signalled one's right intention and assent to prevenient grace.<sup>764</sup> An earlier addition of the adjective *supplex* signals the significance of physicality in his response to the text's initial call to display right intention:

Wherefore to your mercie I doo appeale.<sup>765</sup>

Therefore, kneeling, I appeal to your mercy.<sup>766</sup>

Though it meant 'supplicant', the *supplex* suggested kneeling, thus recalling physically demanding or painful activity demanded for physical mortification.<sup>767</sup> While doctrinal precision is absent, Radcliffe inclined towards presenting the voluntary endurance of physical pain or discomfort as evidence of a cooperating will.<sup>768</sup> Pain, therefore, symbolised his adherence to a synergistic and essentially Catholic understanding of the role of the will in Salvation.

A straightforward characterisation the syntax of evangelical prayer as passive and that of conservative prayer as active cannot be justified. Nevertheless, considered in the context of his invocation of satisfaction and mortification, Radcliffe's alterations suggest belief in the importance of the exercise of a free-will in the process of justification. These changes were interpretative rather than corrective. It is possible that he knew of Parr's evangelical inclination and tried deliberately to correct the text to make it more palatable to Henry Fitzalan's traditionalism. However, Radcliffe's more obviously conservative adjustments were part of a broader pattern of interpretative alterations the text. Many had no confessional implications. For example, he often interpreted metaphors. 'Furious tempests' became 'grave adversities', a 'crown' became 'glory'.<sup>769</sup> He translated

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<sup>764</sup> Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 26-28.

<sup>765</sup> *Prayers*, sig. B8v.

<sup>766</sup> *Radcliffe*, fol. 20r: *Igitur supplex accedo ad misericordiam tuam*.

<sup>767</sup> For a contemporary definition, see Robert Estienne, *Dictionarium seu Latinae Linguae Thesaurus* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1531 USTC-37981), fol. 876r: *supplex...qui flexis genibus precatur*.

<sup>768</sup> It should be noted that Radcliffe used mortification on two further occasions. *Radcliffe*, fol. 17r, translates Parr's 'my carnal affections...are not crucified' as *carnales me[a]e affectiones...neque perfecte mortificantur*; see *Prayers*, sig. B5v. At *Radcliffe*, fol. 22v, Parr's 'destroie in me all carnall desyres' became *mortifica in me omnes carnales concupiscentias*. Though the orator is not presented as the agent of mortification, these references suggest Radcliffe's understanding that mortification is a process carried out by God and man in conjunction.

<sup>769</sup> *Radcliffe*, fol. 16r and 24v: *graues aduersitates* and *gloriam*; *Prayers*, sig. B4v and C4v.

the line 'But if thou withdrawe thy selfe from me' into an allusion to the Psalms 'But if you turn your face from me'.<sup>770</sup> A key exercise of humanist pedagogy was for the student to take one phrase and express it as many ways as possible as a means of gaining facility with language.<sup>771</sup> Since Radcliffe's aim in translating was not only to give an edifying text but also to demonstrate his learning, this may have been an expression of that training.<sup>772</sup> A number of times Radcliffe used the phrase *obsecro te*, which, though it had no explicitly doctrinal content, was almost certainly borrowed from the prayer of the same name. This was common in Books of Hours and strongly suggests the translator's familiarity with traditional Latin Prayer.<sup>773</sup> The changes were the product of his assimilating the text using the doctrinal assumptions and texts that he was familiar with. Rather than being a hostile reader, Radcliffe read *Prayers* as an orthodox oration that he could gift to his traditionally minded step-father.

*Prayers* could equally have modelled an evangelical assumption of the bondage of the will. The Lutheran position abandoned the minimal synergism of fifteenth-century Christianity.<sup>774</sup> Instead, realising the implications of 'original sin' in an act of *metanoia* became the departure point for Lutheran prayer.<sup>775</sup> Self-condemnation rose to the fore and developed into the central act of devotional performance.<sup>776</sup> In traditional theology, the compunctious throwing of one's self on God's mercy had been one possible response, among several, to the problem of

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<sup>770</sup> Radcliffe, fol. 25r: *si tu faciem tuam a me conuerteris*; *Prayers*, sig. C5v; the petition 'turn not your face from me' appears in several psalms, for example, Psalm 143(142):7: *ne abscondas faciem tuam a me*.

<sup>771</sup> See, for example, Desiderius Erasmus, *De Copia*, DEROO, ordo. I-6, pp. 21-281, p. 34 ff.

<sup>772</sup> Radcliffe, fol. 1r, he describes the text as *exercitatione*.

<sup>773</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 262-265; For the Latin prayer, see Anon, *Prymer* (Paris: Widow of Thylman Keruer, 1534 RSTC-15985), fols. 83r-84v; It should be pointed out that Elizabeth, who was raised in the house of the evangelical Anthony Denny, does not use the form '*obsecro te*' anywhere in her translation. Though there is no way of being sure, it is possible that she did not conduct her private devotions in Latin, see British Library, Royal MS Royal 7 D X, passim.

<sup>774</sup> Hamm, *Reformation of Faith*, pp. 99ff.

<sup>775</sup> *Metanoia* (μετάνοια) was used throughout the Bible and the reformers interpreted it as meaning coming to one's right mind through grace. It was put forward by the reformers in opposition to sacramental penance. It joined the ideas of repentance and conversion, insofar as the one could not happen without the other. See Martin Luther, *Letter to John von Staupitz 1518*, in WA, vol. 1, pp. 525-527, passim; Marshall, *Religious Identities*, pp. 26-27; Torrance Kirby, *Persuasion and Conversion* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 100-104 for the pre-reformation use of the term.

<sup>776</sup> See Hamm, *Reformation of Faith*, pp. 168-169; Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering*, pp. 90-92.

sin. By contrast, the repentant act of despairing at man's incorrigibly fallen nature was a compulsory component of Lutheran experience. As an heir of Adam's sin, an orator was unable to freely love God and contribute to their salvation:

For, [those who argue for man's free will think that] a [good] work is done for God and from the heart and that it is naturally motivated by an act of the will, all of which impart something to the substance of the act. They are inattentive fools. For the will, if it were permitted, would never do what [God's] Law commands...Indeed it opposes the Law, it withdraws from it and thus does not fulfil it.<sup>777</sup>

Faithful prayer, therefore, had to be grounded in the acknowledgement of personal concupiscence. Only by repudiating the ability to will rightly could an orator then rely on God's mercy with true faith.<sup>778</sup> Lutheran models of private devotions, and those of English evangelicals influenced by them, frequently began with a confession or proclamation of this ontology. Luther's exposition of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer declared:

We judge and accuse ourselves with our own words declaring our disobedience to God and that we do not do His will. For if we did His will, then this petition would be unnecessary. For it is terrifying to hear "Thy will be done". What can be more terrible than our admission that God's will is not being done and that we disdain His commandment, which we clearly confess again in this petition?...it is important that our will be mortified and that God's alone is done. And so you must confess you are a sinner who cannot do God's will.<sup>779</sup>

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<sup>777</sup> Martin Luther, *Commentary on Romans*, in WA, vol. 56, pp. 1-528, p. 279: *Nam propter Deum et ex corde factam operationem et naturaliter voluntati[a]e actu elicitio, qu[a]e omnia ad substantiam facti communicant non attendentes stulti. Quod voluntas, si liceret, nunquam faceret, qu[a]e lex precipit...Inuita enim est ad legem, auersa est a lege ac ideo non implet.* The formulation 'substance of the act' that was derived from the synergistic model of good works proposed in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Book I-II, Question 114, Article 3.

<sup>778</sup> Jared Wicks, *Luther's Reform* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), pp. 59-61.

<sup>779</sup> Martin Luther, *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*, in WA, vol. 2, pp. 80-130, 99-102: *Richten wir uns selber und vorlagen uns mit unsern eygen worten, das wir gotte ungehorsam seind unnd seinen willen nit thun. Dann wen es also umb uns stund, das wyr gottes willen theten, so wer das gebeth*



Typically, the formula for such prayers proceeded to follow a model similar to that of compunction. By confessing God's promises, the orator transitioned from desperate self-accusation to hopeful petition.

*Prayers* incorporated not one, but many transitions of this kind. Parr arranged her text into passages of *petitio* alternating with passages of *narratio*.<sup>780</sup> The tone fluctuated from dismayed reflection on personal sin to hopeful petition for grace and back again. The rhetorical emphasis was on the *narrationes*. Evangelical prayer, throughout Henry's reign, was heavily reliant on statements of *doxa* for its rhetorical force.<sup>781</sup> An orator was moved not by linguistic ornament, but by statements of doctrine or scriptural precedent. Though he was not strictly describing a prayer, the prolific evangelical pamphleteer, Thomas Becon (1511-1567) articulated this evangelical understanding of persuasion:

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*umbesunst. Darumb ist es erschrecklich zu horen, wan wyr fagenn 'deyn will geschee? Dan was magk schrecklicher seynn, dann das gottes willen nit geschicht und man sein gebot vorachtet das wir slerlich wydder uns selbst yn dyszem gebeth bekennen?...gros es sey, das unser will getodet werd, allein gottis will geschehe. Und also mustu dich bekennen als eynen sunder der sulchen willen gotte nit leysten mag; translation based on that in Jaroslav Pelikan (ed.) *Luther's Works* (Philadelphia: Uhlenberg Press, 1957-1986), 55 vols, vol. 42, pp. 15-81, p. 45. For English examples of the Lutheran prayer formula, see, for example, the admonition of the evangelical writer, Thomas Becon (1512-1567), *The Newe Pathway to Prayer* (London: John Mayler, 1542 RSTC-1734), sigs. F7r-G1r, esp. F7r-F7v: 'Fyrste it is requisyte, that he which entendeth to pray consydereth deply w[ith] hymselfe his state & case wherein he stondeth...he shal easely perceyue that all hys senses and thoughtes are prone to euell, and that he is not able of hym selfe to thi[n]ke a good thought; see also [William Marshall], *A Prymer*, sig. E4r, [2]A1vff; Cope, *A Godly Meditation*, sig. A3vff.*

<sup>780</sup> The application of the term *narratio* here is loose. The passages read as *narratio* in the sense of 'an exposition of a thing that is useful for persuading'. They are also *confirmatio* insofar as they present to the orator proofs of their need to pray and of the efficacy of those prayers. For the quotation, see *Quintilian* IV.II.XXXI: *Narratio est...factae utilis ad persuadendum expositio*.

<sup>781</sup> In addition to its rhetorical meaning (see above, p. 166) *doxa* had a theological meaning that enhanced its rhetorical force in prayer. The Greek (δόξα) had been used, throughout the New Testament, to signify God's renown among the faithful. In the Vulgate, the word was usually translated as *gloria* or its cognates, which retained the meaning of manifest truths about God. See Augustine, *In Evangelium Joannis Tractatus*, PL, vol. 135, cols. 1379-1976, cols. 1842-1843: *Sive glorificatus, sive clarificatus dicitur ex uno verbo graeco utrumque translatum est, quod est δοξαζειν. Δόξα enim quae graece dicitur, latine gloria est*; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Book II-II, Question 132, Article 1: *Nobis namque expedit Deum nosse, non illi, nec eum quisque cognoscit, si non se indicet ipse qui novit. Unde patet quod Deus suam gloriam non quaerit propter se, sed propter nos*; This meaning of glory was preserved in Protestant readings of the New Testament. See, for Example, Philip Melanchthon, *Annotationes in Ioannem* (Nuremberg: Johannem Petreius, 1523 USTC-611681), fols. 53r, 77v 127r-v. Use of *doxa* in prayer therefore had more than the socially created force of widely held beliefs. Notionally, at least, religious *doxa* consisted of a set of divinely ordained signs and meanings, which were unquestionably true.

God's wisdom hath no need of ornate eloquence nor  
 painted colours, which of the faithful for all the simplicity of it,  
 is ever accepted and received joyfully, I shall most instantly  
 desire God that he may so direct my pen & instill in such a  
 manner into my breast the knowledge of the most holy sacred  
 scriptures, which abundantly declare how mighty in operation  
 the true & Christian prayer is, that I through rehearsing them  
 and God's holy spirit working therewith also may accend,  
 kindle, inflame & set on fire Christian men's hearts with the  
 love of faithful prayer.<sup>782</sup>

The only valid recourse to build faith was to doctrine or its sources in Scripture. Evangelical prayers of this kind, therefore, had a somewhat enthymematic structure.<sup>783</sup> That is to say that the prayer set up premises in the *narratio* from which a probabilistic conclusion or supplement that followed in the *petitio*. Religious *doxa* notionally had the force of certitude. If a person at prayer fulfilled the criterion of faith, the transition from doxastic *narratio* to faithful *petitio* would be experienced as deduction rather than as choice. Orators begged for mercy because they knew their will to be enslaved to sin. An orator asked for God's grace because they knew that God was faithful.<sup>784</sup> By grounding itself in doxastic certitude, rhetoric of this kind sidestepped the suggestion of synergism that the use of more elaborate rhetorical strategies might entail.<sup>785</sup> For evangelical

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<sup>782</sup> Becon, *A Newe Patheway vnto Prayer*, sig. E7r; This was Melancthon's theory of how rhetoric functioned in prayer. Either through doxastic statements or awareness of *doxa* triggered by invocation of its object, the orator's recall of doctrine was how prayer functioned to bring them to faith. See Melancthon, *Loci Communes*, p. 557.

<sup>783</sup> They do not always follow the order of a syllogism, the concluding *petitio* often precedes the *narratio* premise; see above, pp. 134-136 for the use of syllogistic constructions in fifteenth-century prayer.

<sup>784</sup> It was for this reason that the inability to pray was such an existential problem for Protestant orators. It implied both a lack of faith and by extension lack of grace, see Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 102-107.

<sup>785</sup> Protestant theories of religious persuasion often expressed suspicion of *elocutio*. In *De Officio Concionatoris* (1529) Melancthon argued that to have over-much sollicitude for verbal ornament was to imitate the 'conjectures and tricks' of lawyers and forensic rhetoric. Sacred speeches should convince using only the 'clear testimonies' of Scripture. The Lutheran theologian, Veit Dietrich (1506-1549), whose homiletical manual, *Ratio Brevis* (1529), with which Melancthon's *De Officio* was often printed, allowed ornament so long as it was 'invited' or warranted by Scripture. See Veit Dietrich, *Ratio Brevis* (Ulm: J. Varnier: 1545 USTC-[unregistered]), sig. A3r: of ornament, *huc*

readers, these prayers were performative rituals in which the testimony of the spirit of faith confirmed to orators their membership of the community of the elect.<sup>786</sup>

Parr did not infiltrate evangelical doxa into her text. Rather, she employed the common symbolic capital of traditional and reformed cultures. Her invocations of original sin and human weakness were entirely conventional. Yet, the symbols that she chose and her manner of presenting them permitted an evangelical reading. Importantly the *dispositio* that she chose conformed to the reformed model. The prototypes that influenced Parr to use her excerpts in this way are unknown. One source may have been Richard Taverner's (1505-1575) *Epitome of the Psalmes*, translated from *Precationes Christinae* by the Strasbourg reformer, Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541).<sup>787</sup> Another possibility is William Marshall's English *Primer*.<sup>788</sup> Both texts probably circulated in Parr's household. Taverner's *Epitome* provided a source for the morning and evening prayers of Parr's maid, Elizabeth Tyrwhit.<sup>789</sup> Selections from both books appear in the prayer book of Lady Jane Grey, who entered Parr's household in 1547.<sup>790</sup> In 1546, responding to the possibility that her chambers might be searched, Foxe reported that Parr's ladies bore away their illegal books.<sup>791</sup> As an unauthorised primer,

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*adhibe[n]dae sunt Sententiae e Sacris literis; Philip Melanchthon, De Officiis Concionatoris, in Veit Dietrich, Ratio Brevis, sigs. D7r-E5r, sig. D8r: of the preacher doceat...:id non potest effici nisi certissimis et planissimis scripturae testimoniis nec ualent hic coniecturae aut strophae quae saepe plurimum Oratori in Civilibus causis prosunt; Also Noteworthy is the discussion of elocutio in De Rhetorica, where Melanchthon discussed figures of thought but to all intents and purposes omitted figures of diction, Melanchthon, De Rhetorica, sig. H1rff.*

<sup>786</sup> C.f. Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise*, p.p. 57-58.

<sup>787</sup> Wolfgang Capito, *Epitome of the Psalmes*, trans. Richard Taverner (London: R. Clerke, 1539 RSTC-2748), sigs. [\*2r-v] makes clear that this translation was patronised by Thomas Cromwell; Wolfgang Capito, *Confessio Peccati, Meditationes et Precationes Christianae ad Imitationem Psalmorum, Compositae* (Strasbourg: Wendelin Rihel, 1536 USTC-686267); See also John Yost, 'German Protestant Humanism', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 32 (1970), pp. 613-625, p. 617.

<sup>788</sup> See the prayers that conclude each of the canonical hours, all of which display this structure, [William Marshall], *A Prymer*, sigs. G4v-H1r, H2r-H2v, H3v, I1r, I3r, K2r-K2v.

<sup>789</sup> Susan Felch (ed.), *Elizabeth Tyrwhit's Morning and Evening Prayers* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 34-35 and 42.

<sup>790</sup> Janel Mueller argues that it was actually part of Parr's oeuvre. See Mueller (ed.), *Katherine Parr*, pp. 489-490; That provenance has been refuted by James Carley who maintains it to be the work of a professional scribe. That Lady Jane Grey possessed it is attested by some notes in her hand addressed to her father. See James Carley, 'review', p. 5; London, British Library, Harleian MS. 2342, fol. 79r.

<sup>791</sup> A&M, p. 1424.

Marshall's text was unequivocally illegal.<sup>792</sup> Nothing strictly outlawed Taverner's *Epitome*.<sup>793</sup> Nevertheless, both are connected to Parr's household and both displayed this enthymematic structure. The paraphrases of Taverner's text amalgamated Lutheran doxa with the Biblical source. In Psalm 51:3-4, for example, Adam's original sin was established as a predicate.<sup>794</sup> It was supplemented with God's promise to save and concluded with a petition:

The same spirite [of baptisme] mought alwaye conduyte vs tyl  
[the] infeccion and vyce which we haue dronke[n] in by Ada[m] be  
perfectly take[n] away...I knowledge o lorde my transgressio[n],  
afore my eyes are my trespasses, my studies and doyinges to be  
altogether synne...true arte thou in the worde of thy promyse,  
whiche Christe declared vnto vs, I meane, that by hym our synnes  
be released...Declare thy truth, graunt grace so as my synnes  
beynge forgeuen, I may knowledge thy bountye.<sup>795</sup>

In a similar example, Parr invoked the 'old man' of Ephesians 4:22 to establish the predicate of original sin:<sup>796</sup>

But alas myne olde man, that is my carnall affections, liue still in  
me and are not crucified, nor perfectly dead. For yet striueth the  
fleshe against the spirite...But thou good Lorde, that has  
lordeshype ouer all and the power of the sea, to assuage the rises  
and surges of the same, arise and helpe me...For there is to me  
none other hope nor refuge.<sup>797</sup>

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<sup>792</sup> Hughes and Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, pp. 348-349.

<sup>793</sup> Emphasising justification by faith, being a kind of unauthorised English translation of the Scriptures and translated from a Lutheran source, it might not have told in Parr's favour. Books by Capito were cited in the case against the martyr Richard Bayfield (d.1531), see *A&M*, p. 1163.

<sup>794</sup> *The Byble in Englyshe* (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1540 RSTC-2070), sig. BB2v: 'Agaynst the onely haue I synned and done this euell in thy syght, [that] thou myghtest be iustified in they sayinge & cleare when [thou] art iudged'.

<sup>795</sup> Taverner, *Epitome*, sig. f4r.

<sup>796</sup> For evangelicals, 'old man' was short-hand; see for example [William Marshall], *A Prymer*, sig. K1r; William Tyndale, *A Path Waye into Holy Scripture* (London: Thomas Godfray, 1536? RSTC-24462), sig. E6r; c.f. *The Newe Testament*, fol. 120v.

<sup>797</sup> *Prayers*, sigs. B5v-B6r; The reference to God's power over the sea is a reference to Psalm 89:10.

There was nothing intrinsically evangelical about Parr's formulation; unlike Taverner she did not declare all her doings to be sin. As a biblical symbol, the 'old man' was common to conservatives and evangelicals. Its meaning, here, had to be intuited by the reader. The text it preceded could support an evangelical reading as easily as it could a conservative one. Typically *Prayers* gave its evangelical readers more ambiguous triggers for reflection on evangelical doxa than the invocation of 'old man'. Nevertheless, the formula of narrating individual weakness, complementing it with a reminder of divine beneficence and then responding with an appropriate petition for grace was sustained throughout the text:

Thy holy life is our waye to the...excepte thou haddest gone  
before...who would endeauour hymselfe to folowe the?  
Seynge we be yet so slowe and dulle, hauynge the lyght of  
thy blesed example and holy doctrine, to lede and directe us.  
O lorde Jesu, make that possible by grace that is to me  
impossible by nature.<sup>798</sup>

How far this statement of human turpitude functioned as an act of *metanoia* depended on the orator. The non-determinacy of *Prayers* ultimately demonstrates the extent to which the text was incomplete until actualised by performance.<sup>799</sup> Conservative or evangelical meanings were manifested through communication and representation, for example, through Radcliffe's translation or performance at Parr's afternoon collations. Nevertheless, evangelical interpretation can be said to have been invited, insofar as the structure fulfilled the enthymematic requirements of reformed prayer.

As a text authorised by and somewhat representative of Henry VIII's governance of the Church of England, *Prayers* embodied a calculated doctrinal compromise. This was characteristic of religious policy in the later years of Henry's

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<sup>798</sup> *Prayers*, sig. A4v.

