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VOLUME 3 : RESUME EN ANGLAIS

TABLE

INTRODUCTION	7
<i>A brief historiographical survey</i>	8
<i>Studying liturgical practice under Henry VIII</i>	10
<i>The corpus of liturgical books</i>	12
<i>Methodology</i>	13
PART I: ENGLAND, THE PAPACY AND THE LITURGY	21
CHAPTER 1: ENGLAND AND THE PAPACY	23
1. THE MEDIEVAL LEGACY.....	23
<i>A. The power of the pope in England</i>	23
i. Who converted the English ?.....	23
ii. Kings against the Church ?.....	25
<i>B. England and the papacy at the beginning of the 16th century</i>	27
i. The Tudors and the pope.....	27
ii. The English and Rome.....	28
<i>C. The pope in the English liturgy</i>	30
i. References to popes of the past.....	30
ii. Intercessions for the pope as a head of the Church and symbol of unity.....	30
iii. Papal supremacy in the liturgy.....	31
iv. Indulgences.....	32
2. THE BREAK WITH ROME.....	33
<i>A. The King's great matter</i>	33
i. The causes of the crisis.....	33
ii. 1527-1531 : negotiations fail.....	33
iii. 1532-1534 : from schism to royal supremacy.....	34
<i>B. A new ecclesiology</i>	34
i. The universal church of Christ and the national Churches.....	34
ii. The pope in Henry's England.....	36
3. REINTERPRETING THE HISTORY OF ANGLO-PAPAL RELATIONS.....	37
<i>A. What King Lucius could do for Henry VIII</i>	37
<i>B. Henri II and John : victims of the papacy</i>	38
CHAPTER 2 : LITURGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE SCHISM	43
1. OFFICIAL INSTRUCTIONS.....	43
<i>A. The regime's orders</i>	43
<i>B. Information and episcopal enforcement</i>	44
<i>C. John Clerk's injunctions</i>	46
2. IMPLEMENTING THE ORDERS IN THE PARISHES.....	50
<i>A. Typology</i>	50

<i>B. General analysis of the corpus</i>	53
<i>C. Differences in technique, diversity in degree</i>	54
<i>D. Interpreting liturgical defacings</i>	57
i. minimal conformity, mental restrictions and Nicodemism	57
ii. practical implications : the case of the <i>Exultet</i>	59
3. SUPPRESSING ALL MENTION OF PAPAL AUTHORITY	61
<i>A. Peter’s primacy and Rome, caput mundi</i>	61
i. ‘Apostolorum princeps’	61
ii. Limits to the pope’s power.....	62
iii. The city of Rome and papal institutions	64
<i>B. Papal power and Church discipline in the liturgy</i>	65
i. the sentence of excommunication or great curse	65
iii. Disciplining England after the schism.....	68
<i>C. Indulgences</i>	68
CONCLUSION : OBEDIENCE AND SEDITION IN PUBLIC PRAYER, THE LITURGICAL BATTLE FIELD. .	71
<i>A. To obey or to disobey: political and spiritual stakes</i>	71
<i>B. Using the liturgy against the king and his policies</i>	72
PART II : THE LITURGY AND THE ROYAL SUPREMACY : PRAYING FOR THE	
KING AS SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH.....	73
CHAPTER 1 : REARRANGING THE PRAYERS OF INTERCESSION TO ‘DECLARE	
AND TEACH THE ROYAL SUPREMACY’	75
1. REFORMING THE ‘BIDDING OF THE BEDES’	76
<i>A. What are the bidding prayers?</i>	76
i. Examples of bidding prayers.....	77
ii. Common features and meaning of the bidding prayers.....	81
<i>B. The new bidding prayers published by Cranmer in April 1534</i>	82
i. Oaths, sermons and prayers.....	82
ii. The 1536 version	85
<i>C. Reformed practice of the bidding prayers</i>	86
i. Books in use under Henry VIII.....	86
ii. The 1544 processional, printed in Antwerp.	89
iii. An example of rewriting the bidding prayers: Salisbury Cathedral, MS 148.....	90
<i>D. Enforcement, obedience, sedition.....</i>	92
i. Implementation	92
ii. Examples of bidding prayers.....	93
iii. Genuine mistakes, sedition and half hearted support.....	95
<i>Conclusion</i>	97
2. EFFECTS OF THE ROYAL SUPREMACY ON OTHER INTERCESSORY PRAYERS.....	98
<i>A. The Good Friday suffrages</i>	98
<i>B. The Litany</i>	101
i. Changes in existing service books.....	102

ii. New publications.....	103
iii. The new litany.....	105
CONCLUSION	106

CHAPTER 2 : ‘THE KING’S COLLECT’: PRAYING DAILY FOR THE KING AND QUEEN ANNE..... 109

1. IMPLEMENTING A NEW LITURGICAL PRACTICE	109
<i>A. Cranmer’s order</i>	109
<i>B. Injunctions to religious houses and universities</i>	110
<i>C. Enforcement</i>	111
2. IDENTIFYING THE COLLECTS FOR THE KING.....	113
<i>A. The existing masses</i>	113
i. <i>The missa pro rege et regina</i>	113
ii. <i>The missa pro rege</i>	114
<i>B. the creation of an ad hoc mass ?</i>	116
3. A HENRICIAN NOVELTY ?.....	119
<i>A. Praying for the sovereign : a well established tradition</i>	119
<i>B. The liturgical and political impact of the collects for the king</i>	120
<i>C. ‘according to our most bounden dewties’ : how the collect for the king refashioned priestly duties towards their king.</i>	120
CONCLUSION	122

CHAPTER 3 : REWRITING THE CANON OF THE MASS : KING DETHRONING POPE 123

1. GENERAL OVERVIEW	123
<i>A. What is the canon of the mass ?</i>	123
<i>B. ‘Rewriting the canon’</i>	124
<i>C. How to rewrite the canon?</i>	127
2. THE CANON AS PALIMPSEST.....	130
<i>A. The queen in the canon of the mass</i>	130
<i>B. Restoring catholicism</i>	131
3. CASE STUDIES : MISSALS BELONGING TO HENRICIAN SUPPORTERS	133
<i>A. John Robsart’s missal</i>	133
<i>B. John Price’s missal</i>	135
4. OFFICIAL INSTRUCTIONS AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES.....	136
<i>A. diocesan patterns for the rewriting of the canon?</i>	136
<i>B. Local consultation and individual implementation</i>	138
4. THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF THE NEW CANON OF THE MASS.....	139
<i>A. How widespread was this practice?</i>	139
<i>B. The Rationale of Ceremonial</i>	140
<i>C. Newly printed canons</i>	141

<i>D. Successive amendments at Bodenham, Herefordshire</i>	142
CONCLUSION	143
PART III: THE DOCTRINAL CONTENT OF THE LITURGY	145
CHAPTER 1 : THE THEOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.....	147
1. DISCOURSES ON THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.....	148
<i>A. The Henrician confessions of faith: telling the obvious</i>	148
i. ‘A title annexed to the imperial crown of this realm’	148
ii. An instrument for reform	150
<i>B. Constituted by God and prescribed by Scripture</i>	150
2. TEACHING, PREACHING AND BELIEVING.....	152
<i>A. ‘preaching the word of god, the royal supremacy’</i>	152
<i>B. believing in the truth of the royal supremacy and professing it</i>	154
<i>C. Who are the heretics ?</i>	157
i. Is papal supremacy a heresy ?.....	157
ii. Is the royal supremacy a heresy ?	159
3. THE ROYAL SUPREMACY, A DOGMA OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ?	160
<i>A. Definitions of doctrine and dogma</i>	160
<i>B. The royal supremacy, a ‘functional dogma’</i>	162
CHAPTER 2 : CHANGES TO THE CULT OF THE SAINTS	165
1. THE HENRICIAN CHANGES TO THE CULT OF THE SAINTS.....	167
<i>A. Challenging saintly intercession</i>	167
<i>B. Changes to the litany of the saints</i>	169
<i>C. New paths to salvation</i>	170
<i>D. The abrogation of holy days</i>	173
2. THE DEMISE OF A SAINT : THOMAS OF CANTERBURY	179
<i>A. St Thomas of Canterbury : the greatest English saint at the end of the Middle Ages</i>	179
i. The life and death of Thomas (c. 1118-1170).....	179
ii. The cult of St Thomas	180
<i>B. From saint to traitor</i>	181
i. Becket beckoning.....	181
ii. uncanonising Thomas	182
<i>C. Liturgical impact in the parishes</i>	183
3. NORTHERN SAINTS IN YORK SERVICEBOOKS	185
<i>A. The lives of these saints</i>	186
i. St Cuthbert (635-687).....	186
ii. St Wilfrid (635-709/10).....	187
iii. St John of Beverley (†721)	188
iv. St William of York (†1154)	189
v. The biographical explanation : possibilities and limitations	189
<i>B. The saints of the Pilgrimage of Grace</i>	191

i. The Pilgrimage of Grace.....	191
ii. Defending the saints and the liberties of the church.....	191
iii. Sainly protection of the pilgrims.....	192
iv. Suppressing the cult of rebel saints ?.....	193
C. <i>William of York</i>	194
D. <i>Liturgical explanations for the defacings</i>	195
CONCLUSION	196

CHAPTER 3: DOCTRINAL AND LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF SACRAMENTAL PRACTICE..... 197

1. TRADITIONAL LITURGY AND NEW TEACHINGS : SACRAMENTALS UNDER HENRY VIII.	198
A. <i>What is a sacramental ?</i>	198
B. <i>Holy water</i>	199
i. The liturgical blessing of water.....	199
ii. Holy water in the Henrician Church.....	202
C. HOLY BREAD.....	205
D. <i>Blessing of candles at Candlemas</i>	206
E. <i>Blessing of ashes on Ash Wednesday</i>	208
F. <i>Blessing of palms</i>	209
G. GOOD FRIDAY CEREMONIES	211
2. CHANGING SACRAMENTALS : FROM EFFICIENCY TO SYMBOLISM	212
A. <i>The liturgy as catechism</i>	213
B. <i>What do ceremonies ‘signify’?</i>	214
C. <i>The issue of authority</i>	216
D. <i>Political and spiritual stakes</i>	217
E. <i>Towards extinction?</i>	217
3. CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF THE SACRAMENTS	219
A. <i>Confirmation, marriage, ordination and extreme unction: sacraments or sacramentals?</i>	219
i. Confirmation.....	220
ii. Marriage.....	222
iii. Extreme unction.....	226
iv. Ordination and priesthood.....	230
B. <i>Baptism</i>	232
i. Being baptised in the early 16 th century	232
ii. Baptism in Henrician formularies.....	236
iii. Did the liturgy of baptism change after 1536?.....	237
C. <i>Confession</i>	240
i. Confessing before 1530	240
ii. Penance in the Henrician formularies.....	245
iii. Confession in the late 1530s and 1540s	249
D. <i>The Mass</i>	253

i. Doctrinal definitions and liturgical practice in the early 16 th century	253
ii. The sacrament of the altar in the Henrician formularies	253
iii. Changing perceptions of mass in the 1530s and 1540s.....	255
CONCLUSION	257
CONCLUSION	259
LITURGICAL CHANGE : THE VIEW FROM THE CHOIR.....	259
LITURGICAL CHANGE : THE VIEW FROM THE NAVE	261
THE THEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL IMPACT OF LITURGICAL CHANGE UNDER HENRY VIII.....	262

INTRODUCTION¹

In the late 20th century, liturgical books in English parishes echo social and theological developments along with the proclivities of the community. In the missal of the Roman Catholic parish of St Cuthbert's in Durham, the canon was corrected by the parishioners in two places. The phrase 'and by your Holy Spirit, gather all who share this bread and wine' was altered to read : 'and by your Holy Spirit, gather all who share this ONE bread and ~~wine~~ ONE CUP'. This change reflected the parish's preference for the alternative formula offered in a note: but by making the change in the main body of the text, reading by the priest during consecration was facilitated. The English bishops had decided to render some of the liturgy more gender neutral and thus the term 'men' was removed from the phrase : 'It will be shed for you and for all men'. In this instance the parish had simply implemented an order proffered by the Catholic hierarchy.²

In the Church of England parish of Saltford, Somerset, the community decided to opt for more inclusive language by altering four passages from the Rite A of the Alternative Service Book 1980. Small pieces of paper were printed and pasted into all the prayer books put at the disposal of the congregation. Hence, in the creed, 'for us men and for our salvation' was replaced with 'for us and for our salvation'. The change raised theological concerns: moving to gender inclusive language created a soteriologically exclusive discourse..³

The historian of the future chancing upon these books, will unavoidably seek to make sense of this changes by exploring the social and religious context of the late 20th century. She will enquire as to whether these changes were mandated by the Churches' hierarchies and whether they were implemented elsewhere in England. She will try to assess the practical aspects of enforcing small liturgical reforms in the modern parochial setting. Finally, she will question the theological import of these arrangements : was the people's faith altered by these liturgical changes?

This is the very line of questioning that I followed when I discovered the astonishing amount of manuscript alterations in the liturgical books of the 1530s held at

¹ A note to the reader : this is but a summary of the thesis which is written in French. The appendices and bibliography are in the first volume of the thesis.

² F. Tony Currer kindly showed me the missal of the parish.

³ Alec Rylie generously provided me with this example and offered his detailed recollection of the events.

the Bodleian Library. This material experience ignited my interest in liturgical change under Henry VIII.

A brief historiographical survey

The history of the Reformation in England is a field rife with debates and quarrels. The traditional narrative had focused on the failings of the medieval Church and emphasised the necessary and salutary emergence of the Reformation, from within the English tradition of critique of ecclesiastical abuse, notably Lollardy.¹

In the 1970s, a new generation of scholars reexamined the thesis that anticlericalism and the decay of late medieval popular religion had caused the Reformation. The ‘revisionists’ offered a different account of the religious upheavals of the 16th century.² Religious change was imposed by the State on a population who did not particularly aspire to it. Far from being moribund, popular devotion was in fact thriving in the early 1500s : anticlericalism was not a cause of the Reformation, rather it was one of its consequences. The Reformation was a very long process, which started in the 1530s and ended sometime in Elizabeth’s reign or even later.³ Numerous local studies have nuanced the narrative of the realm’s conversion to Protestantism.⁴

¹ A.F. Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer and the English reformation 1489-1556*, London : 1904, 399 p. and A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* London : 1964, 511 p. ; A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-58* (1959), London: 1982, 272 p.

² J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford : 1983, 203 p. ; Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised*, Cambridge : 1987, 293 p.

Christopher Haigh, *English reformations : religion, politics, and society under the Tudors*. Oxford : 1993, 367 p. ; Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the altars : traditional religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, New Haven/ London : 1992 648 p. ; *The voices of Morebath : reformation and rebellion in an English village*, New Haven/ London : 2001, 232 p. ; Beat Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community : the Rise and the Reformation of the English Parish*, c. 1400-1560. Aldershot : 1996, 362 p. ; Bernard Bradshaw and Eamon Duffy (ed.), *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: The Career of Bishop John Fisher*, Cambridge : 1989, 260 p. ; Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700*, Oxford : 1994, p.6-103 ; Robert Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, Oxford: 1999 (1986), p. 252-308 and *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise*, Cambridge : 2007, 579 p.

³ Christopher Haigh, *English reformations : religion, politics, and society under the Tudors*. Oxford : 1993, 367 p. Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800*, London : 1998, 234 p.

⁴ Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, Cambridge : 1975, Margaret Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation : The Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland 1521-47*, Cambridge : 1981, 229 p. ; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors : Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600* ; Oxford : 1996, 454 p. ; Susan Brigden, *London in the Reformation*, Oxford : 1989, 676 p. ; Caroline Litzenberger, *English Reformation and the Laity : Gloucestershire 1540-1580*, Cambridge : 1997, 218 p. ; Muriel McClendon, *The Quiet Reformation : Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich*, Stanford : 1999, 340p. ; Patrick Collinson and John Craig (ed.), *The Reformation in English Towns*, Basingstoke : 1998, 335 p. ;

Although the revisionists' conclusions have been broadly accepted, divergences remain on the relative weight of the diverse causes of the Reformation. Most disagreements also hinge on the choice of sources. And for a decade or so, new avenues of research have been opened:

the debate about the English Reformation is thus in the process of being refocused. Interest is shifting from why and when to how England became a Protestant nation. There is a growing conviction that too much ink has been spilt arguing about the pace, geography, and social distribution of conversion and change and too little charting the ways in which the populace adjusted to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical revolution as a permanent fact.¹

Parallel to the exploration of the causality and chronology of the Reformation, other scholars have taken on the question of the respective roles of the king, his advisers, the elite, evangelical circles and ordinary people in ensuring its success.² Concurrently, the examination of individual trajectories has shed light on the fluidity of religious identities in early modern England and has contributed to explaining how England was converted.³

The idea that Henry's Church was 'Catholicism without the pope' is no longer accepted as an apt description of the religious settlement of the 1530s and 1540s.⁴ And yet, for all its merits, the revisionists' account has perhaps over-emphasised 'continuity [causing] them to devote less attention to the impact of Protestantism, let alone

Andrew Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England : The Diocese of Salisbury 1215-1550*, Oxford : 1995, 297 p.

¹ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*. Oxford : 1998, p. 5.

² J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, New Haven/London : 1997 (1984), 592 p. For a similar thesis see G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation : Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*, New Haven/London : 2005, 736 pp. See also Lucy Wooding, *Henry VIII*, London : 2009, 333 p. These books seek to nuance G. R. Elton's claim that the religious policy of the realm was essentially administered by Thomas Cromwell in *Policy and Police : The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell*, Cambridge : 1972, 447 p.

³ Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII : Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*, Cambridge : 2003, 306 p. and Alec Ryrie, « Paths Not Taken in the British Reformations », in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 52, n°1 (2009), p. 1-22 ; Peter Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England*, Aldershot : 2006, and « Is the Pope Catholic : Henry VIII and the Semantics of Schism », in Ethan Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the Protestant Nation : Religious Politics and Identity*, Manchester/New York : 2006, p. 22-23. For a French contribution see Jean-Pierre Moreau, *Rome ou l'Angleterre : les réactions politiques des catholiques anglais au moment du schisme (1529-1553)*, Paris : 1984, 377 p.

⁴ For a presentation of the use of this term see : Peter Marshall, « Is the Pope Catholic : Henry VIII and the Semantics of Schism », in Ethan Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the Protestant Nation : Religious Politics and Identity*, Manchester/New York : 2006, p. 22-23 and in *Religious Identities*, p. 11. For uses of the term, see J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 399 ; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The reign of Henry VIII : Politics, Policy and Piety*, Basingstoke : 1995, p. 161 ; Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 166 and « The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation », p. 894 ; G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, p. 237 and 601 ; Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, Harlow : 2009, p. 129 and 141-145.

variation in the meaning(s) of Catholic practice'.¹ Indeed, the Henrician church presented 'a number of startling deviations from late medieval Catholic devotional practice' as Richard Rex has put it.

Most historians acknowledge that the break with Rome had some impact on the liturgy of the Church, as the term 'pope' was removed from prayer books.² Approaching the subject from a literary perspective, Timothy Rosendale has underscored the significance of the new bidding prayers set forth in 1534: 'a tradition was established of tinkering with the English liturgy for both political and religious purposes'.³ And even the most cursory foray into the service books used in the 1530s and 1540s would suffice to highlight that liturgical developments were occurring over the period.⁴ The overthrow of the papacy and the advent of the royal supremacy did not leave the liturgy completely unscathed.

Studying liturgical practice under Henry VIII

Worship is the focal point of religious practice for Christians and historically it preceded dogmatic theology and praying as a community is an essential part of the life of the faithful. The liturgy refers both to the live performance of rituals and to the text in which they are consigned.

Rituals also have social and anthropological functions as they, at once, mirror and model the established order of the society in which they are used, while also operating as rites of passage.⁵ The final and perhaps prime interest of the liturgy lies in its narrow

¹ Muriel McClendon, « A moveable Feast : St George's Day Celebrations and Religious Change in Early Modern England », in *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 38, n°1 (1999), p. 3.

² G.R. Elton. *Policy and Police*, p. 236-238 and Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 124 ; J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 392 : 'the pope's name was to be erased from the twenty-five places where it occurred in the liturgy' ; G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, p. 179 and Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, p. 131 or Michael Zell, 'The coming of the Reformation' in Michael Zell (ed.), *Early Modern Kent, 1540-1640*, 2000, p. 186 : 'the changes brought about by the legislative Reformation would have been small in religious terms : the name of the pope, which they had heard all their lives, excised from the service books and perhaps the priest giving a short formulaic speech on the king's new style'.

³ Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*, Cambridge : 2007, p. 27 and 29.

⁴ For the impact of liturgical change more generally and after Henry VIII, see D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist, *The Archeology of the Reformation, 1480-1580*, Leeds : 2003, 486 p.

⁵ Edward Muir. *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (1997). Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 6 and *Encyclopedia of Religion*, p. 5492 : "liturgy emerged as a ritualized creative act bringing into being

connection to theology, in particular as summarized in a time-honored adage: *'lex orandi, lex credendi'*, the law of prayer determines the law of the faith.

In the late medieval religious framework, public prayer and participation in the sacraments were both essential parts of Christian life and means to ensure one's salvation. In truth, Timothy Thibodeau's assertion relative to the period of William Durandus was still valid in the early 16th century:

the proper performance and interpretation of the liturgy should not be dismissed as solely the preoccupation of the medieval clerical elite. Medieval people, in whatever state of life – monks, clerics, laymen and women, both lords and peasants- were profoundly shaped by the official cultic practices of the medieval church. Whether they 'prayed, fought or worked', to use the taxonomy ascribed to King Alfred the Great, their lives were governed in myriad ways by the church's liturgical seasons and the daily rhythms of the liturgy.¹

The prevalence of the medieval 'liturgical mindset' is a well-established phenomenon.² Early 16th century inhabitants of England were, for the most part, somewhat 'liturgically literate' and possessed a varyingly comprehensive grasp of the meaning and effects of the liturgy.³ Perhaps even more importantly, the liturgy mattered greatly to them.

The advent of the royal supremacy deeply altered the Church's traditional ecclesiology, and such change naturally percolated into the prayers which reflected the medieval world order and hierarchy. What is more, by publishing three confessions of faith, which had different legal statuses but were all meant to purge the worst of the medieval abuses, the regime brought in a few doctrinal inflexions, notably on the meaning and purpose of the liturgy. Indeed, the European Reformation movement of the mid-16th century is itself deeply concerned with the place of liturgical rituals in Christian life, as Edward Muir has noted 'the appearance of the word ritual, moreover, indicates a major intellectual shift in the understanding of the relationship between

institutional facts like marriage, a new year, pardon from sin and other states constituted by a religion's internal category scheme".

¹ Timothy Thibodeau, 'From Durand of Mende to St Thomas More: Lessons learned from Medieval Liturgy', in Kathleen G. Cushing, Richard F. Guyg (ed.) *Ritual Text and Law, Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*, Aldershot: 2004, p. 87.

² *Ibid.*, p. 87-8 ; Richard Guyg, 'Introduction' in *Ibid.*, p. 8 and J. Huizinga *The waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, (F. Hopman, transl.) Aylesbury: 1965 (1924), p. 9-11.

³ Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*, p. 55 and 79. See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 332.

human behaviour and meaning.¹ Hence, examining liturgical sources not only discloses the numerous and perhaps unexpected liturgical arrangements required by the break with Rome and the establishment of the royal supremacy, but also places the modern scholar at the heart of the Reformation debates. The meaning and the importance of the liturgy were fiercely debated both on the Continent and in England throughout the period. Finally, even if examining liturgical practice does not necessarily ‘make windows into men’s souls’, at least it places the focus firmly on religious practice at the parochial level and on the reception of the Henrician Reformation by clergy. It also yields clues as to how public worship was conducted in a period of doctrinal flux and theological uncertainty.

I would like to argue that studying liturgical change under Henry VIII contributes to explaining why in 1549, the radical move away from the traditional liturgy was widely accepted, or at least tolerated, by the English people. Fifteen years of incremental liturgical change and experiments in public worship had deeply eroded the status of the liturgy as a trustworthy deposit of the faith. Moreover, the liturgy had increasingly been instrumentalised as a medium to promote the regime’s policies. Ultimately, the notion that the king, as supreme head of the Church, held sway over the liturgical calendar, and could postulate new interpretations of the meaning of the liturgy made the radical overhaul of public prayer acceptable to the subjects of the realm. The purpose of this work is to contribute to the research focussing on how the English became Protestants by demonstrating that the first steps towards liturgical change were, in fact, taken under Henry VIII.

The corpus of liturgical books

I have conducted an extensive survey of the books used to say mass, i.e. missals, manuals and processional. My first visits were to the main British repositories (British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, National Library of Scotland). I have done the same for a great number of smaller deposits which had liturgical holdings : colleges in Oxford (Keble, Saint-John’s, Trinity, Brasenose, Christ Church, Corpus Christi, All Souls, Queen’s, Jesus, Magdalen, Pembroke et Pusey House) as well

¹ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, p. 7.

as Cambridge (Saint John's, Trinity, Newnham, Sydney Sussex, Saint-Catherine's, Corpus Christi, Gonville and Caius), and the university libraries of York, Durham, Manchester, Leeds and St. Andrews. My tour of British institutions also included Rugby School, and Roman Catholic schools and seminaries (Stonyhurst, Ampleforth, Oscott and London, I have examined liturgical books at Lambeth Palace, Guildhall and Westminster Abbey. The parishes of Tidmarsh, Berkshire and Ranworth, Norfolk have in their possession their original service books which I have been allowed to study. I have also visited depositories with very modest holdings when I could, such as the Norwich and Birmingham Public Libraries and the Gentleman's Society of Spalding. The three missals deposited at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris have also been included in the corpus. There are a few missals which I know of but have not yet had a chance to examine; they are listed at the end of the catalogue. I have systematically studied all the liturgical books used for mass, amounting to 259 missals, 48 rituals (*Manuale*) and 31 processionsals.

I have also consulted breviaries (76 books) and about 80 other service books which were used for divine service and other ceremonies, but in a less systematic manner and have employed them mainly when seeking supporting evidence.

In 1549, all service books were ordered to be destroyed and those which survived only did so as a result of disobedience. Therefore, the corpus is, by no means, a sample representative of the 8 800 parishes of the realm. If anything it is likely to be hold a built-in conservative bias which will be discussed in the second chapter of the thesis.

Moreover, these books survived a second round of destruction conducted at the behest of Mary as Catholicism was restored in England.

Methodology

No new missals for English use were published after 1534 and clergy in England had to make do with the books they had and merchants would only have had the remaining stocks on offer. There were a few new liturgical publications however which have also been closely examined.

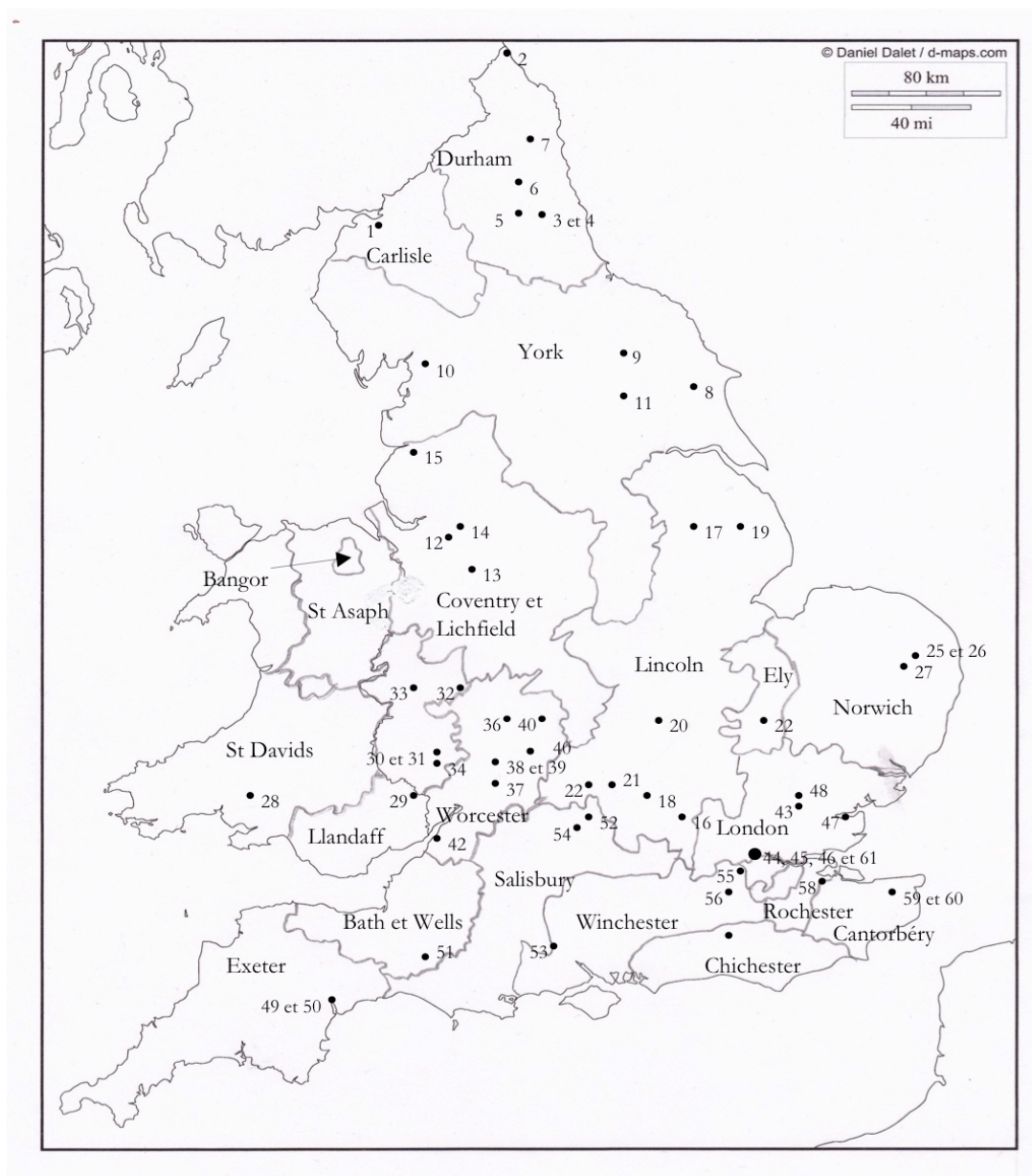
In exploiting the defacings and alterations found in liturgical books, I have postulated that, in most cases, the changes had consequences on the performance of public worship, especially when a passage was made entirely illegible.

I have also considered that the manuscript arrangements produced by the clergy, charged with reforming the liturgy, reflected personal preferences or features from the local context. This hypothesis is reinforced by the impressive degree of variety in defacings : an array of options existed and the resulting changes may therefore lend themselves to such interpretations.

The geographic pattern of survival of liturgical books is also haphazard but whenever provenance information was available, I have sought to include it in my analysis.

Finally, an important part of the work produced for the thesis consists in the catalogue of missals presented in a separate volume. The result of the painstaking examination of these service books is presented there in a systematic fashion. The reader may thus find in the catalogue a complete presentation of the defacings for each missal quoted or analysed in the main body of the thesis. It also purports to be an independent tool for researchers who might find other interpretations for the data.

Missals of known provenance¹ :



N°	DIOCESE	LITURGICAL BOOK	PROVENANCE
1	Carlisle	Ampleforth Abbey, MS Caldbeck	Caldbeck, Cumberland
2	Durham	Ampleforth Abbey, CV 221	Berwick upon Tweed, Northumberland

¹ Map from Daniel Dalet, d-maps.com. To trace the limits between dioceses I have used : Margaret Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation : the Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland 1521-1547*, Cambridge : 1981, p. xiv. May the English reader forgive me, in this instance, for the French place names on the map.