<sup>799</sup> This is a characteristic of all texts; all end in a reading. Iser, *The Act of Reading*, p. 107.

reign and the corollary of entrenched religious division.<sup>800</sup> Parr had taken on the role of royal image maker in 1544 when she published her translation of Fisher's *Psalmi seu Precationes*. Like *Prayers*, it was a 'notably "safe"' text, emphasizing the parallels between Henry and the biblical David in such a way that did not push a doctrinally controversial line.<sup>801</sup> In 1544 her objective had been to encourage unity in time of war. Her goal in 1545 was very similar. Deliberate imprecision characterised the government's negotiation of the Royal Supremacy. Though the polemicists of the Supremacy lauded Henry as the vicar of God, the praxis of that doctrine was more measured.<sup>802</sup>

Henry and his government frequently compromised in order to encourage divergent religious groups to cooperate with the state.<sup>803</sup> The government tacitly acknowledged that it had limited power to compel consciences. The formularies of Church doctrine, the *Bishops' Book* (1537) and later the *King's Book* (1543) carefully trod the line between conservative and reforming dogma, frequently espousing vague or even contradictory positions.<sup>804</sup> Regarding the role of the will in salvation, the *King's Book* was decidedly conservative.<sup>805</sup> It contained an article on free-will and its article of justification restated the minimal synergism of the late medieval church.<sup>806</sup> Yet the force of its pronouncements was substantially mitigated by the

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<sup>800</sup> See Ethan Shagan's analysis of religious politics in the diocese of Canterbury; Shagan, *Popular Politics*, pp. 197-232.

<sup>801</sup> White, 'The Psalms War and Iconography', pp. 554-557; James, *Katryn Parr*, pp. 209-210, p. 210 and passim.

<sup>802</sup> For detailed accounts of two noteworthy polemicists of the supremacy, see Richard Rex, *A Reformation Rhetoric: Thomas Swynnerton's The tropes and figures of scripture* (Cambridge: RTM, 1999); Tracey Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: the careers of Sir Richard Morison, c.1513-1556* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>803</sup> For a case of the same practice applied to conservatives, see the careful wording of oaths administered to former rebels in 1537 following the Pilgrimage of Grace. The rebels were most often bound to Henry as king, but were not made to acknowledge his headship of the Church of England or continuing church reform. Jonathan Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 166-167; Michael Bush and David Bownes, *The Defeat of the Pilgrimage of Grace* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1999), p. 370.

<sup>804</sup> The *King's Book* was enforced by statute law, see Raithby (ed.), *The Statutes at Large*, vol. 3, p. 388; c.f. John Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council* (London: HMSO, 1890), p.127.

<sup>805</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 442-443; Rex, *Henry VIII*, pp. 156-157; Ryrie, *The Gospel*, p. 45.

<sup>806</sup> The *King's Book* took its view from the writing of John Fisher, mediated by the master of Trinity College, John Redman (1499-1555), see MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: a Life*, pp. 344-347.

way this doctrine was presented. The article on free-will, in particular, concludes with a decidedly ambiguous injunction:

All men be also monished, and chiefly preachers, that in this high matter they looking on both sides so attemper and moderate themselves that neither they so preach the grace of God that they thereby take away free-will, nor on the other hand so extol free will that injury be done to the grace of God.<sup>807</sup>

Likewise, the article on justification was less than straightforwardly conservative. Its structure was such that it would begin by endorsing one position and then qualify that support. While the *King's Book* endorsed a view that was essentially traditional it sounded, at times, decidedly evangelical in its emphasis on grace and man's fallenness.<sup>808</sup> This was a conscious response to religious division.<sup>809</sup> By way of this contrived ambiguity, Henry's government left some room for negotiation, even with determined heretics.<sup>810</sup> Parr's *Prayers* was consonant with that policy. It skirted doctrinal controversy and provided a form of devotion that was inoffensive to all parties. With the appended Prayer for the King, it wore its support for the Supremacy on its sleeve. Implicitly accepting dispute, *Prayers* explored the possibility of a polity nevertheless unified in prayer under Henry's authority.

As both queen and evangelical, Parr straddled the line between Henry's government and those with whom they had to negotiate. Like the vast majority of evangelicals, Parr had no desire for martyrdom.<sup>811</sup> As may be seen in Foxe's

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<sup>807</sup> Lloyd (ed.) *Formularies of Faith*, p. 363.

<sup>808</sup> Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, p. 587.

<sup>809</sup> George Bernard, 'The Making of Religious Policy, 1533-1546: Henry VIII and the Search for the Middle Way', *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), pp. 321-349, pp. 334 and 347-348.

<sup>810</sup> Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation*, pp. 170-197; Megan Hickerson, 'Negotiating Heresy in Tudor England', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 46 (2007), pp. 774-795, pp. 781-783 and 791-793; Susan Wabuda, 'Equivocation and recantation during the English Reformation: the "subtle shadows" of Dr Edward Crome', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), pp. 224-242, passim.

<sup>811</sup> Those who compromised with the regime were often the butt of criticism from their more radical co-religionists. The evangelical polemicist, John Bale (1495-1563), for example disparaged those who reconciled with the regime, singling out Thomas Cromwell's protégé, Richard Taverner, and his translations of the *Confession of Augsburg* and Erasmus Sarcerius' *Loci Communes*. John Bale, *Yet a Course at the Romyshe Foxe* (Zurich: Oliver Jacobson, 1543 RSTC-1309), fol. 7r: Significantly, Taverner had hedged his commentary predestination, so that it left room for good works, and

representation of the plot against her in 1546, she belonged to the ranks of those for whom submission and compromise were acceptable. When confronted with the possibility of arrest, her response was submission and silence, protesting her ‘womanly weakness’, rather than recantation or defiance.<sup>812</sup> Despite the conservatism of the King and Church doctrine in the 1540s, most evangelicals sought to find an acceptable *modus vivendi* with the hostile regime.<sup>813</sup> Negotiation between state doctrine and private conscience is almost always hidden or else becomes visible only at points of extreme stress, as in heresy examinations. *Prayers*, however, demonstrated a more prosaic working out of that relationship.

### III. Euphony, Place and Performing Evangelical Identity

Further to the rhetoric of *doxa*, Parr was also alive to the rhetorical possibilities of sound. *Prayers* displayed, throughout, an interest in use of acoustic experience to intensify the effects of prayer. Using euphony, Parr created a rhetorically captivating or pleasing text. Though *Prayers* avoided explicit doctrinal affiliation, as a spoken ritual it could act as confirmation of evangelical identity. In the privacy of Parr’s afternoon collations, this book became the mediator for group participation in evangelical *doxa*.

*Prayers* expresses a highly euphuistic sensibility. Parr had a sophisticated understanding of rhetorical *elocutio*, specifically figures of diction. How Parr learned euphuism is uncertain. The origins of the style are unknown and the mimetic possibilities numerous. As Croll has pointed out, euphuism had no one line of development. It was a style with multiple coextant origins in both classical Greek

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weakened Sarcerius’ criticism of the traditional theologies of justification by omitting his excoriation of the Papacy; see Richard Taverner (trans.), *Co[m]mon Places of Scripture* (London: John Byddell, 1538 RSTC-21752.5), fols. 12r-14r and 82r; compare with Erasmus Sarcerius, *Loci Aliquot Communes* (Frankfurt: Christian I Egenolff, 1538 USTC-673180), fols. 18v-19r.

<sup>812</sup> *A&M*, pp. 1424-1425; Pender, *Early Modern Womens Writing*, pp. 87-89.

<sup>813</sup> Even the normally uncompromising evangelical John Hooper (c.1495-1555) agonized in a letter to the Swiss reformer, Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), over Elisha’s instruction to Naaman the Syrian that he could kneel with his pagan master in the Temple of Rimmon (2 Kings 5:18-19); see Anon (ed.), *Epistolae Tigurinae* (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1848), pp. 24-25: This verse became the *locus classicus* for those who wanted to argue that it was licit to dissimulate in order to prevent danger; see Ryrie, *The Gospel*, pp. 73-74; c.f. Otto Brunfels, *Pandectarum Veteris et Noui Testamentarum* (Strasbourg: Johannes Schottus, 1527 USTC-682368), fol. 52v.



and post-classical Latin.<sup>814</sup> If it is accepted that Parr could read and write Latin, then it is quite possible that she had access to a Latin *Imitatio* and that she drew inspiration from there.<sup>815</sup> That she was mimicking the Latin might explain why euphuistic stylings are not prominent in *Psalms or Prayers* or in her later *Lamentations of a Sinner*.<sup>816</sup> Atkynson and Beaufort had made little effort to replicate the style in their translation. *Folowing* retained much of the acoustic style of the Latin, albeit in a mangled form. There were comparatively few English models for Parr to imitate. One possibility was John Bouchier, Lord Berners (1469-1532). His translations of French and Spanish Romances used the style; a number of these had been printed.<sup>817</sup> Another possibility was that she received some instruction in the technique as a result of her connection to John Cheke (1514-1557) and Roger Ascham (1515-1568). Both men were appointed tutors to Prince Edward in 1543.<sup>818</sup> Both used euphuistic stylings in their writing.<sup>819</sup> For example, Ascham's 1544 poem *In Anniversarium Natalem Diem Edwardi Principis* demonstrated most of the attributes of euphony, including isocolon, parison and *homoeoteleuton*:

*Profani cedite,  
Procul hinc iam naeniae,*

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<sup>814</sup> There are classical precedents in the Greek of Isocrates and the Latin of Cicero. It has even been suggested that it has origins in Psalmic couplets, see Croll, "The Sources of Euphuistic Rhetoric", pp. 251ff.

<sup>815</sup> Notwithstanding any unrecorded printed copies, the catalogue of the Royal library at Westminster taken in 1542 lists two printed copies of *Imitatio Christi* (Now London, British Library, IX.Lat.248(1) and IA40084). See James Carley (ed.), *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London: British Library, 2000), p. 53.

<sup>816</sup> It should be pointed out that in *Lamentation*, the very high, selfconsciously artificial structure of euphuism would have transgressed the rhetorical principal of *decorum*. That is to say that the words may not have been fitting to the matter, which was to be an unfeigned, heartfelt and edifying declaration of her conversion.

<sup>817</sup> Friedrich Landmann, 'Shakespeare and Euphuism', *Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society* (1882), offprint, pp. 241-276, passim, credited Lord Berners as its originator in English, though this has subsequently been dismissed; See Joyce Boro (ed.), *The Castell of Love: A Critical edition of Lord Berners's Romance* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2007), p. 44.

<sup>818</sup> Haugaard, 'Katherine Parr', p. 346; James McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 215ff argued that Parr was instrumental in having these men appointed to be Edward's tutors; Maria Dowling, 'The Gospel and the Court', in Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (eds.), *Protestantism and the National Church* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 59-71, passim, challenged this reading, assigning these appointments to Henry's groom of the stool, Anthony Denny (1501-1549).

<sup>819</sup> For example, John Cheke uses euphony freely throughout *The Hurt of Sedition* (London: John Day, 1549 RSTC-5109.5), passim.

*Procul hinc quaerimoniae,  
Luctus et odia.*<sup>820</sup>

How far Parr's transactions with these scholars extended into matters of poetic theory can only be speculated on. Ascham communicated frequently with Katherine's sister Anne, though only one letter from him to Katherine exists.<sup>821</sup> She came to know Cheke rather better, sending him gifts of game from the hunt.<sup>822</sup> However, their use of euphuism differed from Parr's. Whereas the euphony of *Prayers* was almost ubiquitous, Cheke and Ascham generally used euphony to confer distinction on particular sentences within longer passages of prose. Owing to Parr's application of the technique throughout *Prayers*, it is probable that she was mimicking the *elocutio* of Latin original.

*Folowinge's* replication of the *Imitatio's* characteristic euphuism was haphazard.<sup>823</sup> For example, the, *oratio* from Book III chapter XV read:

*Tua voluntas mea sit: et mea voluntas tuam semper sequatur et  
optime ei concordet. Sit mihi unum velle et nolle tecum; nec aliud  
posse velle aut nolle: nisi quod tu vis et nolis.*

In this example, there is a patterned web of rhymes across two sentences. In the first period there are two cola of unequal length within which there are parisonic couplings situated at an equal distance from a central point. In the first sentence *sit* corresponds by parisonic *homoeoteleuton* to *et*, *mea* and *voluntas* are repeated an equal syllabic distance from the central colon and *tua* and *tuam* are connected by polyptoton. In the second sentence there is a less syntactical balance but there is a like emphasis on parisonic effects both within and across cola, so *velle* corresponds to *nolle* and their repetitions. The effect was to create aurally striking, balanced phrases to be appropriated and internalised by readers and orators. The translator

<sup>820</sup> John Giles (ed.), *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham* (London: J. R. Smith, 1864-5), 4 vols, vol. 4, p. 279; See also Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1545 RSTC-837), passim.

<sup>821</sup> Giles (ed.), *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, vol. 1, pp. 88-89 and 111-112.

<sup>822</sup> TNA, E101/426/3, fol. 31.

<sup>823</sup> See above, pp. 156-157.

of *Folowing* tried to capture some of Kempis's euphuistic effects. His rendering of the same passage goes:

Thy wyl be my wyl: and my wyl alwaye to folowe thy wyl and beste  
 accorde therwith. Be there always in me one wyl and one desyre  
 with the and that I haue no power to wyll or nat to wyl but as thou  
 wylte: or wyll nat.<sup>824</sup>

Here the translator dispensed with the variety of sounds and syllabic balance of the Latin to create one parisonic effect across all cola and sentences using the homonyms will and to will.

Frequently, however, the translator's elaborative style and desire to clarify textual meaning caused him to dispense with any kind of verbal ornament in favour of a translation that makes specific some of the vaguer passages of the text. He completely dropped the complex of rhymes and isocolon from the following passage of book I chapter XXII (XX):

*In silentio et quiete proficit anima deuota et discit abscondita  
 scripturarum: ibi invenit fluenta lacrimarum, quibus singulis  
 noctibus mundet; ut conditori suo tanto familiario fiat: quanto  
 longius ab omni saeculari tumultu degit.*

In scilence and quyetnesse of herte a deuoute soul profiteth  
 moche and lernyth the hydde sentences of scrypture and fyndeth  
 there also many swete teres in deuocyon wherwyth euery nyght  
 she washyth her myghtely from all fylth of sin that she be so much  
 the more famylyer with God as she us dysseuered from the  
 clamorous noyse of worldly besynes.<sup>825</sup>

The translator made no attempt to replicate the *elocutio* of the passage, instead focussing on interpreting its content. The translator's practice continues his strategy of making the text more demotic. Spiritual progress was not a function of

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<sup>824</sup> *Folowyng*, fol. 81v.

<sup>825</sup> *Folowyng*, fol. 23v.

external conditions but of the internal peace of the heart. The significances of *silentio et quiete*, *lacrimarum* and *saeculari* were not left open but clarified. The meaning of the passage was transferred from Kempis's quasi-monastic *otium* to a sense much closer to compunctious consolation. Likewise in the following passage from book III chapter XXVII (XXIII *oratio*), the task of defining the central metaphor's meaning overrode the any considerations replicating the isocolon of the second and third pair of *cola* (*dic...flaveris*) or replicating all of the *homoeoteleuton* (though it does retain some of its sibilance):

*Impera ventis et tempestatis; dic mari: quiesce, et aquiloni: ne flaveris: et erit tranquillitas magna.*

Co[m]maunde the wyndes & tempestes of pryde to cesse/ byd the see of worldly couetyse to be in reste/ and charge the northyn wynde/ that is to say the fendes temptacion that it blow not/ and then shalbe great tranquylytie in me.<sup>826</sup>

The translator of *Folowing* was committed to producing a text that was simultaneously accessible to a broad lay readership and unambiguously orthodox. Though there was a long tradition of using verse and rhyme in lay instruction, the translator tended to sacrifice those effects for the sake of greater specificity.<sup>827</sup>

By contrast, Parr almost always chose passages containing a high density of figures of diction and in some cases enhanced them. So when appropriating the passage above, she did so thus:

Thy will be my will and my will be alway to follow thy will. Let there be alwaie in me one will, and one desyre with the, and that I haue no desyre to will, or not to will, but as thou wilte.<sup>828</sup>

Parr's cutting down of the first period and punctuation in the second served to dramatically accentuate the parisonic repetition of will. Additionally by changing

<sup>826</sup> *Folowyng*, fol. 94r; The association of the North wind with the devil almost certainly comes from Hugh of Folieto, *De Bestiis*, PL, vol. 177, cols. 9-164, col. 20.

<sup>827</sup> For a survey of this tradition, see Targoff, *Common Prayer*, p. 57ff.

<sup>828</sup> *Prayers*, sig. A2r.

out ‘power’ for a second ‘desyre’ she creates a second rhyme much closer to the multiple parisonic correspondences characteristic of the Latin original. Elsewhere, in this case an excerpt from book III chapter LIII (XLVIII), Parr demonstrated the same editing strategy. She abbreviated both *cola* to obtain parity of length. She also added an adverb to the second *colon* and repositioned that of the first so that both had multiple rhyming sounds in correspondent positions:

This blessed day shineth to Sayntes in heuen with euerlastinge  
brightnes and clerely/ but to us pylgrymes in earth it shyneth nat  
but a farre of as through a myrour or glasse.<sup>829</sup>

This daie shyneth cleerly to thy saintes in heuen with euerlastyng  
bryghtnesse, but to us pilgrims in earthe it shyneth obscurely,  
and as a mirrour or glasse.<sup>830</sup>

Another technique Parr used was to alter the mood of one or other *cola* so that the syntax matched. In this example, excerpted from book III chapter XLV (XL), Parr altered the second subclause of the second *cola*. It went from passive to active and she changed the terminal sound so that syntax and sound matched the first *colon*:

For whan a man pleaseth him selfe he displeaseth the and  
whan he delyteth in mannes praysings he is depreued fro the  
true vertues.<sup>831</sup>

Who so pleaseth hym selfe without the, displeaseth the: and  
he that deliteth in mennes praysings, loseth the true praise  
before the.<sup>832</sup>

Examples of this sort could be multiplied to incorporate practically all of Parr’s excerpts from the text. It is evident that text’s sound was central to Parr’s

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<sup>829</sup> *Folowing*, fol. 123r.

<sup>830</sup> *Prayers*, sigs. B8v-C1r.

<sup>831</sup> *Folowing*, fol. 113v.

<sup>832</sup> *Prayers*, sig. B7r.

appropriation of the *Imitatio*. This emphasis on textual acoustics made it highly likely that Parr's intention was that her text be read aloud.

The merit of euphuistic acoustics was that they pleased or more importantly captivated the auditor. Intelligibility was not the only determinant of listeners' affective response.<sup>833</sup> By the sixteenth-century, Christians uninstructed in Latin had nevertheless been using Latin prayers for hundreds of years; a practice characterised by Saenger as 'phonetic literacy'.<sup>834</sup> Their sounds could induce or communicate affective states independently from the semantic properties of the words they signified. Vocalised words, after all, were sounds with bodied forms that had physiological-affective force. To be intelligible, sounds had to be forms, bearing an imprint, as it were, from the *imaginatio* of the speaker.<sup>835</sup> Traversing the space from larynx to ears, they physically impressed themselves into the substance of the auditor's senses. Vives described 'harsh' syllables reaching out 'to scratch' the ears.<sup>836</sup> Heavy use of figures of diction situated *Prayers* in the grand or grave oratorical style.<sup>837</sup> Amplification was governed by the rules of *decorum*. Words and style befitted the gravitas of the subject or cause.<sup>838</sup> Each level of style was distinguished by its degree of dissimilarity from quotidian speech. The grand style was most dissimilar, being most polished and ornate. Classical manuals, notably Cicero's *De Oratore*, frequently compared it with poetry.<sup>839</sup> In choosing the grand style

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<sup>833</sup> Milner, *The Senses and the Reformation*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>834</sup> Paul Saenger, 'Books of Hours', in Andrew Bourke and Roger Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 141-173, passim; c.f. Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours* (New Haven: Yale university Press, 2007), pp. 58-60.

<sup>835</sup> Aristotle, *On the Soul*, trans. J. A. Smith [online edn. h [http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/-384\\_-322,\\_Aristoteles,\\_06\\_On\\_the\\_Soul,\\_EN.pdf](http://documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/-384_-322,_Aristoteles,_06_On_the_Soul,_EN.pdf) accessed 1<sup>st</sup> January 2016], 2:8; Juan Luis Vives, *De Anima* in Mayans (ed.), *Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia*, pp. 89-237, pp. 315-316; Philip Melanchthon, *De Anima* (Paris: Christian Wechelum, 1540 USTC-18416), pp. 197-198.

<sup>836</sup> Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi*, p. 106: '*Nam in aure est quidam tactus, unde radi dicimus sono aurem*'. The psycho-physiological effect of pleasant sounds is carried further by the early English humanist Richard Pace (c.1483-1526) who prescribed music as a remedy for sickness of body and mind; see Richard Pace *De Fructu* (Basel: Ioannes Frobenius, 1517 USTC-69112), pp. 30-31.

<sup>837</sup> *Rhetorica*, IV.VII.XXI-X.XV; The tripartite division into grand, middle and low was the model for most subsequent treatments of the 'levels of style'; Especially following its takeup by Augustine, see *De Doctrina*, cols. 105-106.

<sup>838</sup> Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, III.VII; *De Oratore*, III.XVII-XXIV.

<sup>839</sup> Cicero's ornate style made use of poetic forms without being bound by the strict rules of poetry, see *De Oratore*, III.XLIV.CLXXV: *eam coniunctionem, sicuti versum, numerose cadere et quadrare et perfici volumus*.

for *Prayers*, Parr set verbal ornament at the heart of her rhetorical strategy. Its rhetorical success was yoked to the emotive powers of its quasi-poetic, aural harmonies. In effect, Parr modelled devotion acoustically.

Euphony produced acoustic harmony. Harmony, rhetorical manuals often averred, gave orations their power to captivate or compel their auditors.<sup>840</sup> This power tended to be intuited rather than fully explained. Vives listed the affective forms that syllables and sentences could communicate in his rhetorical manual, *De Ratione Dicendi*. Yet, while advising attention to agreement of sound and syllable length, he was only occasionally specific how a sound could be ‘pleasing...displeasing, harsh, gentle, sweet, rough charming delightful [or] enticing’.<sup>841</sup> The governing principle throughout was decorum.<sup>842</sup> According to Vives’ analysis, for example, Parr’s repetition of the ‘l’ in ‘will’ would have created a harmony of ‘full’, ‘gentle’ sounds. The letter ‘l’ itself he listed among sweet sounds, so long as it was not aspirated.<sup>843</sup> As a terminal letter, it conferred completeness to the syllable.<sup>844</sup> By making ‘will’ the final syllable of successive *cola*, she harnessed the natural prosodic stresses of English, which tends naturally to soften the final syllable, to emphasise the soft sound. Parr’s rhyming repetition, therefore, joined an attractively gentle sound to the idea of uniting wills with God. The repeated ‘s’ in ‘bryghtnesse’ and ‘glasse’, by contrast, yielded what Vives described as a ‘dull’ even ‘vulgar’ sound.<sup>845</sup> Sibilance emphasised the

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<sup>840</sup> Cicero extolled the value of rhythm and poetry as tools to grip the auditor, *De Oratore*, III.XLIV.CLXXIV: *Namque haec duo musici, qui erant quondam idem poetae, machinati ad voluptatem sunt, versum atque cantum, ut et verborum numero et vocum modo delectatione vincerent aurium satietatem*; Quintilian more specifically advised the ‘copulation’ of euphonious sounds, *Quintilian*, XI.III.XVI, ‘*Nam ut syllabae e litteris melius sonantibus clariores, ita verba e syllabis magis vocalia et, quo plus quodque spiritus habet, auditu pulchrius. Et quod facit syllabarum, idem verborum quoque inter se copulatio, ut aliud alii iunctum melius sonet.*

<sup>841</sup> Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi*, p. 106: *Facies soni sit nobis velut cutis soni as forma, et qualitas quaedam, unde gratus existit sonus, aut ingratus, asper, lenis, suavis, horridus, foedus, blandus, iucundus, alliciens*; C.f. *Quintilian*, XI.III.XIX: *Quaedam non tam ratione quam sensu iudicantur.*

<sup>842</sup> *Quintilian*, XI.III.XV and XVIII: *Diversus tamen usus: nam rebus atrocibus verba etiam ipso auditu aspera magis convenient.*

<sup>843</sup> Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi*, p. 106; Vives was ultimately discussing Latin and his views on the aesthetic properties of sound can function only as a rough guide to acoustic tastes. However, given that these effects were phonetic, they may have some bearing on how auditors received Parr’s writing.

<sup>844</sup> *Ibid*, p. 31.

<sup>845</sup> Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi*, p. 106-107.

theme of the lowliness and misery of life on earth. If successful, the euphony of *Prayers* functioned as a kind of sensory possession of an orator. They experienced the sounds as an affective impulse penetrating into the soul, right to the *phantasia*. As a counterpoint to the semantic content of the prayer, sound could help marry an auditor's affections to the words. Significantly, this rhetorical strategy did not depend on religious doctrine and could function across confessional boundaries.

The meanings of *Prayers's* euphony for Parr and her evangelical circle depended on the spaces in which the text was vocalised. Its use in privileged, private space would have allowed it to become a symbol of reformed beliefs that could be safely used in more public spaces where those doctrines were illicit. The core of Parr's religious life was her privy chamber. As her household was peripatetic, the physical attributes of the rooms themselves varied. Yet the basic configuration was always the same.<sup>846</sup> As far as it is possible to tell, the Queen's suite of apartments mirrored those of the King in all royal palaces.<sup>847</sup> The spaces graduated from a guarded watching chamber to a public presence or estate chamber, in which the queen gave audience and dined in state. Lastly, there was a restricted privy chamber, which was prohibited to all but its members and those invited by the queen.<sup>848</sup> Beyond the privy chamber lay the bedchamber. Guarded by her gentlemen ushers, the privy chamber, as Foxe described, could function as a site for illicit religious gatherings:

Quene Katherine Parre at that tyme his [Henry's] wife was very much given to the readyng of the holy scriptures: and she for the purpose had retained diuers well learned and holy persons, to instruct her thoroughly in the same, with

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<sup>846</sup> The organization of the court required that there was an identical graduated access at all royal residences, see Howard Colvin, *The History of the King's Works* (London: HMSO, 1975), 6 vols, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 11-15.

<sup>847</sup> Practically identical provision for spaces was in evidence at Hampton Court. Otherwise little evidence survives for the layout of Henry's other palaces. However, this parallelism is also strongly shown in the unexecuted design for a House for Henry VIII at Waltham-in-the-forest in Hatfield House, MS. CPM.18, see Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, pp. 15, 136, 302.

<sup>848</sup> Anon (ed.), *A collection of ordinances*, sigs. U4v-x1v.



whome as at all tymes conuenient she used to haue priuate conferences touchinge spirituall matters so also of ordinarie but especiaillie in Lent, euerie day after none for the space of one houre, one of her said chaplaines in her priuie cha[m]ber made some collation to her Ladyes & Gentlewomen of the priuy chamber, or other than were disposed to heare: in whiche sermons they oftentimes touched such abuses as in the church, then were rife.<sup>849</sup>

The contrast between the privy chamber and other spaces at court was marked. In May 1546, Lord Thomas Howard (1520-1582), second son of the Duke of Norfolk, was summoned before the Privy Council to answer charges of 'disputing indiscreetly of Scripture'. Clemency was offered to him should he confess, among other things, what he had said in the Queen's chamber.<sup>850</sup> It is not clear whether the council meant the privy chamber or the presence chamber. Given the Queen's control over the membership of the former, and the rules of secrecy that governed it, it is likely that he was overheard in the presence chamber.<sup>851</sup> That the meetings Foxe describes were afternoon assignations may itself have been an effort to maximise the privacy of these meetings. The duties of the members of the privy chamber were mostly confined to mornings and evenings. The Queen's bed would have to be made, but that accomplished the chamberers need not have remained in the private side of the apartments.<sup>852</sup> Though someone always had to keep the Queen's chambers while she was not in them, it was in the afternoon that Parr had most control over who would be in her privy chambers.

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<sup>849</sup> *A&M*, p. 1423; Foxe presents Henry as knowingly endorsing Parr's behaviour. This is probably just Foxe displaying his vested interest in painting Henry as an unswerving patron of evangelicalism.

<sup>850</sup> Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council*, p. 400.

<sup>851</sup> All persons appointed to the privy chamber were ruled by a bond of secrecy, Anon (ed.), *A collection of ordinances*, sig. x1v.

<sup>852</sup> Anon (ed.), *A collection of ordinances*, sigs. q4r-q4v: The presence of court professionals among her maids of honour, notably Anne Bassett and Dorothy Bray who appeared in the households of Henry's previous queens raises the possibility that not even the whole of her privy chamber shared her reformed sentiments. Henry VIII had a mixed privy chamber, though this seems to have been an effort to balance evangelical and conservative political forces; see Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 194ff; Wilson, *In the lion's Court*, passim.

The afternoon collation was a liminal community subsumed within the larger socio-linguistic fields of the court and the conservative Church of England. Their interactions within the privy chamber, while self-consciously transgressive, did not ineluctably compromise the participants' membership of that wider field.<sup>853</sup> Nevertheless, if these meetings can be said to have had ritual force, then they consisted in establishing a symbolic regime and social affiliation other than those they shared with nonparticipants.<sup>854</sup> Using *Prayers* within the bounds of this socially and legally liminal space had the effect of assigning and confirming meanings to symbolic signifiers that could subsequently be borne outside the privy chamber. In effect, the thoroughly legal *Prayers* could take over where the prohibited books left off. Evangelical meanings, assigned within the privy chamber, could be tacitly recapitulated and reactivated in alternative settings, public or private. The performance of *Prayers* at these collations, therefore, contributed to the cumulative process of conversion as resocialisation. It did not impose a new symbolic regime but confirmed new meanings to the signifiers of the traditional one. As speakers, those praying were simultaneously producers and percipients of a phenomenal field. Their participation within that phenomenal field had an indexical function.<sup>855</sup> It showed their coparticipants their awareness of what was happening there.<sup>856</sup> Predicated on a (spoken or unspoken) reformist understanding of *Prayers*, the gathered devotees gave voice to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.<sup>857</sup> Euphony was the tool for setting the affective mood. It mediated that mood between the orators. In effect it provided doxastic confirmation that an evangelical experience of textual meaning was happening.<sup>858</sup> Synchronous bodily and vocal appropriation of the text was the outward and audible symbol of communal

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<sup>853</sup> For liminality, see above, pp. 59-60.

<sup>854</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 104.

<sup>855</sup> Hanks, *Language*, pp. 208-209.

<sup>856</sup> Ragnar Rommetveit, *Words, Meaning, and Messages: Theory and Experiments in Psycholinguistics* (London: Academic Press, 1968), p. 185ff.

<sup>857</sup> Somatic symbolism was typically viewed with suspicion by evangelicals as mere outward show. Nevertheless, vocal harmony was one symbol that could be endorsed as a representation of spiritually salutary communal feeling; see Thomas Becon, *A Potacion* (London: John Mayler, 1542 RSTC-1749), sigs. l4r-v: Speaking of group singing he says, 'They syngynge and makynge melody togyther, signifieth theyr inward & vnfayned ioye, which they haue co[n]ceyued in theyr hertes for the redempci[n] that they haue in Christe Iesus'.

<sup>858</sup> In essence they were making it look right; see Lee, 'Making it Look Right', passim.

*metanoia*. Outside the privy chamber, the hearing or the memory of the striking phraseology of *Prayers* would, in the evangelicals, have activated distinct social ideas and bonds. Though its vagueness was an act of religious submission and compromise, its practice could as easily reinforce evangelical identities and solidarity.

Parr's doctrinally orthodox text could still therefore function as a personal symbol of her transgression. Practised privately, its emotive, euphonic cadences reinforced meanings imposed upon it by its communities of practice. Taken from the privileged space of the privy chamber and read elsewhere, *Prayers* could provide Parr and her entourage with a tool of silent confirmation of their separateness. Its acoustic structure, though attached to a conformist text, could provide aural cues for the recapitulation of salutary but socially deviant thoughts and emotions.

### **Conclusion**

The *Imitatio Christi* was attractive to evangelical appropriators. The monergistic patterns of thought that characterised evangelical theology were to a great extent already there. Most of the *Imitatio* presented a generalised model of religious intensity, framed rhetorically and centred on grace. The theological currents of minimal synergism that formed the prehistory of Lutheran monergism flowed through it. Little change was required to make it amenable to the reformers. *Prayers*, therefore, demonstrates the extent to which the differentiation of confessional groups was practical as opposed to doctrinal. Rather than creating a radical new symbolic structure, evangelicals were able to assign new meanings to the compunctious emotional scripts of *Imitatio*. It became instead a model for evangelical *metanoia*. To articulate the evangelical experience of repentance, Parr drew on the rhetorical possibilities of traditional religion. It was a submission to authority, but one that was made on her own terms. *Prayers'* casuistry, therefore, was one instance of the accommodations that enabled an evangelical identity to survive, even as it participated in the Henrician Church.

## Chapter IV: Appropriation and replacement in the *Imitationes* of the Protestants

### Introduction: Protestant Translations of the *Imitatio* in Elizabethan England

The *Imitatio Christi* not only survived the Reformation, it flourished.<sup>859</sup> From 1530 onwards, dozens of editions, expunged of popish ‘errors’, were printed across Europe in Latin and several vernaculars.<sup>860</sup> Each edition was infused with a polemical claim. In appropriating the *Imitatio*, Protestant editors situated themselves as Kempis’s heirs. Both they and he were members of the trans-historical, true Church.<sup>861</sup> The Augustinian author’s membership of the traditional Church was a matter of historical contingency. Kempis and his book were claimed in spite of their being products of fifteenth-century monasticism. Rhetorical criticism furnished Protestant translators with the tools to claim continuity with Kempis, while simultaneously demarcating the limits of that connection. *Decorum* and mimesis impelled translators to approach their task creatively. Predestinarian theology provided the filter through which Kempis’s true meaning could be discerned. Ultimately it was the language of devotion and the rhetorical transition from doubt and fear to hopeful faith that made the *Imitatio* attractive. Expurgated and embellished with prefaces and paratexts, Kempis’s manual of compunctious devotion emerged as a text that met the needs of Protestant orators searching for assurance of Predestination.

This chapter is principally concerned with the *Imitation* translated by the minister Thomas Rogers (1553-1616) in 1580.<sup>862</sup> He based his version on the 1563 Latin redaction by the Savoyard reformer and antagonist of Calvin, Sebastian

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<sup>859</sup> Owing to the variety of titles the various versions were given, this chapter will use *Imitatio* to refer to versions of the *Imitatio Christi* in general or to Kempis’s traditional text, *Imitation* to refer to Rogers’s version and *Imitando* to refer to Castellio’s.

<sup>860</sup> For the earliest, see see above, n. 3.

<sup>861</sup> The choice of the comparatively imprecise word ‘protestant’ is deliberate. The historical metanarratives and solifidian soteriology discussed in this chapter are doctrines shared to a degree by a number of Protestant sects. They are avowedly ‘Protestant’ doctrines. For this reason Protestant is to be preferred to the term ‘Church of England’. Containing a high proportion of ‘Church Papists’, it would be inappropriate to assign the doctrines, in an unqualified way, to the Church of England. Where, as will often be the case, Calvinism is to be discussed, then the more specific appellation will be used. Yet Castellio, though a Protestant, was certainly not a Calvinist. It is because of the variety of opinions to be unpicked in this chapter that the broader term is sometimes to be preferred.

<sup>862</sup> John Craig, ‘Rogers, Thomas (c.1553–1616)’, *ODNB* [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/23998?docPos=1>].

Castellio.<sup>863</sup> Castellio's stated aim was to remove all traces of superstition from the work and to make its language 'more Latin', that is 'from something more rustic into something somewhat more elegant'.<sup>864</sup> Most significantly, this led to the removal of book IV altogether and the purgation of most explicit references to traditional doctrines. Yet even Castellio's revised phrasing stayed close to Kempis and in places changed nothing. His edition was moderately successful: three Basel reprints followed, two in 1565 and another in 1576. In 1590 an edition was printed in Copenhagen. Further editions were produced sporadically throughout the next two centuries. It enjoyed a wide circulation and became well known in England; the pedagogue Roger Ascham praised its Latinity.<sup>865</sup> In 1567, the lawyer Edward Hake (fl.1564-1604), translated the first English, Protestant version from Castellio's edition, which was printed by Henry Denham (1556-1590).<sup>866</sup> For book four, Hake substituted a tract entitled *On the Reioyce and Gladnesse of the Godlye euen in this lyfe*, wherein he set out what he saw as the worldview of the elect, being marked out by their particular security and assurance in the mercy of God. This edition was a moderate success with three reprints, two in 1568 and another in 1571.<sup>867</sup> The text's success was sufficient for Denham to commission Rogers to re-translate Castellio's text.<sup>868</sup> Rogers's text, therefore, circulated among a readership that was already familiar with the *Imitatio* as a Protestant devotional text.

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<sup>863</sup> The most comprehensive work on Sebastian Castellio in English remains Hans Guggisberg, *Sebastian Castellio (1515-1563)*, trans. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); see also the work of Irena Backus on his Biblical translations in Irena Backus, 'Moses. Plato and Flavius Josephus: Castellio's Conceptions of Sacred and Profane in his Latin Versions of the Bible', in Bruce Gordon (ed.), *Shaping the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 143-163.

<sup>864</sup> *Imitando*, sig. a2v: 'de aegrestiore sermone in paulo mundiozem...latiniore[m]'.  
<sup>865</sup> Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: John Daye, 1570 RSTC-832), sig. L3v.

<sup>866</sup> Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation or Following of Christ*, trans. Edward Hake (London: Henry Denham, [1567] RSTC-23969); see also, Louis Knafla, 'Hake, Edward (fl. 1564–1604)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/11881>, accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2013].

<sup>867</sup> RSTC-23969.5c, 23970 and 23971.

<sup>868</sup> Rogers relates as much in *Imitation*, sigs.a8v-a9r: Though the cost of the books during the sixteenth-century can only be speculated on, a note in a 1640 edition of Rogers's translation records that the books was bought for 1s 6d at Ashford Fair (Kent) in 1642. Although the price may have been deflated by the very numerous reprintings, this was inexpensive either for bound or unbound books. See Cambridge, St John's College, y.a.1640.1, sig. a8v; see Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 16-17 for the practice of soliciting translations by printers and p. 30 for Green's speculative costing of *Imitation* at 1s unbound; c.f. Francis Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book Prices', *The Library*, 5, no. 2 (1950), pp. 93-112, passim (Johnson's prices are wholesale rather than retail).

Roger's edition became something of a bestseller. The ESTC records four reprints before 1600.<sup>869</sup> A further eleven editions were printed before 1640.<sup>870</sup> It also provoked a sequel; Roger's translation of Kempis's *Soliloquium Animae* was prompted, he claimed, by readers of his *Imitation*. The text was enhanced throughout with marginal references to biblical passages from which the main body was either derived or to which it was thematically linked. Rogers stated that his aim was to 'illustrate' the translation with scriptural references and where possible to 'expresse the phrase of holie Scripture' in his translation. The *Imitation*, therefore, was not only a translation of Castellio's *Imitando*, it was also mimetically linked to the Geneva Bible.

Rogers himself was a native of Cheshire and graduate of Christ Church Oxford, where he proceeded MA in 1576. He was ordained in 1578 and in 1581 became rector of Horringer in Suffolk. In the early part of his literary career, he was a translator, producing twelve books of a religious, devotional or pedagogical character, of which four might be classified as texts of 'Catholic' provenance; these 'corrected' texts comprised a manual of devotions attributed to St Augustine, *The Methode vnto Mortification* by Diego de Estella (1524-1578), a Spanish Franciscan, the *Imitatio* and another of Kempis's books, the *Soliloquium Animae* (1592).<sup>871</sup> Rogers's religious positions appear to have been thoroughly orthodox. His exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1559, *The English Creed*, situates him at one with the establishment of the Church of England. He expressed modest sympathy

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<sup>869</sup> RSTC-23974, 23975, 23976, 23977.

<sup>870</sup> RSTC-23980.5, 23981, 23982, 23982.3, 23982.5, 23982.7, 23983, 23984, 23985 and two editions printed in 1611 and 1640 that do not have an STC number.

<sup>871</sup> Patrick Collinson et al, *Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. civ-cvi; Anon, *A Right Christian Treatise, Entituled S. Augustines Praiers*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: Henry Denham, 1581 RSTC-950); Diego de Estella, *A Methode vnto Mortification*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: John Windet, 1586 RSTC-10542); Thomas à Kempis, *Soliloquium animae*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: R. Yardley, 1592 RSTC-23995); The Latin source for *A Right Christian Treatise* was substantially the work of John of Fécamp (d.1079), an Italian Benedictine and Abbot of Fécamp, and is printed in PL, vol. 40, cols. 901-943; c.f. Robert Sturges, 'Pseudo Augustinian Writings', in Karla Pollman et al (eds.), *Oxford Guide to the Reception of Augustine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3 vols, vol. 3, pp. 1612-1617, p. 1615; Diego de Estella, *Libro de la Vanidad del Mundo* (Toledo: Juan de Ayala Cano, 1562 USTC-351547); For the Latin of *Soliloquium Animae* see Pohl, vol. 1, pp. 89-346.

with those ministers who refused to subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>872</sup> However, there are suggestions that the inclination towards conservatism that eventually came to define him was present early in his career. Rogers was presented to Horringer by Thomas Sackville (1536-1608), first Baron Buckhurst and a religious moderate with a grant from Thomas Paget (1544-1590), fourth baron Paget and, in 1581, a recusant.<sup>873</sup> Later, he reputedly became a chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton (1540-1591), and at another, to the deeply conservative Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft (1544-1610), though the dates and details of these appointments are unknown.<sup>874</sup> In his 1607 re-working of the *English Creede*, Rogers would scarcely miss an opportunity to criticise puritanism.<sup>875</sup> In 1580, however, the twenty-seven year old Rogers was not the inveterate polemicist he would eventually become. He was a flexibly minded moderate able to communicate with conservative patrons but also understand the qualms of puritan clergy.<sup>876</sup>

Rogers's *Imitation* was published at a point when English religion was highly diverse. The Church of England comprised a broad range of often antagonistic constituents. Puritanism was a powerful force in the south-east and imbricated in the aristocratic patronal structures that determined the appointment of local clergy.<sup>877</sup> Elsewhere, however, Catholicism and traditional practices remained a

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<sup>872</sup> Thomas Rogers, *The English Creede* (London: John Windet, 1585 RSTC-21226), sig. \*3r.

<sup>873</sup> Rivkah Zim, 'Sackville, Thomas, first Baron Buckhurst and first earl of Dorset (c.1536–1608)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/24450?docPos=3>, accessed 9<sup>th</sup> July 2016]; Peter Holmes, 'Paget, Thomas, fourth Baron Paget (c.1544–1590)', *ODNB* [online edn. <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/21118?docPos=2>, accessed 9<sup>th</sup> July 2016].

<sup>874</sup> John Craig, 'Rogers, Thomas (c.1553–1616)'.

<sup>875</sup> Thomas Rogers, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, Professed, & Protected in the Realm of England* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1607 RSTC-21228).

<sup>876</sup> This chapter will not have cause to discuss puritanism at any length. For the purposes of clarity, however, puritanism is here understood as a characterisation, rather than something that can be strictly defined. Puritans tended to be enthusiastically committed to Calvinism and often to further reform of the Church of England. They were nevertheless a faction within the Church and not necessarily separatist, see Peter Lake, 'Defining Puritanism-Again?', in Francis Bremer (ed.), *Puritanism* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), pp. 3-29; Patrick Collinson, 'Sects and the Evolution of Puritanism', in Bremer (ed.), *Puritanism*, pp. 147-166.

<sup>877</sup> Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Methuen, 1982).

powerful influence on the devotional lives of much of England's population.<sup>878</sup> A 'soft version' of what Nicholas Tyacke has called 'Calvinist consensus' broadly characterises the trajectory of official soteriology.<sup>879</sup> Among those members of the Church of England, the basic doctrines of predestination, as set out in the Thirty-Nine Articles, were not generally in dispute.<sup>880</sup> Questions of ecclesiology and ritual practice, by contrast, were often bitterly contested.<sup>881</sup> In 1589, Rogers himself had an extremely acrimonious falling out with his fellow ministers at the Bury St Edmunds Combination Lecture (a weekly meeting of ministers to hear a sermon given by one of their number). This resulted from a sermon of his excoriating the Presbyterian ecclesiology of *A Fruitful Sermon*, attributed to the master of Emmanuel College, Laurence Chaderton (1536?-1640).<sup>882</sup> Religious identities were fluid at the time, but that did not mean that they were incoherent or undeveloped. English Protestantism was not just theology, it was ecclesiology, practice, history and more. Rogers's *Imitation* was an intervention into a field of religious plurality. Its preface positioned the translator as broadly anti-papist and its chapter and verse citations referred the reader directly to the Geneva Bible with its Calvinist glosses.<sup>883</sup> The *Imitation* articulated an intra-ecclesial ecumenism, which addressed

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<sup>878</sup> Walsham, *Church Papists*, passim; c.f. Eamon Duffy, 'The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the Multitude', in Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation*, pp. 33-70.