3	Durham	London, BL, MS Harley 5289	Durham, cathedral
4	Durham	Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A III 32	Durham, parish of St Nicolas.
5	Durham	Ushaw College, MS 5	Esh Laude, Durham
6	Durham	Cambridge, St John's College, A 4.2	Hexham, Northumberland (connected with Reginald Carnaby).
7	Durham	Ushaw College, XVIII F 3.1	Longhorsley, Northumberland
	Durham	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud misc 302	Diocese of Durham
8	York	Cambridge, St John College, MS J T 9. 21	Burton Agnes, Yorkshire
9	York	Cambridge, University Library, F 150 a 4.1	Byland Abbey (Martin Collins, treasurer of York)
10	York	Stonyhurst College, MS III	Tatham, Lancashire
11	York	Cambridge, Sydney Sussex College, MS 33	York cathedral
	Yorkshire	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl liturgy c 142	Probablement diocese of Yorkshire
12	Coventry & Lichfield	London, BL, MS Harley 4919	Colwich, Stratfordshire
13	Coventry & Lichfield	London, BL MS Barlow 1	Gawsworth, Cheshire
14	Coventry & Lichfield	Oxford, Brasenose College, UB S II 97	Macclesfield, Cheshire (Richard Sutton's book, founder of Brasenose College).
15	Coventry & Lichfield	Oxford, Bodleian, Vet E1 c 45	Penwortham, Lancashire
16	Lincoln	Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 29	Caddington, Bedfordshire et Hertfordshire
17	Lincoln	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Univ. Coll. 78 B	Cuckney, Nottinghamshire
18	Lincoln	Stonyhurst College, XII D 5	Ickford, Buckinghamshire
19	Lincoln	London, BL, MS Additional	Lincoln, cathedral (John

		21974	Longland's book)
20	Lincoln	Rugby School MS Add 3	Northampton (St Giles).
21	Lincoln later Oxford	Oxford, All Souls College, MS 302	Oxford, All Souls college
22	Lincoln later Oxford	Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 25	Witney, Oxfordshire
23	Ely	Ushaw College, XVIII F 4. 18	Cambridge, St John College
24	Norwich	MS Harley 3866	Oxburgh, Norfolk (Bedingfield family).
25	Norwich	MS Additional 25588	Norwich cathedral
26	Norwich	Oscott College, MS 203	Norwich
27	Norwich	Durham, University Library, Bamburgh Select 15	Stanfield, Norfolk (John Robsart's missal)
	Norwich	Spalding, Gentleman's Society MS M.J. 11	Diocese of Norwich (?)
28	St Davids	London, BL, C 35 i 10	Llandeilo Fawr, Carmathenshire
29	Llandaff	Oxford, All Souls College MS 11	Tregare, Monmouthshire
30	Hereford	London, BL, MS Additional 39675	Hereford cathedral
31	Hereford	Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F 161	Hereford, cathedral (?)
32	Hereford	Cambridge, Trinity College, C 6.8	Madeley, Shropshire
33	Hereford	London, Lambeth Palace Library 1498	Pitchford, Shropshire (Otley family)

34	Hereford	London, British Library, C35 i 4	Upper Bullinghope, Herefordshire
35	Hereford	MS Univ. Coll. 78 A	Whitchurch, Herefordshire
	Hereford	Cambridge University Library, SSS 8.5	Shropshire ?
	Hereford	Hereford, Cathedral Library N I 2	région d'Hereford (John Price's missal)
36	Worcester	Cambridge University Library, MS Add 6688	Bromsgrove, Worcestershire
37	Worcester	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl liturgy c 3	Deerhurst, Gloucestershire
38	Worcester	Cambridge University Library, MS KK II 6	Hanley Castle, Worcestershire
39	Worcester	MS Trinity College MS 8	Hanley Castle, Worcestershire (William Beauchamp de Bergavenny's missal)
40	Worcester	Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 394	Lapworth, Warwickshire
41	Worcester	Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 33	South Littleton
42	Worcester	London, BL, C 41 g 2	Collège of Westbury upon Trym, Gloucester
	Worcester	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Barlow 5	Diocese of Worcester
	Worcester	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Oriel College 75	Diocese of Worcester
	Worcester	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl liturgy e 43	Probably diocese of Worcester
43	London	London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1516.4	Furneux-Pelham, Hertfordshire (Le Gros Chapel)

44	London	Cambridge University Library, MS DD 1. 15	London, Lothbury, parish of Ste Margaret.
45	London	London, Guildhall MS 515	London, St Botolph without Aldergate
46	London	MS Arundel 109	London, St Lawrence Jewry
47	London	MS Harley 2787	Maldon, Essex
48	London	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11. 3	Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire (Leventhorpe family)
	London	Paris, BNF, Velins 241	London
49	Exeter	Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3510	Exeter cathedral
50	Exeter	Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Lat 24	Exeter cathedral
51	Bath and Wells	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Don b 6	Closworth, Dorset
	Bath and Wells ?	Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 82	Diocese of Bath and Wells (?)
52	Salisbury	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Don b 5	Buckland, Berkshire
53	Salisbury	Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 149	Salisbury
54	Salisbury	Cambridge University Library, MS EE II 2	Sevenhampton, Wiltshire
	Salisbury	Oxford, Bodleian, Douce B 241	Diocese of Salisbury
55	Winchester	London, BL, MS Additional 59855	Southwark (?) (Gower family)
56	Winchester	Rugby School, MS Bloxham 1009	Wallington, Surrey
57	Chichester	London, BL, MS Additional	Horsham, Sussex

59856

58	Rochester	Oxford, Bodleian, Broxb 32.10	Tudeley, Kent (Fane family)
59	Canterbury	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl C 168	Canterbury cathedral
60	Canterbury	Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl A 387 a	Canterbury (?)
61	Royal abbey	Westminster Abbey, MS 37	Westminster Abbey
	Royal chapel	York, Minster Library, XI F 1	Windsor, St George College (under Marie).

**PART I: ENGLAND, THE PAPACY AND THE
LITURGY**

CHAPTER 1: ENGLAND AND THE PAPACY

1. The medieval legacy

A. The power of the pope in England

England and the papacy have long entertained complex relationships, starting in the 6th century when Pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine to Kent on a mission to convert the Angles. Over the millennium that followed, as an institution, the papacy evolved dramatically : the popes had first benefitted from a primacy of honour before the establishment of a pontifical monarchy.¹ The Henrician reformers asserted that the English Church had existed independently from Rome leading to a profound re-examination of three key historical moments.

i. Who converted the English ?

The conversion of England is now usually taken to have started in the 3rd century,² although medieval chronicles argued that it began a century earlier when king Lucius enjoined pope Eleutherius to send missionaries.³ British Christians were present at the

¹ Joseph Canning, *A history of Medieval Political Thought 300-1450*, Abingdon/New York: 2005 (1996) p. 84-125 (for the early medieval period) and p. 135-184 (for the late medieval period). For brief presentations see Francis Oakley, *Kingship*, Oxford/Malden (Massachusetts): 2006, p. 110-112; Emile Poulat, 'La monarchie pontificale and le pouvoir du pape', *Pouvoirs*, n°17 (1981), p. 37-50; Yves Renouart, *La papauté à Avignon*, p. 5-8.

² Kathleen Hughes, 'The Celtic Church and the Papacy', in C.H. Lawrence (ed.), *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, London: 1965, p. 4-28; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, Oxford : 2005, p. 8-181 ; Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain : Religion, Politics and Society in Britain c. 600-800*, Harlow : 2006, p. 5-25 (on Anglo-Saxon sources) and 109-33 (for the conversion of the Britons). Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, University Park (Pennsylvanie): 1991 (1972), p. 28-77. K.R. Dark offers a description of the main features of the early British Church in *Civitas to Kingdom : British Political Continuity 300-800*, London : 1994, p. 7-10, 30-9, 55-68.

³ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, (Lewis Thorpe, ed.), London: 1966, p. 124-126. The legend is picked up in 16th chronicles: Robert Fabyan, *The new Chronicles of England and France*, (Henry Ellis, ed.) London: 1811, p. 38. For a discussion of the legend, see Felicity Heal, 'What can King Lucius

314 Council of Arles and had links with the Churches in Gaul and Italy. But for the early British Christians, Rome was essentially the capital of the Roman Empire and the city where Peter and Paul had been martyred.¹ Pope Celestine I sent German of Auxerre to combat the Pelagian heresy in Britain and later elected him to serve as bishop to ‘the Irish believing in Christ’.² But these regions were reputed to have been converted to Christianity with no direct interference from Rome.

When the Roman legions departed at the start of the 5th century, the Britons found themselves under assault from the Irish and the Picts and were conquered by the Anglo-Saxons.³ Thus the Celtic/British Church was isolated from the Continent and failed to convert its conquerors.⁴

In Bede’s well-known account, Gregory the Great sent Augustine on a mission to the kingdom of Kent after meeting young Angles at a slave market.⁵ Augustine’s mission seems to have encountered success as king Ethelbert and many of his subjects converted and were baptised at the beginning of the 7th century. However, Augustine was not as successful in his relations with the domestic British Church: the Roman missionaries and the locals diverged, in particular, on the calculation of Easter and other liturgical matters. The disagreement would only be solved in 664 at the Synod of Whitby. The quarrel also focussed on the role of the papacy : the new converts had adopted the theory of papal supremacy which had developed in the 5th and 6th centuries.⁶ The archbishops of Canterbury sent for the pallium as a sign of unity with

do for you ? The Reformation and the Early British Church’, in *English Historical Review*, n°487 (2005), p. 594-595 and p. 614 (in fact the legend may have originated in a transcription mistake and the original text may have been referring to king Lucius of Britium (Syria).

¹ Kathleen Hughes, ‘The Celtic Church and the Papacy’, p. 4.

² Kathleen Hughes, ‘The Celtic Church and the Papacy’, p. 5. See also Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain*, p. 112.

³ Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of England*, p. 43-45, 50-1, 55-6.

⁴ Bertram Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an anonymous monk of Whitby*, Cambridge : 1985, p. 2. Recent work has challenged the notion that the British Christians were isolated : Kathleen Hughes, « The Celtic Church and the Papacy », p. 6. On the debate over the existence of the ‘Celtic Church’, see Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain* p. 115-116. Bede wrote from an Anglo-Saxon and anti-Briton perspective, which may explain the lack of evidence for Briton proselytism. For a discussion of this : Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of England*, p. 118-120 and Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 33.

⁵ Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 57-62 and Margaret Deanesly, « The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Papacy », in C.H. Lawrence (sous la dir.), *The English Church and the Papacy*, p. 33-5.

⁶ Kathleen Hughes, « The Celtic Church and the Papacy », p. 7 and 20-21. See p. 8 : Gildas, monk and chronicler, has a more nuanced position : he accepted Peter’s title of the Prince of the Apostles but believed that the petrine commission applied to all priests. On Gildas, see also Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of England*, p. 15 and K.R. Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom : British Political Continuity, 300-800*, Leicester : 1994, p. 258-266.

Rome.¹ However, for the Celts, Rome was essentially a pilgrimage destination² and 'kings continued to regard themselves as leaders of the Church once the initial period of conversion was past'.³ King Oswiu decided in favour of Roman uses at the Council of Whitby as he was told that Rome was closer to heaven because Peter and Paul were buried there.⁴

The history of early relations between Rome and the English would be profoundly re-examined in the 1530s : the notion that an independent British church existed prior to Augustine's mission would be brought to bear on the debates regarding papal supremacy in England.

ii. Kings against the Church ?

As Leo IX, Nicholas II, Gregory VII and Urban III shored up the papacy's power, popes found themselves at loggerheads with kings, notably over the process of episcopal appointments.⁵ Two such crises are of particular significance for the Reformation.

Henry II's design to enforce royal control over the English Church encountered fierce resistance from Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury.⁶ The king claimed that, with the Clarendon Constitutions, he was merely restoring the traditions which had existed in his grand-father's reign. Henry II would have thus regained full control over the appointment of bishops and abbots, appeals to Rome would have had to be allowed by the king, and excommunications and interdicts would have been limited. Clergy would have had to apply for a royal licence to undertake any journeys and the benefit of clergy would have been abolished.⁷ Thomas Becket opposed what he interpreted as an attempt to turn exceptions into rules.⁸ He was forced into exile. After a tentative peace

¹ Barbara York, *The Conversion of England*, p. 123. See also in Part III, chapter 2, the biographical account of the life of Wilfrid of Ripon.

² Kathleen Hughes « The Celtic Church and the Papacy », p. 21 and Bertram Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, Cambridge/New York : 1985 (1968), p. 2.

³ Barbara York, *The Conversion of England*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁵ Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John*, New York : 1979, p. 151 and Charles Duggan, « From the Conquest to the Death of John », in C.H. Lawrence, *The English Church and the Papacy*, p. 70.

⁶ See brief summary in Part III, chapter 2, section 2.A.

⁷ Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, London : 2004, p. 46-9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53-8.

was negotiated, Becket returned to Canterbury where he was assassinated by the king's cronies. He was promptly canonised and came to symbolise fearlessness in the defence of the liberties of the Church. Henry II visited his former nemesis' shrine as a penitent and obtained from the saint a miraculous victory over the Scottish armies. Becket's death did much to reinforce the authority of the Church in England.

The second equally renowned episode pitted pope Innocent III (1198-1216) against king John.¹ The controversy focussed on the respective powers of the pope, the king, the bishops and the cathedral chapter in episcopal elections.² Despite the Church's efforts, the king's influence remained dominant, as, in practice, ecclesiastical authorities rubber-stamped royal candidates.³ When, in 1207, the see of Canterbury became vacant, John wished to exert control over the election of the most powerful cleric of the kingdom. The chapter wished to elect a candidate free from episcopal interference. The king supported the bishops' candidate. Both parties appealed to Rome and the pope, rejecting the candidates from both factions, appointed Stephen Langton, without seeking royal approval. In the fear that this might establish an undesirable precedent, John refused to consent to the election if his prerogative were not explicitly recognised. A prolonged conflict ensued : the pope placed the realm under the interdict in 1207, John seized several clerical estates, Innocent III excommunicated John in 1209. Few sources corroborate the idea that the pope had deposed the king and relieved the English from their duty of obedience but this idea was abundantly cited under Henry VIII as a clear example of papal abuse. Although financially, the interdict was a godsend for John, the king, fearing a foreign invasion and a domestic rebellion fomented by the barons, accepted the pope's conditions and was reconciled with the Church in 1213. John wished to make the pope into an ally against the king of France and his own unruly barons and designed a strategy which consolidated his political and financial power. He surrendered his kingdom to the pope and became the latter's vassal, thus royal and papal interests would overlap. King John's contemporaries did not, on the

¹ Charles Duggan, « From the Conquest to the Death of John », in C.H. Lawrence, *The English Church and the Papacy*, p. 94-6 and for a more detailed account see Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John*, p. 161-202 and C.R. Cheney, *The Papacy and England in the 12th-14th centuries*, London: 1982, chapters XI- XV. More recent work on the period does not alter the narrative established by Painter and Cheney: Christopher Harper-Hill, « John and the Church of Rome », in *King John : New Interpretations*, Woodbridge : 1999, p. 289-315 and Ralph V. Turner, *King John : England's Evil King ?*, Stroud : 2005 (1994), p. 109-27.

² This is a summary of Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John*, p. 161-99.

³ See John's letter to the monks of Winchester, Christopher Harper-Bill, « John and the Church of Rome », p. 290.

whole, interpret this episode as an abject humiliation for the realm, rather this notion was elaborated later and skilfully exploited by the Henrician regime. In fact, John never even fully refunded the Church for the plunder of ecclesiastical properties and revenue. This conflict may, in fact, have consolidated royal power in England : the pope assisted John in asserting his authority over the barons and the bishops. Finally, after 1213, the king succeeded in imposing his candidates for episcopal elections. The *Magna Carta's* acknowledgement of the liberties of the Church did not deprive the king of much royal authority.

Between the 11th and 13th century, Charles Duggan has argued that 'the overall trend is one of gradual extension and ramification of papal influence in England with many setbacks and against frequent opposition'.¹ Voluntary appeals to Rome abounded in that period, and papal power had reached its zenith at the end of the 13th century. The subsequent reassertion of royal power was less manifest in England than it was in France.² The English sided consistently with the Roman popes during the schism and supported papal authority at the Council of Basle. For the most part, conflicts between the realm and the papacy focused on taxes and appointment to benefices.³ By the end of the 15th century, England acknowledged the papacy as a distant authority and fiscal policies remained the main source for conflict.⁴

B. England and the papacy at the beginning of the 16th century

i. The Tudors and the pope

At the start of the 16th century, the relationship between England and the papacy was one mutual benefit. The fragility of the 'Tudors' claim to the throne may have cemented

¹ Charles Duggan, « From the Conquest to the Death of John », p. 77.

² Ibid. p. 67-69 and Zacharie N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy : from the Conquest to the reign of John*, Cambridge : 1989 (1931), p. xvii.

³ F.R.H. Du Boulay, « The Fifteenth Century » in C.H. Lawrence, *The English Church and the Papacy*, p. 197-241.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 218-219.

their alliance with the Church. Diarmaid MacCulloch has aptly summarized the Tudors situation :

The 1485 Act of Parliament which had recognized the fait accompli of his father's accession after the battle of Bosworth could find no stronger justification for the event than it was 'to the pleasure of almighty God' ignoring the somewhat embarrassing question of hereditary right; the Tudor dynasty knew that it had been put in place by God's peculiar favour, and not by much else.¹

Henry VII attempted to limit the power of the ecclesiastical courts but never mounted a radical challenge to the Church's liberties and authority. The relations with the papacy were cordial : the pope issued a dispensation to allow Henry VII to marry Elizabeth of York and excommunicated *ipso facto* all rebels. The king's chosen candidates for appointments to high clerical offices were duly promoted by the pope and Englishmen were made cardinals.²

This peaceful relationship survived the death of the first Tudor. In 1512, Julius II granted Henry VIII the title of king of France, which he never relinquished. The king's fierce and, according to Thomas More, inordinate defence of the papacy in the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* of 1521 earned Henry VIII the long sought honour of a papal title, *Defensor Fidei*.³ Up to 1533, Henry VIII led a two pronged policy to obtain the annulment of his marriage from the pope : negotiating and threatening in turn. If the king could be described as 'enthusiastic papalist' for much of his life, what about the English people? ⁴

ii. The English and Rome

Declaring that the popularity of the papacy in the early 16th century is difficult to measure is an understatement. There were many English pilgrims who travelled to Rome, many parties who appealed to the papal court, many more who applied for

¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Henry VIII and the reform of the Church', in Diarmaid MacCulloch (sous la dir.), *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, London : 1995, p. 162. F.R.H. Du Boulay, « The Fifteenth Century », p. 220

² This had also been a source of crises in the past : F.R.H. Du Boulay, « The Fifteenth Century », p. 221-222.

³ J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 115-117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

dispensations of all kinds. Indulgences were bought and sold in England as elsewhere. Finally most were probably aware that some sins could only be remitted by the Church's supreme head. Although the papacy was a distant authority, it nevertheless had some significance, even for the common people in England.¹

Theologians such as John Fisher and Edward Powell 'produced, in the early 1520s, lengthy justifications of papal primacy which, while tactfully silent on papal infallibility and temporal power, embodied the medieval consensus on papal headship of the church'.² The clergy would assuredly have had solid knowledge of the practical workings of the pontifical institution: they might be pilgrims to Rome themselves, obtain and advertise indulgences, and would ask for papal dispensations, notably because bastards could not enter the clergy without a dispensation. Finally, the fiscal ties uniting the English Church to the pope would also have been well-known, especially as the clergy collected Peter's Pence and paid annates.

Hugh Latimer may have exaggerated, for the sake of the argument, the force of his earlier beliefs to emphasize the ontological nature of his conversion when he asserted:

I have thought in times past, that the pope, Christ's vicar, hath been lord of all the world, as Christ is [...and] that the pope could have spoiled purgatory at his pleasure with a word of his mouth.³

Whether he ever held these views may be a matter for debate but it is likely that his statement accurately reflected common assumptions about the papacy. Richard Rex argued 'that the English kings and people in the later middle ages were probably more attached to the papacy than any of their European counterparts'.⁴ Breaking with Rome would therefore not be an insignificant political manoeuvre but a calculated move whose stakes were understood by most English people. Looking at the liturgy of the English Church is illuminating as to the place that the papacy may have occupied in the mental landscape of Henry's subjects prior to the 1530s.

¹ Most of these examples are taken from: F.R.H. Du Boulay, « The Fifteenth Century », p. 241 and 227-230; Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, *op.cit.*, p. 24 and Robert N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 11-16.

² Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, *op.cit.*, p. 24

³ Georges E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, Cambridge : 1840, p. 332.

⁴ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 22. For a similar view, see J.J. Scarisbrick. *Henry VIII*, p. 241-2. But for a different opinion see Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 8.

C. The pope in the English liturgy

i. References to popes of the past

Mention of the papal title '*papa*' is made each time that there is a reference in the liturgy to a saint or a person who occupied Peter's see. Eight popes are honoured in the Sarum rite (Sts Marcellus, Gregory, Leo, Stephen, Calixtus, Linus, Sylvester) and twelve in the York rite (which added Urban, Sixtus, Martin and Marcus to the Sarum eight). Their names and title are therefore mentioned in the calendar and the Sanctoral.¹ Other historical popes are referred to in the lessons of the breviary (Honorius III, Gregory the Great, Urban IV, Urban VI) as historical characters in the lives of saints or because they instituted new feasts.

ii. Intercessions for the pope as a head of the Church and symbol of unity

Intercessory prayers abound in the liturgy and, in their structure, they reflect the spiritual and temporal hierarchy on earth. The suffrages always start with a prayer for the Church followed by prayers for the pope, bishops and the rest of the clergy. Then people are invited to ask God to intercede for the temporal authorities : kings, princes, nobles and the people. The pope's place of honour in the liturgy reflects his authority as head of the Church and the fact that Peter's successor stands as a symbol of the unity of Christians, as Thomas More argued when he declined to take the oath of supremacy.²

Examples of intercessory prayers would include the bidding of the bedes, the good Friday prayers, the suffrages at the end of the litany, the canon of the mass, the general collect *Pietate tuae*, which said at most week masses.

¹ Except for St Sylvester whose office occurs in the Temporal.

² Richard Marius, *Thomas More : a Biography*, New York : 1996 (1984), p. 458 and 462-463 ; G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation, op.cit.* p. 145

iii. Papal supremacy in the liturgy

There are many passages in the liturgy which could be, sometimes at a stretch, interpreted as supporting papal supremacy. First, the scriptural quotations on which Peter's primacy rested (Mt 16, 17-19 and Jn 21, 15-17). They were quoted in the offices honouring St Peter. The absolution formula employed on Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and during the visitation of the sick refer to Peter as 'Prince of the Apostles' and to the power of the keys:

Absoluimus vos vice beati petri apostolorum principis cui collata est a domino potestas ligandi atque soluendi : et quantum ad vos pertinet accusatio et ad nos remissio : sit vobis omnipotens deus vita & salus & omnium peccatorum vestrorum pius indultor. Qui vivit et regnat cum deo patrem.¹

This is an oblique suggestion that the pope's powers surpass that of the rest of the clergy. This notion is shored up by the existence of a category of reserved sins, which can only be absolved by the pope.² Reliable knowledge of these subtleties was a requirement for priests : the validity of their parishioners' confessions depended on it, as would, in turn, their salvation. Priests were therefore well aware of their place in the hierarchy of the church and of the limited extent of their powers.

Four times a year, the the clergy were charged with reading out the great curse, or sentence of excommunication. It was a long text detailing the offences for which one would incur excommunication and started thus :

Godmen and wymmen, it is ordeyned by the counseil of al holy chirche : First of oure hholly fader the Pope of Rome, and his cardinalis and al his conceil [...] that everich man of holi chirche that hat soule for tho kepe, shulde shewe among hem foure sithes bi yere, the articles that ben written in the general sentence.³

The legal determinations of several popes were mentioned and the curse concluded with a performative sentence :

Bote be autorite of oure Lord God Almighty, and oure lady seynte Marie, et alle seyntes of hevene of angeles and archaungeles, patriarkes and prophetes,

¹ *Missale ad usum Sarum*, col. 132-133 ; 299-300 and *Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, p. 48*

² *The Ordynary of Christen Men*, London : 1506 (STC : 5199): sig. Q iv(v)- R ii and R vi(v) and *Manipulus Curatorum*, London :1508 (STC : 12474) fo. cxxix(v)- cxxxii. See also similar references in the great curse *Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Edinbourg : 1875, p. 88* and p. 91*-92*.

³ *Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, p. 86*; see also John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, p. 60-68. The entire text is available in the appendix.

apostoles and evangelistes, martyres, confessors and virgines, and also bu the power of al holichirche, that oure Lord Jesu Crist yaf unto seynt Peter.¹

It is a clear demonstration of the importance of the court of Rome which was the only competent authority to absolve sinners who had incurred an excommunication.²

iv. Indulgences

Men incur both eternal damnation (*culpa*) and a temporal penalty (*pena*) for their sins. The priest's absolution delivers from the former but remission from the latter must be obtained through good works, namely penance.³ The *pena* that had not been atoned for on earth could be worked off in Purgatory.⁴ The time spent in Purgatory is counted in days, years or Lents.

By virtue of the Petrine commission, the pope may attribute to Christians part of the treasury of merits accumulated by Christ and the saints, notably under the form of indulgences.⁵ An indulgence reduces the amount of time to be spent in Purgatory. One could acquire indulgences for one's own benefit and, since 1476, on the behalf of others. If indulgences could be bought from Rome, they could also be earned through devotional exercises. Most indulgences were actually obtained through prayer, pilgrimages or masses, on condition of being contrite and confessed.⁶ Rewarding such devotional practices was perfectly consistent with the Church's soteriology.

All printed missals and some manuscript service books provide masses and prayers which procure indulgences. The latter are explicitly detailed in the rubrics preceding the mass of the Five Wounds, the mass for pregnant woman, the feast of the *Corpus Christi*, the mass against pestilence (*missa pro mortalitate evitenda*) and the incipit of the Gospel of John. A cycle of thirty masses called St Gregory's Trental guarantees liberation from Purgatory to its beneficiary. The name of the pope who conceded the indulgence is

¹ *Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, p. 93*.

² The entire curse is available in Appendix 2.

³ Ashley Null, *Thomas Cramner's Doctrine of Repentance: Renewing the Power to Love*, Oxford: 2006, p. 55.

⁴ Jacques Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, Paris: 1981, p. 14-18; 23-25; 379-395, 410-415. Clive Burgess « 'A fond thing vainly invented' an essay on Purgatory and pious motive in later medieval England », in S.J. Wright (sous la dir.), *Parish Church and People: local studies in lay religion 1350-1750*, London: 1988, p. 56-84, p. 64.

⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, *op.cit.*, p. 443. Robert Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise*, Cambridge: 2007, p. 16-18 and p. 30-5; Robert W. Shaffern, « The Medieval theology of Indulgences », in Robert Swanson (ed.) *Promissory notes on the Treasury of Merits: indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, Leiden/Boston: 2006, p. 11-36.

⁶ Robert Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England*, p. 19, 224-225 and 246-266.

always mentioned in the rubric along with the number of days or years remitted.¹ The primers contain many more indulgences that literate and uneducated people may obtain through complex and simple devotions.²

2. The break with Rome³

A. The King's great matter

i. The causes of the crisis

- Diplomatic factors (break up of the Anglo-Spanish alliance, sack of Rome by the emperor, Katherine's family connection with Charles V).⁴
- Heir concerns.⁵
- Theological angst (Leviticus 18, 16 and 20, 21 ; the varied theological arguments adopted by the king and his advisors to get the marriage annulled).⁶
- Anne Boleyn.⁷
- Henry's early imperial aspirations (Tournai).⁸

ii. 1527-1531 : negotiations fail⁹

- Thomas Wolsey's strategy and his failure to secure a decretal commission.
- Wolsey charged with *praemunire*.

¹ The full text of these rubrics is available in the catalogue.

² Robert Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England*, p. 254-264 ; Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine or Sarum and York Primers with Kindred Books and Primers of the Reformed Roman Use*, London: 1901, p. 107-149.

³ This whole section is simply a summary of the events leading to the break with Rome essentially based on J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 135-197. I have also used Bernard Cottret, *Henri VIII, le pouvoir par la force*, Paris : 1999, p. 120-240. Much shorter summaries are to be found in Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 2-5 and Jean-Pierre Moreau, *L'Anglicanisme, ses origines, ses conflits, du schisme d'Henri VIII à la bataille de la Boyne*, Paris : 2006, p. 46-63.

⁴ The diplomatic situation is often blamed for the break with Rome : Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformations*, p. 92-93, 105 and 110 ; and Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 5. But it could have been adroitly exploited to benefit the English : J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 198-9.

⁵ J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 150-152 ; Bernard Cottret, *Henri VIII, le pouvoir par la force*, p. 124 and 128.

⁶ J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 152, 164-169 and 172-96 ; Bernard Cottret, *Henri VIII, le pouvoir par la force*, p. 124-127.

⁷ J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 151-152 ; Bernard Cottret, *Henri VIII, le pouvoir par la force*, p. 138-141.

⁸ On Henry's imperial pretensions : J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. p. 246-247, 249 and p. 253-254, 248 : « The Royal Supremacy, Henrician Caesaropapism, call it what you will, grew with the divorce campaign, but was distinct from it. » and Thomas F. Mayer, « On the road to 1534 : the occupation of Tournai and Henry VIII's theory of sovereignty », in Hoak, *Tudor Political Culture*, p. 11-30.

⁹ J. J. Scarisbrick's detailed account has not been surpassed, *Henry VIII*, p. 198-304.

- Manœuvres in Parliament and Church reform legislation.
- Henry argues that Englishmen can not be judged outside the kingdom (reference to the Clarendon Constitutions ?)

iii. 1532-1534 : from schism to royal supremacy

- The submission of the clergy
- The Act of Appeals
- The use of the term 'bishop of Rome'.¹
- The Act of Supremacy (a revolution cloaked in the rhetoric of continuity).²
- Protecting the realm from an interdict.³
- The oath campaigns (oath of succession and supremacy oath).

B. A new ecclesiology

i. The universal church of Christ and the national Churches

The Bishops' Book established a definition of the Church, which, though not entirely new, differed in emphasis and in tone from the late medieval vision which was described as being more concerned with its institutional contours.⁴ It was understood as:

one certain number, society, communion or company of the elect and faithful people of God ; of which number our Saviour Jesu Christ is the only head and governor ; and the members of the same be all those holy saints which be now in heaven, and also all the faithful people of God which be now on life, or that

¹ G.W. Bernard. *The King's Reformation*, New Haven/London : Yale University Press, 2005, p. 70 :« a phrase encapsulating the rejection of papal pretensions ».

² Gerald Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, Cambridge : 1994, p. 113-114 : « Albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and oweth to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the lergy of this realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for the increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same ; be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the King ou Sovereign Lord, his heirs and his successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken , accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia...* » ; Jean-Pierre Moreau, *Rome ou l'Angleterre*, p. 135 and p. 137.

³ G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Consitution*, *op.cit.* p. 352-353.