<sup>879</sup> The idea of a 'Calvinist consensus' in the late-Elizabethan and Jacobean Church was originally mooted in Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 1-3; Though heavily criticised, it has received qualified acceptance as a characterisation of opinions among the clergy and educated laity, though not implying complete homogeneity by any means; see David Como, 'Puritans, Predestination and the Construction of Orthodoxy in Early Seventeenth-Century England', in Michael Questier and Peter Lake (eds.), *Conformity and orthodoxy in the English church, c.1560-1660* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 64-87, passim; Peter Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 239; Andrew Pettegree, 'The Reception of Calvinism in Britain', in Wilhem Neuser and Brian Armstrong (eds.), *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex* (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997), pp. 267-289, passim.

<sup>880</sup> Dewey Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. 36.

<sup>881</sup> See, for example, Peter Lake, 'Presbyterianism, the idea of a national Church and the argument from Divine Right', in Maria Dowling and Peter Lake (eds.), *Protestantism and the National Church* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 193-224.

<sup>882</sup> [Laurence Chaderton], *A Fruitfull Sermon* (London: Robert Waldegrave, 1589 RSTC-4926); Collinson et al, *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, pp. cviii-cxii; Kenneth Parker, 'Thomas Rogers and the English Sabbath: the Case for Reappraisal', *Church History*, 53, no. 3 (1984), pp. 332-347, passim; John Craig, "'The Cambridge Boies": Thomas Rogers and the Brethren of Bury St Edmunds', in Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger (eds.), *Belief and Practice in Reformation England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 154-176, p. 262ff.

<sup>883</sup> The Geneva Bible was published in 1560 by William Whittingham (1524-1579) and other German exiles. Though its marginal glosses articulated a variety of Calvinism that made ecclesiastical



the soteriological and historical common ground that unified English Protestants. Rogers identified the compunctious narratives of human weakness and dependence on divine grace that prevailed in the *Imitatio* with the commonplaces of predestinarian experience, most critically the quest for 'assurance'. Rogers's *Imitation* was an effort to unify Protestants within the Church of England by situating their devotions in the context of a historical and soteriological identity that they all shared.

Few commentators have ventured an analysis of the causes for the *Imitatio*'s popularity among Protestants. The verdicts of White and Habsburg stressed Kempis's amenability to Protestant doctrine.<sup>884</sup> His scripturalism, apparent lack of interest in devotion to saints and relics and tendency to stress interior, as opposed to ritual, forms of devotion all stood in his favour. In essence they argue that the *Imitatio* was emblematic of the origins of Protestant religion in the doctrinal and devotional trends of the fifteenth century.<sup>885</sup> Building on these arguments, this chapter will demonstrate the rhetorical continuities between Kempis's Latin and the texts of his translators. Compunction remained an appealing model for handling self-doubt and comforting troubled souls. Yet in the *Imitation*, it was adapted to meet the requirements of Protestant readers seeking assurance. Yet there was a further reason for the text's success. Each edition embodied, implicitly or explicitly a historical and polemical claim. The *Imitando* and the *Imitation* both participated in a Protestant 'myth of eternal return'.<sup>886</sup> The translation, or rather the recovery of a valid text from a papist original, was conceptually enabled by the trans-historical working of the Spirit in both author and interpreter. Both were invested with the same pristine grace eternally present in

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authorities uneasy, the text was cheap, ergonomic and the most popular book of the late sixteenth-century. Though it contained opinions that were problematic, even the famously Arminian and anti-Calvinist William Laud used a copy, see David Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 39ff; Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*, pp. 31-43.

<sup>884</sup> Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 307; Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the Imitatio Christi*, pp. 146-147; Rylie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 286-287; White, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, pp. 23-4, pp. 28-30.

<sup>885</sup> C.f. Heiko Obermann, *Masters of the Reformation*, trans. Denis Martin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), passim; the essays in Charles Trinkaus and Heiko Oberman (eds.), *The Pursuit of Holiness* (Leiden: Brill, 1974); Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise*, passim.

<sup>886</sup> For the 'myth of eternal return' see Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, trans. Willard Trask (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959).

God's true Church, a title to which the Protestants laid claim. Therefore, expurgating that which was historically contingent left only what was eternally true. Praying with the *Imitatio* or *Imitation* meant participating in an apocalyptic metanarrative of ecclesial and spiritual continuity that pointedly excluded the traditional Church to which Kempis had belonged.

## II. Translation, Mimesis and the Creation of Historical Identities

Translation in the sixteenth-century was not a practice clearly distinguished from other kinds of textual criticism. Though commentators did identify it as a distinct activity, it was almost always allied closely with other forms of text criticism, most frequently with mimesis. Translation was a species of *interpretatio*, signalling its often periphrastic praxis.<sup>887</sup> For Laurence Humphrey (1527-1590), fellow of Magdalene College Cambridge and translation theorist, the translator-interpreter was simply one who 'illuminates the dialect or idiom of language less well known to many with better known language and a familiar interpretation'.<sup>888</sup> Taking things from a foreign language to another was a secondary meaning.<sup>889</sup> The ongoing rise of classical studies, particularly rhetoric, informed a gradual solidifying of conventional practice. If a text comprised *inventio* (matter), *dispositio* (order) and *elocutio* (expression), then it was the translator's task to address the *elocutio* alone, while leaving the *inventio* and *dispositio* intact.<sup>890</sup> Yet, the rhetorical practices that underscored this model could authorise radical deviations from the

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<sup>887</sup> See Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation*, pp. 92-93; For example, Leonardo Bruni, *De Recta Interpretatione*, in Hans Baron (ed.), *Leonardo Bruni Aretino Humanistisch-Philosophische Schriften* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1928), pp. 81-96; Laurence Humphrey, *De Interpretatio Linguarum* (Basel: Hieronymus Frobenius, 1559 USTC-666931); Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi*, p. 232ff: *versiones seu interpretationes*.

<sup>888</sup> Humphrey, *De Interpretatio*, p. 4: *qui dialectum seu idioma minus multis notum, linguae notioris & familiaris interpretatione illustrat*.

<sup>889</sup> *Ibid*, p. 4: *ex peregrina lingua convertit*.

<sup>890</sup> Massimiliano Morini argues that this constraint separated a notional 'renaissance translation theory' from a much freer 'medieval' practice, see *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 11-12; This division of the text into its rhetorical constituents, although implied in most theoretical work after Bruni's *Recta Interpretatione* is explicitly presented in Humphrey, *De Interpretatio*, pp. 41-42; Jacques Pélétier, *L'Arte Poétique* (Lyon: Jan de Tournes, 1555 USTC-6744), p. 30.

source.<sup>891</sup> The problem was one of equivalence, and equivalence is determined historically and dependant on genre.<sup>892</sup> Rhetorical tools gave rise to a variety of methods each adapted to tackle different sources.<sup>893</sup> By these methods, translators constructed what Paul Ricoeur described as ‘comparables’ or an accommodation between source and target languages.<sup>894</sup> Alien concepts and effects have to be dissected and reconstructed analogously in the target language. This requires that the target language be adapted; foreignness would inhabit the translation.<sup>895</sup> However, constructing a comparable is a rhetorical act, taking place in the context of contested meanings and identities.<sup>896</sup> Equivalence is, therefore, an illusion that has to be justified in relation to an audience’s expectations and prejudices.

Rogers’s *Imitation* constructed an image of textual equivalence interpreted according to *decorum* and observed through the lens of Protestant apocalyptic history. Sixteenth-century translation was, in essence, an act of mimesis.<sup>897</sup> Both practices shared procedural features, in particular the selective transformation of an original text. In encountering the past, in particular, the genealogical and creative aspects of mimesis enabled the negotiation of the ‘anachronistic crisis’

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<sup>891</sup> Peter Burke, ‘Cultures of Translation’, in Peter Burke et al (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1-38, passim; Theo Hermans, ‘Renaissance Translation between Literalism and Imitation’, in Harald Kittel, *Geschichte, System, Literarische Übersetzung* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag GmbH and Co KG, 1992), pp. 94-116, pp. 99-100; Ann Imbrie, ‘Defining Nonfiction’ in Barbara Lewalski (ed.), *Renaissance Genres* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 46-70, p. 52; Valerie Worth-Stylianou, ‘*Translatio* and Translation in the Renaissance: From Italy to France’, in George Kennedy, *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 127-135.

<sup>892</sup> Morini, *Tudor Translation*, p.1; The *locus classicus* is the comment of St Jerome advocating a ‘sense for sense’ translation of secular texts while accepting that because the mysteries of Scripture inhered in its very syntax, a word for word translation was needed, Jerome, *Epistolae*, PL, vol. 22, cols. 325-1224, cols. 568-579.

<sup>893</sup> Hermans, ‘Renaissance Translation’, passim.

<sup>894</sup> Paul Ricoeur, ‘A “Passage”: Translating the Untranslatable’ in Idem, *On Translation*, trans. Eileen Brennan (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 30-39, pp. 36-37.

<sup>895</sup> Walter Benjamin, ‘The Task of the Translator’, in Markus Bullock (ed.), *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 253-262, pp. 261-262.

<sup>896</sup> Postcolonial translation theory tends to stress the importance of power relations in determining translation methods, see Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 154ff; Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), passim.

<sup>897</sup> Occasionally translation theorists are very forthright about this. Laurence Humphrey, for example opined that mimesis was a foundation of good translation; see *De Interpretatio*, p. 211ff; Jacques Pélétier went further, writing that translation was a ‘species’ of mimesis, see *L’Arte Poétique*, p. 30: *La plus vree epece d’imitation, c’ét de traduire*.

caused by the historicity of language.<sup>898</sup> Philology responded to the growing realisation that Latinity alone could not grant access to authors' intentions; words themselves had a history and were mutable.<sup>899</sup> The relationship of an imitation to its source was genealogical rather than semantic. A concept of mimesis enabled the discernment of semantic meaning through aetiologies of verbal transmission. Meaning could be evolved from an investigation into word use.

An exegetical act of *inventio*, the finding out the matter, therefore initiated the act of translation.<sup>900</sup> Features contributing to the translator's reading of the 'sense' took precedence over a reproduction of the complete wording.<sup>901</sup> Non-selective literal translation, derided as *battologia* by Erasmus, was widely held to be antagonistic to meaning.<sup>902</sup> This exegesis could be represented philologically. Leonardo Bruni's *Recta Interpretatione* presented understanding of the idiomata of historical writers as a product of broad, contextual reading:

First, knowledge is to be had of that language from which one is translating, and that neither small nor vulgar but familiar and accurate and acquired through long, studious reading of the philosophers, orators, poets and all other writers.<sup>903</sup>

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<sup>898</sup> Greene, *The Light in Troy*, pp. 18-20; Zachary Schiffman, *The Birth of the Past* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp. 172-173.

<sup>899</sup> See Narrative in Greene, *The Light in Troy*, passim; Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), passim, esp. pp. 75-88.

<sup>900</sup> Glyn Norton, 'Translation Theory in Renaissance France: Etienne Dolet and the Rhetorical Tradition', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 10 (1974), pp. 1-13, pp. 3-4; Hermans, 'Renaissance Translation', pp. 99-100.

<sup>901</sup> *Imitation*, sig. a9r proclaims to adhere to this rule; Kathy Eden, 'Equity and the Origins of Renaissance Historicism', *Yale Journal of Law and Humanities*, 5, no. 1 (1993), pp. 137-145, pp. 139-140; See for example the emphasis of the French humanist and translation theorist, Étienne Dolet (1509-1546), who oriented translation around an understanding of the author rather than the language Etienne Dolet, *Le Maniere de Bien Traduire* (Lyon: Francois and Claude Marchant, 1547 USTC-29538), p. 16: *Dy moy (toy qui ente[n]s Latin) estoit il possible de bie[n] traduire ce passage sans une grand intelligence du sens de Ciceron? On sache do[n]ques, qu'il est besoing et necessaire a tout traducteur d'entendre parfaictment le sens d'autheur qu'il tourne d'une langue autre; c.f. Bruni, De Recta Interpretatione, p. 84.*

<sup>902</sup> Bruni, *De Recta Interpretatione*, pp. 84-85; Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi*, p. 233; For Erasmus on *battologia*, see Marjorie Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 50.

<sup>903</sup> Bruni, *De Recta Interpretatione*, p. 84: *Primum enim notitia habenda est illius linguae de qua transfers nec ea parva neque vulgaris, sed magna et trita et accurata et multa ac diuturnum philosophorum et oratorum et poetarum et ceterorum scriptorum omnium lectione quaesita; c.f. Juan Luis Vives, De Ratione Dicendi, p. 233: non facile patiar quemlibet interpretem tantum sibi*

Crucially, the author's *circumstantiae*, illuminated word use. Discussing Scriptural meaning, Erasmus put this approach to the fore:<sup>904</sup>

We should examine when, by whom [and] on what occasion, the thing was said and then we shall discern the actual thought.<sup>905</sup>

This meant careful reconstruction of the criteria of *decorum* that had informed the original composition.<sup>906</sup> Erasmus's *sententia germana* or *sensus germanus* denoted 'speaking alongside' the source text.<sup>907</sup> It conceptually narrowed the gap between a historical discourse and the present day discourse that sought to reproduce it. Being alert to the *circumstantiae*, the translator could develop a comparable that would simultaneously be meaningful to a present-day reader and that would capture the intentions of the original author. This exegetical stage, while intended to produce accurate translations, could equally lead to highly periphrastic mimeses of source texts being presented as translations.<sup>908</sup> The emphasis on the author was itself a rhetorical scheme, borrowed from forensic oratory. Classical rhetorical manuals advised that when the letter of the law seemed to go against an orator's cause they should appeal to the *voluntas* of the lawgiver.<sup>909</sup> Translators' claims to be reproducing the sense were therefore self-consciously loaded. They could easily

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*sumere nisi certum prius atque exploratum habeat non falli se, quique in arte de qua tractat justam operam posuerit.*

<sup>904</sup> Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, p. 21.

<sup>905</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *Annotationes*, DEROO, ordo. VI-8, p. 160: *Excusamus quando, quibus qua occasione dictum sit, et fortassis veram germanamque sententiam deprehendemus*; c.f. Desiderius Erasmus, *Ratio seu Methodus* in Hajo Holborn (ed.), *Ausgewählte Werke* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933), pp. 175-305, pp. 285-286: *Accedit hinc quoque lucis nonnihil ad intelligendum scripturae sensum, si perpendamus non modo quid dicatur, verum etiam a quo dicatur, quibus verbis dicatur, quo tempore, qua occasione, quid praecedat, quid consequatur.*

<sup>906</sup> Classical *decorum*, it should be pointed out, comprised two related but distinct rhetorical ideas. The first was an accommodative principle, which stressed that one had to match one's arguments and language to the audience one wanted to persuade. The other was that the style should match the theme about which one argued, which is characteristic of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. It is in the first sense that it is invoked here; see *Rhetorica*, IV.VIII.XI-XI.XVI; See above, p. 190.

<sup>907</sup> Cave, *Cornucopian Text*, pp. 88-89; Kathy Eden, *Hermeneutics and the Rhetorical Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 73; This is broadly comparable to what Augustine called the *dianoetic* sense in *De Doctrina*, a generalised intuitive ethical sense of the text, see Kathy Eden, 'The Rhetorical Tradition and Augustinian Hermeneutics in *De Doctrina Christiana*', *Rhetorica*, 8, no. 1 (1990), pp. 45-63, p. 49ff.

<sup>908</sup> Worth-Stylaniou, 'Translatio and Translation', p. 129.

<sup>909</sup> Kathy Eden, 'Equity and the Origins of Renaissance Historicism', *passim*.

obscure the extent to which a translator's sympathy or lack thereof affected their interpretation.

Translations were also mediated by *decorum* at their compositional stage. The gulf between past and present required that historical language and meanings adapt to prevailing social and aesthetic conventions. *Decorum* was the art of speaking aptly to the audience and its observance was the essence of translation.<sup>910</sup> The *sensus germanus* bracketed the historically contingent, and what was unworthy of translation.<sup>911</sup> What remained, and what the translator aimed to communicate, was a trans-historical sense that simultaneously communicated authorial intention while deferring to modern judgements about style and, in some cases, subject-matter. Erasmus's exhortation of those unable to exercise this discernment in his *Ciceronianus* of 1528 became a commonplace of proper *decorum*.<sup>912</sup> He was discussing mimesis rather than translation *per se*. However his broader point was that historical language and subject matter could and in some cases should be altered for consumption in the present:

Bulephorus. I deem us to thus speak fittingly only when our speech is suited to our persons and things.

Nosoponus. Certainly.

Bu. Well does the present world seem agree with those of his times? Since Cicero lived and spoke religion, the republic,

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<sup>910</sup> Nancy Struever, 'Political Rhetoric and Rhetorical Politics', in Constant Mews et al (eds.), *Rhetoric and Renewal* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 243-258, pp. 249-252; Laurence Humphrey was listed appropriateness (*propria*) to the audience and aptness (*apta*) to the matter two of the key qualities of good translation and both facets of *decorum*, see *De Interpretatio*, pp. 32 and 41-42; Juan Luis Vives advised that a translator 'contend' with their source to produce something 'better' for the subject and the listeners, see *De Ratione Dicendi*, p. 236: *si potes contende etiam cum tuo exemplari, & meliorem, quam acceperas orationem, reddito, hoc est aptiore[m] & com[m]odiorem rei atq[ue] auditoribus: nam hoc demum melius, quod appositus, et conducibilis.*

<sup>911</sup> Which is not to say that these things were always deleted, commentary or annotation were also possibilities for neutralising irrelevant text, see below, pp. 213-218.

<sup>912</sup> Marjorie Boyle, *Erasmus*, p. 49.

magistrates, customs, studies, the very face of men are changed,  
indeed what has not?

No. Nothing is alike.

Bu. Who should have the presumption then, to admonish us that  
we should speak at all times as Cicero?<sup>913</sup>

What might transgress *decorum* for the translator's present day audience, need not be reproduced in the present.<sup>914</sup> *Decorum* emphasised the public character of rhetoric and textual composition in general. It was the translator's duty to produce something that was socially useful. Such was Laurence Humphrey's meaning when he concluded his treatise with the declaration that the purpose of translation was to glorify God. The translator should always have an eye towards the benefit of his neighbours.<sup>915</sup> For Rogers, this was a 'greater duty than translatorship' and the basis on which he justified the expurgation of the *Imitatio*.<sup>916</sup>

This principle of *decorum*, both as an interpretative tool and a representational guide, informed the Protestant translators. The chief constraint on how Kempis's writing could be represented to Protestant readers was reformed theology itself. More controversially the key *circumstantia* governing the

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<sup>913</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, p. 636: *Bu. Ut autem apte dicamus ita demum fieri, si sermo noster personas et rebus congruat. No. Scilicet. Bu. Quid? Videtur praesens saeculi status, cum eorum temporum ratione congruere, quibus vixit ac dixit Cicero quum sint in diversum mutata religio, imperium, magistratus, Respublica, leges mores, studia, ipsa hominum facies, denique quid non? No. Nihil simile. Bu. Quid igitur frontis habeat ille qui a nobis exigit, ut per omnia Ciceronis more dicamus?; c.f. Humphrey, *De Interpretatio*, pp. 51-52; Juan Luis Vives, *De Corruptione Artium* in Mayans (ed.), *Joannis Ludovici Vives Valentini Opera Omnia*, vol. 6, pp. 8-242, p. 179.*

<sup>914</sup> Juan Luis Vives, for example, opines that barbarisms should be omitted; see *De Ratione Dicendi*, p. 233; Such was the rationale for Sebastian Castellio's translations of Biblical texts into a Classical form of Latin, see Sebastian Castellio, *Defensio suarum Translationum* (Basel: Johannes Oporini, 1562 USTC-692735), p.9: *Ego ante annos circiter 16. cu[m] videre in Christianoru[m] scholis Latinam linguam (cuius eram ipse studiosus) vigere atq[ue] tradi: itaq[ue] autores Latinam quidem, sed magna ex parte obscoenos, et moribos noxios in manibus haberi; cupiebam extare Latiniorem aliquam necno[n] fidelioem et magis perspicuam Sacrarum literarum translationem, ex qua posset eadem opera pietas cum Latina lingua disci, ex hac ratione et temporis consuleretur, et homines ad legenda Sacra pellicerentur.*

<sup>915</sup> Humphrey, *De Interpretatio*, p. 401: *Finis autem interpretis est, summus et unicus, Dei gloria... Proximus finis est utilitas proximorum.*

<sup>916</sup> *Imitation*, sig. a9v.

interpretation of Kempis's intentions was that he himself had been a member of the Church of the Elect.<sup>917</sup> The Protestant apocalyptic tradition maintained that throughout the era of papal supremacy, God had preserved an elect minority within the Church of the Antichrist.<sup>918</sup> Having never fully consented to papal blasphemies, they had maintained a thread of continuity between the Apostolic Church and the churches of the reformers.<sup>919</sup> This minority was the historical counterpart of the reformers' grander notion of the 'regeneration of time' that identified the advent of reformed theology with a restoration of the church to its apostolic original.<sup>920</sup> In each, the same Spirit manifested to the apostles at Pentecost was restored, just as it was institutionally restored in the reformed Churches. This narrative, was therefore a powerful tool with which repudiate the traditional church's claim to antiquity.<sup>921</sup> Conventionally those who challenged papal authority, without committing doctrinal error, were eligible for inclusion in lists of reformers *avant la lettre*. It was because of this constructed lineage that there developed a short-lived taste, in England, for Lollard devotional materials, which lent the developing Church a sense of longevity.<sup>922</sup> Conciliarists and critics of the papacy were also eligible. John Bale claimed Jean Gerson, presumably because he was a conciliarist, for the elect and John Foxe included the Florentine poet Dante Aligheri (1265-1321), on

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<sup>917</sup> The original formulation had been developed by Luther himself, see *The Bondage of the Will*, WA, vol. 18, pp. 600-787, pp. 649-652; c.f. *Institutes*, 4.II.12; The doctrine was connected to the doctrine of the (institutional) visible and (elect) invisible Church, based on Augustine's interpretation of Christ's allegory of the wheat and the tares, since no one could be sure who was predestinate, it was possible that members of the elect were to be found in false churches and *vice versa*, see Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, PL, vol. 41, cols. 13-804, col. 673.

<sup>918</sup> *Imitation*, sig. a12v invokes this doctrine explicitly.

<sup>919</sup> Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse* (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978), pp. 118-121; Mark Greengrass and Matthew Philpott, 'John Bale, John Foxe and the Reformation of the English Past', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101 (2010), pp. 275-288, passim; Felicity Heal, 'Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past', in Paulina Kewes (ed.), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2006), pp. 105-128, p.111ff; Helen Parish, "'To conseile with elde diuines": History, Scripture and Interpretation in Reformation England', in Elaine Fulton et al (eds.), *The Search for Authority in Reformation Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 127-146, passim.

<sup>920</sup> Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, pp. 85, 91 and 111-112; c.f. Walsham 'History, Memory and the Reformation', passim, for the development of a concept of 'the Reformation' as a discrete historical period.

<sup>921</sup> The most significant English examples of this form of polemical history writing were John Bale, *The Image of Bothe Churches* (Antwerp: S. Mierdman?, 1545? RSTC-1296.5) and A&M.

<sup>922</sup> Margaret Aston, 'Lollardy and the Reformation', *History*, 49, no. 166 (1964), pp. 149-170, passim; Alexandra Walsham, 'Inventing the Lollard Past: The Afterlife of a Medieval Sermon in Early Modern England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58 (2007), pp. 628-655, passim.



account of his criticism of the papacy. Yet Protestants were omnivorous in their pursuit of illustrious antecedents; John Bale would list so unlikely a figure as St Dominic (1170-1221), in his list of proto-Protestants.<sup>923</sup> Kempis could not be presented as a critic of the papacy. His membership of the true Church, in the eyes of his reformers, was to be judged from his writing, specifically the *Imitatio*.

Though Castellio was no predestinarian, his readings of the *Imitatio* and of its author were broadly consistent with this metanarrative. His rationale for translating Kempis's work was expressly historicist and strongly implied the application of *decorum*. The problems inhering in Kempis's text were products of its author's historical situation. Kempis was 'well learned' whose work seemed 'full of piety, not only to me but to many pious people also'. Yet some things ought to be removed because 'they tasted either of that time or the state of superstition'.<sup>924</sup> The work in its original form was unsuited to the theology of the present:

After the light of Christ has shone forth upon our world, so many errors and superstitions were uncovered, I think it no sin to castrate books in some measure, so that all things having been proved, we hold to those things which are good. If for anyone this is not pleasing, it amounts to much the same thing as many are accustomed to with the poet Martial. A certain person castrated his work, which done, everyone praised his deed of virtue and read the castrated work, though still full of salaciousness.<sup>925</sup>

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<sup>923</sup> Bale, *The image*, sigs. M3r and P4v; A&M, p. 838; It should be noted that Gerson had a good reputation as a pastoral theologian among early reformers, see, for example, Martin Luther *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*, p. 114; c.f. Thomas Brogl, "'Yeglichs nãch sín Vermugen": Johannes Nider's Idea of Conscience', in Sigrid Muller and Cornelia Schweiger (eds.), *Between Creativity and Norm-Making: Tensions in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 61-76, p. 61ff.

<sup>924</sup> *Imitando*, sig. a2r-v: *bene docto... pietatis plenus, non mihi sed et alius piis multis visus est.*

<sup>925</sup> *Imitando*, sig. a3r: *postquam Christi lux nostro seculo sic affulsit, ut multo errores et superstitiones detexerit, puto non nefas esse nonnullos castrare libros, ut omnia probantes, quae bonae sunt teneamus. Quod si cui hoc non placebit, faciat quod solent in Martiali Poeta multi. Castravit eum quidam: quod eius factum casti omnes laudant et castratum legunt: at salaces totum;* The edition that he refers to is probably the popular redaction by the jesuit Edmund Auger (1530-1591), *Martial, Epigrammata* (Rome: Tipografia del Collegio Romano, 1558 USTC-34324).

The translator-‘castrator’ domesticated a potentially dangerous text.<sup>926</sup> The adjective proved or honest (*probatas*) refers the text to the public judgement of *decorum*. Among most powerful tools available to the orator was *opinio probitatis*, usually referring to the public reputation of the orator.<sup>927</sup> What Castellio retained, he retained according to a reading of his audience. The metaphor of mutilation stressed the accommodation of the text to the present rather than faithfulness to the original. His emendations demonstrate a generically Protestant antagonism to traditional (as opposed to Scriptural) doctrine and sacramentally mediated grace. With the wholesale removal of book IV, the Mass was excised. References to purgatory were either converted into references to hell or, where it is used metaphorically, differently glossed.<sup>928</sup> Castellio’s positive attitude to human will may have made him sympathetic to Kempis’s minimal synergism.<sup>929</sup> His contention was that predestination would make God the author of evil and therefore ineligible to punish sinners. Justifying faith, therefore, had to be a product of human free-will.<sup>930</sup>

Castellio’s translation rarely removed Kempis’s, albeit sparse, suggestions of voluntarism. In particular, he retained almost all of Kempis’s references to merit. Yet, since Kempis invariably disparaged human merit, this was little cause for contention. In the one place where Kempis mentioned satisfaction, Castellio changed the wording, so as not to invoke traditional soteriology but did not totally disavow the voluntarist implications of the original.<sup>931</sup> He chose to translate

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<sup>926</sup> In all probability Castellio is referencing Martial’s (c.38-c.102) epigrams, in which the poet compares the act of expurgating his books as castration, see Martial *Epigrammaton* (Online edn. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/martial.html>, accessed 5<sup>th</sup> July 2016), I.35: ‘*nec castrare uelis meos libellos: Gallo turpius est nihil Priapo*’.

<sup>927</sup> *Rhetorica*, II.III.IV-V; Juan Luis Vives, *De Consultatione*, in Mayans (ed.), *Joannis Ludovicis Vives Valentini Opera Omnia*, vol. 6, pp. 238-262, p. 245.

<sup>928</sup> *Imitando*, pp. 33, 41 and 104.

<sup>929</sup> See above, pp. 170-171; Theodore Beza stridently maintained that Castellio was a Pelagian, see Theodore Beza *Responsio ad Defensiones et Reprehensiones Sebastiani Castellionis* ([Geneva]: Huldreich Fugger, 1563 USTC-450213), sig. ¶12vff.

<sup>930</sup> Castellio’s critique of predestination is to be found throughout his work, but it was most clearly articulated in his posthumously published *De Praedestinatione Dialogus*, Sebastian Castellio, *Dialogi IIII* (Gouda: Caspar Tournaei, 1613), pp. 11, 17 and 71.

<sup>931</sup> *Imitatio*, I.XXIV: *Nunc labor tuus est fructuosus; fletus acceptabilis, gemitus exaudibilis: dolor satisfactorius et purgativus; Imitando*, pp. 40-41: *Nu[n]c fructuosus est tuus labor, nunc fletus exceptus, nunc exaudiri potest gemitus: et deum pacare dolor, ac te expiare*; Rogers, notably, translated the passage more or less as it was in Castellio. His choice of Biblical citations, however,

*satisfactorius* as *te expiare* which was the same word Calvin used when translating Biblical atonement language.<sup>932</sup> Aware of the antagonisms of his probable readers to traditional theology and the doctrinal resonances of particular words, Castellio carefully sidestepped the issue of his own unorthodoxy by choosing vocabulary open to interpretation by multiple forms of Protestantism.

This antagonism to predestination, however, obviated the conventional Protestant narrative of a providential Church of the remnant. Castellio's sense of Kempis's historical relationship with Protestantism is suggested in his reordering of the references to monasticism in book I. In Kempis, these provided the exemplars that the reader should imitate:

How do they fare, those many other religious, who are properly enclosed under claustral discipline. They rarely leave, live apart, eat poorly, dress grossly, work hard, scarcely speak, keep daily vigils, rise early, extend their prayers, read often and guard themselves in all discipline. Behold the Carthusians and Cistercians and diverse monks and nuns and how they rise every night to sing to the Lord.<sup>933</sup>

In Castellio's interpretation, the reader is invited to take the Apostolic Church as a model:

Set before you the power of those saints, that severity and the life full of religion of the Apostles and Disciples of Christ, and command yourself to imitate them, and of the benevolence of

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suggest he understood the emphasis differently, referring the passage to Psalm 32:6 and Isaiah 55:6, which the Geneva Bible glossed as seeking God in times of need or through the preaching of the Word. It connoted the Christian's desire for God rather than the Christian's ability to pacify God, see *Imitation*, p. 59; *GB*, fols. 217v and 270r-v.

<sup>932</sup> Richard Muller, *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2012), pp. 76 & 88; Calvin glossed expiatory acts as essentially symbols of the believer's reliance on Divine mercy, as opposed to acts that have any salvific value in themselves, see, for example, Jean Calvin, *Commentarius in Quinque Libros Mosis* in *Joannis Calvini Opera*, vol. 24, cols. 9-728, cols. 525-529.

<sup>933</sup> *Imitatio*, I.XXV: *Quomodo faciunt tam multi alii religiosi; qui satis artati sunt sub disciplina claustrali? Raro exeunt, abstracte vivunt, pauperrime comedunt, grosse vestiuntur, multum laborant, parum loquuntur, diu vigilant, mature surgunt, orationes prolongant, frequenter legunt: et se in omni disciplina custodiunt. Attende Carthusienses, Cistercienses et diversae religionis monachos ac moniales: qualiter omni nocte ad psallendum Domino assurgunt.*

God to you, do not doubt that it should be to you as it was to those men.<sup>934</sup>

The devotional attitudes Kempis's text described were presented as existing in a (voluntaristic) mimetic relationship with the apostolic archetype. Castellio's take on questions of doctrinal difference was that they were less important than the 'fruits' of religion. In the world, he contended, there were only three sects, the *pii* who loved God, the *impii* who blasphemed Him, and the *medii*, who worshipped God but did not properly understand Him. Though the context of his polemic was the persecution of the Aragonese, antitrinitarian Miguel Servetus (d.1553) by Calvin, Castellio extended the discussion to 'papists':

But I speak of those [Papists], that in their sect they are religious. Is he not a good Papist, that is, who, fearing God, dreads to swear falsely, to kill, to commit adultery: I say this man ought not to be called impious, or killed: and yet he worships idols: what of it? They worship in error, not in malice, so have we all worshipped.<sup>935</sup>

Castellio saw Kempis was a *medius*, whose historically contingent doctrinal errors did not obscure the fact that his writings were a genuine mimesis of the apostolic original to which Christians aspired. While Castellio did not presume to represent Kempis's intentions purely, his ecclesiology was sufficiently flexible to identify an antecedent responding to a universal, not predestined, call to faith.

Rogers endorsed Kempis's words as an expression of the Holy Spirit moving in one of His elect. He was quite explicit in arguing that the expurgated work represented a sense that Kempis, as a member of God's Church would endorse. His preface establishes mimesis as problematic. Virtue must be discerned by frail

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<sup>934</sup> *Imitando*, p. 47: *Propone tibi potius sanctorum illorum, Christi apostolorum et discipulorum seueram illam & religionis plenam vitam, & eos tibi imitandos ducito, ac de dei erga te benevolentia, quin tibi ad illa vires libe[n]ter concessus sit, dubitare noli.*

<sup>935</sup> Sebastian Castellio, *Contra Libellum Calvini* ([Amsterdam?], s.n: 1612), sig. k2v: *Sed ego de iis loquor, qui sunt in sua secta religiosi. Suine bonum Papisticam, hoc est Dei metuente[m], qui peierare, qui occidere, qui adulterare aut falsu[m] testimonium dicere metuat, aut alteri facere, quod ipsi fieri nolit: Dico hunc nulla ratione debere impium vocari, ut interfici: & tamen simulachra colit: quid tum? Errore colit, non malitia, ut et nos omnes coluimus.*

human intellects, which struggle to distinguish essential realities from external signs. Christ was the touchstone for all Christian mimesis. So all other antecedents, Kempis included, may be mimicked insofar as they themselves mimic Christ.<sup>936</sup> This meant that for Rogers the *Imitatio* was inspired insofar as its formulations could be absorbed into a broadly Calvinist frame of reference. For Rogers, appropriating Catholic texts involved a kind of inspired *inventio*, fulfilling the apostolic injunction to ‘trie euerie spirit & to trie al things and to kepe that which is good & to doe al things vnto edification’.<sup>937</sup> In another place, describing the purgation of Estella’s *Libro de la vanidad del mundo*, he recalls Seneca’s apian metaphor for mimesis, as analogous to reformation:<sup>938</sup>

For hath nature not taught the bee out of al flowers to chuse those as are meetest to minister sweete homie and waxe, and to leave the rest and shal not grace mooue Christians to make choise of that which maie be to the comfort and profite of the church of God?<sup>939</sup>

Rogers did not specify whether Estella had divine inspiration, as the movement of grace in the interpreter sufficed. Writing after the advent of reformed theology, there was little genealogical or polemical value in claiming inspiration for the Franciscan. Yet in the cases of Kempis and Pseudo-Augustine, Rogers chose to present his selectivity as a restoration, not a deformation.<sup>940</sup> Kempis’s writing was inspired by the Holy Spirit. This claim he made more explicit in his 1592 translation of another of Kempis’s devotional tracts, the *Soliloquium Animae*:

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<sup>936</sup> Nandra Perry, *Imitatio Christi* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014), pp. 23-24; *Imitation*, sigs. a3r-a7v.

<sup>937</sup> Anon, *A Right Christian Treatise*, sigs. a2v-a3r; he refers here to 1 John 4:5, 1 Thess 5:21 and to 1 Cor 14:26.

<sup>938</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>939</sup> Thomas Rogers, *Methode*, sig. a4v.

<sup>940</sup> In a parallel case, Edmund Bunny would similarly suggest that someone had tampered with the *booke of Christian exercise* and that his corrections were simply a restoration; Brad Gregory, “‘The True and Zealous Seruice of God’: Robert Persons, Edmund Bunny, and the First Book of the Christian Exercise”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45, no. 2 (1994), pp. 238-268, pp. 265-268.

Kempisius, the Auctour, houseouer liuing in a popish time was yet in hart no papist, but would like well of what which is doon.<sup>941</sup>

Most tellingly, however, when Rogers explained his omissions in the preface to the *Imitation*, he claimed explicitly to be deferring to Kempis's intentions to justify exclusion of the word 'merit' from book II, chapter XII:

the Scripture is cleane against out meriting, and the Autor too, condemnes the same in manie places.<sup>942</sup>

Insofar as predestinarian soteriology represented the true doctrine as revealed in Scripture, Rogers perceived Kempis as recapitulating an archaic paradigm.<sup>943</sup> His reforming mimesis distinguished Kempis the fallible man, from Kempis the inspired writer. The trans-historical Holy Spirit, eternally present in His Church, functioned as an equivalent for *decorum*. By it, Rogers authorised a Calvinist 'restoration' of the *Imitatio* as a model of an apostolic archetype. In short, Rogers identified Kempis as his co-religionist.

Rogers claimed to use a chiefly subtractive strategy in his redactions of traditional or Catholic works. That is to say that he claimed only to have removed errors and not to have added any material. The errors in the works he edited were almost always non-scriptural accretions and he usually gave a (partial) account of his expurgations.<sup>944</sup> This diverged from the normative practice of classical mimesis (employed in other Protestant revisions of Catholic texts), which concealed the compositional process.<sup>945</sup> Harmful doctrine did not disappear from the *Imitation* without trace but was consigned instead to paratexts.<sup>946</sup> Rogers was aware of the

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<sup>941</sup> Thomas Rogers, *Soliloquium animae*, sig. A4r: His claim to capture the authentic intentionality of the inspired author recalls a similar claim in his 1581 translation of the pseudo-Augustinian *Meditationes*, see Anon, *A right Christian Treatise*, sig. a5v.

<sup>942</sup> *Imitation*, sig. a10r.

<sup>943</sup> Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, p. 5.

<sup>944</sup> Only in the *Sole-talk of the Soule* did he omit to do so.

<sup>945</sup> See for example the account in Desiderius Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, pp. 625: *an non hoc ipse docuit Cicero, caput artis dissimulare artem*; c.f. the classical pattern in introduction, pp. 15-17.

<sup>946</sup> Anon, *A Right Christian Treatise*, sigs. a3v-a5v; Thomas Rogers, *A Methode vnto Mortification*, p. 500ff.

symbolic possibilities of visible erasure.<sup>947</sup> It was analogous to iconoclasm, which, though an act of destruction, none the less left a visible remnant or scar.<sup>948</sup> Perversely, erasure was a creative act establishing a new set of symbols to be glossed; part of a culture of remembering rather than forgetting. Illustrative, though not (as he claimed) comprehensive, of the changes wrought on the substance of the original, Rogers's introduction presented the reader with four passages, giving the Latin of Kempis and Castellio and the English of Hake's version:

And this signe of the crosse shall be in heauen when the lord  
shal come to iuge the world...Naie thou shalt not feare the  
enmitie of the diuell neither if thou be armed with faith and  
marked with the cross of Iesus...Neither doth our coming  
forwarde in our duetie consisting in plentie of pleasures and  
comfortes...Naie also, euen those who then were iustified and  
were in the state of salvation could not enter the kingdome of  
heauen before thy passion and the merit of thy pretious  
deth.<sup>949</sup>

The first and the last passages were omitted altogether as lacking scriptural basis. From the second, Rogers removed the mention of the cross, as it was, he argued 'needless'. In the third, as mentioned, he removed the mention of merit as unscriptural and an error contrary the author's intention. In so doing, he establishes a hermeneutic for the interpretation of the remainder that is strictly Biblicist. This visible remnant of expurgation was an effort to socialise the reader as conformant with reformed theology.<sup>950</sup> Through a cognitive and emotional rejection of these errors, the reader could safely proceed into the text as an

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<sup>947</sup> Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, pp. 149-150; Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2003), pp. 113-114; Keith Thomas, 'Art and Iconoclasm', in Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post Reformation England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 16-40, passim.

<sup>948</sup> Adrian Forty and Suzanne Küchler, 'Introduction', in idem (eds), *The Art of Forgetting* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 1-20, pp. 10-11.

<sup>949</sup> *Imitation*, sigs. a9v-a10v, the first three are all from *Imitatio* II.XII and the fourth from III.XVIII.

<sup>950</sup> The of erasures that followed Henry VIII's proclamations of 1538 (against Thomas Becket) and 1542 (against mentions of the Pope) may have fulfilled a similar function to socialise the reader as an obedient member of the English (as opposed to the papist) Church, see Margaret Aston, *Image in Print* (London: British Library, 2004), pp. 194-214.

appropriately anti-papist, Protestant reader. The emotional component is demonstrated more clearly in Rogers *Methodē*, which concludes with an extended list of errors expurgated from the original. The appropriate reaction, Rogers explains, is one of visceral revolt:

The filth from which this booke is now clensed I haue thrown into this place, as into a [m]uck-side. Mine aduise is, that you come not vnto the viewing thereof with an emptie stomach, least the stich either infect, or anoie thee, which art not vsed to such contagious sauours.<sup>951</sup>

In the *Imitation*, Rogers would likewise cast ‘papist’ doctrine as ‘offensiuē to the godly’ and dangerous.<sup>952</sup> The impulse to preserve was not, in this case, motivated by an impulse towards reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants. Rogers’s text was avowedly Protestant, anti-papal and intended to reinforce Protestant identity. Not adding to the work also supported his rhetorical claim to have faithfully captured Kempis’s true meaning.

Such efforts to control readers’ responses were indicative of the anxiety surrounding readers’ interpretative freedom. The reformed texts of the *Imitatio* circulated in a world that was already familiar with traditionally minded Latin and vernacular texts. Rogers complained in the preface to the *Soliloquium* of those who harassed him concerning the fourth book. He described book IV as a work that:

of some well weening, though not so well deeming persons was commended vnto mee...which is altogether *De Sacramento Altaris* and so entitled.<sup>953</sup>

A copy of Hake’s translation held at the Folger Shakespeare Library concludes with an anonymous annotation declaring that the text wanted the fourth book called ‘a devout exhortation to holy communion in 18 chapters’.<sup>954</sup> The choice of communion rather than mass suggests that the reader may have been a Protestant

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<sup>951</sup> Thomas Rogers, *A Methodē vnto Mortification*, p. 500.

<sup>952</sup> *Imitatio*, sig. a9r.

<sup>953</sup> Thomas Rogers, *Soliloquium Animae*, sigs. A3r-v.

<sup>954</sup> Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 23971, 2 vols, vol. 1, sig. S2v.



who was disappointed at the lack of the traditional fourth book, or otherwise unaware of its deeply Catholic content.

Two texts held in the British Library demonstrate the plurality that the *Imitatio* could represent. In one, a seventeenth-century owner of a 1556 edition of *Folowing*, one Edward Bagnall, took it upon himself to edit the text to suit his doctrinal preferences.<sup>955</sup> His edits are haphazard, and he evidently did not finish the job, or perhaps despaired of making the fourth book and appended texts amenable to his use. In the second, a reader of a copy of the *Imitando*, which circulated in England, copied into his text many of the passages and words that Castellio had excised.<sup>956</sup> It is possible that the reader was Catholic or at least conservatively minded; in addition to replacing conservative passages this reader added Biblical citations referring to column and letter division that correspond to the Estienne Vulgate Bible of 1546.<sup>957</sup> In both, the readers marked their text, situating themselves in relation to the monastic origins of their book and the diachronicity of religious language. Both books became polychronic palimpsests embodying devotional voices from different times but to very different effects.<sup>958</sup>

Bagnall situated himself in self-conscious disjunction to the spaces of monasticism. Rather than a cell he caused the text to exalt the virtues of the home as the site of religious introspection; ‘thy ~~cell~~<sup>house</sup> well continued shall waxe sweet and plesaunt to the’. Later another ‘cell’ was transmuted into a mind, thus ‘abyde wyth hym [Christ] in thy ~~cell~~<sup>mynde</sup> for thou shalt not fynde so mucche peace without’.<sup>959</sup> Christian introspection is insulated by the home and body and not the papist institution of the cell. Yet his erasures preserve the cell even as it signalled

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<sup>955</sup> London, British Library, C.122.c.29, for Bagnall’s signature, sig. [2]E8v; It is a 1556 edition (RSTC-23967); It has not been possible to positively identify who Bagnall was.

<sup>956</sup> London, British Library, IX.Lat.301, a copy of the 1563 edition: The annotator cannot be positively identified, there are sixteenth or seventeenth-century inscriptions on the fly-leaf and title-page (‘[...] Waterton’ and *Ex libris David Charperi*) but neither of the hands correspond to the notes that accompany the text.