⁴ Thomas More has argued that the Henrician regime deformed the medieval Church's understanding to create a straw man, see Peter Marshall, « Is the Pope Catholic ? Henry VIII and the semantics of schism », in Ethan Shagan (sous la dir.), *Catholics and the Protestant Nation*, Manchester : 2005, p. 33.

ever heretofore have lived, or shall live here in this world, from the beginning unto the end of the same, and be ordained for their true faith, and obedience unto the will of God, to be saved and to enjoy everlasting life in heaven. This congregation is the city of heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of all the elect people of God, the only dove, [...] the holy catholic church, the temple or habitacle of God, the pure and undefiled espouse of Christ, the very mystical body of Christ.¹

The Church is formed of laymen and clerics, the head of the Church is Christ and it is governed by kings in their provinces, which form 'particular churches'.² Obedience to princes is thus the prime duty of the Christian. Hence the unity of the Church no longer depended on the pope:

The unity therefore of the church is not conserved by the bishop of Rome's authority or doctrine ; but the unity of the catholic church (...) is conserved and kept by the help and assistance of the Holy Spirit of God, in retaining and maintaining of such doctrine and profession of Christian faith, and the true observance of the same, as is taught by the scripture and the doctrine apostolic.³

At best, the Church of Rome was equal to the other national Churches. Papal power had grown out of human ambition and was never designed or desired by God.

The overthrow of the pope also required adjustments to the traditional Biblical exegesis : Richard Sampson argued, not unreasonably, that Peter never exercised any primacy and that Christ established the Church on Peter's faith not on him as an individual.⁴ Consequently, Sampson translated the term *domum* usually used in reference to the apostolic see (*domnum, domum, or dompnum apostolicum* in the lity) as 'faith'.⁵ The issues of the authority of cardinals and councils were then dispatched.⁶

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of faith*, (Bishops' Book), p. 52. For a similar definition of the church, see Rowland Philips' : 'the universall multitude if Christian people, as well laymen as clergy, subjects as rulers', in Susan Bridgen, *The Reformation in London*, Oxford : 1990, p. 261.

² *Ibid.*, (King's Book) p. 247

³ *Ibid.*, (King's Book), p. 264

⁴ Richard Sampson, *Oratio quae docet hortatur admonet omnes potissimum Anglos regiae dignati cum primis ut obedient*, London : 1535 (STC : 21681) ; Andrew A. Chibi, « Richard Sampson, his Oratio and Henry VIII's Royal Supremacy », in *Journal of Church and State*, n°544 (1997), p. 555

⁵ Andrew A. Chibi, 'Richard Sampson, his Oratio and Henry VIII's Royal Supremacy', p. 559.

⁶ On cardinals and their association with the papacy see Anne J. Duggan « Servus servorum dei », in Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan, *Adrian IV, the English Pope (1154-1159)*, Aldershot : 2003, p.198. In some service books, the word cardinal was suppressed from the bidding prayers and form other liturgical texts. see, part I, chapter 2, section 3 A, iii. For Henry's evolution on councils, see Peter Marshall, « Is the Pope Catholic? Henry VIII and the Semantics of Schism », p. 34.

ii. The pope in Henry's England.

During the medieval period, papal titles had evolved significantly : from 'vicar of Peter' to 'vicar of Christ'. Popes also bore such titles as *Papa*, *Pontifex Maximus* et *Summus Pontifex*, along with the humbler *Servus servorum Dei*.¹ Innocent III defined papal supremacy as a plenitude of power over the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which itself was seen as an independent and superior sphere.² The forged donation of Constantine buttressed the papacy's claims to temporal authority and the papal ornaments borrowed many imperial insignia.³ Finally, the liturgy displayed the pope's connection to Peter and asserted his status of head of the Church.⁴

These titles epitomized papal supremacy and were thus immediately targeted by the Henrician regime and its supporters. The word pope completely disappeared from English legislative texts at the end of 1533.⁵

In 1538, John Longland, the bishop of Lincoln preached that Christ was the *Summus Pontifex* and that the popes had abused their power and committed a grave sin in usurping Christ's title.⁶ The phrase 'bishop of Rome' was not confined to official propaganda and its use spread to the English people at large : the hostler of the White Horse inn in Cambridge challenged Henry Kylbie saying 'there is no pope but a bishop of Rome'.⁷ Anti-papal rhetoric intensified throughout the period. Thomas Cranmer

¹ Anne J. Duggan « Servus servorum dei », in Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan, *Adrian IV, the English Pope*, p. 195.

² Olivier Guyotjeannin, article « papauté », in Claude Gauvard, Alain de Ribera and Michel Zink (ed.), *Dictionnaire du Moyen Age*, Paris : 2002, p. 1038-1042 and Susan E. Twyman, « Summus Pontifex » in, Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan, *Adrian IV*, p. 56-7.

³ Susan E. Twyman, « Summus Pontifex » in, Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan, *Adrian IV*, p. 63 and Francis Oakley, *Kingship*, Oxford : 2006, p. 111-112 and 116-117.

⁴ Susan E. Twyman, « Summus Pontifex » in, Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan, *Adrian IV*, p. 57-69.

⁵ Richard Rex, 'Crisis of Obedience: God's Word in Reformation England', in *The Historical Journal*, vol 39, n°4 (1996), p. 879-880. The word pope had completely disappeared from official texts at the start of 1534. See also Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, p. 350 : the Act suspending the payment of annates was worded thus in 1532 : [...]such sums of money as the Pope's Holiness, his predecessors, and the court of Rome by long time have heretofore taken of all [...] persons which have been named, elected [...] to be archbishops or bishops [...]. In 1534, papal titles were abandoned and replaced with: 'the said bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope' in the paragraph added when the suspension became effective after confirmation by the king's letters patent (1534: 25 Henry VIII, c 20) (p. 358). See also 25 Henry VIII, c21.

⁶ Margaret Bowker. *The Henrician Reformation : the Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland 1521-1547*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 71-72.

⁷ *Letters and Papers, op.cit.* VII, 754.

considered the pope to be the Antichrist.¹ Conversely, in the first draft of the Act in Restraint of Appeals, the king was styled vicar of Christ.²

3. Reinterpreting the history of Anglo-papal relations

J.F. Levy is perfectly justified in writing that ‘of all the ‘reformations’ of Europe, the English was, in terms of its justifications, the most historical’.³ The following paragraphs examine how the role of the pope in England was ‘written out or written off’, in the words of Richard Rex.⁴

A. What King Lucius could do for Henry VIII⁵

In the Act in the Restraint of Appeals, the claim that England is an empire and thus completely independent from Rome was based on ‘sundry old authentic histories and chronicles’. Much is made of the legend of King Lucius. When the English king had sent for a code of Roman law to assist him in governing his kingdom, pope Eleutherius is purported to have replied that the Bible was a sufficient guide for a Christian king. In the letter, which seems to have been written during the crisis of the interdict, kings are styled vicars of Christ and charged with the cure of souls.⁶ The document was a perfect instrument for the Henrician regime and was included several times in the *Collectanea*

¹ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 16.

² Malcolm Beryl Yarnell, *Royal Priesthood in the English Reformation*, unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford : 2000, p. 169.

³ Fred J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, San Marino : 1967, p. 79, quoted in Helen Parish in « Impudent and Abominable fictions’ : Rewriting saints’ lives in the English Reformation », in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 31, n°1 (2001), p. 63. See also May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age*, Oxford: 1971, 180p. See also Felicity Heal, ‘What can King Lucius do for you?’ p. 596, n. 17 and *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*, p. 386-394.

⁴ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 18.

⁵ This paragraph is based partly on Felicity Heal’s article ‘What can King Lucius do for you?’ p. 593-614.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 598-9 ; Graham Nicholson « The Act of Appeals and the English Reformation » in Claire Cross, David Loades, J.J. Scarisbrick (ed.), *Law and Government under the Tudors*, Cambridge : 1988, p. 22-24 ; ‘Thomas Cromwell and the Intellectual Origins of the Henrician Revolution’, in Fox and Guy (ed.), *Reassessing the Henrician Age*, Oxford/NY : 1986, p. 158-9 and 163.

Satis Copiosa.¹ In the 1530s, it provided much needed historical grounds to the king's supremacy.²

Legends of early conversion of England also featured Joseph of Arimathea, which accorded an apostolic connection to English Christians and provided an argument to claim equal dignity with the church of Rome.³ At any rate, the importance of the Augustine mission was diminished if not construed as the start of papal encroachment in England.

B. Henri II and John : victims of the papacy

- The case of St Thomas and Henry II is examined in part III, chapter 2.

In *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, Carol Levin summarized how Tyndale encouraged his readers to 'read the story of King John and of other kings, if [they] would know how subversive the Catholic church has been to the authority of rightful kings'.⁴ The author re-examined king John's conflict with Innocent III and read the episode as an epitome

¹ Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*, Oxford : 2003, p. 121 and p. 389-390.

² Lucius' legend was put to widely varying uses : it was exploited by the Jesuits under Elisabeth to prove the connection between the English Church and Rome, by their opponents to make the opposite claim and finally it was used in the dispute between the conformists and the puritans, see Felicity Heal, « What can King Lucius do for you ? » p. 600-604 (Reginald Pole, Nicholas Harpsfield, Robert Parsons and the Jesuits), p. 604-608 (John Jewel, Matthew Parker and John Foxe who remained more prudent) and p. 608-611 (Matthew Sutcliffe, Thomas Cartwright, Whitgift and Francis Mason). See also Helen Parish, *Monks, Miracles and Magic : Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church*, London/New York : 2005, p. 26-35 ; David Eppley, *Defending the Royal Supremacy and Discerning God's Will in Tudor England*, Aldershot : 2007, p. 16 and Andrew A. Chibi, « Richard Sampson, his Oratio and Henry VIII's Royal Supremacy », p. 557-558.

³ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 18-19 and Felicity Heal, « What can King Lucius do for you ? » p. 596-597.

⁴ Carol Levin, 'A Good Prince, King John and Early Tudor Propaganda', in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 11, n°4, 1980, p. 25. Alec Ryrie has provided me with the original reference: Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, STC: 24446, fo. 157v : Considre the story of kynge Iohn, where I doute not but they have put the best and fayrest for them selves and the worst of kinge Iohn. Did not the legate of Rome assoyle all the lordes of the realme of their due obedience which they oughte to the kynge by the ordinaunce of God? wolde he not have cursed the kynge with his solemne pompe because he wolde have done that office which God commaundeth every kynge to doo and wherfore God hath put the swerde in every kynges hande? that is to wete because kynge Iohn wolde have punished a weked clerke that had coynned false money. The laye men that had not done halfe so greate fautes must dye, but the clerke must goo scapfre.

of papal interference and abuse and exposed is as a conspicuous perversion of Christian doctrine.¹

Simon Fish reached similar conclusions in *The Supplication of the Beggars*, also published in 1528, with king John as the victim sacrificing his regal honour to the blood sucking papacy for the well-being of his subjects.² Both authors compare good king John to Henry VIII who also sought to limit the clergy's powers.³

Comparing the 1516 edition of Robert Fabyan's *New Chronicles of England and France* with that of 1542 is enlightening in this regard. The events leading to Thomas Becket's death are newly assessed : the character flaws of Henry II, detailed in the first edition, were dropped and a few paragraphs were added in defence of the king's cause.⁴ The references to 'Thomas' death as a martyr and personal sanctity were also omitted.⁵

The treatment of the interdict crisis displays similar refashioning. The realm's misfortunes ceased to be blamed on king John's poor government and ill intentions.⁶ The pope was the cause of 'the great misery that this prynce was in, being so oppressed with the tyrannye of the Bishop of Rome, that monstrous and wycked beast'.⁷ The 1542 edition attempted to gain the reader to the king's side : 'what Chrysten hert, but must wepe and lament to here a crysten prynce to be thus abused', while the pope took the guise of a war-mongering villain.⁸

Censorship was not confined to books, but might apply to documents on public display as witnessed by George Lawson's 1534 account:

While walking with master Leylond in the cathedral church of York, they saw a table on the wall giving the reigns of divers kings, among which was one line of a King that took this kingdom of the Pope by tribute to hold of the Church of Rome.

¹ *Ibid.* : 'Sent not the Pope also vnto the kynge of France remission of his synnes to goo and conquere kynge Ihons realme. So now remission of synnes cometh not by fayth in the testamente yt God hath made in Christes bloude: but by fyghtinge & murtheringe for the popes pleasure.'

² *Ibid.*, p. 25-6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26-7.

⁴ Robert Fabyan, *The new Chronicles of England and France*, p. 273.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 275, 276, 278, 280.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 318 : 'or known for maynteyners of the kynges ille entent' is suppressed; as are the words underlined in this passage, p. 317 : 'but all this myght not move the kynge from his erreure.'

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 319

⁸ *Ibid.*, : 'the byshop of Rome was the sturrar up of these warres'.

Once cut out of the *tabula*, the incriminating lines were sent to Cromwell. The utterances of the word *papa* were also carefully removed from the chronicle. Despite the damage, the document was preserved at York Minster :



The radical evangelical John Bale's play *King Johan* was performed in 1539 at Cranmer's court, leaving a lasting impression on the audience.¹ In a 1949 article, Shephard Miller has focussed on the liturgical issues at stake in the illustrious text. His findings are edifying. The entire liturgy is under blistering attack :

According to both the allegorical and the historical levels, the Church prostitutes all its rites to dominion over the state. A major part of the technique of drama and propaganda is attack upon these. Upon Mass and matins, lauds, prime, and vespers. Parts of the Mass and of the offices of the hours: antiphones, the Ave Maria, canticles, the creed, introits, the Kyrie, Latin epistles, Latin gospels, Latin sermons, lections, offertories, the paternoster, psalms, sequences, the Te Deum, and tracts. The litany of the saints. Rites for the dead: vespers, matins, Mass, and burial. Prayers for the dead and devices to promote them: bequests, legacies, mortuaries, the Mass of Scala Caelo, perpetuities, and trentals. The sacraments: baptism, the Eucharist, penance, matrimony, and 'the other sacramentes.' Not only the sacrament of penance but the system, with its process, doctrines, and devices: the confessional, the Confiteor, the Misereatur, absolution, the power of the keys, the seal of secrecy, indulgences both partial and plenary, and jubilees. Purgatory in connection with prayers for the dead and the application of indulgences. The system of

¹ Carol Levin, 'A Good Prince, King John and Early Tudor Propaganda', p. 31

discipline: major and minor excommunication, the anathema, suspension, bulls, and the interdict. 'Ceremonies' in general. Sacramentals, both ceremonies and objects, real and pretended by Bale: blessings, 'crowchynges,' and 'kyssynges'; censing, fasting, 'mummyng,' 'pypyng,' praying, preaching, ringing, and singing; altars, ashes, beads, bells, the 'book,' the Breviary, candles and candlesticks, censers, the chalice, chrism and the chrismatory, the cross keys, the crucifix, cruets, holy water, images, jewels, the lectern, miters, oil, the pax, the pope's seal, the pyx, relics, rings, salt, shrines, tonsure, torches, the triple crown, vestments, and wax.

The attack on these rites and accompanying devices, doctrines, and objects varies from references to parodies.

Shephard Miller considers that parodies account for the most dramatic and effective attacks on the traditions of the church. The parody of the well-known rituals of the Church certainly will have prompted formidable reactions from the audience. The doctrine of confession is particularly mocked: the sacrament is presented as a convenient means to encourage sedition and treason. The entire ritual is perverted and sins forgiven *in nomine domini pape*, instead of *in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.¹

Many more liturgical passages are derided (Kyrie, litany, Misereatur, the great curse). In the Confiteor, the invocation of the Virgin and the saints is replaced by that of the pope and cardinals. Not only is the liturgy under direct attack it is performed by lay actors playing the roles of villains (Stephen Langton is Sedition; the pope is Usurped Power; Pandulphus is Private Wealth). John Bale's play offers evidence of the evangelicals' dislike of the late medieval rituals and theology and it also alerts the modern reader to the extent to which the liturgy itself could be construed as supporting the papacy as well as traditional ecclesiology and theology.

Evangelicals and papists thus shared in the belief that the old liturgy could not survive the break with Rome because of the narrow connection between public prayer and the doctrinal edifice of the Church. Members of both factions were persecuted by the Henrician regime which attempted to rescue the liturgy from papalism.

¹ Edwin Shepard Miller, « The Roman rite in Bale's King John », *op.cit.* p. 809-811, 813-814. I believe that the absolution prayer for penitents who had acquired a bull of plenary remission must have directly inspired the parody, the notion that sins were forgiven in the name of the pope could be derived from that text. See part III, chapter 3, section 3, C. and for the text of the absolution *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 48*: Dominus Jesus Christus pro sua magna pietate te absolvat; et ego auctoritate ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et domini nostri domini N divina providentia summi pontificis, et virtute gratiae tibi concessae et electionis qua me in tuum confessorum elegisti in hac parte mihi commissa, absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis.

CHAPTER 2 : LITURGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE SCHISM.

1. Official instructions

A. The regime's orders

- April 1534 : Cranmer's circular letter : new bidding prayers and order to desist from reading the sentence of excommunication.¹
- Summer of 1534 : Cranmer demanded that the clergy expose papal abuses and defend the king's divorce.²
- April 1535 : Cromwell dispatched a royal circular ordering ecclesiastical and secular authorities to arrest :

sundry parsons aswell religious as secular prestes and curates in paroches and dyverse place within this our realme do daily (asmoche as in them is) sett fourthe and extolle the jurisdiction and auctorite of the bishop of Rome, otherwise called pope sowyng their sediciouse pestilent and false doctrine praying for hym in the pulpit and making hym a god to the greate deceyte alludying and seducyng of our subjectes³

- 3 June 1535 : Cromwell wrote to the bishops ordering them preach on the supremacy in their dioceses and asking them to require that it be taught to the people. The same circular contains the order to rid the liturgy of occurrences of the pope and his authority.⁴

¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 122. See below, part II, chapter 1, section 1.

² G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 230.

³ BL, Cotton MS, Cleopatra, E, vi, fo. 217.

⁴ G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 232. No original has survived, Elton has reconstructed the content from the correspondence it elicited.

- 9 June 1535 : Cromwell sent a similar letter to the justices of the peace and sheriffs detailing the content of the circular sent to the bishops requiring they ensure that the clerical authorities :

all manner prayers, orisons rubrics, canons in mass books and in all other books used in churches, wherein the said bishop of Rome is named or his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicated, and erased out, and his name and memory to be nevermore (except to his contumely and reproach) remembered but perpetually suppressed and obscured; and finally to desist and leave out all such articles as be in the general sentence which is usually accustomed to be read four times in the year, and do tend to the glory and advancement of the said Bishop of Rome, his name his title, or jurisdiction.¹

As G.R. Elton famously put it, the secular local authorities were set ‘as watchdogs over the bishops’, resulting in an ‘important reversal of roles – the laicisation of the realm’.²

- 25 June 1535 : Cromwell circulated similar orders to the justices of assize, commanding them to read the instructions at the start of each session and inform the people of the reasons of More’s and Fisher’s executions.³

B. Information and episcopal enforcement

- Many bishops replied to the king’s circular explaining how they had enforced his orders.⁴
- John Longland had the instructions copied as fast as possible to be dispatched in the diocese of Lincoln.⁵ He then had 2000 copies of a circular printed.⁶ The emphasis is on teaching the royal supremacy; the order to correct the liturgy is in Latin.

¹ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, p. 231. This is not technically a royal proclamation as demonstrated by Elton, in *Policy and Police*, p. 238, n. 5. Note that Cromwell was not aware that the sentence of excommunication had been banned by Cranmer a year earlier.

² G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 239.

³ G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 240-241 and London, BL, Cotton MS, Cleopatra, E, vi, fo. 218-19.

⁴ For Edward Lee’s letter, see *Letters and Papers*, viii, 869.

⁵ Lincoln, Lincoln Archives Office, Register 26, fos 260-261v. See also Margaret Bowker, *The Henrician reformation : the diocese of Lincoln under John Longland 1521-1547*, Cambridge : 1981, p. 142-143 and 157.

⁶ For a modern edition of the text, see Susan Wabuda, ‘Bishop Longland’s mandate to his clergy, 1535’, *The Library* 6th ser. 35, n°3 (1991), p. 255-261.

- Robert Goodrich of Ely circulated a very similar letter to the clergy in his diocese.¹
- Nicholas Shaxton wrote injunctions ordering the clergy of Salisbury to use the new bidding of the bedes and correct their missals.²
- Edward Lee proceeded in a similar fashion and added to his instructions a model sermon that unlearned priests could use to preach on the royal supremacy.³ Lee then dispatched the rural deans to the parishes to guarantee proper implementation for the royal instructions. Finally, he ordered that the deacon desist from mentioning the pope in the *Exultet*, a hymn sung at the Easter Vigil.⁴
- Apparently, in the diocese of Worcester, after sending injunctions to all his clergy, the newly appointed bishop, Hugh Latimer, also entrusted the rural deans with the responsibility of showing the parish clergy how exactly to deface the service books.⁵
- As to the bishop of London, John Stokesley, he sent his deputies to make the announcement at different locations in the diocese.⁶
- In one instance, Cranmer himself showed the curate of Croydon how to reform the service books, to no avail, however, a year later the reluctant priest still had not complied.⁷
- Religious orders were sent a specific set of injunctions instructing them, amongst other things, to correct their service books.⁸

¹ Cambridge, University Library, G/1/7 fo. 125r-v. Goodrich does not order schoolmasters to teach the royal supremacy and I have noted six minor differences between the two texts.

² H.O. Coxe. *The Form of Bidding Prayer*. Oxford : 1840, p. 60.

³ London, BL, Cotton MS, Cleopatra E VI fo. 240-242v (*Letters and Papers*, viii, 869). There is a more detailed defence of the supremacy by Lee, see Kew, National Archives, SP3/6, fo. 72-74v (*Letters and Papers*, viii, 292).

⁴ London, BL, Cleopatra E VI fo. 243, (*Letters and Papers*, viii, 963).

⁵ Kew, National Archives, SP 1/101, fo. 7 (*Letters and Papers*, viii, 10, 14) and Elton, *Policy and police*, 237. The case of Oxhill will be treated in more detail in part II, chapter 2. ,

⁶ Kew, National Archives, SP 1/99, fo. 172v (*Letters and Papers*, viii, 10 and ix, 1059) and Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 237

⁷ Kew, National Archives, SP 1/133, fo. 22 (*Letters and Papers*, xiii, i, 1171).

⁸ London, BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra E IV, fo. 13. See the Grantham friars for a specific example: Kew, National Archives, SP 1/95 f.161.

C. John Clerk's injunctions¹

- Biographical information on John Clerk : diplomat, presented the pope with the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, briefly imprisoned in 1529 for defending clerical privileges against Parliament, took part in Katherine of Aragon's legal defence at the Blackfriars trial. John Clerk upheld papal supremacy until April 1533. He then attempted to bring John Fisher and Thomas More back into the fold. The regime kept him on a short leash.²

John Clerk's instructions are not dated, since the document is clearly a template that was never itself sent to a parish or a religious house, and its covering letter is now lost. The editors of *Letters and Papers* ascribed the document to February 1535.³ However the content and wording of the text would suggest a later date, probably early in the summer of 1535 in response to the second bout of intense campaigning in favour of the supremacy which was launched on 3 June 1535, when Thomas Cromwell sent a letter to all bishops instructing them to preach on the royal supremacy and to correct their books to that effect.

The possibility that John Clerk's letter was prompted by the king's circular is further validated by its place within a diverse collection composed of sermons, parliamentary drafts, legislation, fragments of the formulary of faith put forth by the bishops in 1537, along with treatises on theological subjects, which were formerly held in the chapter house of Westminster Abbey. They were initially bound with political tracts, forming a volume entitled '*Tractatus Theologici et Politici*' before being divided into two separate entities. It has been suggested that this volume 'may once have been part of Thomas Cromwell's archive' before being seized by the Crown at his downfall.³ If this hypothesis is correct, it enhances our understanding of how a set of injunctions from a bishop made its way into this collection of theological tracts. The bishop of Bath and Wells, having opposed the annulment proceedings of Henry VIII, would, in all likelihood, have wished to recast his image into that of an enthusiastic supporter of the royal supremacy in the summer of 1535, just as a major campaign to impose the new

¹ Aude de Mézerac-Zanetti, 'Reforming the Liturgy under Henry VIII : the instructions of John Clerk, bishop of Bath and Wells, PRO 6/3, fo 42r-44v', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, forthcoming, 2012)

² Richard Rex, 'Clerk, John (1481/2?-1541)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford : 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5615>, retrieved 27/04/2011.

³ The introduction to SP6 was written by Dr V.M. Murphy and is found in the relevant binder at the National Archives

order was under way, complete with executions of high profile refractory clergy and laymen. As most bishops were asserting their loyalty in their correspondence with the king and Cromwell and by preaching on the royal supremacy, John Clerk may have sent these instructions to the vice-gerent as an example of the thorough implementation of the royal supremacy that he was imposing in his diocese and as a testimony to his belated yet *bona fide* support of the king.¹

John Clerk's circular consists in a summary of Cromwell's letter followed by a long set of instructions detailing how to reform liturgical books. These instructions are not unknown to the scholars of the Henrician Reformation. They are calendared in *Letters and Papers*, though summarized to a point of meaninglessness; and several scholars have consulted them. Indeed, J. J. Scarisbrick may well be referring to this particular text when he mentions that 'the pope's name was to be erased from the twenty-five places where it occurred in the liturgy'.² In G. R. Elton's *Policy and Police*, the focus is firmly placed on the first section of the text, a reminder of the parliamentary reforms of 1534 and an exhortation to publish and advertise the king's new title of and role as Supreme Head of the Church in England. Elton unfavourably compares John Clerk's brief peroration with the much more detailed explanation and justification of royal supremacy put forth by the Archbishop of York, emphasizing the lack of originality of the former: 'these were not very useful because they did no more than simply repeat the details of the King's circular'.³ And undoubtedly, the originality of this set of instructions does not lie in the covering letter, which is but a repetition of the circular letter from Thomas Cromwell, which set in motion the preaching and defacing activity of the summer of 1535.

These detailed instructions to the clergy are a unique description of how to proceed to reform the liturgy and of how the royal order to 'abolish, eradicate and erase out' all passages 'wherein the said Bishop of Rome is named or his presemptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred' was understood and enforced :

Plaices to be reformyd within the dioces of baithe in the bookes of the churches by the kinges highness commaundement and the Busshop there.

¹ Edward Lee's letter to his clergy explaining and justifying the royal supremacy and quoted above is kept in the same collection : National Archive, SP 6/3, fo. 72-74v.

² J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, 392.

³ G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police*, 234

- [1] First in the masse bookes in the canon put oute papa and put in rege in the same plaice.
- [2] Item, inter memorias comunes oracio pro papa sic incipiens Deus omnium fidelium unacum secret et post communione sequentes delectantur.
- [3] Item in generali oracione incipiens pietate put owte this worde papa
- [4] Item in die parasceves put oute the oracions pro papa
- [5] Item in Sabbato sancto pasche In Exultet iam Angelica proxime fine put oute theise woordes patre nostro papa N atque
- [6] Item in Rubrica post missam sponsalium put oute the said Rubrice from theise woordes secundum Romanam ecclesiam to thende of the chapter concertacioni
- [7] Item put oute the Rubryce before the masse de quinque vulneribus
- [8] Item in capite ieiuni in absolucione put oute theise woordes apostolorum principis
- [9] Item in kalendar et aliis Rubricis ubicumque posites ubicumque scribitur Clementis pape Leonis pape, sancti Kalixti pape sancti marcelli pape in omnibus istis locis et hiis similibus put owte this woorde papa
- [10] Item inter suffragia post letaniam ubi di[xit] ut dompnum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesie put oute dompnum apostolicum
- [11] Item at the vii leçon at mattens many tymes where it is writen Omelia beati gregorii pape, aut leonis pape or suche other put owte this word pape
- [12] Item in festo leonis quod est in vigilia apostolorum petri et pauli ubi habetur leonis pape put owte pape, in lectione prima ubi dicit sedit papatus cathedra put owte papatus and put in Episcopatus. Et in lectione secunda ubi habetur huius beati pape put owte pape and put in episcopi.
- [13] Item in festo domini petri in hymna aurea iam luce [versus] iam bone pastor put owte this woord cunctis and wryght tuis
- [14] Item in primo Responsarium ad matutinas put oute principem
- [15] Item in the iii^{de} lesson in prynted bookes put oute thease woordes et regia caput orbis eff[ecta]
- [16] Item in v^o Responsorium put owte theise woordes princeps apostolorum omnium Regna mundi et ideo tradite sunt tibi
[fo 44v]
- [17] Item in festo Corporis christi put oute the vi lesson in printid bookes and devide the v lessons that goeth before into vi
- [18] Item in festo Visitacionis beate marie in prynted Bookes put oute of the ii^{de} lesson these woordes Romanus pontifex urbanus Sextus pio studio and in their place put in devotio fidelium and put oute the iii^{de} lesson cleane
- [19] Item translacione sancti thome martiris in printyd bookes in the firste lesson put oute from theise woordes hic enim annus iubileus est to thende of the said lesson
- [20] Item in the v lesson in printed bookes put oute theise woordes pandulphus apostolice sede legatus
- [21] Item in legend sancti Aldelmi ubi sunt medie lectiones de sancto urbano ubi dicitur hic beati petri apostoli vicarius octodecimus fuit wryte it thics hic post beatum petrum apostolum episcopus octodecimus fuit et ibidem ubi dicitur sedit in papatu wryte sedit in Episcopatu et ibidem in vii viii et ix lectiones put oute pape and write Episcopi
- [22] Item in legend sancti Augustini in lectione Sexta put owte jussu pape
- [23] Item in missale put oute the Rubrice before the masse contra mortalitatem which begynnyth Recordare
- [24] Item post dicte missam contra mortalitem ponitur Evangelium sic incipiens Apprehendit pilatus Jesum put owte the Rubrice that is before the said gospell

[25] Item in the generall sentence put owte all soche woordes as may seme to founde any thing to the glorye of the Busshopp of Rome or derogacyon of the kinges gracys prerogatyve.¹

The extensive list of changes to be wrought signals both how deeply the authority of the papacy was embedded in the Sarum rite and how wide-ranging the reformation of the liturgy could be.

Moreover, by performing these changes to their massbooks, the clergy would assuredly gain if not a staunch commitment to the royal supremacy, at least an in-depth understanding of the ecclesiological and doctrinal shifts at the heart of the Henrician Reformation. It would be a mistake to think that the catechetical properties of these injunctions were limited to the first section expounding the king's supremacy when, in fact, they are most convincingly displayed in the list of passages to be altered in service books. The hymn in the honour of St Peter (item 13) is subtly refashioned: the apostle's power to remit sins no longer extends to all men (*cunctis*) but to his own (*tuis*), i.e. the Romans who lived under his jurisdiction as bishop of Rome. Perhaps most importantly – and significantly it is item 1 – by commanding the reordering of the canon of the mass, John Clerk explained how the royal supremacy and the new ecclesiology that it entailed should be translated into the prayer of the church of England. The word 'king' replaced the word 'pope' and thus moved up from third place in the hierarchy (pope, bishop, king) to first. What the order to reform the liturgy is commonly taken to signify, i.e. the suppression of the scores of utterances of *papa* in the service books, far from being the most important point, appears only as the ninth and eleventh items.

What is more, in ordering corrections, the bishop was careful to ensure that the grammar of the modified passages does not suffer. The hymn in the honour of St Peter (item 13) is subtly refashioned (see below). In items 15 and 16, although entire clauses are taken out, the sentences remain grammatically correct. In the reformed version of the matins for *Corpus Christi*, John Clerk has kept the same number of lessons, as the latter reflects the degree of solemnity of a feast. Yet he failed to do the same for the feast of the Visitation. As will be evidenced in the table below, a few passages went unremarked. The injunctions nevertheless display a sensitivity to detail disclosing that the reform of the liturgy was not carried out lightly and that the cogency of the prayers remained a high priority.

¹ Kew, National Archives, SP 3/6, fo 44 r-v.