<sup>957</sup> *Biblia* (Lyon: Robert Estienne, 1546 USTC-[unregistered]).

<sup>958</sup> Jonathan Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 124.

<sup>959</sup> London, British Library, C.122.c.29, fols. 24 and 25.

its abrogation.<sup>960</sup> He did not mute the past but rejected it. His scored through words became symbolic paratexts, they fossilized an act of iconoclasm that could be revisited to reaffirm his rejection of the past. His paratexts even took on a prospective character. Later amendments delete not only references to the mass, but also paraphernalia retained in Church of England liturgy, specifically vestments and the sign of the cross. Bagnall may have belonged to the more strongly Calvinist end of the Church of England or even a nonconformist sect.<sup>961</sup> Bagnall's marks look forward as well as back to a future consummation of the apostolic archetype *in illud tempus*, situating the reader in relation to an ongoing narrative of Reformation.<sup>962</sup>

The perspective of the reader who marked London, British Library, IX. Lat. 301 is more ambiguous. The annotations did not give a determinate response to change. Unlike Bagnall's assertion of difference, the annotator did not as a rule erase the original text. The monastic context of the cell is restored alongside the text that erased it. The reader was a stateless liminar suspended between competing visions of the past. Only the annotator's erasure of *cura* to restore *crucis*, the sole strike-through in the text, suggests any kind of resolution.<sup>963</sup> Yet ambiguity may have been intended. The late sixteenth-century saw a nascent nostalgia in England for monasticism.<sup>964</sup> The ruins of the monasteries took on a tragic character, monuments to a lost time of religious seriousness.<sup>965</sup> Here the *Imitando* took on the character of a remnant or ruin, representing monastic devotions in its margins, but accentuating the insuperable disjuncture between past and present even as it did.

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<sup>960</sup> C.f. James Kearney, *The Incarnate Text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 126.

<sup>961</sup> London, British Library, C.122.c.29, sigs. [2]b3v-[2]b6v.

<sup>962</sup> Eliade, *Cosmos and History*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>963</sup> London, British Library, IX. Lat. 301, p.58.

<sup>964</sup> For examples of this nostalgia in historical writing, see Joseph Fowler (ed.), *The Rites of Durham* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1903), passim; c.f. Eamon Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), p. 247; William Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographical Description of the most Flourishing Kingdoms*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: George Bishop, 1610), fol. 90r-v; John Stowe's, *Survey of London* (London: John Windet, 1598 RSTC-23341), passim; for examples of devotional texts, see Joseph Hall (1574-1656), *Arte of Divine Meditation* (London: Humphrey Lownes, 1606 RSTC-12642), sig. A4r-v and passim, which was largely culled from Kempis's fellow monk of Mount St Agnes, Johannes Mauburnus's *Rosetum Exercitiorum*.

<sup>965</sup> Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 152 and 273-296.

By embracing Kempis as their own, Protestant editors could claim to be participating in the trans-historical life of the Church. *Decorum* enabled them to relativize his faults as the ephemeral packaging of an erroneous past. The changeless Spirit working across time in both author and translator obviated the risk of anachronism. Rogers's *Imitation* demonstrated a creative effort to render Protestant claims to historical continuity more tangible by conjoining them to a familiar text and a familiar religious practice. Yet through his preface, he tried also to inculcate the historical-doctrinal distance intrinsic to an anti-papal Protestant identity. The ecumenism that he aimed for was not a bridge between Catholic and Protestant, but rather between the range of Protestant opinion that identified with this historical metanarrative and the solifidian, predestinarian soteriology that the text now propounded.

### III. The Preservation of Rhetoric in Protestant Versions of the *Imitatio*

Though it is hard to know how readers used Castellio and Hake's versions of the *Imitatio*, Rogers's *Imitation* was a prayer book. His paratexts and the limited evidence of reader-reception strongly suggest that the first-person passages of book III continued to be used as orations. In addition to this traditional continuity, there was a strong rhetorical link joining the orators across time. The compunctious rhetoric of consolation was converted into the rhetoric of assurance for Calvinist readers. The two emotional scripts shared substantial similarities, in particular the explicit rejection of human virtue, total reliance on divine grace and the transition from fear to faith. In spite of the shift in reference, Rogers kept the rhetorical formulations of his text largely consistent with his sources. To demonstrate the rhetorical continuity, this section will compare excerpts from book III chapters VI (V), X (IX) and XXIII (XX), categorized by his index as two thanksgivings and a confession.<sup>966</sup> In reality the categorisation was general rather

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<sup>966</sup> Rogers used a traditional distinction derived from 1 Thessalonians 2:1, and divided prayer into Thanksgivings, confessions, supplications and deprecations, see the index in *Imitation*, pp. 278-279; c.f. the same division in Niels Habermann, *The Enimie of Securitie*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: Henry Denham, 1579 RSTC-12582.2), sigs. b5v-b6r; With regard to chapter numeration, each version, the *Imitatio*, *Folowing*, and *Imitatio* has a different system. *Imitatio* has fifty-nine chapters with five unnumbered prayers, *Folowing* and *Imitando* have sixty-four chapters with the prayers as

than diagnostic.<sup>967</sup> All three shared a similar rhetorical structure designed to bring the orator to assurance. X and XXIII both follow a traditionally compunctious format. In VI, the prayer that Rogers changed most, the compunctious narrative was present but it began from a position of effusive praise. Though he often lost or had to substitute alternative figures of diction, Rogers kept the figures of thought broadly consistent.<sup>968</sup> Despite the loss of its traditional meanings, this compunctious rhetoric remained relevant to the Protestant reader.

The paratextual provisions, specifically those which facilitated the identification and function of the *Imitation* as a prayer book, demonstrate how Rogers envisaged this working. Rogers was no different from his contemporaries, insofar as his reading of the *Imitatio* was shaped by the traditional shape and uses of the text. He borrowed a paratext from *Folowing* for his edition, the performative *amen* that concluded the 12 chapters in book III of his edition.<sup>969</sup> This does not appear in Castellio, or in any other earlier English *Imitatio*. The feature was more liberally applied in *Folowing*, which followed the understanding of text function prevalent in the fifteenth-century Latin circulation.<sup>970</sup> Additionally Rogers created an index directing the reader to a further 31 prayers.<sup>971</sup> This accounts for nearly all the first person passages in book III. Rogers even partitioned book III chapter VI so that it would function better as a prayer, explaining that ‘it compriseth partlie a

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chapters IV, XVII, XXVI, XXVII and XXXI, *Imitation* divides chapter VI into two and so has sixty-five chapters. For the remainder of this section the chapter numeration in the main text refers to the *Imitation's* numeration.

<sup>967</sup> The lack of hard and fast distinctions is not unusual. Prayer was not instrumental. Its chief function was to express and therefore confirm faith in God. Calvin, for example, commenting on the varieties of prayer articulated by Paul in 1 Timothy 2:1 regarded all four as essentially the same and that by naming four kinds, Paul was rhetorically emphasising the need to pray, see Jean Calvin, *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Timotheum*, in *Joannis Calvini Opera*, vol. 52, cols. 249-336, cols. 265-266.

<sup>968</sup> For the distinction between figures of diction and figures of thought see above, n. 95.

<sup>969</sup> The chapters terminating ‘amen’ are *Imitation*, book III chapters II, VI, X, XVIII, XXII, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXI, XLVI, LXI, LXIII and LXV. For ‘amen’ as a paratext, see William Sherman, ‘The Beginning of the ‘The End’: Terminal Paratext and the Birth of Print Culture’, in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 65-87, pp. 66-69; for performatives, see above, p. 167.

<sup>970</sup> In *Folowing* the chapters terminating in ‘amen’ are *Folowing*, book III, chapters I, II, V, VIII, IX, X, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXIX, XXX, XXXIV, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL, XLIII, XLV LII, LIII, LVI, LX, LXII, LXIII[LXIV].

<sup>971</sup> These comprise or else are found in *Imitation*, book I, chapter XIX and book III, chapters II, IV, VI, X, XII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVIII, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXV, XL, XLV, XLVI, XLVII, LI, LII, LVI, LVIII, LXII, LXV, LXI.

thanksgeuing vnto God for his benefits and partly a commendation of charitie which aptlie, me thinks, makes two chapters'.<sup>972</sup> The editorial attention that Rogers lavished on the prayers indicates their centrality to his conception of the text. The imitation of Christ, or, as Rogers described it in his preface, 'to abhor the vanitie of the world and that couragiouslye' was to imitate and internalise the voice of the pious servant.<sup>973</sup> That Rogers's conception of the text was shared by his readers is suggested by a copy of his text annotated in the by one John Combes, who bought the book in 1642.<sup>974</sup> Combes showed his interest in prayer by putting finding marks, usually the word 'prayer', beside the titles of chapters VI, XVIII, XXVII, LIII, LVI and LXI. These were one thanksgiving and five imprecations for divine grace. In a prayer of his own, Combes suggests what he was searching for in the *Imitatio's* orations:

Citizen of Babylon if he toile god he is a citizen of Jerusalem he is good and righteous and therefore he must not doubt but that god will at that day giue unto him the crown of righteousness.<sup>975</sup>

The *Imitatio* had undergone a change of reference and become integrated into the emotional scripts of the new theology. Combes sought to find comfort or 'assurance' of salvation in the *Imitatio's* prayers.

The chief purpose of prayer according to Calvinist theology was to reveal to the orator the grace that God had already given. Rogers usually translated Kempis's *consolatio* as some variation on the word 'comfort'.<sup>976</sup> In the context of Elizabethan Calvinism, 'comfort was usually coterminous with 'assurance'.<sup>977</sup> Assurance was

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<sup>972</sup> *Imitation*, sigs. A11r-v.

<sup>973</sup> *Imitation*, sig. A6v; c.f. Perry, *Imitatio Christi*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>974</sup> Cambridge, St John's College Library, y.a.1580.1, sig. a8v: John Combes' identity is not clear, it seems to have been a common seventeenth-century name. There is a John Combes of Gray's Inn Middlesex who died in 1653; as the book was bought at Ashford (Kent), it may be the same man. However a note on sig. a5v to the effect that John Combes still owned the book in 1673 makes certain identification problematic. For the will, see TNA, Prob11/231, fol. 88r.

<sup>975</sup> *Ibid*, sig. b12r.

<sup>976</sup> On a number of occasions he did use the word 'consolation'; see *Imitation*, pp. 18, 42, 67, 75, 90, 92, 107, 108, 125, 153, 178, 213, 241 and 247.

<sup>977</sup> For example, George Herbert uses it in this sense, see Francis Hutchinson (ed.), *The Works of George Hutchinson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 154; see also Edward Dering, *XXVII. Lectures* (London: Henry Middleton, 1577 RSTC-6727), p. 448.

the believer's conviction that they were predestined to eternal life. It was inextricable from and implied in faith. Assurance constituted the experiential and emotional realisation of God's benevolence in the individual's life above and beyond abstract knowledge of His promises and judgements.<sup>978</sup> Integral to the life of faith, anyone who never had assurance could not be a believer.<sup>979</sup> Yet while it ought to be the natural state of the believer, it was understood to be fleeting and elusive.<sup>980</sup> Calvin accepted that the battle between the spirit and the flesh was such that even the elect Christian would be assailed by doubts.<sup>981</sup> The believer's mind could, according to Calvin, accommodate both fearful doubt and assurance at once.<sup>982</sup> Even weak faith contained the seed of assurance.<sup>983</sup> Believers could not themselves induce assurance, and prayer had no instrumental value. However the practice of religion and particularly 'prayer' had a special role to play in the transition from the fear of judgement to a state of assurance. The act of praying was a critical proof of faith in itself; a faithless person would not expect God's mercy and therefore would not pray.<sup>984</sup> It was for this reason that Bagnall's amendments chided the reader for being 'so drie and dulle to go to ~~masse~~ prayer'. Private prayer, as much as the sacrament, uncovered grace in the believer. It was also the quotidian tool for renewing assurance and thus, perhaps the most important resort.<sup>985</sup> Because the respite from doubt was fleeting, prayer was thus a continual lifting up of the soul to God.<sup>986</sup> It was this revelatory function that the *Imitation* fulfilled. This was the work that Combes referred to. The prayers and the emotions that their rhetoric provoked, were absorbed into the Calvinist quest for divine assurance.

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<sup>978</sup> *Institutes*, 3.II.7 and 3.II.16.

<sup>979</sup> *Institutes*, 3.II.16.

<sup>980</sup> Joel Beeke, *Assurance of Faith* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), p. 51ff; Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 46.

<sup>981</sup> *Institutes*, 3.II.17-18.

<sup>982</sup> *Institutes*, 3.II.24.

<sup>983</sup> *Institutes*, 3.II.19-20.

<sup>984</sup> Jean Calvin, *Sermons sur la Première Épitre a Timothée* in *Joannis Calvini Opera*, vol. 53, cols. 5-658, cols. 126 and 185-186.

<sup>985</sup> London, British Library, C.122.c.29, fol. [2]b6r.

<sup>986</sup> *Institutes*, 3.XX.1.

The claim that the expurgated protestant *Imitatio* was faithful to the pre-reformation text was, quite literally, rhetoric. Though the framework of reference and symbolism had changed, the translators preserved much of the linguistic content of the original. Rogers was not able to retain in all cases the rhetorical structure of the original. Yet he would not have expected to retain all of the figures of diction in his translation.<sup>987</sup> There was no set standard by which rhetorical equivalence could be judged between languages. Nevertheless Rogers was not deaf to figures of diction and often made an effort to retain them. Chapters VI, X and XXIII guided the orator to faith through *narrationes* intended to induce an appropriate fear or despair at human weakness and confidence in God's mercy. These were then supplemented by a transitional *exclamatio* in which the orator either declared their trust explicitly or implied it in a *petitio*. Though mimesis could legitimise a highly periphrastic translation practice, Rogers did not generally show a desire to diverge from his source text. Even in chapter VI, which Rogers changed dramatically, what he retained took the reader through a similar set of rhetorical attitudes. Rogers's prayers guided the orator to assurance using a *ductus* similar to the one Kempis had used to lead an orator to consolation. Rogers adopted two strategies to maintain the rhetorical force. Where he could, he retained as much of the original amplification as possible. Where he found himself unable to do so, he substituted similar figures to maintain a like effect.

The exordia of prayers were rhetorically significant in both traditional compunction and Calvinist assurance. The exordia to Kempis's prayers tended to be heavily ornamented, with both figures of thought and figures of diction. They set an emphatic or heartfelt tone to be sustained through the prayer until the moment of emotional transition. When discussing the addressee (God), this tone was set with effusive praise, when discussing the speaker, with a concessive, insinuating tone.<sup>988</sup> Calvin's *Institutes* presented the plea for forgiveness as a preparative for all prayer, the 'key' by which the door of prayer is opened. It fulfilled a role similar to the *captatio benevolentiae*. The orator began by

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<sup>987</sup> See the discussion of non-equivalence between figures of diction in translating in Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratione Dicendi*, p. 234.

<sup>988</sup> See above, pp. 130-131.

'appeasing' God or rather, since God could not be appeased, orienting themselves relative to God so that they adopted an appropriately submissive attitude, trusting God's mercy only.<sup>989</sup> Rogers's efforts in chapter VI (a thanksgiving) show a creative approach to simulating the style of the exordium. Here, Rogers, conscious of the limitations of English for simulating the parisonic effects of the Latin, substituted different acoustic effects for the ones lost in translation.

*Benedico te, pater caelestis, pater domini mei Iesu Christi quia  
mei pauperis dignatus es recordari.*<sup>990</sup>

*Collaudo te pater coelestis, pater Domini mei Iesu Christi, qui me  
inopis dignatus fueris recordari.*<sup>991</sup>

'O celestial father, father of my lord Jesus Christ, I praise thee for  
vouchsafing to remember me a poore and sinful wretch'.<sup>992</sup>

Kempis's and Castello's openings were amplified through the repetition of father and the *homoeoptoton* between *caelestis/coelestis* and *pauperis/inopis*. The *homoeoptoton* in particular draws attention to the figure of antithesis contrasting the heavenly nature of God with man's feebleness. This simultaneously fulfils the exordial functions of *captatio benevolentiae* and the concessiveness of an opening that deals with a *causa turpis*, the sinful human speaker. God's elevation is set off by a kind of palliative *parrhesia*, or the asking of forgiveness for speaking frankly, implied in the humble self-disparagement of the speaker.<sup>993</sup> Unable, in this case, to replicate inflectional *homoeoptoton*, Rogers instead drew out the thought through *synonyma* or *interpretatio*, using synonyms to create a slow, hesitating effect or *comma*.<sup>994</sup> This he did by multiplying the words translating *inopis*. *Synonyma* was a common technique for clarifying the meaning in translation when there was no one equivalent.<sup>995</sup> Here Rogers used it in the service of recovering some of the dictional

<sup>989</sup> *Institutes*, 3.XX.9: *hac claue ianuam sibi fideles aperiunt ad orandum*.

<sup>990</sup> *Imitatio*, III.V.

<sup>991</sup> *Imitando*, p. 88.

<sup>992</sup> *Imitation*, p. 121.

<sup>993</sup> *Rhetorica*, IV.XXXV.XLVI-XXXVII.L.

<sup>994</sup> For comma, see *Rhetorica*, IV.XIX.XXVI.

<sup>995</sup> See above, n. 669.



emphasis on the antithesis between God and man. The iambic structure of the last six syllables redoubles this emphasis by placing the emphases on ‘poore’, the ‘sin’ of ‘sinful’ and ‘wretch’. Where a figure of thought was less acoustically mediated, Rogers did not need to be so creative in replicating the rhetoric. In the opening of chapter X (another confession), the effect of *parrhesia* was produced through a metaphor borrowed from Gen. 18:27:<sup>996</sup>

*Loquar ad Dominum meum: cum sim pulvis et cinis. Si me amplius reputavero; ecce tu stas contra me, et dicunt testimonium verum iniquitatem meae; nec possum contradicere.*<sup>997</sup>

*Dominum meum alloqui audeo, ipse pulvis et cinis: qui si me pluris fecero, tu mihi contra stas et dicunt contra me verum testimonium mea crimina, cui non possum contradicere.*<sup>998</sup>

I dare speake vnto my Lord, though I am but dust and ashes: and if I should make any better of my selfe, though standest against me, and my sinnes beare witnessse againste me, which I cannot gainesaie.<sup>999</sup>

Castellio, and Rogers after him, chose to accentuate the *parrhesia* of the opening through the addition of ‘*audeo*/I dare’. Rogers even restored the *isocolon* between the first two cola, lost in Castellio’s version. Though somewhat hampered by the non-inflection of English, Rogers flexible approach to translation could mediate the key rhetorical elements of the original. These exordia not only recreated the meaning but also the dictional emphasis that brought it forward.

Yet, in the exordium of Chapter XXIII, the rules of *decorum* that Rogers set for himself could work against replication of the rhetorical techniques of the original:

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<sup>996</sup> *GB*, fol. 11r: ‘Then Abraham answered and said, Beholde now, I haue begonne to speake vnto my lord, and I am but dust and ashes’.

<sup>997</sup> *Imitatio*, III.VIII.

<sup>998</sup> *Imitando*, p. 97.

<sup>999</sup> *Imitation*, p. 133.

*Confitebor adversum me iniustitiam meam: confitebor tibi,  
Domine, infirmitatem meam.*<sup>1000</sup>

*Iniustitiam infirmitatemque meam tibi, Domine confitebor.*<sup>1001</sup>

I wil confesse my sinnes and wickednesse vnto thee O lord.<sup>1002</sup>

Kempis's Latin was embellished with *complexio*, a union of *epanaphora*, the beginning of successive cola with the same word, and *antistrophe*, ending successive cola with the same words. In Kempis's version, its purpose is to labour the thought by repeating it. It introduces the *commoratio*, or dwelling on the point, that characterises the prayer. *Commoratio* is an effect, characteristic of Kempis's repetitious style, which prevents auditors removing their attention from the point on which the cause rests.<sup>1003</sup> Repetitious techniques, such as this, establish and continually emphasise human weakness. Castellio's preference for a terser classical style, however makes do with the *parisonic* semblance between *Iniustitiam* and *Infirmitatemque*. The effect is sharper without losing the emphatic quality of the original. Rogers translated Kempis's text whilst simultaneously mimicking biblical language, in this case Psalm 32:5.<sup>1004</sup> He chose a wording, 'sinnes' and 'wickedness', that introduced the theme of human depravity but did not recall the dictional force of the original.<sup>1005</sup> Its effect was instead referential and doxastic, tacitly endorsing its gloss as a statement of faith in divine mercy.<sup>1006</sup>

The *Imitatio's* *narrationes* were on the whole less embellished than *exordia* because Kempis's primary technique was *commoratio*. In general they continued the themes, compunctious or otherwise, that the opening introduced. If Rogers chose not to replicate the dictional effects of Castellio or Kempis, the *commoratio* function of the *narratio* was not dramatically impaired by his decision. It required

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<sup>1000</sup> *Imitatio*, III.XX.

<sup>1001</sup> *Imitando*, p. 116.

<sup>1002</sup> *Imitation*, p. 160.

<sup>1003</sup> *Rhetorica*, IV.XLV.LVIII: *non enim datur auditori potestas animum de re firmissima demovendi.*

<sup>1004</sup> *GB*, fol. 212v: 'I acknowledged my sinne vnto thee, nether hid I my iniquitie: (for) I thoght I wil confesse my wickednes vnto the Lord'.

<sup>1005</sup> It is noteworthy that the editors of the Geneva Bible apologised for the leaden-ness of their prose, *ibid*, sig. a3v.