In truth, few missals or breviaries are reformed to such a high level of consistency and thoroughness as Clerk envisaged, but some of those which are may be traced back to this particular diocese, such as the manuscript books belonging to the parish of Closworth, Somerset and Great Bedwyn, Wiltshire.¹ A few printed servicebooks of untraced origin were defaced sufficiently consistently with the specific instructions issued by Clerk as to suggest th y may have been used in the diocese of Bath and Wells.² However there are two books from the diocese of Worcester and one from that of St David's which are also defaced to this standard at least, possibly because the local bishops, Hugh Latimer at Worcester and William Barlow at St David's after 1536, issued similar orders.³ But it may well be that the thorough correcting of the service books is simply due to a good level of education combined with a high degree of compliance to the king's orders displayed at the local level, by the parish clerks or the dean. Finally, a few rare missals and breviaries are even reformed further than recommended in John Clerk's detailed letter.⁴ This list of corrections may nevertheless be taken as a model of liturgical adaptation to Henry's settlement, which a great majority of the clergy failed to attain.

2. Implementing the orders in the parishes

A. Typology

These categories were established partly using John Clerk's instructions, which are referenced in the second column and partly based on my findings in service books and newly printed editions of the same.

Table: typology of liturgical changes required by the break with Rome

¹ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Don b 6 and Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 224.

² Oxford, Bodleian, S. Seld. d 23; London, BL, C 35 i 2 ; IB 43955 ; Edinbourg, National Library of Scotland, BCL S 157. York Minster, XI F 1 is also similarly defaced but was used at St George's College under Mary (in the diocese of Salisbury, with a papal exemption in 1351).

³ Respectively in use at Bromsgrove, Worcester (Cambridge University Library, MS 6688); Arlingham, Gloucester (Salisbury Cathedral, MS 152) and Llandeilo Fawr, Carmathenshire (BL, C 35 i 10).

⁴ For instance the Arlingham breviary mentionned above, see also : BL, IB 43955.

Category	Situation in service books	Analysis in the thesis
Replacing papal supremacy with royal supremacy	Missal, breviary and ritual : canon of the mass (article 1).	Part II, chapter 3
	Missal and processional : bidding of the bedes.	Part II, chapter 1
	Breviary, manual and processional : litanies.	Part II, chapter 1
Banning prayers for the pope	Missal: Good Friday prayers, intercession in the <i>Exultet</i> , <i>Pietate</i> collect, mass for the pope (articles 2, 3, 4, 5).	Part II, chapter 1 and 2
	Breviary, manual and processional : litanies (article 10)..	
Suppressing references to the traditional understanding of the authority of the pope as head of the church, such as his ruling on matters of ecclesiastical and lay discipline and his power to remit reserved sins.	Missal: rubric on second marriages (article 6).	Part III, chapter 3
	Manual: sentence of excommunication (article 25).	Part I, chapter 2 and Part III, chapter 3
	Manual: absolution prayer for holders of a papal bull.	Part III, chapter 3
Suppressing references to the pope's power of granting indulgences, declaring jubilees and creating new feasts..	Missal: rubric preceding the mass of the Five Wounds, (article 7), the mass against pestilence (article 23), the beginning of the gospel of St John (article 24), the	Part I, chapter 2

	three Passion prayers, the mass for pregnant women by pope Celestinus and the mass of the <i>Corpus Christi</i> .	
	Breviary: feast of the Visitation and <i>Corpus Christi</i> , the feast of the Translation of St Thomas (articles 17, 18 and 19).	Part I, chapter 2
Suppressing the term ' <i>papa</i> '.	Missal and Breviary: calendar and sanctoral (article 9). Breviary: lessons and sermons attributed to popes (article 11). Replacing the word 'pope' with 'bishop' (article 12).	Part I, chapter 2
Suppressing references to the pope's power to appoint bishops	Breviary: sixth lesson of the feast of St Augustine (article 22).	Part I, chapter 2
Suppressing references to Peter's primacy, the power of the keys and the pope's temporal overlordship.	Missal, manual and breviary : ' <i>apostolorum principis</i> ' in the Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday absolutions (article 8), and the absolution after confession and in the feasts of St Peter (article 14).	Part I, chapter 2
	Breviary: feasts of St Peter (article 13, 15 and 16).	Part I, chapter 2
	Manual: absolution after confession (the power of the keys).	Part III, chapter 3

The diversity and extent of changes are considerable. Most priests, however, determined what they would correct themselves and this work is an attempt to bring

into perspective and analyse the multitude of individual decisions made to reform the liturgy.

B. General analysis of the corpus

Ethan Shagan argued that Cromwell and the king chose the liturgical attack against the papacy ‘as the first real test of their newly asserted authority over the church’. In fact, ‘Henry VII tried disappear the pope’.¹ The submission of Gardiner and Tunstall provided cover for many conservative priests who probably proceeded to rid their service books of all mentions of the pope. There is little evidence of massive resistance on the part of the clergy. This fact is liable of two different interpretations : a huge majority of priests complied or conservative priests operating with the complicity of their parishioners and the local elites were never denounced. What do the surviving liturgical books say about conformity and compliance?

Liturgical books included in the corpus ²	Total ³	Reformed books	Books completely unreformed ⁴	Percentage of unreformed books
Missals	259	219	40	15%
Manuals ⁵	48	33	15	30%
Processionals ⁶	31	23	8	25%
Breviaries ⁷	76	56	20	25%

¹ Ethan Shagan, « Confronting compromise : the schism and its legacy in mid-Tudor England » in Ethan Shagan (sous la dir.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation'*, p. 50.

² I have not included the graduals, the pontificals, the martyrologes nor the psalters.

³ I have excluded the fragments which were insufficient to prove whether the book had been reformed

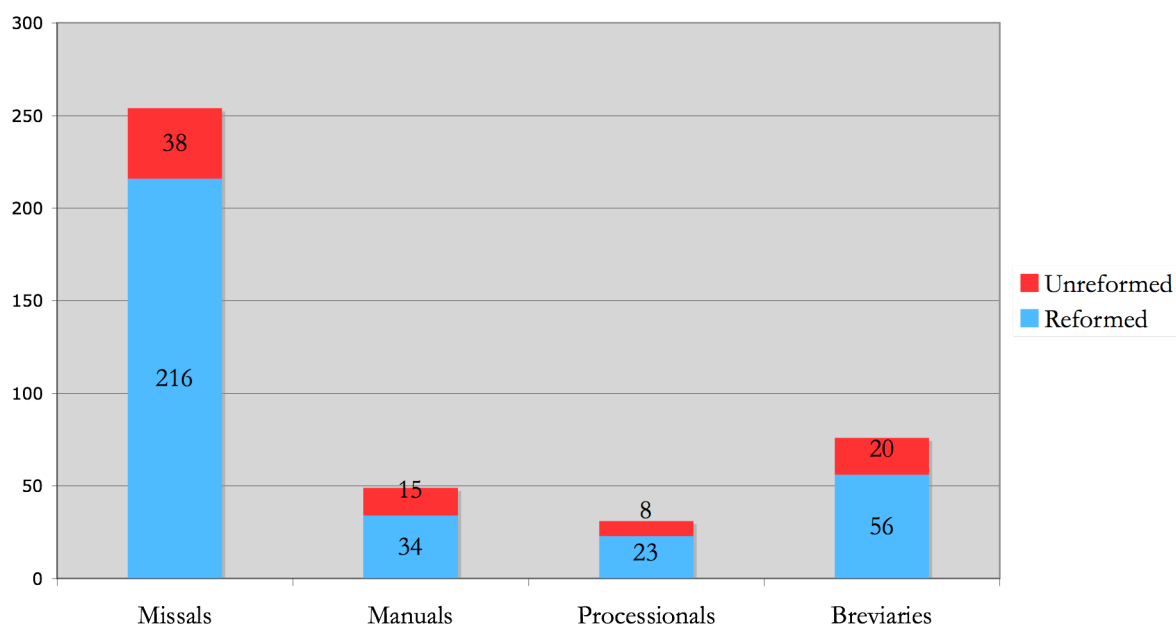
⁴ I have excluded four fragmentary books and Oxford, Bodleian, Rawl liturg e 41, a manuscript catalogues as a missal but whose content would be akin to that of a manual.

⁵ The manuals published in 1543 at Antwerp are not included. (Cambridge, UL, Syn. 7. 54.21 and Syn 7. 54.21 ; Oxford, Christ Church, Gibbs 214 ; Ushaw College, F 4.3).

⁶ The processionals belonging to religious institutions are excluded (Cambridge, St John College, F. 3. 139 and Oxford, St John College, MS 167) as is a fragment (Cambridge, UL, Rit c 451.3).

⁷ I have included a book catalogued as a breviary but consisting of a calendar only (Leeds, UL, Ripon MS 7). It is particularly interesting and will be briefly discussed in part III, chapter 2, section 3. D.

Survey of liturgical books



A general overview of the surviving liturgical books suggests that a significant majority of English priests conformed. The built-in conservative bias of the corpus is confirmed : the smaller the sample, the higher the proportion of unreformed books.

Books may also have remained uncorrected because they were not currently in use, were lost or put away. The vicar of Staunton, for instance, had reformed only one of the two missals he owned; the older version remained untouched.¹ Books printed shortly before 1534 may not have made it to the market as parishes postponed the investment. One 5 of the 21 unreformed missals were printed in 1534, although this edition represents merely 5% of the surviving missals (6 books out of 130).

C. Differences in technique, diversity in degree

The exact method to use when reforming service books was left to the clergy's initiative, although some were deemed unacceptable, especially when the change was reversible and the offensive terms legible.² Changes which were reversible had usually

¹ SP 1/96 f.191 (*Letters and Papers*, ix, 408).

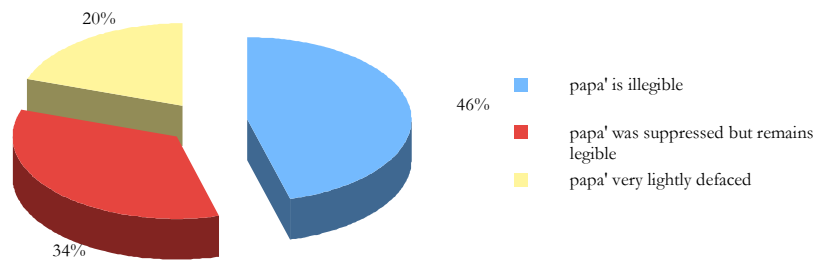
² LP 9, 408, SP 1/96 f.191 : 'and another myssal was covered with small peces of paper sette on with barme where the name of the busshopp of Rome called pope was, and when the paper was taken away, the said name appeared as fair as ever it was and as legeable'. See also *Letters and Papers*, viii, 1020 (SP 1/94 fo 18) and Elton, dans *Policy and Police*, p. 237.

been reversed purposefully or accidentally by the time I studied the books.¹ I have taken systematic note of the legibility of the original text, attributing a mark ranging from 1 (legible) to 3 (illegible) for every occurrence.

	Sarum and Hereford	York	Total
Total relevant reformed missals	203	16	218
<i>'papa'</i> is illegible or almost illegible Nombre de missels dans lesquels le mot <i>papa</i> est illisible ou presque illisible (note supérieure à 2)	93	7	100
Nombre de missels dans lesquels le mot <i>papa</i> est corrigé mais encore lisible (note comprise entre 1 and 2)	70	5	75
Nombre de missels dans lesquels le mot <i>papa</i> demeure lisible (note inférieure à 1)	40	3	43

¹ Cambridge, UL, SSS 8.5, Edinbourg, National Library of Scotland Dry 2295 (canon) ; London, British Library C 35h19 (sentence of excommunication), C 35 k 5 (rubric of indulgenced masses), C 41 k 4 (feasts of St Thomas and *missa pro papa*) C 109 k 16 (prayer for the pope in the Good Friday prayers) and MS Harley 5289 (feasts of Saint Thomas were both scratched out and pasted over); Oxford, Magdalen College M 21.15 (*Exultet*), Stonyhurst College, XII K 18 (the book is entirely intact apart from a trace of a paste on the canon)

Measuring the degree of defacing of 'papa'



I have also precisely noted the technique used to deface each passage (blotting, scratching, crossing out, ink colour, etc). In most missals several different techniques are used, as can be seen from the catalogue of defacings in missals included in this work. Every book is reformed in an entirely unique manner but in two cases similar corrections suggest identical provenances.¹

For some passage the precise expanse which is taken out is meaningful, hence in the canon and in the *Exultet*, while some only suppressed *papa*, others removed *papa nostro N* or *patre nostro papa N atque* respectively. The practical implication of this choice is obvious : while some may have continued to pray for the pope, albeit without styling him *papa*, others would have stopped mentioning him altogether. Similar differences can be observed in the case of the Good Friday prayers for the pope : in forty-two Sarum and York missals the two entire prayers are taken out² while in a few the only the word *papa* is. Most missals present a compromise between these two extremes. In the

¹ An identical technique (red crayon) and comparable choices are found in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 152 and Paris, BNF, Velins 1226, perhaps suggesting that these books both belonged to the parish Arlingham. The corrections made in Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 33 and 192 also confirmed the hypothesis that these two books were, in all likelihood, used in the parish of Southlittleton, although the provenance of the missal was in doubt (N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, London : 1941, p. 224).

² The two prayers are entirely taken out from the missals used in Witney (Oxfordshire), Southlittleton (Worcestershire), Penwortham (Lancashire), Clossworth (Dorset), Darby, Lapworth (Warwickshire) Upper Bullinghope (Herefordshire), Llandello Fawr (Pays de Galles), Oxburgh (Norfolk), Tidmarsh (Berkshire) and in the missal which belonged to John Robsart (Norfolk). Respectively Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 25, 33, Vet E1 c 45, MS Don b 6 ; Oxford, Keble College STC 16179, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 394 ; London, BL, C 35 i4, C35 i 10, MS Harley 4919, Harley 3866 Tidmarsh Parish church, missal and Durham, UL, Bamburgh Select 15. See also an interesting choice in York, Minster Library, MS Stainton 12.

catalogue entries for the missals, I have precisely documented the choices made by the clergy for the canon of the mass and the Good Friday prayers.

A minute study of the defacings yields information on the manner in which the books were reformed. There are often small pen marks signalling the passages which required correcting.¹ These may have been produced by the rural dean or another authority and did not always result in subsequent defacings.² The order to suppress the cult of St Thomas in 1538 provided the clergy with a second chance at reforming their missals: some passages have been corrected twice, with different techniques.³

D. Interpreting liturgical defacings

i. minimal conformity, mental restrictions and Nicodemism

Interpreting the defacings or lack thereof in a service book is a complex task : Cranmer himself wrote to Cromwell enquiring whether failure to reform one's missal should necessarily be interpreted as supporting the pope.⁴ Refusal to expunge one's books was always reported along with other failings related to the implementation of the royal supremacy.

Other priests deny that defacing service books conveys hostility towards the papacy :

Many men , because this name pope is taken away, have therefore a scrupulous conscience. But as for the taking away of his name it is no matter, for he never wrote himself 'papa' but 'summus pontifex', and for his authority he hath not lost an inch thereof, I warrant you.⁵

Similar casuistry was on display when Thomas Bennett, a Somerset priest, declared 'You shall not call the bishop of Rome 'pope', but ye shall call him the high bishop'.⁶

¹ Cambridge, UL, SSS 8.5 ; Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A III 32 ; Edinbourg, National Library of Scotland Dry 2295 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Douce B Subt. 8, Douce B subt 19, S. Seld d. 23.

² York, Minster Library, XVI I 3

³ Oxford, Bodleian, 8° C 592 Linc and Oxford, Keble College, 16179 ; Durham, UL, MS Cosin VI I 2 (York Breviary) ; Worcester, Cathedral Library, Sel A 51.5 (breviary belonging to one John Foxe in 1528, perhaps related to bishop Richard Foxe, whose obit is the calendar) ; London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1516.4 (missal used in Pelham-Furieux in the Le Gros chantry)

⁴ Kew, National Archives, SP 1/133 fo.22 (*Letters and Papers*, xiii, i, 1171).

⁵ *Letters and Papers*, xi, 464, quoted in Ethan Shagan, Ethan Shagan, 'Confronting compromise' p. 52.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

This was the English translation for *Summus Pontifex*, one of the official papal styles. The parish priest in Stoke Dry, Rutland also continued to pray for the pope in his Good Friday prayers and in the collect *Pietate tua*, naming him ‘*dominum Episcopum vel summum Episcopum*’.

While some decided to ignore as thoroughly as possible the ecclesiological consequences of the royal supremacy and exhibit only the most cursory compliance to the Henrician reforms, others had resorted to mental reservations when taking the supremacy oath.

Another issue remained unresolved for a few people: were they allowed to pray for the pope, as long as they did not use the word ‘pope’? The archbishop of Canterbury seems to have displayed a remarkable amount of tolerance in 1534-1535, allowing George Rowland to ‘pray for him secretly, but not openly, for the King had forbidden it’.¹ Or this could be an application, albeit a unique one in this period, of the principle that Christians should pray for their enemies.

In the Southlitleton missal, the phrase ‘*episcopus Romanus*’ replaced ‘*papa*’ in the votive mass for the pope.² The priest who reformed the Robsart missal made a similar decision before blotting out the entire service.³

In some missals, the pompous title of pope is taken out and replaced by the abbreviation ‘*ep*’. This is particularly true for references to past popes in the calendar, sanctoral and rubrics introducing indulgences.⁴ Hence, Thomas Pytte, a secular priest informed the Grantham friars that he had been ‘been taking owt popes & puttyng in

¹ *Letters and Papers*, x, 346 (SP 1/102 fo. 67) and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 97-98.

² Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 33

³ Durham, University Library, Bamburgh Select 15. For more on this missal, see part II, chapter II, section 3.A.

⁴ Cambridge, UL, Rel bb. 51.1 (two occurrences in the calendar); Rit. a 150.1 (one occurrence in the calendar), Rit. a 151.3 (several occurrences in the calendar); Rit. a 152.4 (rubric of the mass of the Five Wounds); Peterborough W 13 (one occurrence in the sanctoral); Durham, UL, Bamburgh select 15 (whenever a historical pope is mentioned); Edinburgh, NLS, BCL S 157 (in the calendar and sanctoral); Oxford, Bod., Douce B subst. 19 (one occurrence in the calendar, Good Friday prayers, rubrics of indulgenced masses), Douce B 241 (two occurrences in the sanctoral); Gough Missals 23 (rubric of the mass of the Five Wounds); Gough Missals 33 (in the rubrics of indulgences mass and in the rubric of the votive mass for the pope), MS Don b 6 (in the calendar and sanctoral); Vet E1 C 66 (all occurrences); Oxford, All Souls MS 11 (in the calendar, in the Good Friday prayers, the canon and the sanctoral); Oxford, Brasenose UB S II (in the calendar); Oxford, Pusey House, Morton Missal (in the sanctoral), London, BL, C25 m 15 (in the sanctoral table); C35 i 2 (in the calendar and sanctoral); C35 i 4 (in the calendar and *Exultet*); C35 i 10 (in the sanctoral); MS Harley 3866 (in the calendar and sanctoral); Stonyhurst College, XII D 3 (in the sanctoral) and MS III (in the calendar).

Busshoppes'.¹ Actually, this is what John Clerk required be done when popes were mentioned in passing (article 12).

ii. practical implications : the case of the *Exultet*.

Whenever priests had to suppress a passage which was habitually read *sotto voce*, the difference might have been imperceptible but the *Exultet* was solemnly proclaimed by the deacon during the Vigil.

<i>Exultet</i>	Reformed version for the <i>Exultet</i>
Precamur ergo te domine ut nos famulos tuos omnem clerum et devotissimum populum una cum <u>patre nostro papa N. atque</u> rege nostro N. necnon et episcopo nostro N. quiete temporum concessa in his paschalibus gaudis conservare digneris. ²	Precamur ergo te domine ut nos famulos tuos omnem clerum et devotissimum populum una cum rege nostro N. necnon et episcopo nostro N. quiete temporum concessa in his paschalibus gaudis conservare digneris

In almost all printed books and in many manuscript books the notation of the hymn is also provided. Reforming the *Exultet*, therefore entailed practical difficulties : taking out the word '*papa*' or the phrase '*patre nostro papa N atque*' meant that some musical notes were bereft of words. English deacons faced a predicament: how would they sing the new version of the *Exultet* ? They were faced with three choices : singing the notes with or without mentioning the pope, dropping the excess notes altogether and replacing the deleted phrase with something else.

¹ Jonathan Harris has kindly shared this information and his transcript : SP 1/95, fo. 165v and fo. 166 : « yee I haue been & Rased owt popes & made them Busshoppes »

² *Missale ad usum Sarum*, col. 342†-343

Many adopted the first option. But several missals suggest that deacon was expected to skip the infamous words and their musical notation.¹ Finally, there are several missals offering rewrites of the *Exultet* tailored to the royal supremacy.

Rewriting the *Exultet*

Durham, Cathedral Library, A III, 32 (probably used in St Nicholas, Durham)	' <i>Papam</i> ' is replaced with the word ' <i>antistite</i> '.
- Durham, University Library, Bamburgh Select 15 (John Robsart's Missal) - London BL, MS 30506	The term ' <i>patre</i> ' is replaced with ' <i>rege</i> ', further down the petition for the king is taken out. The king is thus styled pope in ' <i>una cum rege papa nostro</i> '. ²
Hereford Cathedral, N I 2 (John Price's missal).	' <i>Una cum</i> ' is added above the suppressed passage, suggesting these two words fill in for the gap.
London, BL C 41 g 2 (College of Westbury on Trym)	' <i>patre nostro papam N atque</i> ' is taken out and replaced with the word ' <i>christianissimo</i> ' applying to the king. The remaining excess notes were crossed out.
Oxford, Brasenose College UB S II 97 (Richard Sutton's missal, founder of the college, died 1524)	' <i>patre nostro papam N atque rege nostro</i> ' is suppressed and replaced with [<i>patre nostro rege</i>] <i>ecclesiae anglicane supreme capite</i> . ³
Ushaw College, MS 5 (Esh Laude's missal). ⁴	' <i>una cum patre nostro papam N atque rege nostro</i> ' is taken out and ' <i>Henrico</i> ' was added

¹ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11 3 ; UL, F152 b 6 4 ; London, BL C35 i 7, IB 43955, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 438 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 25 ; Pusey College, Morton missal.

² See plate. This example and the idea that the king is pope in his realm is examined in part II, chapter 3, section 3.A.

³ See plate. The words placed in square brackets are very difficult to make out and only hardly legible on the original.

⁴ See plate

	in the margin.
Worcester, Cathedral Library, Q 107 (manuscript gospelbook). ¹	‘ <i>cum beatissimo pape nostro</i> ’ is replaced with ‘ <i>rege nostro henrico octavo suppremo</i> ’. Further down where the king is mentioned ‘ <i>vel imperatore</i> ’ was added.
York, Minster Library, XI F 2. ²	It seems that ‘ <i>una cum patre nostro papam N</i> ’ was replaced with ‘ <i>una cum patre nostro papa rege nostro N</i> ’. The king is thus mentioned twice in the <i>Exultet</i> .

In the 1543 Antwerp manual, the printer also favoured a rewrite : ‘*una cum christianissimo rege nostro N atque antistite nostre N necnon et episcopo nostro N*’.

3. Suppressing all mention of papal authority

Reforming liturgical books was not a simple affair, and simply suppressing utterances of the word ‘*papa*’ would not do.

A. Peter’s primacy and Rome, *caput mundi*

i. ‘Apostolorum princeps’

Denial of papal supremacy entailed a shift in the way St Peter was perceived.³ He could no longer be considered the ‘Prince of the Apostles’ (*Apostolorum princeps*), the ‘Vicar of Christ’ (*vicarius Christi*) or the head of the church (*caput Ecclesiae*).

In the Sarum liturgy, Peter is referred to several times as Prince of the Apostles.⁴ The phrase was suppressed from the Ash Wednesday absolution in ten missals,¹ and from

¹ See plate.

² See plate.

³ Francis Oackley, *Kingship*, *op.cit.* p. 116 and Catherine Cubitt, ‘Images of St Peter: The Clergy and the Religious Life in Anglo-Saxon England.’ in Paul Cavill (ed.), *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching*, Woodbridge: 2004, p. 41-54. For later developments, see Karen Bruhn, « Reforming Saint Peter : Protestant Constructions of Saint Peter the Apostle in Early Modern England », in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol 33, n°1 (2002), p. 33-49.

⁴ This is a Sarum specificity, the phrase is not found in the Hereford or York rites.

the Maundy Thursday absolution in four.² Intriguingly, John Clerk's injunctions mentioned the former but not the latter. In a thoroughly reformed British Library manual, the phrase is taken out of the second absolution and left untouched in the first.³ *Apostolorum princ[ep]s* also occurs at the end of the service for the sick. In most manuals it is unreformed.⁴

John Clerk considered that the response to the first lesson of the feast of St Peter also required amending : *Symon Petre, antequam de navi uocarem te noui te : et super plebem meam principem te constitui. Et clauis regni caelorum tradidi tibi*. He asked his clergy to take out the word '*principem*'. The change was effected in four breviaries.⁵

Finally, the radical anti-papist who suppressed the entire absolutions of Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday also culled the sequence of the common of an apostle, removing references to Peter's titles.⁶

ii. Limits to the pope's power

The influence on royal supremacy propaganda of Marsilius of Padua's argument that Peter wielded no authority over the other apostles is an established fact.⁷ The bishop of Chichester, Richard Sampson, argued in his *Oratio* that the power of the pope did not extend beyond the confines of his diocese. The notion that Peter's power was geographically bound resulted in liturgical changes in the diocese of Bath and Wells : John Clerk required the following alteration in article 13:

¹ Cambridge, UL, MS 6688 ; Edinbourg, NLS, BCL S 157 ; London, BL, C35 i 2, C35 i 10, IB43955 (the entire absolution is taken out), Oxford, Bodleian, Gough 82, S. Seld d23, MS Don b 6 ; Paris, BNF, Velins 1226 ; York, XI F 1.

² Edinbourg, NLS, BCL S 157 ; London, BL, C35 i 10, IB 43955 (the entire absolution is taken out); Oxford, MS Don b 6

³ London, BL, MS Add 30506.

⁴ London, BL, MS Add 30506. The phrase was later restored, probably under Mary. In three other manuals the absolution prayer was torn out along with other prayers (Oxford, Bodleian, Gough 187, Marl P. 1 ; Stonyhurst, XII D 11). See part III, chapter 3, Section 3.C.ii and iii.

⁵ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O 7 31 ; Oxford, Gough Missals 193, Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 224 (Great Bedwyn, diocese of Bath and Wells) and MS 152 (Arlingham, diocese of Worcester).

⁶ London, BL, IB 43955. The underlined passages were taken out : « *Clare sanctorum senatus apostolorum, princeps orbis terrarum, rectorque regnorum* » and « *Quorum princeps per crucem scandit petrus alta* » (*Missale ad usum Sarum*, col 661*and 662*).

⁷ Edward Foxe, *De vera differentia regiae potestatis & ecclesiasticae & qua sit ipsa ueritas ac uirtus utriusque*, London :1534 (STC : 11218) ; Andrew A. Chibi, 'Richard Sampson, his Oratio and Henry VIII's Royal Supremacy', p. 555-557. See also Reginald Pole's rebuttal in, *Defense de l'unité de l'Eglise*, (Noëlle-Marie Egrétier, ed. and transl.), Paris : 1967, p 117, 138.

Third verse of the hymn *Aurea luce*, of the feasts of Sts Peter and Paul and St Peter ad Vincula

Original text	New version
Jam bone pastor Petre clemens accipe Vota precantum : et peccati vincula Resolve tibi potestate tradita Qua cunctis caelum verbo claudis, aperies. ¹	Jam bone pastor Petre clemens accipe Vota precantum : et peccati vincula Resolve tibi potestate tradita Qua tuis caelum verbo claudis, aperies

Peter's power to remit sins was hence no longer construed as extending to all Christians (*cunctis*) but only to his people (*tuis*), i.e. the people of his diocese. The subtle alteration was made in the Great Bedwyn breviary, as required by John Clerk.²

The temporal overlordship of the pope had become inconsistent with the new ecclesiology promoted by the Henrician regime, leading to the rejection of the medieval notions that the papacy was a monarchy and that Peter had received temporal powers from Christ.

Response to the fifth lesson of the feast of Sts Peter and Paul.

Original text	New version
Tu es pastor ovium princeps apostolorum : tibi tradidit Deus omnia regna mundi. Et ideo traditae sunt tibi claves regni caelorum. ³	Tu es pastor ovium. Tibi tradidit claves regni caelorum.

¹ *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, (F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, eds.), Cambridge : 1879-86, vol. iii, p. 365.

² Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 224.

³ *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, iii, p. 371

Peter's temporal overlordship of all realms is thus firmly denied as is the relationship between the latter and the power of the keys. This passage was not corrected in the Great Bedwyn breviary but the entire fifth lesson was taken out of the Arlingham book.¹

Liturgical allusions to papal prerogative in the appointment of bishops were also removed from the liturgy. In the sixth lesson of the feast of St Augustine of Canterbury, John Clerk instructed his clergy to remove the phrase '*jussu papa*' in the sentence recounting the saint's episcopal consecration : '*Post hec Augustinus ab episcopo arelatensi jussu pape archiepiscopus anglorum ordinatus est.*'² The power to appoint bishops was explicitly placed within the king's remit in the Bishops' Book.³ In the 1544 breviary, newly printed by Grafton and Whitchurch, the passage is thus amended : '*Post hec Augustinus ab episcopo arelatensi jussu regis archiepiscopus anglorum ordinatus est.*'⁴

Finally, in two service books, pontifical insignia are defaced from woodcuts or miniatures representing popes.⁵

iii. The city of Rome and papal institutions

Second lesson in the feast of Sts Peter and Paul.

Original text	New version
Isti sunt qui te Roma ad hanc gloriam provexerunt, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia per	Isti sunt qui te Roma ad hanc gloriam provexerunt, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et per sacram

¹ Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 152.

² *Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum*, Paris : 1525, (Y. Bonhomme), sig. red AA iii

³ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 109. There is a slight change in emphasis in the King's Book, *ibid.*, p. 278 : appointment of bishops is 'wholly left to the positive laws and ordinances of every Christian region, provided and made or to be made in that behalf, with the assent of the prince and ruler'.

⁴ *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum*, London: 1544, sig. AA ii (v).

⁵ The papal tiara is scratched out of Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 101 (Wolsey's Lectionary) and St Sylvester's tiara and halo were removed from Westminster Abbey, MS 37 and the papal tiara on a woodcut representing the miraculous mass of St Gregory during which the host became actual flesh is defaced in London, BL, C35 d 14.

sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena. ¹	beati Petri sedem latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena
--	--

The notion that Rome itself was a royal state (*regia*) is debunked, as is the consequence of this elevated temporal status, i.e., the notion that Rome was the head of the earth. The parish priest of Great Bedwyn mistakenly removed the phrase *per sacram beati Petri sedem* instead of ‘*regia*’ and ‘*caput orbis effecta*’.

Other terms which were suppressed from liturgical books :

- ‘*cathedra*’ in the rubric of the feast of Peter’s chair.²
- the terms ‘*Roma*’, ‘*Ecclesia Romana*’, ‘*romane sedis apostolicus*’, ‘*Urbis romana*’, ‘*pontifex apostolicus*’, ‘*Romane urbis sedis*’.³
- in a few instances, references to the cardinals.⁴

The traditional liturgy could clearly undermine the doctrine of the royal supremacy in a very damaging manner.

B. Papal power and Church discipline in the liturgy

i. the sentence of excommunication or great curse

Four times a year, parish priests would read the great curse to their parishioners, namely the first ‘Sundays of Advent and Lent, the Sunday after Whitsun Day and the

¹ *Portiforium*, sig. red BB vii^v- viii. In the modern edition of the breviary, a similar passage occurs in the second lesson, see *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, vol iii, p. 368.

² London, BL, IB 43955 and Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 152.

³ All of these terms are taken out of Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 152 (fo. 270v, 288v, 320, 259v, 323 and 340). For other examples of missals see : Cambridge, UL, MS EE 4 19 (charter kept in Rome), MS GG v 24 (*ecclesia romana*), St Catherine’s College, B II 13 (*romanam ecclesiam, palacio domini pape*), St John’s College, A. 4. 25 (*Roma, sedem apostolicam*) ; London, BL, C41 g 2 (*apostolicam*), C110 d 6 (*oure father the pope of Rome and his cardinalls, sedem apostolicam*) ; Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 152 (*apostolica dignitatis*), Gough Missals 9 (*romane sedis apostolicus*), Gough Missals 186 (*secundum curiam romanam, ad sedem apostolicam*), All Souls College, MS 11 (bidding of the bedes: *oremus pro ecclesia romana et pro papa...* is taken out and replaced with *oremus pro ecclesia catholica regnum anglicane*), Trinity College, I 7 14 (*the pope of Rome in the sentence of excommunication*). In a manual : London, BL, MS Add. 30506 (*quia per ecclesiam romanam cunctis christianis sub pena excommunicationis maioris est invitata, ad sedem apostolicam*).

⁴ London, BL, C110 d 6 (*oure father the pope of Rome and his cardinalls*) MS Stowe 13 ; Oxford, Jesus College, F 17.15 ; Ushaw College, MS 5.

Assumption of our Lady'.¹ The set up was fittingly dramatic : the clergy assembled in the quire holding lit candles in the form of a cross while bells tolled. The lengthy text was read in English and enumerated the offences which would automatically result in a sentence of excommunication.² The ritual ended with the performative utterance of the anathema upon the offenders and the words '*fiat, fiat*'. The candles were then thrown to the ground and trodden down, signifying the obscurity into which the excommunicate had been cast. Although the performative and efficacious aspects of the ritual are obvious, it must not obscure its didactic functions: the great curse rehearsed the gravest sins and conveyed important teachings on the workings of the Church. Guy de Roye insisted on the importance of this ritual in his catechism for the laity entitled *The doctrynal of sapyence*:

Many of the symple peple doubtte nothyng the sentences of cursyng. And sayen that it letteth not theyr potte to boyll on the fyre, knowe they for certayn that they disobeye god. For seint poul saith : ther is noo power but it be ordeyned of god. And who resisteth the powers of the chirche, resisteth the ordeynaunces of god. God sayth to saynt peter whan he delyverd to hym the ii keyes whyche ben the power of cursyng and of assoyllyng, that what somever be losed upon erthe sholde be losed in heven and by the contrarye. What he bonde in erthe shold be bounden in heven. Thenne seynt peter holdeth the power & thauctorite of excominacyon and cursyng whiche he hath of god. And the other prelates holden it of seynt peter and alle the judges of holy chyrche.³

After relating what penalties would be incurred for striking or killing a priest and how Christians ought to conduct themselves with excommunicates, the author emphasises the efficacy of the curse.⁴

The ritual of excommunication heavily relied on the Petrine commission and the notion that all clerical authority flowed from the pope. Moreover, as it was proffered in the vernacular, it was probably fairly well understood by the laity. This liturgical piece clearly jarred with the doctrine of the royal supremacy and was promptly banned by

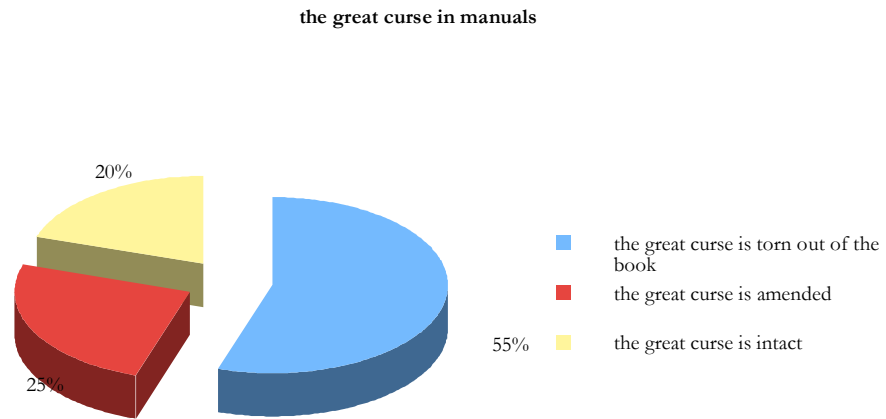
¹ Proctor, *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, London : 1878, p. 436, n. 3.

² For the full version, see Appendix 2.

³ Guy de Roye, *The doctrynal of Sapyence*, sig. E i.

⁴ *Ibid.* sig. E ii : Example. Item it is redde that at troyes in champayn was a byshop whiche excomined & cursed the baylly of the cyte ; and after assoilled him & had him to diner wyth hym, after diner the bysshop demaunded him yf he were not more eased than he was whan he stode acursed. The baylly answered that he sette lytyl ther by and made no fors. And anone the bysshop for to shewe hym his errour made to brynge forth a whyte loof and departed it a sondre & after said Brede by thauctorite of god & of seint peter thapostle I acurse the here and anone that one half of the loof becam as blacke as cole. When the bailly sawe that he and alle his companue were moche abashed thenne said the bysshop to the baylly, certeynly ye were as black ayenst god whan ye were in the sentence and after said by thauctorite of god and of seint peter, I assoille the. Anon the brede was whyte as it was tofore. Now seest thou how thou oughtist to doubtte the sentence of cursyng.

Thomas Cranmer in 1534. In a majority of the twenty relevant manuals, the sentence of excommunication was torn out while in others it was simply amended so as to suppress references to the pope, the cardinals and Rome.



In most cases, this was done by the clergy, but there is a striking example of lay intervention : John Hamon of Enfield, Middlesex tore the pages out himself, thus turning violently against a clear symbol of clerical authority.¹

The suppression of this ritual created a liturgical gap, which could be filled by the reading of the alternative uplifting texts. Thomas Corthop, curate of Harwich in Essex was accused of reading ‘general sentence instead of the King's letters, contrary to the King's orders’.² And Shaxton ordered that Deut. 28 be read in the parishes of his diocese on the appointed days.

In the rubric explaining why one of the nuptial blessings must not be pronounced in second marriages, the term ‘*papa*’ was removed from 82 missals. In a few cases, the entire rubric is crossed out or defaced.³ One may wonder whether an exception implemented by the Curia and recommended by Thomas of Aquinas was maintained in Henry’s England.

¹ *Letters and Papers*, xiv, (ii), 796.

² Thomas Corthop, curate of Harwich in Essex was accused of reading *Letters and Papers*, ix, 1059 : « That he had read the general sentence instead of the King's letters, contrary to the King's orders ».

³ This is item 6 in John Clerk’s injunctions. See London, BL, C 35 k 5 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 25, MS Rawl liturg. c 2

iii. Disciplining England after the schism

There is very little evidence of how excommunication was construed and enacted after the 1534. Although, the punishment clearly continued to exist, the ritual by which people were excommunicated and the systematic cursing of perpetrators of specific offences had disappeared. The royal supremacy also provoked debates regarding the king's participation in the *potestas jurisdictionis* and his pastoral role in the Church.

Cranmer understood the royal supremacy to grant a certain degree of pastoral power to the king, allowing him to excommunicate notorious sinner and consecrate bishops in extreme circumstances.¹ In 1535, the regime had been faced with a complex jurisdictional problem and had concluded that the royal supremacy accorded the king the power to loose the religious from their oaths to the papacy. The abbots were ordered to inform their coreligionaries that

by the kynges sup(re)me power and auctorite ecclesiasticall [they] be absolved and losed from all mann(er) obedience and profession by them heretofore p(er)chance p(ro)mised or made to the said Busshop of Rome to any other in his stede or occupying his auctorite or to any other fforeign power or p(er)son.²

In effect, the king had taken over the reserved power to dissolve oaths. The publication of the 1537 formulary of faith seems however to have marked a retreat on this broad interpretation of the king's pastoral powers : the power to excommunicate is squarely granted to the clergy alone.³

C. Indulgences

Indulgences were narrowly connected to papal prerogative and two manuscript missals even ascribed the usage of granting indulgences to Peter himself.⁴

¹ *Works of Archbishop Cranmer*, J.E. Cox (ed.), Cambridge: 1846, vol 2, p. 115-117. See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 278-80.

² London, BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra iv, fo. 21- 22.

³ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 112.

⁴ Durham, Cathedral Library, A III 32, fo. 339: 'sanctus petrus aplorum primis concessit omnibus condignis hoc nomen Jhesu venerantibus sex milia annorum indulgencie' and Oxford, Bodleian, MS

Treatment of indulgences in Sarum missals

Total Sarum missals reformed and relevant	169
Rubrics describing indulgences unreformed	29
'Papa' suppressed from the rubrics ¹	130
The reference to the indulgence is suppressed	50
At least one of the rubrics is entirely taken out ²	57
The indulgenced masses are suppressed	2

Although in 80% of the Sarum missals these rubrics are at least partially amended, this does not necessarily imply that the indulgences had lost all value in the eyes of most people. In 1536, Robert Fynnys, the curate of Loose, Kent encouraged his parishioners to attend mass for the feast of *Corpus Christi*, reminding them that they would benefit from a papal indulgence if they did so. He promptly checked himself, adding that the indulgence had been granted by Urban, the bishop of Rome.³ The Faversham parish priest also trusted that attending the dedication feast continued to secure indulgences. These examples epitomize the ambiguity of compliance in Henry's England : in a casual display of casuistry, conservative priests seemed to believe that the break with Rome did not deprive the English of the benefits of indulgences.

Barlow 1, fo. 386: 'Sanctus petrus apostolus domino nostri jesu Christi qui sedem episcopalem ecclesie Rome primitus tenebat divina protegente clementia et clavorum potestate sibi a domino tradita omnibus et singulis vere confessis et contritis qui hoc nomen ihesu devote nominaunt vel audierint ac memoriam passionis eius in honore habiunt sex milia annorum indulgentie misericordit indulsit'.

¹ The four last categories are not mutually exclusive: one missal can figure in several of them.

² I have not included here the books in which '*vaca!*' was added in the margin (Hereford Cathedral, N I 2, London, Lambeth Palace, 1516.4) and those in which paper was pasted over the rubrics (London, BL, C35 d 15 and C35 k 5).

³ Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, p. 54 and *Letters and Papers*, x, 1125.

About a third of the missals showcase the rejection of the principle of indulgences by crossing out the references to the indulgences proper or by suppressing the entire rubric. One may wonder whether in these parishes, indulgenced masses such as the mass of the Five Wounds or the *missa pro mortalitate evitanda* remained in use.

- Penwortham, Lancashire : all indulgenced masses were suppressed.¹
- Le Gros chantry at Pelham Furneux, Hertfordshire : the mass of the Five Wounds seems to have been relinquished (*vacat* added in the margin of the rubric and mass crossed out).²

St Gregory's Trental was a popular devotion and Peter Marshall has advanced that the number of Trentals was on the rise in the 1530s.³ If the break with Rome had an impact on the popularity of this cycle of masses, it has not yet been measured.⁴ The devotion itself was repeatedly targeted by the reformers.⁵ In most Sarum missals the miraculous effects of the Trental are not explicitly mentioned in the rubric describing how the cycle functioned. Nevertheless some priests suppressed the rubric and/or the mass.⁶ In the Hereford missals, the word 'Purgatory' was removed from both the rubric and the mass.⁷ The local bishop, Edward Fox, might have required the change.

Acquiring a devotional indulgence did not necessarily require a priest, and the primers made many readily available to the laity.⁸ The liturgical literacy and compliance of the English people is illustrated by their treatment of indulgences in their primers.¹

¹ Oxford, Bodleian, Vand E1 c 45.

² London, Lambeth Palace, 1516.4.

³ Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*, Oxford : 1994, p. 54-55. See also Francis Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, London : 1960, p.57-8 and Tanner, *The Church in Late medieval Norwich*, p. 102-3 and Françoise Alamichel, *Héritage(s) dans le monde anglophone: concepts et réalités*, Paris : 2010, p. 70-71.

⁴ In 1543, a trental cycle was required in a testament (Kew, National Archive, SP 1/182 f.170 and *Letters and Papers*, *op.cit.* xviii (ii), 532).

⁵ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, p. 16 (Latimer's injunctions) and p. 127 (1547 injunctions). Humphrey Monmouth, a rich London merchant, ordered thirty sermons in his testament (*Letters and Papers*, xiii (ii), 856).

⁶ Cambridge, F152 b 4 3, Rit a 152. 2, (the mass is also taken out), MS GG v 24, Trinity College, MS B 11. 3 (the beginning of the rubric is crossed out) ; Hereford N I 2 (*vacat* is added next to the rubric) ; London, BL, MS Arundel 109 ; Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl liturg. c 2 (the entire rubric is suppressed and the terms *penis purgatorii* crossed out from the mass.)

⁷ London, BL C35 i 4 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Arch b 6 and V and E 1 c 11. But in Worcester, F160, only the word 'pope' is removed. In a Norwich missals, the references to the pope and Purgatory were also defaced (Oscott College, MS 203).

⁸ London, Westminster Abbey, MS 39 and Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 177, Gough Missals 145 (*Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad legitimum Sarisburiensis ecclesie ritum*, Paris : 1520). Robert Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England* p. 249-252 and 256-263. See also Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine* p. 107-147.

- William Marshall's criticism of indulgences in his *Primer*.²
- Bell ringing for the Angelus officially banned in 1538.³

Conclusion : Obedience and sedition in public prayer, the liturgical battle field.

A. To obey or to disobey: political and spiritual stakes

In the 1530s, the control of public prayer had become a critical political and spiritual issue. From the government level down to the smallest chapel, loyalties were divided and individuals had to decide whether to comply and how to do so.

In the Franciscan friary at Grantham, the order to reform service books raised conflicts which almost turned to a brawl. John Shelyngton believed that the break with Rome was temporary and physically assaulted John Colsell who was using a knife to remove the pope from the service books. The former argued that he disagreed with the technique because it caused damage to the other side of the page and he wished the amending to be done with a pen.⁴

In Oxford, similar conflicts occurred as some erased the word '*papa*' from the service books and others restored it just as fast and continued 'singing '*papa*' openly in the church'.⁵ They also disagreed on the necessity of defacing non-liturgical books.

Cromwell's correspondence offers quite a few cases in which parishioners decided turn their clergymen in for failing to implement the royal supremacy. Ethan Shagan has made a strong case that many of these conflicts were mere aftermaths of earlier tensions, yet it would be an over-simplification to assume that disputes about liturgical change were nothing more than a pretext.⁶ Praying fittingly mattered to everyone, from the papists to the radical evangelicals, as liturgical usages were deeply embedded in soteriological views.

¹ Stonyhurst College, XII D 20., XII D 23b, XII D 24, MS XXIX, MS XXXV, MS L, MS LIII, MS LVII, MS B VII 25. See also Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours : English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570*, New Haven : 2006, 201 p.

² William Marshall, *A Goodly Prymer in Englyshe*, London : 1534. For a modern edition see Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine* p. 195-196, it is included in later editions, see p. 201-212.

³ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, p. 42 and Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 71.

⁴ My thanks to Jonathan Harris who mentioned this example and generously provided me with his own transcription, Kew, National Archives, SP 1/95, fo 164.

⁵ Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters* p. 381-4 and *Letters and Papers*: « singing Papa openly in the church ».

⁶ Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the Reformation*, p. 133-159. See also Peter Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England*, Aldershot : 2006, p. 62, for the example of William Barlow.

B. Using the liturgy against the king and his policies

Conservatives found in the liturgy reason to oppose royal policies. Further, a few put the defacing technique to a very contrary purpose: crossing out references to the royal supremacy or the king himself. Andrew Furlong blotted out the preface of the Bible in which the king's headship was put forth and exalted.¹ In one of the surviving 1544 breviaries, the title '*In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptu[m] omittitur, vna cum aliis que christianissimo noster regis statuto repugnant*' and the preface were defaced, presumably by an opponent to the royal supremacy.² Despite previous warnings, Sir John Lyle, curate of Wrynkton, Somerset, had not reformed his books by April 1539. The only passage he had altered was the canon of the mass, where, 'with a pen, [he had] 'skratted' out *papa*, and also *Rege nostro* and this letter *N*, which letter stood for the remembrance of the King's name'.³ The infamous title of pope had disappeared but so had the entire reference to the king. Ambrose Caster, a benedictine monk from Peterborough was charged for changing the verse '*Domine, saluum fac regem*' sung at the end of mass by '*Domine saluum (sic) fac Ecclesiam*'. He would also pray for the pope in the canon of the mass, although the missal had been corrected. The public prayer of the Church had become a source of conflict, disagreement, and could be used to demonstrate loyalty as well as sedition.

¹ Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the Reformation*, p. 52 and *Letters and Papers*, Additional, 1370.

² Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 58a.

³ *Letters and Papers*, xiv, (i), 821 (Kew, National Archives, E 36/120 fo 531r-v.)

**PART II : THE LITURGY AND THE ROYAL
SUPREMACY : PRAYING FOR THE KING AS
SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH**

CHAPTER 1 : REARRANGING THE PRAYERS OF INTERCESSION TO ‘DECLARE AND TEACH THE ROYAL SUPREMACY’

Prayers of intercession are liturgical acts by which the faithful ask divine help and protection for individuals or groups of people.¹ They always contain some level of interaction between the people and the clergy. The act of praying is carried out by the all those present and not simply by the clergy, although the clergy may be the only ones who speak aloud.

These prayers are usually of a fixed form and always reflect the terrestrial hierarchy as constructed at the time. As the traditional order was challenged by the passing and enforcement of the royal supremacy, the regime was perfectly aware of the potentially seditious nature of these prayers and conversely of the possibility of using revised versions of intercessory prayers to promote loyalty to and further acceptance of the new church order.

Government interference with and manipulation of intercessory prayers were nothing new.² In times of dynastic uncertainty, war and hardship, the English government regularly harnessed the power of prayer to its needs. Starting with Edward I, processions, prayers and masses were regularly required of the English clergy and

¹ Barbara Faes de Mottoni, « Quelques aspects de la doctrine de l'intercession dans la théologie de Bonaventure et de Thomas D'Aquin », in Jean-Marie Moeglin (ed.), *L'intercession du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne, autour d'une pratique sociale*, Genève, 2004, p. 105-6 ; Nicole Bériou, « L'intercession dans les sermons de la Toussaint » *ibid.* p. 132.

² Ernest Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae : une étude des acclamations liturgiques et du culte du souverain au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2006, 402 p. For the late Middle Ages, see Bernard Guenée, *L'opinion publique à la fin du Moyen Âge, d'après la « Chronique de Charles VI » du Religieux de Saint Denis*, Paris, 2002, 270 p. Political uses of prayer did not cease after Henry's reign either, see John P. D. Cooper, 'O Lorde save the kyng: Tudor Royal Propaganda and the Power of Prayer' in G. W. Bernard and S. J. Gunn (ed.), *Authority and Consent in Tudor England*, Aldershot : 2002, p.

people and often rewarded by episcopal indulgences.¹ The writs sent to bishops usually also included some measure of propaganda that the clergy were to pass on their parishioners in sermons or short explanations (on the legitimacy of the claim to the French throne, the brutality of the Scots and more generally the perfectly good reasons to be engaged in military operations).² The French were not less keen on state manipulation of public prayer.³ In this context, bishops were often ‘obliging, all purpose workhorses of the realm’.⁴

1. Reforming the ‘bidding of the bedes’

A. What are the bidding prayers?

The bidding of the bedes is the long intercessory prayer read on Sundays and holydays in the vernacular. Texts of these prayers are included in the printed editions of the *Processionale ad usum Sarum*, in some manuscript versions of this service book and also

¹ Between 1305 and 1334, no less than 94 requests for prayer were issued by Edward II and Edward III: J. Rob Wright, *The church and the English Crown, 1305-1334 : A Study based on the register of Archbishop Walter Reynolds*, Toronto : 1980, p. 348-360. For demands for military victory, see A.K. McHardy «Some Reflections» *op.cit.*, p. 190-192. Regarding indulgences for state prayers, see David S. Bachrach «The Ecclesia Anglicana» *op.cit.*, p. 399 and J. Rob Wright, *The church and the English Crown, 1305-1334 op.cit.*, p. 348-360.

² David S. Bachrach, ‘The Ecclesia Anglicana Goes to War: Prayers, Propaganda, and Conquest during the Reign of Edward I of England, 1272-1307’, in *Albion*, vol. 36, n°3 (2004), p. 393-406 ; W. R. Jones, ‘The English Church and Royal Propaganda During the Hundred Years War’, in *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 19, n°1 (1979) p. 18-30. A.K. McHardy, ‘Liturgy and Propaganda in the Diocese of Lincoln during the Hundred Years’ War’, in *Studies in Church History* vol. 18 (1982), p. 215-27, ; ‘Religious Ritual and Political Persuasion: The Case of England in the Hundred Years’ War,’ in *International Journal of Moral and Social Studies*, vol. 3 (1988), p. 41-52 ; and « Some Reflections on Edward III's use of Propaganda », in J. S. Bothwell (ed.) *The Age of Edward III*, York : 2001, p. 171-192 ; D. W. Burton, ‘Requests for Prayers and Royal Propaganda under Edward I,’ in P.R. Coss et S.D. Lloyd (ed.), *Thirteenth Century England* vol. 3, Woodbridge :1989, p. 25-35 ; James A. Doig, ‘Propaganda, Public Opinion and the Siege of Calais in 1436,’ in Rowena E. Archer (ed.) *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century*, New York : 1995, p. 83-88

³ Bernard Guenée, « Liturgie et politique : les processions spéciales à Paris sous Charles VI, in Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard et Jean-Marie Moeglin (sous la dir.), *Saint Denis et la royauté, études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, Paris : 1999, p. 23-49 ; Jacques Chiffolleau, « Les processions parisiennes de 1412, analyse d’un rituel flamboyant », in *Revue Historique*, n° 284 (1991), p. 37-76 ; Julien Briand, « Foi, politique et information en Champagne au XV^e siècle », in *Revue Historique*, n°653 (2010), p. 59-97. Michèle Fogel décrit les processions comme des cérémonies de l’information organisées et manipulées par l’Etat, notamment avec le recours au *Te Deum*, dans *Les cérémonies de l’information dans la France du XVI^e au milieu du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris : 1989, p. 135-172.

⁴ A.K. McHardy (*those obliging, all purpose workhorses of the realm*) in A.K. McHardy, « Some Reflections on Edward III's Use of Propaganda », *op.cit.*, p. 175. For France, see Julien Briand, « Foi, politique et information », *op.cit.* p. ; 70-71 ; Nicole Lemaître, *Le Rouergue flamboyant : le clergé et les fidèles de Rodez, 1417-1563*, Paris : 1988, p. 38.

in a few manuscript missals and manuals. Most often these books only provide a broad framework for these prayers which were then adapted by the priest to the local circumstances. The performance of these prayers would thus vary from place to place and even from one Sunday to the next.

i. Examples of bidding prayers

EXAMPLE A : standard version

This is the way the prayer is presented in the printed and manuscript processional¹ and in a few manuscript missals.²

<p><u>1. Prayer for the living</u> <i>the priest turns to the people and says in the vernacular (lingua materna):</i> Oremus pro ecclesia romana et pro papa et archiepiscopis et specialiter pro episcopo nostro N. et pro decano vel pro rectore hujus Ecclesiae (<i>scilicet in Ecclesiis parochialibus</i>), et pro terra sancta, pro pace ecclesie et terre et [rege et] regina et suis liberis <i>et cetera more solito...</i></p>
<p><u>2. Psalm <i>Deus misereatur nostri</i>, versicles et collect</u> <i>Then the priest turns to the altar and recites the psalm : Deus Misereatur nostri (Ps 66)</i> Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison). Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam : Et salutare tuum da nobis. Sacerdotes tui induantur justitia : Et sancti tui exsultent. Domine, salvum fac regem : Et exaudi nos in die qua invocavimus te. Salvum fac servum tuum : Deus meus sperantem in te. Salvum fac populum tuum : Et rege eos et extolle eos usque in aeternum. Domine, fiat pax in virtute tua : Et abundantia in turribus tuis. Domine, exaudi orationem meam : Et clamor meus ad te veniat. Dominus vobiscum <i>Collect : Oremus, Deus, qui caritatis dona per gratiam Sancti Spiritus</i></p>

¹ *Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum*, STC 16236, Anvers, 1525, fo. V r-v for the modern edition of this text see : *Missale ad usum Sarum*, col 37-9** and *Manuale et Procesionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis* p 133-5. Surprisingly the king is left out of these versions but other editions include a mention of the king, see *Processionale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum* , Paris: 1519 (STC : 16235), fo v (v).

² Processionals : BL, Harley 2787 et 4919, Christ Church College, Oxford, MS 87 et Trinity College, Cambridge MS B. 11. 3. Missals : Oriol College, Oxford MS 75, Pembroke College, Oxford, MS 1, Trinity College, Ms 8.

<p>tuorum cordibus fidelium infundis ; da famulis et famulabus tuis, pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam, salutem mentis et corporis, ut te tota virtute diligant, et quae tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perficiante, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus. Per Christum.</p>
<p>3. Prayer for the dead Oremus pro anima N et N <i>et more solito.</i></p>
<p>4. Psalm <i>De Profundis</i>, versicles and collect. <i>The priest turns back to the altar and says the psalm : De profundis (Ps 129)</i> Requiem eternam dona eis domine. Et lux perpetua luceat eis. A porta inferi: erue domine animas eorum. Credo videre bona domini. In terra vivencium. <i>Collect</i>: Oremus, Absolve, quaesumus, Domine animas famulorum tuorum pontificum et sacerdotum, et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum, parentum, parochianorum, amicorum, benefactorum nostrorum, et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum ab omni vincula delictorum ; ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos electos tuos resuscitati respirent. Per... Requiescant in pace. Amen.</p>

In this version, these prayers are always written in Latin and the operative phrase is *et cetera more solito* which would allow the priest to add other names and intentions following the custom of his parish church and his own preferences. The other type of bidding prayer was usually found in manuscript service books of varying nature and was much longer and very detailed.¹

The three other examples were conveniently translated into French by J.B. Molin in *L'oratio communis*:

- York minster bidding prayer of the XI century (York minster MS 1) : four distinct petitions (for all present, the clergy, god-parents, kin and friends; the souls of the dead) each ending with the recitation of a *Pater Noster*.

- London parish bidding prayer of ca. 1360 (BL, Harley 335) : counts twenty-six petitions divided into two sets: one for the living² and one for the dead.³ Each set is concluded by the

¹ CUL MS Ee. 4. 19, fo. 89-92 (manuscript missal from York hospital) ; BOD MS Barlow 5, fo. 1-3 (diocese of Worcester provenance) ; York minster MS 1 (added in the 11th century to a 10th century gospel book) ; London, Lambeth Palace, MS 216, fo. 111 (*Oculi Sacerdotis*) and BL, MS Harley 335, fo. 19-20 (statute book from the diocese of London).

² Short summary : For the church and Christian realms and each section of the clergy and all tithe payers and benefactors of the church followed by a prayer for the king, queen, nobles (lumped together) and then for pilgrims, the city of London and its officials, parishioners that are present or away, the ill, pregnant women, laborers, sailors and roadmakers, the crops, the offerer of the holy bread and for special intentions and all the christian people

³ For the souls of our kinsmen and women, benefactors, all benefactors of the church whose names are on the bederoll, souls in the pain of purgatory, souls for whom we promised to pray and all Christian souls.

recitation of a *Pater noster* and an *Ave*. The bidding prayers include the psalms, versicles and collect of example A, section 2 inserted between the prayers for the living and that for the dead.

EXAMPLE 4: Sarum missal of 1400 (Oxford, Bod. Ms Barlow 5):

The shullen stonte up and bidde youre bedes to oure Lord Ihu Crist and to oure Ladi Seint Marie and to all the compaine of hevene

For the stat of holi chirche and for oure modur church of Rome. Ffor oure lord the pope. For the patriarke of Ierusalem, for the cardinals, for the archebischop of Canturbury, for al archebischoppes and nomeliche for the bishop of N, for the patron of this church. And for your gostliche fadur and for prestus and clerks that her in serveth or have in served. For al men and wymmen of religion and for al other men of holi chirche and for al thilke that habbeth stat of holi church in kepinge that god for his mercy graunte hem suche grace so hit meinteyne and kepe that god be ther with apaid.

The schulleth bidde for the holi lond and the holi cros that god send hit in to criston men hond wen his wille is.

Thee schulleth bidde al so for the pees of this lond and fur oure lord the king and for the quene and for dukes, erles and barons and for al thilke that habbeth the pees of this lond to kepe that god for his merci send hem gode conseil and grace ther aftur to worche.

Thee shulleth bidde for the meir of this toun, and for al the comunitie and for oure parchens that beoth here or elles were in watur or in lond that god for his merci graunt hem grace saf to goo and saf to come & spede hem in all here nedes.

The schulleth bidde for the gode mon and the gode wif that his day brouht the loof and the candul and for all thilk that furst hit bigan and lengust halt on. And for alle wymmen that bethe in oure lady byndes that god for his mercy so hem unbynde as hit be best to lyf and to soule and for alle that doth trewlich her tythes and her offringes to god and to holichurch and for all thilke that doth nouht that god for his mercy send hem grace to com to amendement.

Thee shulleth bidde for alle the seke of this pariche here or elles where and principalliche for all thilke that liggeth in deadly synne **in** bounde that god send hem suche helpe as hit beo besy to lyf and to soule. And for alle tho that beoth in good lyf that god graunt hem grace to hold hem ther inne. & thilk that beoth not to turne hem to amendement.

The schulleth also bidde that god for his mercy such widdringes is sende on erthe that the fruyt that is there inne thrive an dis fort to don turne cristen men to help.

Thee schulleth also bidde specialliche for al that this chirche helpeth with eny manner thing, wher God and seint N both the feirur the served and the worschepid.

The shul also idde for youre self, that God for his merci graunt thow grace so youre lif here to lede hym fort to queme oure soule to save, and that hit mot so be for thow and for us and for alle christen people suggeth a *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* par charite.

Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis : illuminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri.

Ut cognoscamus in terra vitam tuam : in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum.
Confiteantur tibi populi deus : confiteantur tibi populi omnes.

Laetentur et exultent gentes : quoniam judicas populos in aequitate, et gentes in terra dirigis.
 Confiteantur tibi populi, Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes : terra dedit fructum suum.
 Benedicat nos Deus ; Deus noster benedicat nos Deus : et metuant eum omnes fines terrae.
 Gloria Patri. Sicut erit.
 Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.
 Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera.
 Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam. Et salutare.
 Sacerdote tui induantur justitiam. Et sancti tui.
 Domine, salvum fac regem. Et exaudi.
 Salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas. Deus meus.
 Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hereditati tuae. Et rege eos.
 Domine, fiat pax in virtute tua. Et abundantia.
 Domine, exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus.
 Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.
 Deus qui caritatis dona per gratiam Sancti Spiritus tuorum cordibus fidelium infundis, da famulis et famulabus tuis pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam salutem mentis et corporis ; ut te tota virtute diligant, et quae tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perfeciant, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.
 The shulleth kneeling bidde for youre fadres soules, for oure modre soules, for youre bothur soules, for sustur soules, for youre god fadur soules, for godde modur soules, and for alle your kinnes soules.
 The schul also bidde for alle the soules whos bones restuth in this chirche of chirchehey or in eny other holi place, and for alle the soules that habbeth yife in her lyf or by quethe eny manere good to this place, wher for Godes service is the feiror the do in this holy stede.
 The schulleth also bidde for alle the soules that ben in payn of purgatorie, that God for his merci for youre bedus the rathur bringe hem to blisse and to reste, and for all the soules the han hed of her godus wher fore yeo beoth in dette fort bidde and for all cristen soules. Pater noster. Ave.
 Ps. De Profundis
 Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera.¹

Whatever their wording, these prayers would be said after the solemn Sunday procession in cathedrals and in the parish churches which performed such ceremonies.² In smaller parishes they might be inserted in the Offertory or recited before or after the homily³. The bidding of the bedes would also be said at stand-alone sermons,¹

¹ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Barlow 5, fo. 2-3.