<sup>1006</sup> In this regard it is not far removed from the original which recalled the wording of several vulgate Psalms, including 32:5.

only that the speaker maintain the theme.<sup>1007</sup> In chapter X, however, Rogers did attempt to reproduce the diction of the Latin original, insofar as it was mediated by Castellio. Kempis's description of human weakness continued in a commorational style with a brief, amplified summary of the orator's meanness:

*Ibi ostendis me mihi, quid sim, quid fui et de quo deveni: quia nihil et nescivi. Se mihi ipsi relinquer: ecce nihil et tota infirmitas.*<sup>1008</sup>

*Hic tu me mihi ostendes quid sim, quid fuerim, & vnde venerim, nihil videlicet & de nihilo. qui si mihimetipsi relinquer, continuo nihil sum mera infirmitas.*<sup>1009</sup>

And heere thou wilt showe me to my selfe euen what I am, what I haue bin, and whence I came; to wit nothing from nothing. And beeing left to my selfe I am nothing but meere infirmity.<sup>1010</sup>

Kempis's meditative *narrationes* typically used discussion of the orator's person to move to pity or to contempt.<sup>1011</sup> By 'amplifying the misfortunes', of the orator he utilised a technique associated with appeals to pity.<sup>1012</sup> The use of *comma* produced a striking, hesitant rhythm characteristic of the 'humble voice' or 'lamenting' tone.<sup>1013</sup> *Polyptoton* or repetition of a word in different forms either by inflection or using cognates, of *qui* and *nihil* laboured the the *circumstantiae* of the speaker and hammered home the compunctious point. Castellio enhanced the acoustic repetitiousness of this passage with a series of terminal '-im' sounds that arrested the rhythm and acoustically separated the questions from their answers. Evidently keen to emphasise a passage that disparaged human merits, Rogers's acoustic scheme simulated Kempis's polyptoton of *qui* (which Castellio weakened,

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<sup>1007</sup> Most of the *narrationes* in Book III of the *Imitatio* are comparatively sparsely embellished, see above, n. 564.

<sup>1008</sup> *Imitatio*, III.VIII.

<sup>1009</sup> *Imitando*, p. 97.

<sup>1010</sup> *Imitation*, p. 133.

<sup>1011</sup> C.f. *De Inventione*, I.XVI.XXII and IXVII.XXIV.

<sup>1012</sup> *Rhetorica*, III.XIII.XXIV: *Conquestio est oratio quae incommodorum amplificacione animum auditoris ad misericordiam perducit.*

<sup>1013</sup> *Rhetorica*, III.XIV.XXV: *In conquestione utemur voce depressa, inclinatio sono crebris intervallis longis spatiis, magnis commutationibus*; The *comma* referred to here is the figure of diction, when words are set apart by pauses, see *Rhetorica*, III.XIX.XXVI.

replacing *de quo* with *unde*) with a sequence of four initial ‘w’ sounds. From Castello, he took the third ‘nothing’. He maintained the syntactical parallelism and syllabic balance of the central cola. The effect was that the laboured sound and halting rhythm was sustained as a means to denote the orator’s contempt for human virtue.<sup>1014</sup>

Throughout Rogers’s work, shifts in word meaning radically reoriented the referents of the prayers. Yet the rhetorical qualities of the passages were often left unaffected. For example, the *narratio* of chapter XXIII consisted of an appeal to pity using comparatively unembellished *commoratio*:

*Hoc est quod me frequenter reverberat et coram te confundit:  
quod tam labilis sum et infirmus ad resistendum passionibus. Et  
si non omnia ad consensionem; tamen mihi etiam molesta et  
gravis est earum insectatio; et taedet valde sic cotidie vivere in  
lite.*<sup>1015</sup>

*Vrit hoc me subinde, & coram te pudefacit, quod tam sum  
caducus & ad resistendum perturbationibus infirmus: quae sit  
asse[n]sionem pertrahunt, tamen mihi molesta & gravis est  
earum infestatio taedetque admodum sic quotidie in lite  
viuere.*<sup>1016</sup>

This dooth vexe me at the verie hart, and confounds me in thy  
presence, when I see how fraile I am, and weake to resist  
affections: which albe they draw me not into assent, yet they  
disquiet me greatly by their sore assaults, and make me wearie of  
my life, they fight so within me.<sup>1017</sup>

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<sup>1014</sup> The halting rhythm did appear to be regarded as having an equivalent effect across languages, see Abraham Fraunce, *Arcadian Rhetorike* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588 RSTC-11338), sig. I4r; Fraunce took his cue from the French rhetorician Omer Talon (1504-1562), see his *Rhetorica* (Paris: Matthieu David, 1549 USTC-150366), p. 126.

<sup>1015</sup> *Imitatio*, III.XX.

<sup>1016</sup> *Imitando*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>1017</sup> *Imitation*, pp. 160-161.

In Kempis's original, the passage refers to a voluntaristic distinction in the concept of sin. A person sins mortally when reason consents to temptation, which is to say that reason aligns with the sinful inclinations of the flesh rather than with the heavenly inclination of the Spirit.<sup>1018</sup> Consent is therefore a criterion for distinguishing mortal from venial sin. Hence Kempis made a psychological point in his appeal to pity, demonstrating the strain of resisting temptation and the knowledge of venial sin that afflicted him irrespective of consent. For the voluntaristic Castellio, such a concept of sin was not inadmissible, though, as with his omission of *satisfactio* he changed the wording so that the reference to traditional doctrine was not direct. Protestants retained consent as a distinction between lesser and greater degrees of sin.<sup>1019</sup> Rogers's choice of Biblical citations, Romans 7:15-17 & 24, direct the reader to *loci classici* for discussing the spiritual lives of the predestinate. The distinction between assenting and not assenting to sin was the difference between regenerate and unregenerate sinners.<sup>1020</sup> This appeal to pity therefore no longer took place within the traditional penitential economy in which degrees of sin denoted degrees of penance owed. Instead the reference to non-assent was a signal of assurance. The orator spoke as a member of the regenerate, who could be troubled by the sins their flesh led them to commit, but they could not assent to sin. Their anxiety was that of one who abhorred sin, but it was palliated by the knowledge that they could repent. The rhetorical scheme remained an appeal to pity, but the cause of the orator's discomfort was subtly shifted to correspond with a Calvinist frame of reference.

In like fashion, a reference in Chapter X to prevenient grace, expressed in the build to the transitional *exclamatio*, lost its quasi-voluntaristic meaning when expressed in English:

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<sup>1018</sup> *Summa Theologia*, Book I-II, Question 74, Article 8; Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, pp. 149-152; Ian Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2012), p. 220ff.

<sup>1019</sup> Jean Calvin, *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, in *Joannis Calvini Opera*, vol. 49, cols. 1-292, cols. 123-125; *Institutes*, 2.VIII.44; William Perkins, *Two Treatises* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1593 RSTC-19758), p. 93.

<sup>1020</sup> Calvin, *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, cols. 129-131 and 134-135.

*Facit hoc amor tuus gratis praeueniens in me et in tam multis  
subueniens necessitatibus: a gravibus quoque custodiens me  
periculis: et ab innumeris ut vere dicam eripiens malis.*<sup>1021</sup>

*Facit hoc amor tuus me gratis praeueniens, & in tot  
necessitatibus subueniens, meque a grauibus periculis tutans et  
ex innumeris (ut vere dicam) malis eripiens.*<sup>1022</sup>

This is a fruit of thy loue, which freelie preuenteth me, and  
saueth from so manie troubles, and preserueth from greeuous  
dangers and deliuereth me, to saie the truth from so infinite  
euils.<sup>1023</sup>

Rogers preserved the passage's *homoeoptoton* (similar terminal sounds) using a succession of third-person singular inflections, which emphasise the gifts of divine love. However, doctrine of prevenient grace, implied by the wording in all three versions (*praeueniens*, 'preuenteth', was regarded as a Catholic error in mainstream Calvinism.<sup>1024</sup> It implied a synergistic response of the will to a divine call, which Calvin and his followers rejected.<sup>1025</sup> However, in the context of Elizabethan English, the term seems to have lost its synergistic meaning. Prevent was derived from *praeuenire* and had the same meaning, that is to say 'to go before'.<sup>1026</sup> Yet Elizabethan churchmen freely used the word 'prevent' and its cognates to describe the irresistible grace of predestination that preceded all good works.<sup>1027</sup> It is probably this flexibility of usage in English that allowed Rogers to translate what might otherwise have constituted an awkward lapse in orthodoxy. Read in this way Rogers's replication of the diction unites all the fruits of the spirit

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<sup>1021</sup> *Imitatio*, III.VIII.

<sup>1022</sup> *Imitando*, p. 98.

<sup>1023</sup> *Imitation*, p. 134.

<sup>1024</sup> For prevenient grace, see above, p. 171.

<sup>1025</sup> *Institutes*, 2.III.7; William Perkins, *Tvvo Treatises* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1593 RSTC-19758), p. 68.

<sup>1026</sup> See "prevent, v.". *OED Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) [Online edn. <http://0-www.oed.com> accessed 12<sup>th</sup> July 2016].

<sup>1027</sup> See, for example, the comment of the master of University College Oxford, George Abbot (1562-1633), *Exposition on the Prophet Jonah* (London: Richard Field, 1600 RSTC-34.5), p. 611; Archbishop of York, John King (1559?-1621), in *Lectures vpon Ionas* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1597 RSTC-14976), p. 379.

to the first motion of predestination just as Kempis united them to the first response of the will to the motion of the Holy Spirit implied by *praeueniens*.

Rogers's only radical alteration came in chapter VI. He divided the chapter as a response to the contents and in keeping with *decorum*. Cutting off the prayer where he did, Rogers placed the emphasis on a key Calvinist concept, perseverance:

*Libera me a passionibus malis: et sana cor meum ab omnibus affectionibus inordinatis ut intus sanatus et bene purgatus aptus efficiar ad amandum: fortis ad patiendum, stabilis ad perseverandum.*<sup>1028</sup>

*Libera me a prauis animi perturbationibus; animumq[ue] meum ab omnibus effrenates cupidinibus & vitiis sana, vt intus sanatus et probe purgatus, aptus efficiar ad amandum, fortis ad patiendum, constans ad perseuerandum.*<sup>1029</sup>

Set me free from wicked affections of the mind, and heale my soule of al unbridled desires, and sines, that being inwardlie healed and purged thoroughlie, I maie be made fit to love, strong to suffer and constant to continue.<sup>1030</sup>

In both Kempis and Castellio's texts, the chapter continues with a long meditation on the nature of love characterised by repetitious lists of its virtues. The tricolon crescendo of this passage does not act as a conclusion but preludes the heavy use of animated *comma* and sentence parallelism in the succeeding passages. By dividing the chapter, the crescendo of this *petitio* takes on the character of a *conclusio* or peroration, briefly summarising the case for the auditor.<sup>1031</sup> Having developed the orator's desire for-and confidence in-grace through successive narrational antitheses, the prayer petitions God for grace and in particular

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<sup>1028</sup> *Imitatio*, III.V.

<sup>1029</sup> *Imitando*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>1030</sup> *Imitation*, p. 122.

<sup>1031</sup> *Quintillian*, VI.I.I.

constancy of faith.<sup>1032</sup> Perseverance, or final perseverance was a concomitant of predestination.<sup>1033</sup> God's elect could never defect from the irresistible grace of God, the elect would remain elect for the whole of their lives.<sup>1034</sup> Yet perseverance, as assurance, could not be certain. The puritan divine Thomas Wilcox (1549-1608), distinguished knowledge of perseverance, which was impossible, from faith of perseverance, which all faithful should have.<sup>1035</sup> A reprobate might make the outward show of election and believe themselves elect for a time and yet fall away from their apparent faith. Anxiety regarding individual perseverance resultant from spiritual 'coldness' was a common pastoral concern.<sup>1036</sup> By altering the *dispositio* of the prayer, Rogers shifted the rhetorical emphasis onto this predestinarian commonplace. In this place, more than in any other of the prayers he designated, Rogers radically altered the *ductus* of the composition to entertain a more distinctly Calvinist set of concerns.

To reveal assurance, prayer had to be persuasive. The compunctious rhetoric programmed into the prayers of the *Imitatio* just as they had functioned as a source of metanoia to Parr and her circle, were fairly unproblematically turned to this purpose by Rogers. Subtle changes in word reference imbued

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<sup>1032</sup> 'Continue' refers to the doctrine of perseverance in this context. To continue is frequently used as a synonym for perseverance during this period (if not, as in *Imitation*, often as a direct translation for *perseverare*); see Jean Calvin, *A Commentarie of M. Iohn Calvine vpon the Epistle to the Philippians*, trans. W.B (London: Nicholas Lyng, 1584 RSTC-4402), sig. \*1r, pp. 23, 73 and 81; c.f. Jean Calvin, *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Philippenses in Joannis Calvini Opera*, vol. 52, cols. 5-76, cols. 20, 52 and 57; Jean Calvin, *The Comentaries of M. Iohn Caluin vpon the First Epistle of Sainct Iohn and vpon the Epistle of Jude*, trans. W.H (London: John Kingstone, 1580 RSTC-4404.5), pp. 33 and esp. 39; c.f. Jean Calvin, *Commentarius in Epistolam Ioannis in Joannis Calvini Opera*, vol. 55, cols. 293-376, col. 326 and 336.

<sup>1033</sup> Final perseverance was Augustinian in origin; see Augustine, *De Dono Perseverantiae*, PL, vol. 45, cols. 993-1035. It was more a theoretical than a pastoral issue prior to the reformation, see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologia*, Book I-II, Question XCIV, Article IX; perseverance tends to come up in pastoral writing as a virtue in adversity, broadly coterminous with patience, rather than as a grace, see, for example, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, PL, vol. 182, cols. 67-662, cols. 283-284. However the prospective meaning of final perseverance also appears, often in relation to monastic life, see, for example Idem, *Sermones in Septuagesima*, PL, vol. 183, cols. 161-168, col. 163. It is certainly possible, given the context that Kempis meant it to refer to the grace, but, if so he did not emphasise it in the way Rogers did.

<sup>1034</sup> *Institutes*, 3.XXII.7.

<sup>1035</sup> Thomas Wilcox, *A Discourse Touching the Doctrine of Doubting* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1598 RSTC-25621), pp. 170-171.

<sup>1036</sup> See Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2016), pp. 172-4, 249-251; Kenneth Parker and Eric Carlson, *"Practical Divinity": The Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 116, 125, 139, 145, 164-165, 169; Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 45-46.



Kempis's language with new meanings, allowing it to be more easily absorbed into the reference structure of Elizabethan Calvinism. The changed semantics meant that Rogers's readers would not imagine the same meanings as those who had read Kempis's Latin. Yet rhetorical continuity meant that they could undergo a similar emotional experience, moving from pious fear to ebullient confidence in God's mercy.

### **Conclusion**

For all their doctrinal antagonisms, Elizabethan Protestants continued to speak the same devotional language that prevailed in the late medieval Church. The *Imitatio* continued to respond to the same emotional quandaries; how to find comfort of salvation when conscious of personal, spiritual weakness. It would be wrong, given the discrete meanings of emphases that confessional difference imposed, to speak of universal themes. Yet there was a common rhetoric of human lowliness and divine mercy that created enough common ground for Castellio and Rogers to see, as it were, their own concerns being worked out in the *Imitatio*. The *Imitation* and *Imitando* did not admit of this medieval heritage. For their editors and some of their readers their message was a-historical. The doctrine of predestination meant that the expurgated *Imitationes* stood outside of the contingencies of time and embodied a myth of eternal return to apostolic purity. Yet, as the anonymous editor of IX. Lat. 301 showed, the texts could easily become palimpsests. As objects in history they could embody not only change, but also loss.

## Conclusion

In 1939, the Argentinian essayist Jorge Luis Borges (1899-1986), published the short story 'Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote'. In it, the speaker recounts the efforts of the titular Menard to compose, word for word, part of Cervantes's (1547-1616) *Don Quixote*. Rather than transcribing or quoting the seventeenth-century original, his goal was essentially polygenetic. Menard's *Quixote* would be 'the *Quixote*', the product of a twentieth-century mind and was to be read as such. At the close of the story Borges's speaker hails the establishment of a new reading technique: 'that of deliberate anachronism and the erroneous attribution':

This technique fills the most placid works with adventure. To attribute the *Imitatio Christi* to Louis-Ferdinand Céline or to James Joyce, is this not a sufficient renovation of its tenuous spiritual indications.<sup>1037</sup>

Borge's point is that it is reading that produces meaning. The semantic referents that syntax encodes are subject to shifting historical contexts.<sup>1038</sup> The word stays the same, but the underlying *res* moves on. The meanings of the abstract noun 'text' or more pertinently the '*Imitatio*' that have been used throughout this thesis, are ambiguous.

As the chapters preceding have shown, the *Imitatio*'s success was not founded on continuity of meaning. Beginning life as an edited compilation, it advocated solitary, compunctious dependence on God's mercy and the merits of the Mass to find spiritual consolation. Among the Carthusians it became a means for mitigating the effects of changing circumstances on their way of life and sense of historical continuity. Among members of the traditional Church, it was an ideal model for compunction. During the Henrician Reformation, evangelicals drew from the text to bind their community together in communal experiences of *metanoia*. Later, the *Imitatio* assured late Elizabethan and Stuart Calvinists of their predestination. Similarities between the dependence on grace in Kempis's

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<sup>1037</sup> Translation from Jorge Luis Borges, '*Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote*', in Jorge Luis Borges, *Labyrinths*, trans. David Yates and James Irby (London: Penguin, 1970), p. 71.

<sup>1038</sup> Beatriz Sarlo, *Jorge Luis Borges: A Writer on the Edge* (London: Verso, 1993), pp. 32-33.

minimal synergism and that of Lutheran and Calvinist theology clearly eased the text's adaptation. Yet the identification of such parallels only draws attention to the gap between different communities' semantic referents. Furthermore, such parallels do not explain why editors chose the *Imitatio* for adaptation. Much of it was unacceptable to Protestant editors. The *Imitatio's* essence cannot be identified with its semantic referents. The successive re-adaptations mean that to identify the *Imitatio* in any simplistic way with a particular organization of syntax fails also. The wording was important. There are clear rhetorical similarities between the different versions. *Prayers*, *Imitando*, and *Imitation* made more effort to preserve the text's rhetorical form than its traditional range of referential significations. However, given the redactions and translations, the words that constituted the *Imitatio's* various incarnations were almost as variable as their semantic referents. The vernacular of Parr and Rogers and Castellio's Latin replicated or approximated the rhetorical figures of the original, they did not repeat it. Ultimately, the essential quality binding the various versions of the *Imitatio* together can only be a narrative of transmission. Each new version was remotely connected to Kempis as originator, and by extension to the other versions, by tenuous threads of influence.

However, the readers and redactors of the *Imitatio* were not a series of Menards. They did not each anachronistically reconstruct the text from the ground up. The *Imitatio* was not transmitted shorn of all context. It travelled as physical books with visible, paratextual attributes. These paratexts represent a conception of the text that was absorbed and expressed by generations of readers. It was a quarry for prayers and material for prayers. In the manuscripts of *Musica Ecclesiastica* and in incunabula, readers' annotations refer to and facilitate this function. The amens terminating the first-person passages in *Folowing* testify to the continuance of the practice among readers of the vernacular versions. The title and style of *Prayers* demonstrates the culling of prayers from the *Imitatio* in practice. The *Imitation's* index of prayers and paratextual borrowing from *Folowing* formalised this reading. There is not enough evidence to suggest that paratexts were instrumental in mediating this readerly goal orientation. However,

they do define pathways by which the text is navigated and handled, entered and exited. They constitute the *Imitatio's* words as a script for expressing pious dependence on God's mercy.

Protestant editors took pains to reproduce, or where impossible to supplement, the rhetorical figures of Kempis's text. This points to a performative goal. All rhetorics agreed that the persuasive function of language is inextricable from context. Orators used words to build a relationship between themselves and their auditors based on an understanding of a given social situation. This was the basis of *decorum*. In the case of rhetorical prayer, the characters and relationships were complex. The orator was speaker and auditor, active and passive. God's grace was both the efficient and the final cause of prayer. The words of an oration could only move the speaker to trust in God. In the traditional dispensation, it was on the basis of that motion, and not the words themselves, that God would then impart grace of consolation. In evangelical and Calvinist theologies, the persuasive force was more revelatory. The orator was reminded of the need to depend on grace in *metanoia*. In Calvinism, this process revealed gifts already imparted. If faith may be tentatively defined as binding assent to doctrine or doctrines, then the function of the *Imitatio's* rhetoric, across all these confessions, was essentially to characterise that act of assenting.<sup>1039</sup> The doctrinal objects changed. Yet the emotional script, by which the orators displayed their piety to themselves and to God, remained stable. The sequence of despair and hope, self-doubt and trust in divine mercy made prayer 'look right' irrespective of changing confessional identities. The reformers used the *Imitatio* to confirm new doctrines and religious identities using a familiar and comprehensible emotional script. This continuity had further advantages. In the case of *Prayers*, it could be used to conceal an illegal religious identity. It could also be a powerful symbol of difference. In a culture of confessional plurality, a similar practice performed in relation to one body of doctrine consciously excluded its performance in relation to another. Such

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<sup>1039</sup> Hamm, *Reformation of Faith*, p. 156.

was the case with Rogers's *Imitation*, which presented the reader with erroneous doctrines to reject.

In the users of the *Imitatio*, there appears a connection between private space and a particular kind of remorseful, reconciliatory prayer. Throughout the period of study, solitary prayer played an authenticating role in the lives of the *Imitatio*'s readers. In private spaces, at least notionally, the only observers were God and the orator. It was the one place in which feigned emotion was impossible. Since genuineness of affect was either the prerequisite for receiving grace or else the sign of imputed grace, only in solitude could the orator prove their emotions and acquire confidence of salvation. The compunction, *metanoia* and assurance mediated by the *Imitatio* were all devotional experiences that privileged private spaces as points of hierophany. This thesis cannot on the basis of the examples studied here make any pronouncements as to changes in the importance of solitary spaces. Solitude was more a state of mind than a material and social context. Private spaces, that is where access could be restricted, were congenial to it. However, solitude was more perceptual than phenomenal. Rogers preface to *St Augustine's Manual*, found within *A right Christian treatise*, a text of similar dimensions to most of the *Imitationes* in this study and a prayerbook too, stressed the variety of locations available to the orator:

I do cal this booke, as also the author doth a Manuel, because my wish is, that Christians would vse and haue it in their hands, not onlie when they are at home in their chambers and studies priuatlie, but also when they are abroade in the fielde, gardens, and elsewhere idelie: and that not to dandle and to handle onlie, but diligentlie and zealouslie, as the parte of Christians is to read the same for their spiritual exercise.<sup>1040</sup>

Rogers's choices of spaces-home, chamber, field and garden-were tellingly conventional in writing on meditative practice throughout the period. They fulfilled the sensory conditions of silence and privacy thought apt for

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<sup>1040</sup> Anon, *A right Christian treatise*, sig. A2v.

contemplation. To conclude that there was a clear phenomenology of grace would be exaggerated. Orators were able to creatively affect solitude even in uncongenial circumstances. What it is fair to say is that in each case, the encounter with restoring grace had a clear material and sensory context. God inhabited privileged spaces of isolation. This was as true for the Carthusians as for the readers of *Rogers's Imitation*.