² Richard, Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, Cambridge : 2009, p. 419. The performance of the bidding prayers was subject to much variation and should not be oversimplified, see for instance Charles Walker, *The liturgy of the church of Sarum*, London : 1886, p. 38, note 4 ; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, op.cit.* p. 124-5, 334-5, 445.

³ J. B. Molin et T. Maertens, *Pour un renouveau des prières du prône*, Bruges : 1961, p. 14

ii. Common features and meaning of the bidding prayers

- A common structure of these prayers is division into two distinct sections : prayers for the living and prayers for dead.
- Lay participation is another defining feature of the medieval bidding prayers. Each paragraph starts with 'Thee shall pray' and the faithful recite, probably silently or *sotto voce*, a *Pater* and an *Ave* either at the end of each paragraph or at the end of each section.² In this instance the role of the clergy is simply to prompt and conclude each set of petitions. The actual praying is effected by the people, probably silently or individually. The overall effect of the prayers was thought to depend on the fervour and the sincerity of all participants.
- The text of these bidding prayers is highly catechetical and many lay people would have derived some of their understanding of the faith from these prayers. The church of Rome is presented as the principal and first Church, the mother of all churches; the communion of the saints is manifested by the collective participation to the merits of each person (the parish benefits from the merits of the pilgrim and vice-versa); the role of the clergy in mediating salvation is emphasized.³ Lay people are taught that their duties are to pay tithes, be generous to the church and pray for the souls of the departed. The duty of kings and temporal powers to lead the people entrusted in their care to salvation is mentioned. The most famous example for this is that of Joan of Arc, when asked whether she was in state of grace, she replied : 'If I'm not that God may

¹ See below, for Hugh Latimer's bidding prayers before a sermon in Convocation in 1537. See also Vincent, « L'intercession dans les pratiques religieuses », in Jean-Marie Moeglin (sous la dir.) *L'intercession du Moyen Age à l'époque moderne, autour d'une pratique sociale, op.cit.*, p. 175-193.

² Alec Ryrie has suggested to me that the prayers were probably not recited aloud.

³ Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the Reformation, op.cit.*, p. 120. The exposition of clerical duties in the bidding prayers is even better epitomized in : may be even better illustrated in J. Frank Henderson, Queen Mary I and a Court Form of Bidding Prayer in Medieval England ([http : http://www.jfrankhenderson.com/pdf/QMaryI_courtform.pdf](http://www.jfrankhenderson.com/pdf/QMaryI_courtform.pdf) , consulté le 3/07/2010 p. 8 : "for the person of this kirke that has your saules to kepe and for all the prestes andclerkes that has serued or serues in this kirk or in any other."

put me there and if I am, that God may keep me there' ; probably a direct quote from the French equivalent to the bidding of the bedes.¹

- The bidding prayers are a powerful communication medium. The priest could impart to his parishioners important news, such as the birth of an heir, the death of a king or a noble, and events of local interest.

Medieval society and its organisation and workings were subtly reflected in and buttressed by these prayers in which each member of the community was expected to take part. Moreover, this was one of the very few liturgical texts that was meant to be heard and fully understood by the laity. It is no surprise then that Henry VIII and his advisers saw, in the bidding of the bedes, a means to advertise the changes affecting the English church. Since the royal supremacy was absolutely incompatible with the traditional pattern and wording of this intercessory prayer, it had to be changed accordingly.

B. The new bidding prayers published by Cranmer in April 1534

i. Oaths, sermons and prayers

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer circulated a corrected version of the bidding prayers to all the bishops of his province and to the archbishop of York, requiring that the new form be adopted by all parishes and religious institutions by Easter week of 1534 (5-12 April).² Months before the Act of Supremacy and weeks before the formal launch of the campaign of preaching on the royal supremacy, Cranmer strove to ensure that the most accessible prayer of the church did not undermine the political and religious changes which were underway. The entire population will have heard of the royal supremacy for the first time through the bidding of the bedes. Liturgical change even preceded

¹ J-B. Molin, « Les intentions des prières du prône éducatrices du peuple chrétien », in *Crises et Réformes dans l'Église de la réforme grégorienne à la préréforme*. Actes de 115^e congrès des sociétés savantes, Avignon : 1990 p. 107- 114. See also: J-B. Molin et T. Maertens, *Pour un renouveau des prières du prône*, Bruges : 1961, p. 11-34.

² MacCulloch, *Cranmer, op.cit.* p. 124, n. 133. For the earliest version of this text see Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 106, p 119 seq.

legislation, sermons, oaths and represented the first thrust of propaganda for the royal supremacy.

On 13 April 1534, Cranmer commenced enforcing the succession oath as required by Parliament, and he therefore summoned prominent members of the clergy and Sir Thomas More to his palace.¹ Simultaneously another document declaring the clergy's renunciation of papal authority was being circulated in the country to collect the signatures of the high clergy and, later, thousands of lower ranking priests.²

The oath campaign, the preaching drive and the reform of the bidding of the bedes were all part of the same effort to promote the supremacy and ensure a coherent understanding of the Church's organisation.

The new bidding prayer as advertised by Cranmer in his circular letter to all the bishops of the Province and to the archbishop of York was a much reduced and standardized version :

First, Whosoever shall preach in the presence of the king's highness and the queen's grace, shall in the bidding of the beads, pray for the whole catholic church of Christ, as well quick as dead, and specially for the catholic church of this realm : and first, as we be most bounden, for our sovereign lord king Henry the VIIIth, being immediately next unto God the only and supreme head of this catholic church of England, and for the most gracious lady queen Anne his wife ; and for the lady Elizabeth, daughter and heir to them both, our princess, and no further.

Item, The preacher in all other places of this realm, than in the presence of the king's said highness and the queen's grace, shall, in the bidding of the beads, pray first in manner and form, and word for word, as is above ordained and limited ; adding thereunto in the second part, for all archbishops and bishops, and for all the whole clergy of this realm ; and specially for such as shall please the preacher to name in his devotion : and thirdly, for all dukes, earls, marquisses, and for all the whole temporality of this realm ; and specially for such as the preacher shall name of devotion : and finally for the souls of all them that be dead, and specially of such as it shall please the preacher to name.³

The new bidding prayers departed dramatically from the traditional form:

- this is the first fixed form intended for nationwide use (the bishop or a diocesan synod would have been the highest authority to legislate on the subject). A desire for uniform liturgical texts and practice is one of the features of the Henrician reformation.

¹ *Ibid.*

² For an example of this declaration signed by Oxford scholars and others, BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra VI, fo 214-216v.

³ BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra V, fo 286. For a slightly different version of this text see the injunctions in latin sent to monasteries : BL MS Cleopatra IV fo. 11v.

- improvisation by local clergy is narrowly channelled within the fixed form.
- the length and diversity of the prayers was significantly cut.
- the presence or absence of the king entailed different versions of the prayer (thus imposing nationally a tradition from the royal court).
- the focus is firmly national and the outlook no longer universal.
- there is no mention of the recitation of psalms, versicles and collects in Latin, thus simplifying and abridging the sequence. Whether they continued to be used is difficult to assess with any certainty. But the omission may not have been involuntary and would be consistent with the evangelicals' focus on sermons and teaching at the cost of prayers. In 1537, Hugh Latimer reminded his clergy that this text and no other was to be used, 'lest long bead telling let fruitful preaching of God's word'.¹

There is no doubt that the regime considered the bidding prayers a powerful propaganda tool. For Timothy Rosendale, the rewriting of this text is one of the most significant liturgical events of the 1530s (the other is the publication of the Marshall's primer). 'In 1534, Henry dictated a fixed form for these "Bidding Prayers" which limited the subjects and sequence of prayers, with himself especially and firstly remembered as being immediately under God the only supreme head of this catholick church of England. The extension of both Protestant Doctrine and state manipulation of the liturgy had begun.'²

In fact, the principal, if not sole, catechetical content of the new order concerns the royal supremacy. The title of the king is precisely defined in a wording which remained virtually unchanged until the death of Edward VI : the terms 'supreme head of the church (or of the spirituality and temporality of the church) on earth immediately after God (or after Christ)'.³ These Sunday prayers recited in the vernacular were an ideal vehicle to propagate the regime's principal religious tenet, the royal supremacy. It is

¹ *Visitation articles and injunctions from the period of the Reformation*, vol 2, p. 17. See also Edward Lee preferring not to waste time with bidding prayers when preaching in his cathedral, BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra VI, fo. 240-242v.

² Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the making of Protestant England*, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p 27.

³ *Forms of Bidding Prayer: with Introduction and Notes*, H. O. Coxe (éd.), Oxford : 1840, p. 60-66 ; Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine op.cit.*, p. 155, 156, 175, 183, 208, 211, 219, 228, 234. For a convenient list of Henry VIII's titles see : J. Frank Henderson, « Sovereign and Pope in English Bidding Prayers before and after 1534 », online publication, 2003, <http://www.jfrankhenderson.com/pdf/sovereignpope.pdf>, accessed : 3/07/2010, p. 8-12

worth keeping in mind that bishops were allowed to relicense preachers a month after the new order for bidding prayers was issued. Indeed, it is certainly through these prayers that the English were first acquainted with the royal supremacy.

ii. The 1536 version

In a letter from Henry VIII to all preachers in 1536, a slightly different version was put forth, after Jane Seymour became queen and perhaps also after the concept of the royal supremacy had matured in the king's mind :

Ye shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's church, and especially for the church of England; wherein I first recomende to your devout prayers the king's most excellent majesty, supreme head immediately under God of the spirituality and temporality of the same church; and the most noble and virtuous[?] lady queen Jane, his most lawful wife. Second ye shall pray for the clergy, the lors temporal, and the commons of this realm, beseeching almighty God to give every of them in his degree grace to use themselves in such wise as may be to his contentation, the king's honour, and the weal of the realm. Thirdly ye shall pray for the souls that be departed, abiding the mercy of almighty God, that it may please him the rather, at the contemplation of our prayers, to grant them the fruition of his presence.

In this slightly altered version:

- the term 'catholic church' is replaced by 'congregation of Christ's church' or by 'church of England'.
- the possibility of improvisation by the clergy was completely eliminated.
- Henry's daughters are both excluded from the prayer.
- the doctrinal teaching contained in the prayer is expanded to include the three duties of English subjects: satisfying God and serving to 'the king's honour' and the 'weal of the realm', highlighting the notion of obedience as the key principle in Henry's church.¹ Similar terminology is found in the Ten Articles, the Bishops' Book and the King's Book and in the correspondence of Tunstall,

¹ Richard Rex, *The Henrician Reformation, op.cit.*, p. 22-6 ; « Crisis of Obedience : God's Word and Henry's Reformation », *The Historical Journal*, 39/4, 1996, p. 886 et 891-894.

testifying to the influence of new liturgical pieces on doctrinal statements and private perceptions.¹

A very similar version is published in Hilsey's primer, printed in 1539.² The bidding prayer comes first in the section devoted to prayers, ahead of the *Pater*. This would suggest that these intercessions could be used in private prayer : loyalty to the king and to the royal supremacy could also be kindled by the hearth. Finally it provided the laity with a means to control their curate's compliance.

J. Frank Henderson has published online articles in which he maps the developments of the bidding prayers under Henry VIII and emphasizes that the generalisation of the use of the court form of the bidding prayer had various unintended consequences (amongst which he includes the loss of sense of community, loss of autonomy, loss of meaningfulness and sincerity...)³ But this would be true only if these new prayers were duly implemented. Whether and to what extent these orders were implemented is a matter that requires further examination.

C. Reformed practice of the bidding prayers

Were the bidding prayers corrected in liturgical books?

i. Books in use under Henry VIII

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith, op.cit.*, p. 26 (Bishops' Book): to the glory of God, your grace's honour, the unity of your people; and p. 289 (King's Book): all men [...] with heart and mind will not only pray for the king's highness and his preservation, but also to stick to thoses laws [...]. For Tunstall's letter, see London, BL, Cleopatra E VI, fo. 253.

² The queen is neither named nor mentionned. *Forms of Bidding Prayer*, Coxe (ed.), p. 63-4 and John Hilsey, *The manuell of prayers*, London: 1539, (STC 16010), sig. E iii (v).

³ J. Frank Henderson, « Sovereign and Pope in English Bidding Prayers before and after 1534 », on publication, 2003, <http://www.jfrankhenderson.com/pdf/sovereignpope.pdf>, retrieved: 3/07/2010 ; see also J. Frank Henderson, « Henry VIII's 1534 and 1536 Decrees on Bidding Prayers : Unintended Consequences », on line publication, 2003, www.jfrankhenderson.com/pdf/HenryVIII.pdf , retrieved: 3/07/2010 ; Clergy, Nobility, Commoners, the Dead and Henry VIII's Second Decree on Bidding Prayers (1536), on line publication, 2003 www.jfrankhenderson.com/pdf/clergyandnobility.pdf , accessed 10/07/2010

Evidence from processionals	
Printed and manuscript processionals	31
Reformed processionals (bearing any evidence that the books was adapted to the new church order in the 1530s)	23
Reformed processionals containing a bidding form	13
Bidding prayers corrected	7

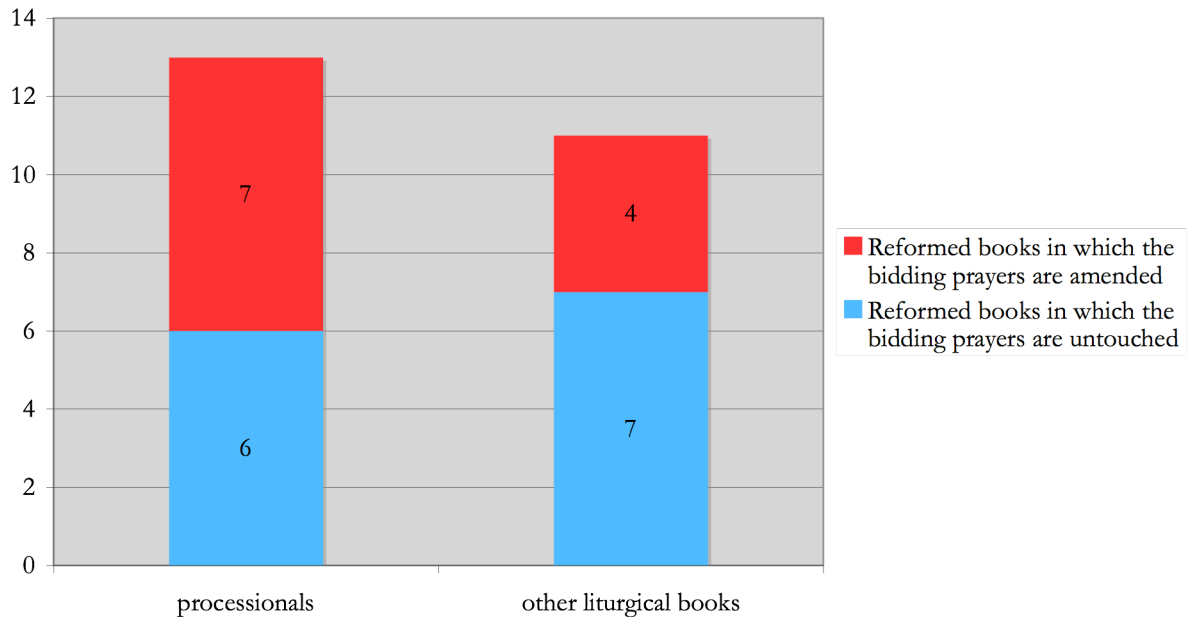
Evidence from other service books	
Missals and manuals (total)	307
Missals and manuals containing a bidding prayer	10
Reformed missals and manuals containing a bidding prayer	10 ¹
Missals and manuals in which the bidding prayers were corrected	3 ²

The bidding prayers are not a passage that has been dramatically or regularly altered in the surviving service books. Despite the diminutive size of the sample, it seems that the intercessions were more likely to be defaced in processionals than in missals and manuals :

¹ Eight missals and two manuals.

² Three missals (Cambridge UL GG v 24, Oxford, All Souls College MS 1 and Oxford, Bodleian, Oriel College, MS 75,) and one manual (London BL, C 35 h 19).

Amending the bidding prayers



Evidence of the content of post-1534 bidding prayers is very scant indeed. But what is striking is that in all cases in which the prayer is altered, the only change is the suppression of the words *'pro ecclesia romana et pro papa'* (Lambeth MS 438 et Queen's College, Oxford, Sel d 83) ; *'romana et pro papa'* (BL C III c 6 et Bod Gough Missals 139) or simply *'pro papa'* or *'papa'* (respectively, St John's College, Cambridge K34 /268 and Bod, Gough Missals 75, Oriel College, Oxford MS 75). There is no attempt at rewriting the prayers according to Cranmer's template or any other revised version of the bidding prayers. The missal used in Tregare, Monmouthshire comes closest to implementing the regime's new policy, with the phrase *'oremus pro ecclesia romana et pro papa'* being altered to *'oremus pro ecclesia catholica regnum anglicane'*.¹

Does this mean that the amendments in these books are simply the result of the general policy of suppressing the terms that refer to the pope's authority, and that the old form fell into disuse after the new prayers had been promulgated? In that case, the clergy might have been using the new form and reading it from a sheet of paper or from one of the 'books' dispatched by bishops to their clergy as Lee did in York.² This hypothesis may be confirmed by the significant number of missals, thoroughly

¹ Oxford, All Souls College, MS 1.

² See below, section D, i.

reformed in other places, but in which this passage is untouched.¹ In these parishes it is likely that the new bidding prayers would have been employed. Therefore the passage remained un-defaced in the missal simply because the clergy were not or no longer reading the bidding prayers from their missal but from another book or a fly sheet.

ii. The 1544 processional, printed in Antwerp.

Processional ad usus insignis ecclesie Sarum, Antwerp, 1544 and 1545, by the widow of Christopher Ruremond.

Bidding prayers in pre-1534 printed processionals	Bidding prayers in the 1544 and 1545 editions
Oremus pro ecclesia romana et pro papa et archiepiscopis et specialiter pro episcopo nostro N. et pro decano vel pro rectore hujus Ecclesiae (<i>scilicet in Ecclesiis parochialibus</i>), et pro terra sancta, pro pace ecclesie et terre et regina et suis liberis <i>et cetera more solito</i> .	Oremus pro ecclesia Anglicana, pro rege et archiepiscopis et specialiter pro episcopo nostro N. et pro decano vel pro rectore hujus Ecclesiae (<i>scilicet in Ecclesiis parochialibus</i>), et pro terra sancta, pro pace ecclesie et terre et regina et suis liberis <i>et cetera more solito</i> .

The reference to the Roman church is changed to the English Church, the mention of the pope removed and the canonical order bishop/ king reversed. The printer, though well informed of the liturgical changes required by the royal supremacy, falls short of including the regime's preferred version of the bidding prayers.² She may not have been aware of this new text, or she might be reflecting the more common practical choices made by clergy. And in turn, the printing of this version may have influenced clerical practice (although the timing for the publication of the book could not be worse, since processionals would have no longer been much needed after the suppression of processions and their replacement by the Litany in English in 1544).

¹ See Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11 3 and UL, MS Ee 4 19 ; London, BL, Harley 2787 and 4919 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Barlow MS 5 and Trinity College, MS 8, Oxford, Pembroke College, MS 1.

² See part II, chapter 3 on how the printer's workshop released a new version of the canon of the mass.

iii. An example of rewriting the bidding prayers: Salisbury Cathedral, MS

148

This Salisbury processional was in use in the cathedral at least until 1559 (Queen Mary is mentioned in the prayers for souls departed and the Elizabethan supremacy oath added to the oaths to be taken by new clergy).

The bidding prayers for the deceased are very long and could amount to the bed-roll of the cathedral. There are numerous erasures and additions of names to be included in the prayers for the living and the dead. The book has been thoroughly reformed. Occurrences of ‘*papa*’ were removed from the calendar, the feasts of St Thomas suppressed, the bidding prayers and sentence of excommunication carefully expunged. Following a 1573 decision by the chapter, many more passages were crossed out, as noted by the modern editor of the text.¹

Reconstructed pre-1534 text	Text (in bold are Tudor additions on passages that have been thoroughly scratched out)
<p>We shalle make oure prayers to god, besechyng his mercy for alle holy chirch, that god hit kepe in good estate. In especial [for the church of Rome], this church and alle other in cristendom. [Our holy fadre the pope of Rome and alle hys Cardynalls].</p> <p>For archbisshopes, and bisshopes, and in especial for my lorde the bysshop of this see, that god hym kepe in his holy servise. For [possibly a reference to abbots or monks?], the chanons, vikers, prestes, and clerkes, and alle</p>	<p>We shalle make oure prayers to god, besechyng his mercy for alle holy chirch, that god hit kepe in good estate. In especial for oure mother church, this church and alle other in cristendom.</p> <p>[<i>a blank</i>]</p> <p>For archbisshopes, and bisshopes, and in especial for my lorde the bysshop of this see, that god hym kepe in his holy servise. For [my lorde the dean, my masters], the chanons,</p>

¹ Christopher Wordsworth (éd.), *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, *op.cit.*, p. 138-139

² I venture this based on other bidding prayers. However it may be unlikely because Salisbury cathedral was governed by a chapter of canons and was not a monastic foundation.

<p>other mynsters that this churche seruyth.</p> <p>For the holy land that god hit deliver oute of hethen handes. For oure souerayne lorde the kyng [&] the queene and alle her children and alle other lordes, dukes, merkeises, herles and barons and alle tho that have this lande to gouerne. [...]</p>	<p>vikers, prestes, and clerkes, and alle other mynsters that this churche seruyth.</p> <p>For the holy land that god hit deliver oute of hethen handes. For oure souerayne lorde the kyng [<i>added</i> : &] the queene [<i>added above</i> : maiesties Philipp and Marye and alle her children [<i>added above</i>: prince] and alle other lordes, dukes, merkeises, herles and barons and alle tho that have this lande to gouerne.¹</p>
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- reference to the church of Rome is replaced by ‘oure mother church’: this would thus have referred to Canterbury
- reference to the pope and cardinals is suppressed and not replaced by a mention of the king, leaving a one line blank on the page
- reference to the dean and the addition of ‘my masters’ before the words ‘the chanons’ replaced a text now lost, which may or may not have referred to regular clergy (the word abbot is at times taken out of the collect *Pietate tue* or the litany in the more precisely reformed books).
- the lines referring to the king, queen, and heirs has also been tinkered with at various stages. The word ‘prince’ may have been added after the birth of Edward to reflect the change in the order of succession, while ‘and alle her children’ might have been crossed out under Henry or Mary. The prayer was still used under Mary, as indicated by the addition of her name and that of Philip.²

In one of the most important cathedrals of the country, a showcase for the use of Sarum, a merely slightly revised form of the traditional bidding of the bedes appears to have been used in lieu of Cranmer’s new prayers. However such conservatism is

¹ Salisbury Cathedral, MS 148, fo 11v-12 or *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, Christopher Wordsworth, ed., Cambridge : 1901), p 22.

² The numerous additions and erasures had made the text difficult to read, prompting someone to copy it out elsewhere in the volume (fo 43-44)

consistent with remarks by the sometimes untrustworthy John Madowell about the implementation of the royal supremacy, or lack thereof in the cathedral.¹

Cathedrals were notorious centres of resistance to bishops, hence Nicholas Shaxton may not have been capable of imposing the regime's policies to the chapter. The lack of reference to the royal supremacy in the bidding of the bedes is all the more striking given that, in 1538, the bishop ordered:

That all such, having cures, do every Sunday and holy-day continually recite, and sincerely declare in the pulpit, at the High Mass time, in the English tongue, both the Epistle and Gospel of the same day (if there be time thereto), or else the one of them at the least ; and also to set forth the King's regal power to be Supreme Head, and highest power, under God, in earth, if the church and realm of England : and to abolish the Bishop of Rome's usurped power.²

This could be done by preaching on the royal supremacy, but perhaps also by reciting the new bidding prayers which clearly set forth and promote the king's headship over the Church.

D. Enforcement, obedience, sedition

i. Implementation

On receiving Cranmer's instructions at the Feast of the Trinity (so about two months after Easter 1534, when the new prayers were to be enforced), Archbishop Edward Lee immediately dispatched a 'book' containing the prayers and other orders to all the preachers and friars in his diocese, requiring them to preach against the pope and to defend the king's divorce from Katherine. To the curates of the diocese, he sent a shorter version of the said book containing mainly the prayers and probably instructions on the use of the king's collect. He writes confidently:

I assure your highnes, I have not yet herde, but that everie oone of the saide curates followeth theyre bookes in everye poynte and speciallie prayer tor youre highnes as chief hedde of the church and all oodre thinges observe in the same and yet I have donne my diligence to herken and knowe if it were oodrewiese.³

¹ Kew, National Archives, SP1/117, fo 153 (*L & P*, 12, i, 756)

² W.H. Frère (éd.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the period of the Reformation*, vol. 2, p. 53-54.

³ BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra, E VI, fo 241v.

Furthermore, Lee himself preached on the matter at York on the second Sunday after Trinity on Luke, 14:16-24. This is what Lee wrote to the king a year later, in a defensive letter dated 5 July 1535, after receiving the circular ordering books to be defaced and the royal supremacy upheld. On that very day, Marmaduke Constable, in a letter to Cromwell, reported that Lee had enforced the orders to deface the missals before the JPs had received the king's June 1535 circular establishing them as 'watchdogs over the bishops'.¹ Whether he means the year before or simply shortly before is uncertain however.

Regardless, Lee appears to have made some effort to ensure the enforcement of the new bidding prayers between 1534 and 1535. However, he confesses that he himself left them out when he preached in York, as was his wont, so as not to impinge on the sermon.² It is unlikely that the new form of bidding prayer would have taken much time away from the preaching and it might even have been a welcome addition to the sermon on the king's right cause in matrimonial matters. Could Edward Lee's negligence be explained by his unease with the royal supremacy and the ecclesiological changes that it entailed?

Likewise, other bishops enforced the use of the bidding prayers through diocesan injunctions.³

ii. Examples of bidding prayers

The bishop of St David's wrote to Cromwell about a sermon he had made and reported, *en passant*, the content of his bidding prayers:

After that I hade recomendyd to the suffrages of the people the persons estate of the kinge and the queen, the cleregy the temporalty & the soules departyd, desyringe them for the sayd premiss to say Pater noster & Ave, I procedyd on thys wise...⁴

Latimer's bidding prayers before a sermon preached on 9 June 1537 at the opening session of Convocation also survive and depart from the 1536 royal order in several instances :

¹ Kew, National Archive, SP 1/93 fo 201 (*Letters and Papers*, 8, 944) for the circular to JPs see : G.R. Elton, *Policy and police*, 238, n 5, 239 ; and *Tudor royal proclamations*, Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (ed.) London 1964, i, 230

² BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra, E VI, fo. 241.

³ W.H. Frère (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the period of the Reformation*, vol 2, p. 17 (Latimer's injunctions) and p. 54 (Shaxton's order to set forth the royal supremacy mentioned above).

⁴ Kew, National Archives, SP 1/101 fo 184 (*Letters and Papers*, *op.cit.*, x, 225)

Wherefore I pray you al to pray with me unto God, and that in your petition you desire, that these two things Hee vouchsafe to grant us, first a mouth for me to speak rightly, next ears for you, that in hearing me, ye may take profit at my hand; and that this may come to effect, you shall desire Him, unto whom our Master Christ bade we should pray , saying even the same prayer that He Himself did institute; wherein ye shall pray for our most gracious soveraigne Lord the King, chiefe and supreme head of the Church of England, under Christ, and for the most excellent, gracious and virtuous Lady Queene Jane, his most lawful wife, and for all his, whether theybe of the clergie or laitie, whether they bee of the nobility or else other his Majestie's subjects; not forgetting those that be departed out of this transitory life, and now sleepe in the sleepe of peace, and rest from their labours in quietness and peaceable sleepe, faithfully, lovingly, and patiently, looking for that that they clearly shall see, when God shall bee so pleased; for al these and for grace necessary, ye shall say unto God God's prayer, *Pater noster* etc...¹

This example would indicate that a certain degree of improvisation in the bidding prayers may have been tolerated, in a setting such as Convocation. However, the king's title is clearly enunciated, and the ecclesiology promoted by the regime unequivocally displayed. The audience can not have failed to notice that Latimer did not prompt them to recite an *Ave Maria*, reflecting his view that this text was not a prayer.² In this instance, Latimer excelled in Cranmer's strategy of using traditional forms to promote evangelical ideas.³

There were also cases of plain confusion : in a long letter, dated 28 May 1534, Dr. Thomas Baggard, the chancellor of the diocese of Worcester contradicted the claim that he had told the dean of Bristol not to pray for the king and queen in the bidding prayers. This was a terrible misunderstanding, for all he had done was warn the rural deans not to pray for the princess (i.e. Mary). He provided the template he had offered to the diocesan officials :

I thought it good that they shuld use in ther prayers [*added above* : eyven as they were wont afore] a certeyne generall fasshion as this, ye shall pray for the spiritualtie the temporaltie and for the soules that be in the peynes of purgatorye and in the secound parte ye shall pray for our sovereyne lorde the kynge, the quenys grace and for the other noble estates of the realme under a generaltie makynge no spiall mentionn of my lady prunces.⁴

This form is very close to the traditional form, as the author was well aware. Thomas Baggard should have promoted and circulated the new for of bidding prayer by the end

¹ *Forms of Bidding Prayer*, Coxe (ed.), p 61-3. I have respected the editor's choice for spelling and punctuation, only adding a few commas.

² *The works of Hugh Latimer*, Cambridge : 1844, vol. 2, p. 229-230.

³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, *op.cit.*, p. 335.

⁴ Kew, National Archive, SP 2/P fo. 154 (v) (*LeP* 7, 722)

of May 1534 and should have enforced it in his quality of chancellor. Was he negligent, ill-informed or deeply conservative? Probably all three. John F. Jackson in his notice on Baggard in the Oxford DNB suspects his opinions in religion to be rather conservative.¹

iii. Genuine mistakes, sedition and half hearted support

In a few parishes or cathedrals, priests blundered their way through bidding prayers and were reported for the offence. John Clerk of Bath and Wells interceded in favour of two priests of his diocese accused of not praying for the king and queen in their bedes or of praying for Queen Katherine instead of Anne. The latter, an eighty year old canon of the cathedral, spoke unawares, was confronted by the bishop on the spot and apologised publicly.² As to the former, Clerk pleaded that

the cause was, that the congregation consisted but of gross and rude people, disposed to gaming and pastime, and not to tarry long in the church, it being about 'Shrofty[de],'³ so he merely exhorted them generally to pray for those quick and dead for whom they were accustomed to pray, reckoning that they knew well enough who they were. He says he has heard preachers do the same in great and solemn audience in London.³

In fact, the idea that the uneducated masses would respond more readily to sermons than to prayers seems a little counter-intuitive or an overestimation of the preacher's rhetorical abilities. The idea of missing any opportunity to herald the royal supremacy would not have pleased the king or Cromwell. Nevertheless, it seems that these two priests were not further prosecuted for their offence.

The case of Dr. Smith from St Lawrence in Evesham, 'running amok in his bidding prayers' in G.R. Elton's terms, proves that even within the official framework, these intercessions could be employed to promote seditious opinions, under the cover of praying for members of the clergy⁴ :

We shall prey for our soverent lord the king supreme hede off this Reme & lade Jane late queyn & for the archbysshoppe of yorke & for the byshoppe of Lyncoll & for our most hollye father the bishope of London, a funder of the

¹ John F. Jackson, 'Bagard, Thomas (d. 1544)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1027>, accessed 8 July 2010]

² *Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, 8, 254 and Kew, National Archives, SP1/190, fo. 156 (r-v);

³ *Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, 10, 625 (BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra, E vi, fo. 249).

⁴ Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 250.

feyth of cryst & for our lorde of hessam & for my lord of haies & for my lorde of wynchcom & for my lorde of havynnton & of the iii part for all the salles that ar departyd owte of thys world a bydyng the mercy of god that lye in the payns of ['of' crossed out and replaced by : wych ys] purcatory & that you may have the grace to saye sum good prayers that they maye be the same relevyd owte of ther payn.¹

Naming the prominent conservative clergy of the realm was clearly interpreted by witnesses as malicious or seditious. The priest's endorsement of the royal supremacy was tepid at most: referring to him as head of the realm would certainly not be sufficient a display of loyalty for the stauncher supporters of the regime. Finally, the use of the term 'in pains' is not enough to disguise the priest's continued belief in the power of prayers to deliver souls from purgatory. Hence, the potential for using the bidding prayers to subversive was fully recognized by lay people who promptly denounced Dr Smith who is then reported to have fled to Oxford.

Finally, we know of a few priests who deliberately ignored the king's orders in these matters. In March 1537, William Phelepott from Newark upon Trent, on receiving a commission from the king, wrote to Cromwell and denounced the curate and vicar of his parish church for not preaching on the supremacy and for using the 'acustomable beddyng of the bedes'.² Unfortunately the names of these priests are not provided but the former treasurer of Lincoln cathedral, Henry Lytherland, known as the 'Vicar of Newark' after his appointment there by a Gilbertine prior, was executed for treason in August 1538 at York. He was charged for denying the supremacy and for supporting the Lincolnshire rebels. Complaints against the vicar of Newark seem to have started in 1534, when he openly condemned books *cum privilegio* and let a Scottish friar, who preached in his church, say that such books contained heresies and that if the king, his council and the Archbishop of Canterbury agreed to what Parliament had passed against the pope and the church of Rome, it would be heresy.³ Again early in the year 1538, Henry Lytherland's sermons were under attack. On Candlemas and the following Sunday he preached on purgatory and against books in English, and asked his parishioners to pray that the king's council may receive guidance from God. His bidding prayers are also included in the deposition made by one William Leverett and sent to Sir John Markham who then forwarded it to Cromwell:

¹ Kew, National Archives SP 1/124, fo. 56 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, 12, ii, 534).

² Kew, National Archives, SP 1/117 fo.137 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, 12, i, 741).

³ *Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, 7, 108 and SP 1/82, fo. 205.

Fyrst nether in thyes sermons nor in none other that he made before at Newwarke, he eyther taught or declaryd to the people, the kynges grace to be worthylye & by just tittle, the Suppreme hede of this chirche of Englonde next immedyately under god but fayntylye namyd hym the suppreme hede after this facyon : Ye shall praye for the kynges grace, suppreme hede of the church.¹

That such a minute variation from the set formula should make it into the deposition is testament to the deponent's attention to detail and to his degree of loyalty to the king's supremacy. This example also showcases the political potency of the new bidding prayers : it was a centre piece of the regime's propaganda strategy.

Equally interesting is the fact that such an obdurate conservative would actually pray for the king as head of the church, months before being charged for treason for refusing the royal supremacy. Was Henry Lytherland keeping options open in March before making up his mind more decisively against the supremacy in July ? This example epitomizes the nuanced shades of grey that separate reluctant submission from open sedition and the variety of responses elicited from papal supporters who also tried to remain loyal to the king.

Conclusion

I believe it very likely that most people became aware of the king's new title through the bidding prayers. Moreover, if some were won over to the royal supremacy by the persuasive rhetoric of their curate or of licensed preachers, many more will probably have become accustomed and accepting of it through weekly repetition of the new bidding of the bedes and the individual commitment involved in sincere prayer. Under Henry VIII, the Reformation of the Church started with the liturgy as the latter was the prime instrument chosen to advertise the royal supremacy and root it in the hearts of the English people.

¹ Kew, National Archives SP 1/130, fo. 140 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, 13, i, 604).

2. Effects of the royal supremacy on other intercessory prayers

A. The Good Friday suffrages

The solemn prayers of Good Friday are composed of nine petitions, arranged in the following order : for the church, the pope, all holy orders, the king, the catechumens, the needs of the faithful, for the heretics and the unity of the Church, the conversion of the Jews and finally for that of Pagans. Each intercession is composed of two collects recited by the priest. Between the first and the second, the deacon orders the congregation to kneel for a moment of prayer. As in the bidding prayers, the performative act of prayer is accomplished by the faithful. The role of clergy is simply to guide, organize and collect the prayers of all the parishioners both lay and religious.

The Good Friday petitions (translation by A.H. Pearson)

Collect for the church.

Let us pray, most dearly beloved unto us, first of all for the holy Church of God, that our God and Lord would vouchsafe to preserve it in peace throughout the whole world, subjecting to it principalities and powers ; and that he would grant unto us, that we leading a quiet and peaceable life may glorify God the Father almighty.

Then shall the priest say. Let us pray, *and the deacon shall*

then say, Let us kneel. Rise.

Collect. Almighty everlasting God, who hast revealed thy glory to all nations in Christ, preserve, we beseech thee, the works of thine own mercy, that thy Church which is spread throughout the whole world may persevere with steadfast faith in the confession of thy name. Through etc.

The quire shall answer, Amen.

Collect for the pope

Let us pray also for our most blessed Pope N., that our God and Lord who hath chosen him into the order of the Episcopate may preserve him in health and safety for his holy Church, to rule the holy people of God.

Let us pray. Let us kneel. Rise.

Collect.

Almighty everlasting God, by whose counsel all things are established, mercifully regard our prayers, and of thy goodness preserve the Prelate' chosen for us, that the Christian people which is governed by such authority may increase in meritorious faith under so great a Pontiff. Through etc.

Collect for all orders.

Let us pray also for all bishops, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, doorkeepers, confessors, virgins, widows, and for all the holy people of God.

Let us pray. Let us kneel. Rise.

Collect.

Almighty everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified, hearken unto our supplication for all orders of men ; that by the gift of thy grace every member of the same may faith-fully serve thee. Through etc.

Collect for the king.

Let us pray for our most Christian King N., that our Lord and God may make all barbarous nations subject to him, for our perpetual peace.

Let us pray. Let us kneel. Rise.

Collect.

Almighty everlasting God, in whose hand are the powers of all and the rights of all kingdoms, graciously behold the empire of Christendom, that the nations which trust in their own fierceness may be repressed by the right hand of thy power. Through etc.

The most obvious change required after 1534 is the suppression of the collects for the pope.¹ The order to do so was specified in some dioceses :

- Injunctions for the diocese Bath and Wells : ‘Item in die parasceves put oute the oracions pro papa’.²

- Edward Lee wrote to the king that he had asked the treasurer of the cathedral to leave out these collects.³

Three missals deserve particular attention, for the clergy carefully reordered the Good Friday suffrages.

A priest has added the letters A and B next to respectively the collect for the king and the collect for the bishops and all orders of the church in a missal held at the British Library.⁴ The collects for the pope are crossed out but still legible. However, the rest of the evidence would suggest that they were left out. In a missal in use in the church of Cockney, in the diocese of York, the order of the intercession is altered in a very similar fashion: first comes the prayer for the ‘emperor’ (*imperator*) as the rite of York has it,

¹ See part I, chapter 2, section 2, C.

² Kew, National Archive, SP 3/6, fo 44.

³ BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra vi, fo 241v.

⁴ London, BL, C 35 k 5.

followed by that for the bishops and that for the catechumens.¹ Changing the order of the Good Friday suffrages must have been more common than the liturgical evidence would imply, as

the seyd Sir Wyllm dyd prefer the bysshop of Rome upon good fryday in his oracyons before the kynges grace being supreme hede in erth under god of thys chyrche of ynglond and likwysse at the halowyng of the paschal on ester evyn.²

The problem would seem to arise not only because the curate of Stoke Dry had prayed for the pope, but, worse still, he had named him before the king.

In a missal probably used in the diocese of Salisbury, the Good Friday prayers were twice reformed. The successive changes reflect the evolving ecclesiology of 1533-4.³ At first the word *papa* was taken out and replaced by *metropolitano*; these collects were thus turned into prayers for the Archbishop of Canterbury. The idea that the pope might be replaced by the primate of all England was not outlandish in the early months of the break with Rome. As Diarmaid MacCulloch pointed out, in April 1533, the king ‘had nearly called Cranmer “head of our spirituality” but had then thought better of it.’⁴

Cranmer encountered vigorous opposition when he attempted to visit his province: the conservative bishops resisted the archbishop’s authority in the name of the royal supremacy, claiming that the primate’s title of apostolic legate infringed on royal prerogative. Cranmer renounced his title of apostolic legate and finally the Act of Supremacy clarified the situation by granting the king the power to visit and redress the church, which he then delegated to three lay visitors and later to the office of the vicegerency.⁵

As the royal supremacy was more clearly outlined, the position of the bishops relative to the king became obvious and this change was then duly reflected in the Good Friday suffrages by the clerical staff who used this missal. The first collect was lined through as was the word *metropolitano* and the phrase ‘*pro rege nostro et postea pro episcopo nostro*’ was added in the margin. Henceforth, the prayers for the pope were omitted (although only the first collect is lined through it is likely that both were missed out) and

¹ Oxford, University College, MS 78A.

² Kew, National Archives, SP 1/132, fo. 36 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, 13 (i), 938).

³ Oxford, Bod, Douce B 241. See plate.

⁴ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 123

⁵ Margaret Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation: the diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521-1547*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 72-6; Margaret Bowker, «The supremacy and the episcopate, the struggle for control, 1534-40», *The Historical Journal*, vol. 18, n°2 (1975), p. 229-237 and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer, op.cit.*, p. 125-135.

the priest proceeded first to have the parish pray for the king and then for the clergy. The ambiguity and confusion created by the break with Rome and the slow emergence of the royal supremacy was ubiquitous in the high circles of government but to a certain extent the uncertainty trickled down to the parish level through the liturgical conundrums that parochial clergy had to address

The third interesting example is found in a vellum deluxe edition of the 1502 Sarum missal printed by Pynson in London.¹ The book was carefully reformed under Henry VIII and then elaborately restored – perhaps under Mary, but more likely later by recusants (see catalogue entry). In this missal, the Good Friday suffrages were also reformed in two steps : first the beginning of the prayers for the pope were completely scratched out and the letters A and B were used to suggest that the collects for the king was to be said before that for the clergy. Then the priest proceeded to rewrite the first collect for the pope in the following fashion :

Let us pray also for our most blessed king N., that our God and Lord who hath chosen him into the order of the kingship may preserve him in health and safety for his holy Church, to rule the holy people of God.²

The wording of the collect thus became a very accurate reflection of the doctrine of the royal supremacy which held that royalty and *imperium* conferred onto kings the headship of the church and the duty to lead the church if not explicitly the cure of souls. This example is yet another proof of the subtle understanding that some clergy had of the changes affecting the church: the liturgical impact of the royal supremacy was fully acknowledged and acted upon.

B. The Litany

The litany belongs to the category of intercessory prayers and was frequently used in the Sarum and York rites (on rogation days and the Easter Vigil, at compline, baptism and extreme unction).³ As an intercessory prayer, the litany reflects the doctrine of the treasury of merits : a long list of saints is named and their intercession is asked for with

¹ Manchester, John Ryland's, 16904.

² Oremus pro beatissimo **Rege** nostro N ut deus et dominus noster qui elegit eum in ordine **regis**...

³ *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Henderson, ed. Leeds, 1875, p. 114-7 ; 52*-56* ; p. 42-6.

a response sung by the choir or the people present (*Ora pro nobis, Intercede* or *Te illum adjuva*).¹ The second part of the litany consists in more specific suffrages, requesting deliverance for divers evils (*Ab omni malo, libera nos, Domine* or *Per mysterium sanctae Incarnationis tuae, libera nos, Domine*). The litany concludes with a classic intercessory prayer for the church, pope, clergy, temporal powers etc... Naturally, the suffrage for the pope was to be removed from the litany (*Ut domum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesie in Sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rogamus*). But furthermore, at the hands of printers and Henrician supporters, the litany was transformed into a vehicle to promote the royal supremacy, as were the bidding of the bedes.

i. Changes in existing service books

The petition for the Holy See is not included in all litanies and is only contained in the processions and breviaries.² In most books only the phrase ‘domum apostolicum’ is suppressed.

Processionals	31
Reformed processionals containing the litany	18
Processionals in which the reference to the pope was suppressed	11

Sarum and York breviaries	75
Reformed breviaries containing the litany	50
Breviaries in which the reference to the pope was	17

¹ I do not subscribe entirely to Roger Bower’s claim that the lay people played no role in the litany. They will have probably participated in the prayer in the more private occasions when it was used : at baptism and for extreme unction. Moreover the inclusion of litanies in primer would tend to suggest that it could be used as a private prayer. Roger Bowers. « The Vernacular Litany of 1544 During the Reign of Henry VIII » in G.W. Bernard & S.J. Gunn (sous la dir.) *Authority and Consent in Tudor England*, Aldershot : Ashgate, 2002, p. 155

² A relevant version of the litany is also contained in four manuals but it is intact in all three of the reformed books.

suppressed	
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Several factors may explain the low level of incidence of amendments in the case of the litany : the prayer was said at compline by the clergy, probably from memory and the JPs may not have known to look for this passage when inspecting service books.

Priests and clerics would be more likely to notice failures to comply from their peers. It is not surprising that the only case in which the litany is mentioned concerned friars who would have said the office in together. In 1537, the Franciscans of Christchurch ‘fear[ed] not also by name to prate rather than pray for their God and Lord Apostolic in their Litany by name every day when custom is they should have the seven Psalms with Litany [i.e. at compline]’. The friars’ decision is but one among many unabated signs of their hostility to Henry’s reforms and their desire to recognise the pope’s headship of the church.

ii. New publications

In the newly printed and corrected breviary published by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch in 1544, the litany was refashioned to reflect the royal supremacy.¹

Traditional version of the litany	Amended version in the 1544 breviary
Ut domum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesie in Sancta religione conservare digneris. Te roga. Ut ep(iscop)os et abbates nostros in sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rog. Ut regi nostri et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris. Te rog.	Ut regi nostro et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam, atque victoriam donare digneris. Te rog. Ut omnes gradus ecclesie in sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rog. Ut episcopos nostros in sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rog.

The petition for the king is moved to the top of the list and the printers dispensed with that for the pope. By 1544, all monasteries had been dissolved ; hence the

¹ *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, noviter impressum et/in plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittit, una cum aliis que christianissimo nostri regis statuto repugnant*, (Richard Grafton et Edward Whitchurch), London : 1544.

redundant reference to abbots was also suppressed.¹ In eight missals, the reference to abbots in the collect *Pietate tuae*, which was used almost daily, is also defaced.² Less expected perhaps is the suppression of the phrase *Omnes sancti monachi et eremites, Ora pro nobis* from the litany of the saints in the 1544 breviary.³

Further away from the centre of power, in Antwerp, the widow of Christopher Ruremond had also reordered the suffrages of the litany in the Sarum processional released in 1544.

Sarum processional	1544 processional
<p>Ut domum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesie in Sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rogamus.</p> <p>Ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris. Te rog.</p> <p>Ut episcopus et abbates nostros in sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rog.</p>	<p>Ut regem nostrum et omnes gradus ecclesie in sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rogamus.</p> <p>Ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris. Te rog.</p> <p>Ut episcopus & sacerdotes nostros in sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rog.</p>

The suffrage for the pope is slightly altered to refer to the king, which is therefore mentioned twice. Despite the repetition, this choice may reflect even more accurately the revolution effected by the royal supremacy, epitomising how the king headed both the spiritual and temporal hierarchy. Finally, the term ‘priests’ replaced ‘abbots’ in an effort to reflect more accurately the constitution of the Henrician Church in the mid 1540s.

These two examples illustrate the diversity of means through which the royal supremacy could be implemented in this traditional intercessory prayer, each conveying subtle shades of interpretation of the new doctrine.

¹ The change was also made in Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 16.

² London, BL, MS Harley 3866, MS Add 59856 et Lambeth Palace Library 1498 ; Oxford, Bodleian, 8 C 592 Linc, Gough Missals 25 et Gough Missals 30, Tidmarsh Parish Church, Missal, Ushaw College, XVIII, F4.18.

³ *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum*, London : 1544, sig. I ii- I v.

iii. The new litany

The 1538 royal injunctions had required that the saints be left out of the litany.¹ The 1540 drought prompted the regime to require penitential processions to be held on Wednesdays and Fridays. This ritual will probably have involved reciting the litany. In May 1544, a new litany in English was published to be used twice weekly to pray for the king's military victory. Although such a demand was in no wise unusual, the content of the new litany was very novel. All mention of particular saints had been removed and saintly intercession limited to a general prayer to the company of heaven. The prayer itself was preceded by a very long exhortation, justifying the use of the vernacular in public prayer as a means to enhance the efficacy of the petitions.

Amongst the first series of suffrages, the Church was to ask deliverance from :

all sedycion and privey conspiracie, from the tyranny of the bisshop of Rome and all his detestable enormyties, from all false doctrine and heresy, from hardnes of heart, and conmttempte of thy worde and commaundement.

The litany thus took on a polemically anti-papist tone and in the second series, the royal supremacy was granted all due attention :

That it may please the to kepe Henry the. viii. thy servaunt and our kyng and governoure:

We beseche the to here us good lord.

That it maie please the to rule his hearte in thy faithe, feare, and love that he maye ever have affyaunce [= reliance] in the, & ever seke thy honour & glory

We beseche the to here us good lord.

That it maye please the to be his defendour and keper, gyvynge hym the vycorye over all his enemyes:

We beseche the to here us good Lorde.

That it maye please the to kepe oure noble Quene Catherin in thy feare and love, gyvynge her increase of all godlynes, honour, and chyl dren.

We beseche the to here us good lorde.

That it maye please the to kepe and defende oure noble Prynce Edward, and all the kynges majesties chyl dren.

We beseche the to here us good lord.

That it maye please the to illumynate al bishoppes pastours and mynisters of the church, wyth true knowlege and understandynge of thy word, and that both by their preachynge and lyvynge, thei maie set it forth and shewe it accordyngly:

We besech the to here us good lord.

That it maye please the to endue the Lordes of the counsayle, and the noblytie wyth grace, wysedome, and understandynge:

We beseche the to here us good lord.

¹ See part III, chapter 2.

That it maye please the to blesse and kepe the magistrates, gyvyng them grace
to execute justice, & to mayntayne truth: We beseche the to here us good lord.
That it maye please the to blesse & kepe all thy people:
We beseche the to here us good lord.¹

The new litany presents identical features to new bidding of the bedes : the focus is firmly national and the prayer is centred on the king and the royal family (five petitions). Moreover it offers an evangelical take on the efficacy of prayer, firmly anchoring to individual understanding and commitment as expounded in the Exhortation.

It will have replaced all litanies and perhaps even all processions in the Southern Province over the summer of 1545 and in the entire realm a few months later.² It would thus have become a very important liturgical piece, refashioning the celebration of Sunday mass, deeply affecting the sensory liturgical landscape, and, not least, enforcing increased use of English in public prayer.

Conclusion

Rituals mirror social hierarchies and flesh out doctrinal concepts. Hence, intercessory prayers reflected the ecclesiology established by the Church and wider theological world order constructs. By the end of Henry's reign, virtually all such prayers had been transformed into liturgical vehicles for the royal supremacy, as the king's advisors fully grasped the promotional potential of public prayer. For the English population at large, the prime effect of the break with Rome was liturgical: changes in bidding prayers directly affected worship and effectively informed parishioners of the advent of the royal supremacy. Other liturgical pieces were altered and tailored to the new ecclesiological order of the Henrician Church and used to promote the royal supremacy and revile Rome.

Hence the litany functioned both as a mirror of the hierarchy and as a model promoting submission to the royal supremacy and more generally advancing a more evangelical conception of the efficacy of liturgy based on the faithful's conscious and

¹ *An exhortation vnto prayer thought mete by the kinges maiestie, and his clergy, to be read to the people in enery church afore processyons. Also a letanie with suffrages to be said or song in the tyme of the said processyons*, London : 1544 (STC 10602), sig. B vi-vii.

² *Wriothesley's Chronicle, op.cit.*, p. 161.

willing participation in the ritual. Similar trends will be found in the analysis of sacramentals in the last chapter of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2 : ‘THE KING’S COLLECT’: PRAYING DAILY FOR THE KING AND QUEEN ANNE

In this chapter, I will examine how the use of the king’s collect became a basic liturgical feature in the mid-1530s. An *ad hoc* composition was circulated in some English dioceses. The habit of daily prayer for the king at mass effected the clergy’s conception of their duties in relation to the new head of the Church.

1. Implementing a new liturgical practice

A. Cranmer’s order

Cranmer’s circular letter of April 1534 advancing the new bidding prayers also ordained :

that the colletes for the preservacion of the king and the quene by name be from hensfourthe commenly and usuallie used and sayed in every cathedral churche religious house and parochie churche in all theyr high masses thorough out all the realme and domynyons of the king and sovereign.¹

Bishops then probably forwarded the order to their clergy. Richard Sampson’s instructions survive :

¹ London, BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra E v, fo. 295 and Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters, op.cit.*, p. 461.

Second and last for so myche as that the kynges maiestie is our souveraigne lorde so that if ther war none other cause but that oonly every subiett is bounde by the commawndment of god to pray for his king & prince as the apostill techith in the second chapitre of the first epistill to the timothe. Yet syns he is so graciouse a prince indued with such goodness that he hath his speciall study to the hevenly [life ?] of the solles of his subiettes with the most politike governance of his comonwelth under the paynes of the censure of the churche for disobeyng for disobeying (sic) the worde of god I require & charge every prest within this diocese not oonly all other tymes but specially in his masse to have & sey with his hart & mynde lifte up to god a specall colett for the prosperous helth of his maiesty and in the same to a have a specall and an expresse remembrans for the preservation of my lorde prince prince Edwarde the grete Inestimable juell of this realme that it may please god to increase hym with helth of body & godly vertue of mynde. Amen¹.

Cranmer's order was for the collects for the king to be used daily at mass (*officium, oratio, secreta, postcommunio*), but the bishop refers only to one collect as do all the other related testimonies. Sampson added the instruction to pray for the prince and quoted Paul to support the practice of interceding for temporal authorities. Furthermore, the bishop of Chichester extended the order to every Christian and appealed to the clergy to be constant reminders of this necessity.

Writing to the king, Cuthbert Tunstall noted, in passing, that 'his grace was prayd for ever sens the proclamacyon of thacte therupon made'.²

B. Injunctions to religious houses and universities

Similar instructions were passed on to religious houses, in a specific set of injunctions issued in the context of the 1535 visitation of monastic institutions :

Also that ev[er]y Brother of this house that is apreest shall ev[er]y day in his masse pray for the moste happye and moste p[ro]sperous estate of o[ur] sov[er]aigne lord the kyng and his moste noble and lawfull wyef Quene Anne.³

Religious were also ordered to preach on the royal supremacy and inform all religious that they were henceforth loosed from all oaths to the papacy.⁴

The University of Cambridge received quasi identical injunctions requiring that :

That all heads of houses, scholars, and students shall be present at a mass in St. Mary's church for the souls of the founders, and for the happy state of the King and Queen Anne.¹

¹ Ibid. fo. 294.

² London, BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra E vi fo. 252v.

³ BL, Cotton, Cleopatra, E IV, fo. 25

⁴ See, Part I, chapter 2, section 3, B. iii.

C. Enforcement

Whenever the collect for the king is mentioned in letters of denunciation to the vicegerent in spiritual affairs, compliance with this policy seems no less important than respecting the instruction to rid the liturgical books of all mention of the pope. In Oxhill, in Warwickshire, at the end of December 1535, the two JPs William Wylington and Thomas Holte found a wholly unreformed parish, an ill-informed curate and an elusive incumbent.² After inspecting the liturgical books and finding them intact, except in the first pages, which had been reformed by the dean, they attempted to further assess the liturgical practices of the parish :

We further examined whather he used to sey the collett for the kinges grace and the quen whiche ys playnly sett furth in the same commaundement to be daily said upon payne of excomunicacion. And he answered us and seid that he did not sey it untill a wycke next bifore Cristmas for his master did never showe hym of hit, nor he knew not of it untill the same wycke that he hade it of a prist at a towne therby called Pyllarton. But we coulde fynde the collect wrytten in noo booke in that churche whereupon we then havynge one of the Ordinaries lettres with us, caused oure clarkes to wryte the collect out of the same yn every massebooke in the chirch.³

The two laymen were extremely well informed of the liturgical demands of the bishop of Worcester, Hugh Latimer, and were acting as ecclesiastical visitors. In that diocese, the local elites would have had clear knowledge of the content and form of the collect for the king.

In Essex, an enquiry was launched against the Abbot of Coggeshall, who, amongst other faults, failed in his duty to implement the royal injunctions :

Also what time there cam downe an Iniunccion that ther shulde be a colet sayde to praye for the gracious estates and proesperite of our soveraigne lorde the kyng and of our most gracious Quene Anne hys dere beloved spouse accordyng with goddes lawes so often as he saide highmasse he dyd never saye the saide colet the whych is a tokyn of small love that he beryth to hys prince that he wolde not pray for hym in his masse being our founder.⁴

In his presentation of the abuses, the author of these articles clearly established a connection between the abbot's failure to pray for the king and the other treasonable

¹ *Letters and Papers, op.cit.* ix, 664.

² Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics, op.cit.*, p.54

³ Kew, National Archives, SP1/101, fo. 7 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, x, 14).

⁴ Kew, National Archives, SP1/101 p. 127 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, x, 164).

acts by which he supported the papacy.¹ William Love was deprived of his benefice before the abbey was dissolved in 1538.

John Madowell warned that royal orders were being blatantly ignored in Salisbury cathedral: the pope was still in the canon, the liturgical books undefaced. Addressing the bishop directly, he pressed:

your L[ordship] hath great matter to raioss of this like for in your cathedrall church thar is no collet at mass *pro rege* excep it be [shun ??] use Sarum.²

What seems to trouble Madowell here is that the clergy was using the ordinary Sarum collect for the king and probably not the one which had been specifically appointed.

The last reported violation of Cranmer's order to pray daily for the king and queen occurred in October 1538. Oxford fellows were accused of 'not singinge the collecte for the kinge in the masse agreing to thinjunctions.'³ Once more, the way the accusations are couched suggest that this violation is but another sign of the Oxford men's flimsy loyalty to the supreme head of the church.

In all of these cases, by failing to comply, the clergy seem to be asserting the old order of the papacy, rather than simply not being bothered. However, although reports of disobedience in this instance dried up, this should not necessarily imply universal conformity. It would not have been easy for a layman to know whether or not amongst the three, five or seven collects recited in Latin and *sotto voce*, his curate was including one for the king.

It is nevertheless true that penalties for not complying were potentially high, for instance the JPs mention excommunication and Sampson enjoined his clergy to comply

not so mych for fear of the corp[or]all paynes apoynted in the saide orders and commaundementes. as for the fear of the displeasur of god and his grete punishment[es] agenst all such as ar rebel[es] and enemys to his worde whereof w[ith]out fayle ar all such as doth not obey the high pores and mi[n]sters of the people.⁴

¹ There are doubts relative to the trustworthiness of the testimonies against the abbot, see William Page et J. Horace Round (ed), *The Victoria History of the County of Essex*, London : 1907, vol. 2, p. 127-129.

² SP 1/117 fo. 153 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.* xii, i, 756).

³ Kew, National Archives, SP 1/137 fo. 143 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.* xiii, ii, 561). The scholars who run into the most trouble are named Don and Turnbull. But accusation of not singing the king's collect is leveled at the 'Oxford men' generally.

⁴ London, MS Cotton, Cleopatra E v, fo. 294v.

Such serious threats would have spurred most to abide by the rule while the most obdurate, who had rejected the royal supremacy and believed that they were obeying God's will by resisting Henry's policies.

The daily practice of praying for the king at mass remained in force throughout Henry's reign and in 1547, shortly after the king's death, the ecclesiastical visitors were charged with enquiring : 'whether in their Masses they use not the collects made for the King, and make not special mention of his Majesty's name in the same'.¹

This item suggests that the King's collects had, by the end of Henry's reign, become part of the eucharistic routine of priests and their enforcement was on par with all the other requirements of the Henrician church.

We can safely assume that saying the collect for the king had become part of the liturgical law of the land.

2. Identifying the collects for the king

Cranmer in his letter to bishops of 1534 and in the articles of visitation of 1547 uses the plural. But all other references mention the collect for the king in the singular. Why is might this be? Cranmer specified that the collect was for both the king and queen which had to be mentioned 'by name'. Which orisons would have been fulfilled these criteria ?

A. The existing masses

i. The *missa pro rege et regina*

All printed Sarum and York books contain this mass:

<p>Oratio Deus, in cujus manu sunt corda regum, qui es</p>	<p>O God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, who conolest the humble, and strengthenest the faithful,</p>
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¹ (*Visitations* p.110, item 47)

<p>humilium consolator, et fidelium fortitudo, et protector in te sperantium ; da regi nostro N. et reginae nostrae N. populoque Christiano triumphum virtutis tuae scienter excolere ; ut per te semper reparentur ad veniam. Per Dominum.</p>	<p>and protectest them that trust in thee ; grant unto N our king and to N our queen, and to all Christian people, that they may know and adorn the triumph of thy power ; so that through thee they may ever be renewed, and find pardon.</p>
<p>Secreta</p> <p>Suscipe, quaesumus, Domine, preces et hostias Ecclesiae tuae, quas pro salute famuli tui regis nostri et reginae , et protectione fidelium populorum, tuae majestati offerimus ; supplicantes, ut antiqua brachii tui te operante miracula, superatis inimicis, segura tibi serviat Christianorum libertas. Per Dominum.</p>	<p>Accept we beseech thee, O lord, the prayers and offerings of thy Church, which we offer unti thy majesty for the health and wealth of thy servants our king and queen, and for the protection of thy faithful people ; beseeching thee that as thou workedst with thine arm thy miracles of old, ou enemies may be overcome and all Christians may serve thee in perfect freedom.</p>
<p>Postcommunion</p> <p>Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut per haec mysteria sancta quae sumpsimus, rex noster et regina populusque Christianus semper rationabilia meditantes, quae tibi placita sunt et dictis exsequantur et factis. Per dominum.¹</p>	<p>Grant, we beseech thee, almighty God, that through these holy mysteries which we have received, our king and queen, and all Christian people maye ver think that which is wise, and perform both in word and deed that which is pleasing unto thee.²</p>

Although for the king and queen specifically, the overall tone of the mass does not distinguish it very starkly from prayers for ordinary Christians of lower status. However, in the parish book used in Tatham, Lincolnshire, this mass was added in the manuscript.³ A blank was left after the words ‘*et Regina nostra*’, perhaps originally intended to be filled in when the name of the queen would be known. No doubt many priests would have used this mass to fulfil the archbishop’s order.

ii. The *missa pro rege*

The traditional mass for the king is also included in all manuscript and printed books.

¹ *Missale ad usum Sarum, op.cit.*, col. 828*

² *The Sarum Missal done into English, op.cit.*, p.