This thesis has not made any comparative analysis between the *Imitatio* and other traditional texts retained after the split with Rome. There were many texts read both by members of the traditional Church and reformers. There are equally texts composed after the split and read by both Protestants and Roman Catholics. Rogers's other translations suggest a taste for traditional routines in prayer but also a desire to purify tradition. Joseph Hall's *Arte of Divine Meditation* praised the devotion and religious commitment of Mauburnus, even as he cut vast swathes of material to make the *Rosetum* acceptable to his Protestant readers.<sup>1041</sup> Richard Braithwaite (1588-1673), in his *spiritual spicerie* (a collection of mostly pre-Reformation prayers), brazenly advocated that, as the inheritors of the true Church, Protestants should claim whatever was not corrupt from Rome.<sup>1042</sup> There are scattered studies on the particular texts, not least those on the *Imitatio* that have been cited in this thesis.<sup>1043</sup> However there remains, as yet no monograph on these retentions as a group and what, specifically was retained. This thesis has aimed to clarify what, how and why Protestants drew from the *Imitatio* tradition. There has not, however, been space to consider it as part of a broader practice.

It is worth considering, for example, the relationship of Protestant printings to continuing circulation of traditional or Catholic versions of these texts. Rogers may well have translated his texts in order that they might suppress the corrupt

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<sup>1041</sup> Joseph Hall, *Arte of Divine Meditation*, sigs. A4r-A4v.

<sup>1042</sup> Richard Braithwaite, *A spiritual spicerie* (London: I. Haviland, 1638), pp. 226-227.

<sup>1043</sup> Gregory Dodds, 'Joseph Hall, Thomas Fuller, and the Erasmian Via Media in Early Stuart England', Stephen Ryle (ed.), *Erasmus and the Renaissance republic of letters* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 399-423, passim; Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 285ff; Dan Steere, 'For the peace of both, for the humour of neither': Bishop Joseph Hall defends the via media in an age of extremes, 1601-1656', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27 (1996), pp. 749-765, passim; Helen White, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, passim.

papist originals. The *Imitatio* continued to be printed in a Catholic form in the 1560s and 70s, and Rogers hints at a sense of danger that surrounded the original, expressing his anxiety that with the errors left in, the *Imitatio* would ‘offend the weak and simple Christian’.<sup>1044</sup> Rogers’s *Method* was published two years after an English Catholic version was printed in Rouen.<sup>1045</sup> Likewise, his fellow churchman Edmund Bunny (1540-1619) edited and published a heavily expurgated and annotated version of the *Christian Exercise* by the Jesuit Robert Persons (1546-1610).<sup>1046</sup> This motive for publication was quite explicit in the *Method*, where he stated this appropriation of Catholic writing might be an effective way of dealing with the circulation of doctrinally perverse books:

what else anie of the contrarie side in respect of Religion shal  
publish to this ende and effecte, if it cannot for some causes  
vtterlie be suppressed, which is impossible, yet it maie carefullie  
and wiselie be perused and reformed, that goode and none hurte  
mai redounde vnto the people of God.<sup>1047</sup>

A similar sentiment is expressed by Bunny, who amended the *booke of Christian exercise* so that ‘the reading thereof...might carrie no hurte or danger’.<sup>1048</sup> Though not in substance controversial, understanding this strategic purpose deepens the controversial edge revealed in chapter IV. The *Imitatio* and books like it were part of an effort to resist the incursions of heretical literature into the kingdom. Further research should therefore reflect on a broader range of texts and the specific features that their editors retained.

This thesis is also far from exhausting all the readings and traditions that the *Imitatio*’s paratexts communicated to its readers. It has focussed on only on one genre that survived the Reformation. Further work remains to be done to uncover

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<sup>1044</sup> *Imitation*, sig. a11r.

<sup>1045</sup> Diego de Estella, *The contempte of the vworld*, ([Rouen: Printed at Fr. Parsons’s Press, 1584 RSTC-10541].

<sup>1046</sup> Robert Parsons, *The first booke of the Christian exercise* ([Rouen: Printed at Fr. Parsons’s press], Anno. 1582 RSTC-19353); Edmund Bunny, *A Booke of Christian Exercise* (Middleborough: R. P[ainter, i.e. Schilders], 1584 RSTC-19356).

<sup>1047</sup> Thomas Rogers, *A Methode vnto Mortification*, sigs. A7r-v.

<sup>1048</sup> Edmund Bunny, *A Booke of Christian Exercise*, sig. \*.2.r.

the full range of uses that this versatile text was put to. In particular, the focus on private prayer and the Reformation has meant that the connection to the liturgy has, as yet, only been partially explored. Since book IV of the *Imitatio*, on the Mass, was not present in the English manuscript circulation or in the sixteenth-century Protestant versions of the text, it has made few appearances in this thesis. The connections to liturgical service represented by the annotations in chapter II were expressions of a much greater conceptual integration between the *Imitatio* and the liturgy before the Reformation. For example, *A Ful Deuout and Gostely Treatyse*, the 1504 translation of William Atkinson and Lady Margaret Beaufort was intimately bound up with its patron's devotion to the Cult of the Holy Name.<sup>1049</sup> Lady Margaret became patron of the newly instituted yearly feast of the Holy Name in 1494.<sup>1050</sup> Her translation boasted two full-page woodcuts of the sacred monogram *IHC*, a contraction of Jesus, flanked by Tudor Roses and Beaufort Portcullises before books I and IV. This same pattern of monogram and heraldic symbols was also to be found on the vestments of her chapel.<sup>1051</sup> This devotion, centred on the votive mass of the Holy Name, probably inspired her interest in the *Imitatio* in the first place.<sup>1052</sup> Like the vestments, *A Ful Deuoute and Gostely Treatyse* was part of a devotional environment of liturgical and paraliturgical elements that Lady Margaret created for herself. It was a guide to intensifying her experience of the Mass and a tool for propagating a new devotion. There may also be a connection between Lady Margaret's choice to use the *Imitatio* for this purpose and a fifteenth-century Latin manuscript of the *Imitatio* produced in Deventer but which circulated among Carthusians in the Low-Countries. Sacred monograms in red ink occupy many of the margins in this book.<sup>1053</sup> Lady Margaret

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<sup>1049</sup> Robert Lutton, "'Love this name that is IHC': Vernacular Prayers, Hymns and Lyrics to the Holy Name of Jesus in Pre Reformation England', in Elizabeth Salter and Helen Wicker (eds.), *Vernacularity in England and Wales* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 119-145, passim; For the development of the feast, see the relevant chapter in Richard Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 62-83; for another notable devotee to the Cult of the holy Name see Michael Hicks, 'The Piety of Lady Margaret Hungerford (d. 1478)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38, no. 1 (1987), pp. 19-38, passim.

<sup>1050</sup> Michael Jones and Malcolm Underwood, *The King's Mother* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 168.

<sup>1051</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>1052</sup> Kempis, *A Ful Deuoute and Gostely Treatyse*, sigs. A.1.v and Q.5.r.

<sup>1053</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS. 14069-88, fols 106v-107v.



had been admitted into confraternity with the Carthusians since 1478 and in 1504 a licence was granted her to visit, converse and dine with the monks and nuns of enclosed houses.<sup>1054</sup> No surviving Latin manuscripts that circulated in England bore annotation of this kind. Nevertheless, this evidence, the liturgical undertones of many annotations in manuscripts of *Musica Ecclesiastica* and the presence of paraliturgical symbols in the spaces where these manuscripts were used suggests that the official rites of the Church were significant contributors to the *Imitatio's* pre-Reformation meanings. Further research also remains to be done into the transmission of the text between religious and secular contexts.

More broadly, the study of fragmented reading patterns in the *Imitatio* may benefit from developments in digital humanities. XML markup, essentially a form of electronic document annotation, offers a tool for categorizing and organizing 'metadata'. Metadata is information about information. When applied to manuscript marginalia in texts such as the *Imitatio*, metadata may include but is not limited to: date, hand, reader, topic and text (this last being the text to which a particular annotation is linked if any).<sup>1055</sup> The system devised for the 'Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe' project, which is centred on the examination of annotations in books owned by Gabriel Harvey (1552-1631), has enormous potential to help the future researcher of the *Imitatio* identify patterns in annotation.<sup>1056</sup> This tool, in essence, allows the researcher to tag 'marginalia elements' in any number of books according to a broad variety of metadata. Language, translation, position on the page, cross references and links to other annotations may also be recorded in this way. XML mark-up is an ideal structure

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<sup>1054</sup> Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, pp. 132 and 180. In addition, the record of her treasurer of the chamber (Miles Worsley) for 1507 notes that when she was staying at Richmond, money was paid 'to the barge to convey my lady M[argaret] at two tymes from Richmond to Syon and ayen to Richmond'; the same account refers to the 'cherterhouse of Syon' which may mean that Lady Margaret was actually visiting the Carthusian monastery at Sheen. That said, the account also records payments to the Bridgettines, so the specific destination of her trips remains somewhat ambiguous. See Cambridge, St John's College Archive, MS. D91. 19, pp. 8, 12 and 77.

<sup>1055</sup> *AOR Transcribers Manual* (10<sup>th</sup> edn. 2016) [online edn. [http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk/schema/AOR\\_Transcriber's\\_Manual13052016.pdf](http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk/schema/AOR_Transcriber's_Manual13052016.pdf) accessed 31st July 2016].

<sup>1056</sup> For XML and 'TEI' (Text Encoding Initiative) the current standard for literary computing, see Julianne Nyhan, 'Text Encoding and Scholarly Editions', in Claire Warwick et al (eds.), *Digital Humanities in Practice* (London: Facet, 2012), pp. 117-137, *passim*.

for this kind of study because of the ‘ordered hierarchy of content objects’ (OHCO) premise that underpins it.<sup>1057</sup> All information must be nested within a hierarchy of conceptual structures from a macro level, such as a text or corpus of texts, to a micro level, such as verses or sentences upon a particular page. Overlap between hierarchies is not allowed. Textual features that cross between hierarchies, such as a paragraph across two pages, require work-arounds. Often criticised, encoding schemes have been developed that mitigate the effects of this premise.<sup>1058</sup> Yet for a study of fragmented reading based on paratexts, particularly annotation this feature has great potential. By encoding each page or bifolium as a discrete visual unit, disregarding connectivity within the core text, it is possible to better reconstruct the discontinuous searching patterns of its users. The structure of each physical page becomes the focus of analysis. The annotation scheme, marginalia having been tagged for example according to criteria of density, position, type or colour, could be statistically and graphically represented. Pages of prominence and the pathways by which paratexts guided the reader’s eye might then be identified. This data could then be used to reconstruct interpretations of the core text, whether semantic or rhetorical. The results of this approach would be contingent on the availability of time and resources but the possibilities are virtually without limit. If the text corpus could be expanded to embrace many texts with different backgrounds, religious and secular or Protestant and Catholic, this method could begin to provide a statistical basis for comparison of reading styles of the *Imitatio*. The *Imitatio*’s wide circulation and remarkable popularity among readers on both sides of the confessional split offer a unique opportunity for comparative research of this kind.

The *Imitatio*, like the Ship of Theseus, was continuity of form without continuity of substance.<sup>1059</sup> When its meanings became obsolete, they were

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<sup>1057</sup> For a summary of OHCO and criticisms see, Paul Caton, ‘Markup’s Current Imbalance’, *Markup Languages: Theory and Practice*, 3, no. 1 (2001), pp. 1-13, passim.

<sup>1058</sup> For example, Desmond Schmidt, ‘The Inadequacy of Embedded Markup for Cultural Heritage Texts’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 25, no. 3 (2010), pp. 337-356, passim; Claus Huitfeldt, ‘Multi-Dimensional Texts in a One-Dimensional Medium’, *Computers and the humanities*, 28, no. 4-5 (1994), pp. 235-241, passim.

<sup>1059</sup> Plutarch, *Plutarch’s Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (London: Heinemann, 1914), 10 vols, vol. 1, pp. 48-49.

revised and the text spoke anew. Its success was contingent on its readers' creative application of anachronism. All texts are sooner or later subject to anachronism by virtue of their endurance away from their originating context into an estranging future.<sup>1060</sup> This need not mean an impoverishment or diminution in their meaning. Rather the text can contain many latent pasts. Which of these it recalls is contingent on the reader.<sup>1061</sup> Mimesis married a heuristic of anachronistic essentialising with discourses of social appositeness. Where necessary, *Discretio* and *Decorum* reconciled past and present for the readers of the *Imitatio*. Though rarely uttered in the same context they had similar outcomes. *Discretio* meant that the practices that defined the Carthusian's identity were always provisional. The *Imitatio* was a tool for orienting the monks' relationship with their order's foundational documents. It functions, in effect, as a mimesis of their historical practice. The monks understood their deviation from the *Consuetudines*, *Statuta Antiqua*, *Statuta Nova* and *Tertio Compilatio* to be authorised in spirit. The *Imitatio* represented to the Carthusians their commitment to solitude while establishing criteria for safely compromising it. In effect, they sustained their historical identity by separating out and defining its trans-historical essence according to the criteria of the present. For the reformers, *decorum* enabled the alignment of the *Imitatio*'s meanings with the eternal truth of evangelical or Calvinist doctrine. Redundant, heretical accretions could be peeled away and the relic of the true Church during the era of papal persecution set free. Both *discretio* and *decorum*, though not closely related to one another, depended on procedural anachronism. The old truths of an archetype were to be reduced to a core meaning so that they could be regenerated for a present audience. The ambiguity imprinted on the text by Parr and the radical reorientations of Castellio and Rogers were authorised by the combination of heuristic and representation strategies embodied by mimesis. The Protestant *Imitatio* was a relic *qua* itself, which it was not to the Carthusians. Yet for both, the text proved, a site for anachronistic definition of historical identity.

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<sup>1060</sup> Greene, *The Vulnerable Text*, p. 222.

<sup>1061</sup> Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, p. 26.

The connection, therefore, between Carthusian and Protestant anachronism is the connection between reformation as a ceaseless cycle of religious renewal and Reformation as a discrete historical event.<sup>1062</sup> The Reformation as a cultural process was structured and sanctioned by habits of mind that were extrinsic to it. Mimesis provided an extremely powerful tool for retroactively authorising difference. The Protestant claim to represent true religion was, in no small part, contingent on hermeneutics that legitimated their interpretation and appropriation of Christian history. It is because of mimesis that the *Imitatio* could be successful across the confessional divide. It is as an example this practice that the *Imitatio* is significant for the history of the Reformation's success. It allowed the reformers to remake the past. At the same time, it gave weight to their assertion of antiquity. Through the *Imitatio* and texts like it, people could pray confident that their devotions formed links in an unbroken chain of true worship extending back to the dawn of the Church.

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<sup>1062</sup> Collinson, 'Comment on Eamon Duffy's Neale Lecture', p. 71.

### Tables and Images

House	Foundation Date	Founder
Witham	1173	Henry II
Hinton	1222	William Longspee, Earl of Salisbury
Beauvale	1343	Sir Nicholas Cantelupe, Edward III's Captain
London	1371	Sir Walter Manny, Edward III's Captain
Hull	1378	Sir Michael de la Pole (later Earl of Suffolk), Edward III's financier
Coventry	1382	William Lord Zouche and Richard II
Axholme	1395	Thomas Mobray, Earl of Nottingham
Mountgrace	1397	Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey, Richard II's courtier
Sheen	1415	Henry V

Table 1: showing the dates of foundation and the founders of the English Charterhouses

Name	Dates	Previous occupation	Age at profession
John Blacman	1407/8	Secular Cleric	<i>Clericus Redditus</i> (London) age 50 (1457/8)
John Ingleby	1434-1499	-	Monk (Mountgrace) age 24 (1457)
Richard Methley	1450-1527	-	Monk (Mountgrace) 26 (1476)
John Houghton	1486/7-1535	Student (Cambridge)	Monk (London) 29 (1515)
William Exmew	1507-1535	Possibly a student (Cambridge)	Monk (London) before 22 (1529)
Thomas More	1478-1535	Law Student	Considered becoming a monk (London) 22 (1490)
Sebastian Newdigate	1500-1535	courtier	Monk (London) 31
Robert Lawrence	c.1490-1535	Student (Cambridge)	Monk (Beauvale) c. 24
Augustine Webster	c.1490-1535	Student (Cambridge)	Monk (Sheen), c. 23
Andrew Boorde	1490-1549	-	Monk (London) 25 (1515)
Thomas Gage	1479-1556	Courtier	Considered becoming a monk (Sheen) 55 (1534)
Thomas Salter	1477/8-1558	Mercer	Monk (London) 40 (1558)
Maurice Chauncy	1509-1581	-	Monk (London) before 23 (1534)

Table 2: Ages of Carthusians at time of profession, information from ODNB and L.

Whetstone, *The Carthusians Under King Henry the Eighth* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1983).

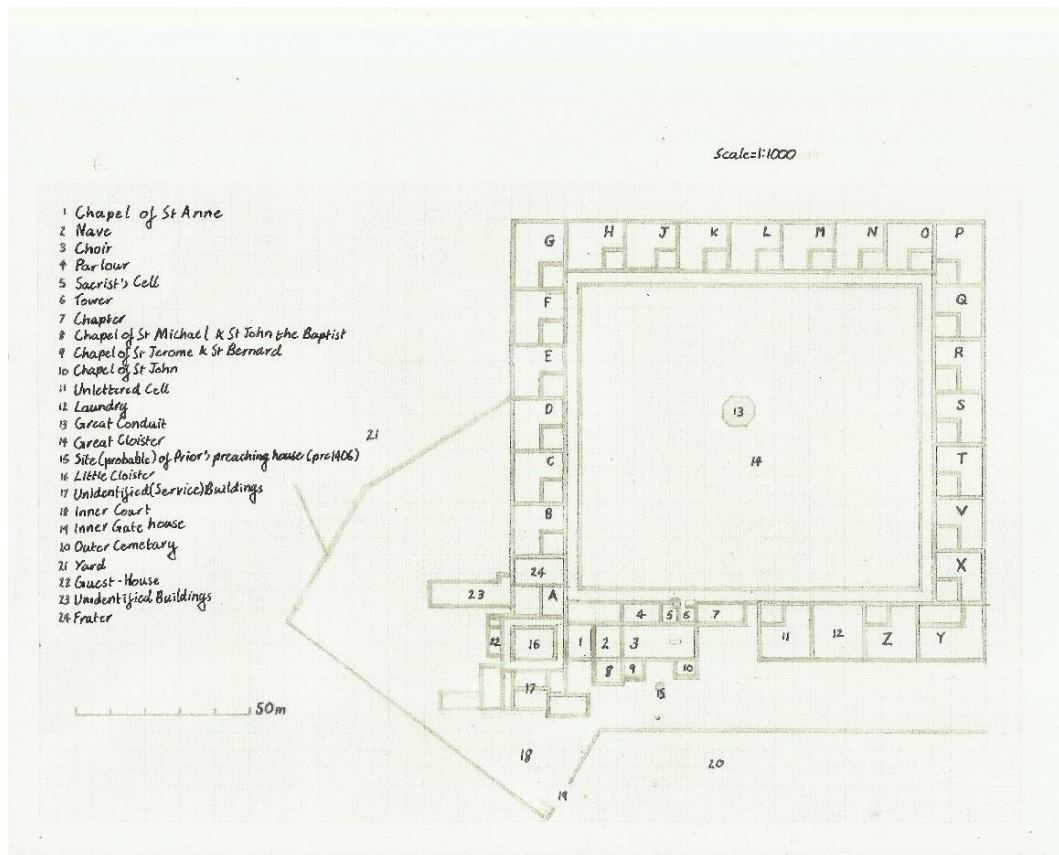


Figure 1: Schematic diagram of the London Charterhouse before 1475.

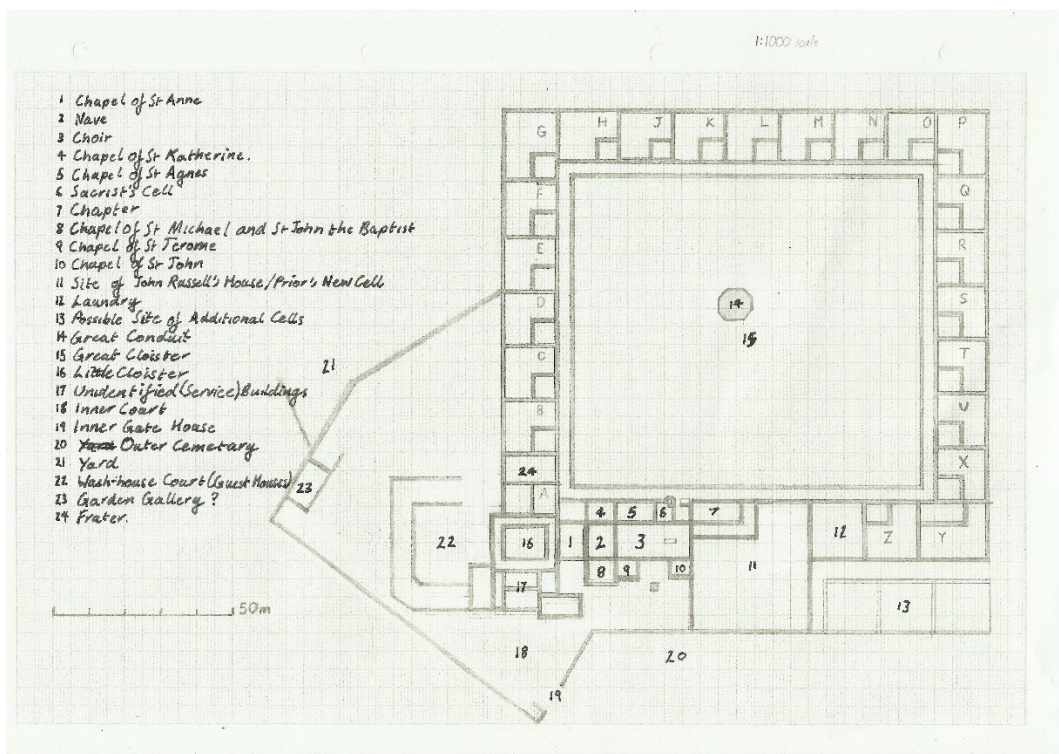


Figure 2: Schematic diagram of the London Charterhouse in the 1530s.

Both diagrams based on the information and maps in Bruno Barber et al, *The London Charterhouse* and Philip Temple, *Survey of London: the Charterhouse*.

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