³ Stonyhurst York missal MS III. In the canon of this missal, the word *papa* is erased and replaced with *rege*, signalling a rather strict understanding and enforcement of the royal supremacy.

<p>Oratio :</p> <p>Quaesumus, omnipotens [et misericors Deus], ut famulos tuos rex noster [Henricus octavus] qui in tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa ; quibus decenter ornatus, et vitiorum voraginem devitare, et hostes superare, [et in tranquilla pace dum in humanis aget, tam feliciter possit sua tempora pertransire ut post hujus vitae decursum] et ad te qui via, veritas, et vita es, gratosus valeat pervenire.</p>	<p>We beseech thee, almighty [and merciful] God, that thy servant N. our king [Henry VIII], who through Thy mercy hath undertaken the government of the kingdom, may also be endued plenteously with all virtues ; that being therewith meetly arrayed, he may by thy grace be enabled to escape the whirlpool of vice, and to overcome his enemies, [and that he may govern human things peacefully and that his life may be as happy as possible so that when the course of this life is passed, he may] and finally to attain unto thee, who art the way, the truth, and the life.</p>
<p><i>Secreta :</i></p> <p>Munera, quaesumus, Domine, oblata sanctifica ; ut et nobis unigeniti tui corpus et sanguinis fiant, ut famulo tuo N. [Henrico octavo] regi nostro, ad obtinendam animae corporisque salutem et ad peragendum [in firma fide et solida pace] injunctum sibi officium, te largiente usquequaque proficiant.</p>	<p>Sanctify, we beseech thee, O Lord, the gifts here offered unto thee, that they may be made unto us the body and blood of thy only-begotten Son, and may through thy bounty be ever profitable unto thy servant N., our King, [Henry VIII] for obtaining health both of soul and body, and for the performance of the duty enjoined upon him [with a firm faith and lasting peace].</p>

<p>Postcommunio :</p> <p>Haec, Domine, salutaris sacramenti perceptio famulum tuum regem nostrum N ab omnibus, quaesumus, tueatur adversis, quatenus [diuturnam et prosperam vitam in/]et ecclesiasticae pacis obtineat tranquillitatem, et post istius temporis decursum ad aeternam perveniat hereditatem.¹</p>	<p>We beseech thee, O Lord, that the reception of this saving sacrament may preserve thy servant N, our king, from all adversities, to the end that he may obtain peace and tranquility for the Church, [a long and prosper existence] and that after the course of this life is passed, he may attain unto an eternal inheritance.</p>
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The general tone of the mass makes it a more adequate vessel for the putting forth of the royal supremacy: the role of the king in maintaining peace in the church resonates with Henry's constant concern about peace and uniformity in religious matters in his Church.²

This mass is also entitled in some missals : *missa pro statu regis* or *orationes in missis dicende pro bono felici ac prospero statu christianissimi atque excellentissimi regis nostri henrici viii*. The contemporary accounts in English usually refer to this mass as that 'for the happy and prosperous estates of the king'.

But this mass does not include the required mention of the queen, by name, as specified in most sources. Moreover, Madowell, in his letter to the bishop of Salisbury quoted above, seemed to indicate that the use of the ordinary collect *pro rege* was inadequate.

B. the creation of an ad hoc mass ?

In two of the few surviving printed Hereford missals a manuscript mass that neatly complies to Cranmer's requirements is added on a fly leaf.³ It is, in fact, derived from a

¹ *Missale ad usum Sarum, op.cit.*, col. 784*. I have used square brackets to denote the passages specific to the 1512 and 1520 Sarum missals, printed in London by Richard Pynson.

² *Bishops' Book* et celle du *King's Book* dans Lloyd (éd.) *Formularies of Faith, op.cit.*, p. xv-xvii et p. 215-9

³ Oxford, Bodleian, Arch. B. c.6 et St John's College, Cpb.d.b.2.upper shelf.1. for a modern edition of the text, see *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herefordensis, op.cit.*, p. iii-iv.

specific version of the *missa pro rege*, which was printed by Pynson in his 1512 and 1520 editions of the missal (its particularities are noted in square brackets in the table *missa pro rege* above). The Hereford version of the collects for the king was specifically tailored to the Henrician church of 1534-36: the king's title of supreme head of the church is embedded into the collect and Anne's name added throughout the mass:

<p>Quaesumus, omnipotens et misericors Deus, ut famulus [tuus] rex noster Henricus octavus, in terris ecclesiae Anglicanae supremum caput, qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, et famula tua Anna, regina nostra, virtutum omnium percipiat incrementa; quibus decenter ornati corporis incolumitate gaudere et vitiorum voraginem devitare, hostes superare, ac in tranquilla pace dum in humanis agent, tam feliciter possint sua tempora pertransire, ut post hujus vite decursum, ad te qui via, veritas, et vita es, gratiosi valeant pervenire.</p>	<p>We beseech thee, almighty and merciful God, that thy servant our king Henry the Eight, on earth supreme head of the English church, who through Thy mercy hath undertaken the government of the kingdom, and your servant Anne, our queen, may also be endued plenteously with all virtues; that being therewith meetly arrayed, they may by thy grace be enabled to rejoice in bodily health, escape the whirlpool of vice, overcome their enemies, and that he may govern human things peacefully and that his life may be as happy as possible so that when the course of this life is passed, he may finally attain unto thee, who art the way, the truth, and the life.</p>
<p>Munera, quaesumus, Domine, oblata sanctifica, ut nobis Unigeniti tui corpus et sanguis fiant, ut famulo tuo Henrico regi nostro et Anna reginae nostrae ad obtinendum animarum corporumque salutem et ad peragendum in firma fide et solida pace injunctum eis officium, te largiente, usquequaque proficiant. Per Dominum nostrum.</p>	<p>Sanctify, we beseech thee, O Lord, the gifts here offered unto thee, that they may be made unto us the body and blood of thy only-begotten [Son], and may through thy bounty be ever profitable unto thy servant Henry, our King, and Anne our queen for obtaining health both of soul and body, and for the performance of the duty enjoined upon them with a firm faith and a lasting peace.</p>
<p>Haec, Domine, quaesumus, salutaris sacramenti perceptio famulum tuum Henricum octavum regem nostrum et Annam reginam nostram ab omnibus tueatur adversis, quatenus diuturnam et prosperam vitam in tranquillitate</p>	<p>We beseech thee, O Lord, that the reception of this saving sacrament may preserve thy servant Henry the Eighth, our king, and Anne our queen from all adversities, to the end that he may both</p>

<p>ecclesiasticae pacis obtineant, et post hujus vitae decursum ad aeternam beatitudinem, tua gratia cooperante, perveniant.</p>	<p>obtain peace and tranquility for the Church, a long and prosper existence and that after the course of this life is passed, they may attain unto an eternal inheritance.</p>
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Short of finding the original version of this ‘adapted’ mass, one is left to guess at how it came into being. The bishop of Hereford, Edward Foxe, appointed in 1535, may have written this mass or had it written by one of his archdeacons for use in his diocese. It was then broadly circulated and copied into liturgical books.

Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, may also have promoted a particular version of the mass for the king. It is highly unlikely that the *missa pro rege* would have been missing from any manuscript or printed mass book. Hence, the justices of the peace, William Willington and Thomas Holte would probably have copied a specific version of the first orison (the collect) for the king into the Oxhill parish missal. Priests would have used the standard versions of the two other orisons of the *missa pro rege* simply adding a reference to the queen.

In another Hereford missal, originally from the cathedral but perhaps no longer in the cathedral by the mid-1530s, the three collects of the usual mass for the king were added at the end of the sanctoral. At the bottom of the page, the beginning of the first orison was refashioned to read :

Quesumus omnipotens & misericordis deus ut famulus tuus rex noster
hencicus octavus in terris ecclesie anglicanos sup(re)mium caput qui tua
miseracione.¹

This would suggest a gradual implementation of the order : the priest started by copying out the mass for the king in his missal, then on hearing that the mass had to be adapted to the royal supremacy, he made a note to self at the bottom of the page with the reformed version of the first collect. However he did not include Queen Anne in the prayer.

This example might help explain the use of the word ‘collect’ in the singular by many contemporaries, since the reformed version concerns mainly the first collect.

¹ Worcester, MS F161, see plate.

3. A Henrician novelty ?

A. Praying for the sovereign : a well established tradition

- The oldest Anglo-Saxon missals attest of the time-honoured custom of praying for the sovereign.¹
- Anglo-Saxon legislation ordering the regular use of masses and prayers for the king.²
- Repeated campaigns of prayers, litanies and processions for the king, military victory, etc.³
- Other liturgical occurrences of the king (Good Friday prayers, *Exultet*, canon, prayers after mass,⁴ bidding of the bedes).
- Prayers for the king were also included in primers and used as private devotions.⁵

¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, p.171, 'for bone kyning' is added in Old English to the latin rubric. On the meaning of this see : Helen Gittos, 'Is there any evidence for the liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglosaxon England ? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English' in Francesca Tinti, (ed.), *Pastoral Care in late Anglo-Saxon England*, Woodbridge : 2005, p. 77.

² William A. Chaney, *The cult of kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: the transition from paganism to Christianity*, Manchester : 1970, p. 203 ; Catherine E. Karkov, *The ruler portraits of Anglo-Saxon England*. Woodbridge : 2004, p.80 ; et Elisabeth Okasha et Jennifer O'Reilly, 'An Anglo-Saxon Portable Altar: Inscription and Iconography' dans le *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 47 (1984), p. 49.

³ See above, part II, chapter 1, introduction.

⁴ Preces in prostratione in *Missale ad usum Sarum, op.cit.*, col. 634 : « Domine, salvum fac regem. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocamus te. » This verse will be used in the intercession for the king in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Regime changes in France, will entail elaborate changes to this verse.

⁵ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Douce 241, fo. 56 : 'Geve pees to oure king and princes' at the end of the litany and fo. 57 'Lord allmightie which art the kyng of kynges and lord of lordes having the hartes of kynges in thy hands the way through life the helth and strength of all things the hope of the trustyng in the and, the gentle gratiusherer of theym which mekely besече the, have mercy upon us thy people with all our hart & hole mynde require the to delyver and kepe thy servant Henry whome have through thyne ordinaunce our king & only soveraigne lorde in earth from all _____(word scratched out)'. See also : Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Misc. 253.

B. The liturgical and political impact of the collects for the king

In the Sarum rite, there were always an uneven number of orisons, ranging from one to seven, depending on the liturgical season. Hence, adding a new collect would require the suppression of another one during Lent, when seven prayers were appointed, and the addition of another one at other times to respect the rules.¹ In an example from Christ Church, Dublin, we learn that in 1539: ‘The most significant change since that time was the substitution on three days each week of a mass for the king in place of the mass of the Holy Ghost’.²

The mass for the king and queen partook in the propaganda campaign to convince the realm of Anne’s legitimacy. Cranmer’s emphasis on the mentioning the queen ‘by name’, and the expression chosen in the deposition of the abbot of Coggeshall (‘Quene Anne hys dere beloved spouse accordyng with goddes lawes’) involuntarily highlight the fact that many doubted the validity of their sovereign’s second union. The purpose of this policy is identical to that of the new bidding prayers : it is a means of enforcing conformity through the liturgy.

C. ‘according to our most bounden dewties’ : how the collect for the king refashioned priestly duties towards their king.

Earlier English liturgical practice might include orisons for the king at mass, but it was not a mandatory requirement until 1534. Some guilds had masses said for the king on certain days; in times of war, there might be more masses for the king; but generally, since the early middle ages, temporal authorities were prayed for on Fridays.³

I would like to advance that the daily use of the mass for the king and queen participated in a subtle refashioning of the role of the clergy in relation to the head of the church. The soteriological effect of daily masses, often said for souls departed, was questioned as the official formularies of faith published from 1536 challenged the doctrine of Purgatory. This would in turn, undermine private masses, traditionally

¹ See Charles Walker, *The Liturgy of the Church of Sarum, op.cit.* p. 44.

² Barra Boydell, *A history of music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, p. 35

³ William A. Chaney. *The cult of kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: the transition from paganism to* p. 203-4.

understood to profit mainly the dead. This practice was nevertheless allowed because they were profitable to the living, disregarding their efficacy in releasing souls from Purgatory.¹

Praying for the king every day at mass comes to be seen by priests themselves as one of their primary duties. Writing to Cromwell on behalf of Wallingford College, John London assured him that he and his successors would ‘according to our most bounden dewties pray unto almyghie godde long to preserve hys most noble grace and your gudde lordshippe by whose mediation [they] have obtayned so great a benefytt.’² Cuthbert Tunstall also guaranteed the vice-gerent that he would ‘accordinge to [his] moost bounden dewty dayly pray for the preservatyon of his royall estate longe to endure.’³ Both authors are certainly referring to the mass for the king, which was rubricated *missa pro statu regis* or *orationes in missis dicende pro bono felici ac prospero statu christianissimi atque excelentissimi regis nostri henrici viii*, in certain missals.

Writing in May 1542, Bishops Tunstall and Thirby signed off with this formula : ‘And as Your Majestie shal signifie, soo we shal accordyng to our most bownden dueties employe our diligences, and praye Almyghty God for the preservation of your most noble and royal astate.’⁴ When he co-signed a letter with a layman, the bishop of Durham used a more classic greeting, used by laymen or clergy before 1535 : ‘Thus we beseeche Almighty God preserve Your Majestie in longe and prousperous felicitie, with the contynuall desire of your moste kingly harte.’

The evidence collected from a select sample of letters to the king by clergy before and after 1535 would indicate that the concluding formulas evolved from a great diversity and a vague mention that they prayed for the king to a more uniform use of the phrase ‘most bound duty’ in relation to daily prayer for the sovereign.⁵ Being a priest

¹ See part III, chapter 3, section 2, D.

² Kew, National Archives, SP 1/129, fo 91 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.* xiii, i, 341).

³ London, BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra, E vi, fo 250 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, x, 202)

⁴ *State Papers Published under the Authority of his Majesty's Commission: King Henry the Eighth, 1830-1852*, Vol. 9, Part v: Foreign Correspondence, DCCXXXI.

⁵ Sampson in 1523 : ‘Os knowith Almighty God who preserve your Highnesse in most royall astate’ (); Tunstall in 1525 : ‘... Your Highness, whiche Almighty Jhesu preserve to His pleasure and yours, with encrease of muche honour’ (*State Papers*, part v, CXXVII); Tunstall and Edward Lee in May 1534 ‘... Your Highness, whom we beseeche Almighty God long to preserve in moche honour, to his pleasur and your harts desire’ (Kew, National Archives, SP 1/84, fo. 59); Edward Lee in February 1540 : ‘I shall alwaies with hole herte bee redie to accomlishe all your commaundements as I am most bounde, as our Lorde knoweth, to whose tuicion dailie and nowe I do enterlie commende your highnes. Your highnes most bounden priest and orator’ (Kew, National Archives, SP 1/157 fo. 110). Rowland Lee’s greetings however continue in much the same vein before and after 1535.

in England after the mid 1530s necessarily implied praying for the king daily : at mass and in the litany at compline. This new policy may well have subtly altered the way some priests conceived clerical duties.

In the diocese of Hereford and probably in that of Worcester, at least, the orisons for the king were subtly crafted to include the king's new title of head of the Church.¹ What Diarmaid MacCulloch has asserted in relation to the archbishop of Canterbury and the 1544 litany applies equally well here : 'Cranmer's characteristic strategy of using traditional forms to new and subversive ends' was, indeed, on display much earlier.

Finally, the use of a daily collect for the king, far from disappearing from the English liturgical landscape, became a staple of the weekly communion service and morning and evening prayers in 1549, and was carried over in 1552. Liturgists of the late 19th early 20th century have usually justified the introduction of a collect for the king by quoting Paul's epistle to Timothy or arguing that it was very ancient tradition but in fact, it is more likely a item of continuity between the two reigns.²

Conclusion

The use of the collect for the king must be envisioned in the broader context of liturgical dynamism under Henry, showing how liturgical policy could be used effectively to exalt the king's headship of the Church and impress the new doctrine in the hearts and minds of the English clergy and people. The supremacy generated new uses in public prayer, which, in due course may have affected the way the clergy understood its place in the realm and its priestly duties.

¹ The 1547 injunctions for Lincoln cathedrals also suggest this 'Item, they shall in ther masses pray for the prosperyte of the Kyngs maiesty by name saying the collects appoynted for that purpose' (Henry Bradshaw and Christopher Wordsworth (eds.), *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, vol. 2, p. 585).

² Palmer, *Origines Liturgicae: Antiquities of the English Ritual*, Ch. IVb, Sect III, p.35-37 (<http://anglicanhistory.org/palmer/palmer22.html>)

CHAPTER 3 : REWRITING THE CANON OF THE MASS : KING DETHRONING POPE

A thorough survey of the surviving liturgical books discloses recurring phenomena which might otherwise have been disregarded or discounted as irrelevant quirks. Many priests carefully reordered the canon of the mass to render the liturgy consistent with the ecclesiological framework established by the royal supremacy. This chapter explores the techniques employed to do so and attempts to reconstruct the rationale leading to the decision.

1. General overview

A. What is the canon of the mass ?

The canon of the mass is the unchanging, universal and most important part of the mass, especially in the late Middle Ages when eucharistic devotion had become a central feature of lay piety. When the priest said the canon of the mass, the bread and wine were turned into the body and blood of Christ by the sacerdotal power vested in him. The passage was therefore viewed with much reverence by clergy and laity alike.¹

The canon starts by stating that the sacrifice is offered in unity with the holy church, the pope, the bishop and the king. All three are named in this very order, reflecting, as it were, the worldly hierarchy :

¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, *op.cit.*, p. 117-126 ; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi : The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, , Cambridge : 1991, p. 35-163 ; Peter Marshall, *Priesthood and the English Reformation*, *op.cit.*, p. 35, 41-42, 65-66 ; John Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution', *Past and Present*, n° 100, Août 1983, p. 32 ; Philippe Martin, *Le théâtre de la messe : une histoire de la messe, XVI-XIX^e*, Paris : 2010 p. 4-5.

TE IGITUR, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus *Corpore inclinato donec dicat ac petimus:*
Hic erigens se sacerdos osculetur altare a dextris sacrificii dicens: Uti accepta habeas et benedicas
Hic faciat sacerdos tres cruces super calicem et panem, dicendo : hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata,
Factis signaculis super calicem, eleuet manus suas ita dicens:
 In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. (*id est proprio episcopo tantum*) et Rege nostro N. (*et dicuntur nominatim*) et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.

There is but one exception in the corpus : the canon of the 11th century missal of Darley lists pope, king and bishop in this order. Although the book survived the reign of Edward, it did not emerge from the Reformation entirely unscathed : ‘*papa*’ was lightly crossed out under Henry VIII and the following statement discrediting superstitious attitudes added at the end of the manuscript: ‘this booke was sumtime had in such reverence in darbieshire that it was comonlie beleved that whosoeuer should sweare vntruelie vppon this booke should run madd’.¹

B. ‘Rewriting the canon’

Expunging the word ‘*papa*’ from the canon of the mass certainly represented the very minimum expected from the clergy after 1534.² In reformed books, the canon is left uncorrected in only six books (3% of reformed books).³ Whether or not John Madowell’s testimony is reliable, failing to amend the canon of the mass was deemed a major offense. He wrote to Cromwell denouncing the clergy of Salisbury cathedral (my emphasis) : ‘The bishop of romiss name is in thar mass buke *evyn in the canon fair and fresh*’.⁴

A significant portion of missals which were reformed suggest however that further steps could be taken to enhance the canon’s conformity with the new ecclesiological order heralded by Royal Supremacy Act. Not only was the pope removed from the prayer but the traditional order was altered to king/bishop.

¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422, p. 53-4 (canon of the mass) and p. 586 (quotation).

² See part I, chapter 2.

³ see table below.

⁴ Kew, National Archives, SP 1/117 fo. 153 (voir *Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, xii (i) 756).

'Reformed' vs 'rewritten' canons of the mass

'reformed' canon	'rewritten' canon
<p>In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. (<i>id est proprio episcopo tantum</i>) et Rege nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus</p>	<p>In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo rege nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. (<i>id est proprio episcopo tantum</i>) [REDACTED] et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus</p>

In the first case the reference to the pope is suppressed. In the second version, *'papa'* is removed from the text and replaced with 'rege'. A repetition of the reference to the king ensued, and often, for the sake of consistency, the second utterance of 'rege nostro N' was removed from the text. The 'rewriting of the canon' could be achieved by different means : arrows, or the use of letters indicating the changed order in which the king and bishop were to be named.

The liturgical books relevant to this analysis are the ones featuring the canon : i.e. essentially the missals and manuals. Although the largest sample is that of missals, I have included in the following table a complete overview of all relevant books that I have consulted in a systematic manner.

Incidence of 'rewritten' canons in service books.

Liturgical book	Total	Reformed books	Reformed books containing the canon	Reformed canons	Rewritten canons	Percentage of reformed canons which were rewritten
Sarum missals	230	196	166	162	67	41%
York missals	22	16	12	12	4	33%
Hereford Missals	7	7	4	4	1	25%
Sarum manuals	43	28	24	22	4	25%
York manuals	5	5	2	2	0	0%
TOTAL	307	252	208	202	76	38%

Such figures establish that rewriting the canon of the mass was a fairly common practice, as such experiments appear in more than 40% of the largest sample. And six of the eleven relevant breviaries also present with rewritten canons.

In forty of the reformed books (20%), the canon was cut out. This probably represents an alternative strategy to the destruction of missals required when the 1549 Book of Common Prayer was introduced. By removing the canon of the mass, the service books were neutralised, as they could no longer be used to say mass. In many cases, these books resurfaced under Mary, yet the canon was not always restored, raising

interesting questions as to the practical aspects of the restoration of the mass. How much of a ten page long text would priests still have memorized by 1553? In parishes where the canon had been slightly modified since 1535 would the clergy have returned the pre-schism version?

C. How to rewrite the canon?

In two thirds of the cases, the word '*papa*' was carefully scratched out of the canon and replaced with the word '*rege*', which was removed from its original utterance.

Techniques employed to rewrite the canon

Technique	Sarum missals	York missals	Hereford missals	Sarum manuals
Replacing <i>papa</i> with <i>rege</i>	BL C 35 k 5 (?) BL C 41 g 2 (?) BL C 52 g 11 (?) BL C 109 k 16 BL MS Harl 3866 BL MS Lansdowne 432 BNF Velins 1226 BOD. Arch G d 57 BOD Douce B subt 8 BOD Douce 241 BOD Douce BB 173 BOD Gough Missals 22 BOD Gough Missals 24 BOD Gough Missals 25 BOD Gough Missals 203 BOD Vet E1 c.45(?)	BL MS Add 43380 BOD Gough Missals 18 Stonyhurst MS III	St John College, Oxford Cupbd B. 2. 1.	BL MS Add. 32320 BL MS Add 30506 BOD Gough Missals 187 CUL F153 c.4.3 Hereford MS P iii 4 Stonyhurst XII D 5a

	<p>BOD MS Don b. 6</p> <p>BOD MS Rawl. A 387a</p> <p>Cam Trinity MS B 11.11</p> <p>Cam Trinity VI 18.21</p> <p>Cam St John A 4.25</p> <p>CUL. F 152 b 4 3</p> <p>CUL Rit a 150.1</p> <p>CUL Rit a 151.3</p> <p>CUL Rit a 152.2</p> <p>CUL Rit b 152.1</p> <p>CUL SSS 14.11</p> <p>CUL Rel BB 51. 1</p> <p>CUL MS Add 6688</p> <p>Durham Bamburgh Select 15</p> <p>Hereford N I 2</p> <p>Lambeth 1516.4</p> <p>Lambeth 1498.2</p> <p>Manchester, JR 16904</p> <p>Oscott MS 203</p> <p>Oxf Brasenose UB S II 97</p> <p>Oxf Keble STC 16200</p> <p>Oxf Magdalen 21.15</p> <p>Oxf Oriel MS 75</p> <p>Oxf Queens Sel d 11</p> <p>Stonyhurst XII D 3</p> <p>Stonyhurst XII D 5 (?)</p>			
<p>Suppressing <i>papa nostro N</i> <i>et antistite</i> <i>nostro N</i></p>	<p>BOD Arch B c 5</p> <p>BOD Ashm 1764</p> <p>BOD Gough Missals 30</p>			BL. MS Add. 40740

	BOD Gough Missals 108 BOD Gough Missals 182 BOD S. Seld d.23 Pusey House, Morton missal ? CUL Peterborough W13 BL. C 35 i 10 NLS BCL S 157 Lambeth 1521.4			
Adding <i>rege</i> in the margin where <i>papa</i> used to stand	BOD Broxb 32.10 BOD Gough Missals 79 BOD Gough Missals 135 BL IB 43955 York XI L 16 (?) Ushaw MS 5 (?)			
Arrows or used of A/B	BL. C 35 i 7 York XI F 2	CUL Rit a 151.5		
Other techniques	BOD Vet E1 c66 BOD Gough Missals 33 CUL GG V 24			

Although multiple techniques could be used to effect a reordering of the canon of the mass, the result is the same: the king took precedence over the bishop. But when priests decided to cross out '*papa nostro N et antistite nostro N*', then only the king remained in the canon.

Two missals deserve special mention :

- Cambridge, St John's College A 4.25 : the word *'papa'* is skilfully recycled to read *'regae'* : the first two letters are actually scratched out and replaced but the second 'p' is transformed into a 'g', and an 'e' is appended to the second 'a' to render the correct sound, regardless of the grammatical error.¹ The original utterance of the phrase *'et rege nostro N'* is adroitly deleted and covered with an elegant flourish, to dissemble the blank.

- Cambridge, UL, Rit A 150.1 : the word *'papa'* was heavily blotted out and replaced with *'rege'*, and the phrase *'nostro Henrico octavo in terris ecclesiae anglicane supremo capite'* was added in the margin.² This example should dispel any doubt that the rewriting of the canon of the mass was not prompted by the advent of Henry's reforms : the royal supremacy is showcased liturgically in the central element of daily worship.

2. The canon as palimpsest

In many instances, the canon of the mass offers an enlightening view of the political, dynastic and religious changes of the mid 16th century.

A. The queen in the canon of the mass

In three missals, Henry's queen features in the canon by a manuscript addition :

- Westminster Abbey, MS 37 : the canon was rewritten so as to name the king before the bishop and to include the queen, with *'regina N'* carefully included before the mention of the bishop. Douglas East, who has studied the munificent missal of the Benedictine abbey, dismissed the liturgical alterations as 'an inside job', half-heartedly carried out by the dean and chapter with the hope that the commissioners would not examine the missal too closely.³ However, I believe that this exceptional change and the other consistent defacings (the feast of St Thomas is completely scratched out, as are the Good Friday prayers for the pope) denote a comprehensive approach to the implications of the royal supremacy and would indicate a fairly high degree of

¹ See plate.

² See plate.

³ Douglas East, *A late fourteenth century service book : The historiated and inhabited initials of the Great Missal (1383-4) of Abbot Nicholas Litchington*. Un published Mphil thesis, University of Exter, 1998, p. 16.

compliance, despite the survival of a miniature representing St Peter and one of several representing St Thomas. As signalled earlier, the papal insignia of St Sylvester were carefully erased from a miniature illustrating the saint's feast.

- Oxford, Bodleian, Douce B 241 presents an interesting case of successive changes, there are at least three different hand-writings in the canon of the mass.¹ '*Papa nostro*' was replaced with '*rege nostro*' by the first hand. A second hand added '*Henrico*' in the margin followed by '*et Anna regina nostra*' and the first name of the local bishop '*Nicholas*'. Finally, the words '*omnibus orthodoxis*' were appended by a third person, probably to indicate that one should go straight from naming the bishop to that phrase, since the king had already been mentioned. After the fall of Anne Boleyn, her first name was blotted out. '*Anna*' was never replaced by the names of the women who succeed her as queen.

- Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 108 : '*papa nostro N et antistite nostro N*' are blotted out and in the cropped margin, one can read : '*rege nostro et regina nostra*'. Anne's first name may have been included and later deleted from the marginal addition. Hence, the royal couple occupy the place of pope and bishop.

B. Restoring catholicism

Some clergy painstakingly documented the liturgical impact of the religious policies conducted by Henry, Edward and Mary in their service books.

In 46 reformed missals and one reformed manual, the original terms of the canon were restored under Mary's reign, even when the passage had been rewritten.² The word '*rege*' was not however necessarily put back in its original place.³ In the Dorset parish of Clothworth, Mary was added to the previously rewritten canon of the mass, in which the pope did not figure at all. Hence, the canon reads : '*una cum famulo tuo regina nostra N et antistite nostro N.*' No doubt the curate was a Tudor enthusiast; a diligent restorer of the Catholic religion, however, he was not.⁴

¹ See plate.

² London, BL, C 35 k 5

³ London, BL, C 52 g 11 (note : *papa* is deftly restored) and C 41 g 2 ; Stonyhurst College, XII D 5

⁴ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Don b 6, see plate.

The priest of the Fane chantry in the parish of Tudeley, Kent, transformed the terms '*rege nostro*' which he had earlier substituted to '*papa nostro*' into '*regina nostra*' to similar effect.¹

Other priests signalled Mary's accession by adding her name in the canon of the mass.² In a 1519 Sarum missal held at the Bodleian, the entire passage was carefully removed and replaced with '*papa nostro Julio et rege nostro Philippe et regina nostra Maria et antestete (sic) nostro*', after 1554. This would suggest that under Henry's reign the canon had been rewritten. Furthermore, the restoration of the pope in the canon may not have been achieved at once. One priest added '*rege nostro philippo et regina maria*' and the name '*Paulo*' betokening that the change was made after 1555, when Paul IV was elected to the papacy.³

The overlaying of amendments often renders the successive stages difficult to interpret. A recusant family of Buckinghamshire, the Philips of Ickford, kept a missal to be returned to their parish church in the event of a restoration 'of the Catholic religion in England'.⁴ Under Henry VIII, the canon may have been altered to accommodate the royal supremacy or the else the king was crossed out of the canon as a pure act of hostility. It is difficult to say for certain, due to the restoration of the pope in his place (which could very well have been replaced by '*rege*' earlier).⁵

Successive rewritings of the canon also occur in the the British Library missal C52g11 and in the missal in use in the college of Westbury upon Trym (BL C41g2) as well as in John Ryland's extensively defaced and restored printed missal.⁶ Another unclear case is that of Brasenose, Oxford UB S II 97, a beautiful printed missal connected with the Sutton Family, perhaps in use in Macclesfield (as suggested by the Archbishop Savage epitaph), in which the pope and the king are crossed out of the canon, without any precision as to whether the king should replace the pope.

In such cases, the rest of the defacings may assist in the analysis and provide confirmation that the canon was indeed rewritten. Moreover, when in doubt, comparisons with books presenting similar defacings may contribute to the analysis of

¹ Oxford, Bodleian, Broxb 32. 11.

² Cambridge, UL, Peterborough 13

³ Paris, BNF, Velins 241

⁴ As indicated in a pastedown on the first page of the missal Stonyhurst XII D 5

⁵ See plate.

⁶ Manchester : John Ryland Library 16904. See part II, chapter 1: the rewriting of the Good Friday petitions.

confusing evidence. The canon of the mass in Richard Sutton's missal has undergone several changes and the enthusiastic implementation of the royal supremacy into the *Exultet* supports the hypothesis that the canon was also reordered under Henry VIII.¹ Likewise, the priest who added '*christianissimo*' to the *Exultet* will probably have reordered the canon of the mass.² The possible correlation of these two defacings is confirmed by their occurrence in John Robsart's missal.³ Changes made to the order of the Good Friday prayers also suggest that the canon may have undergone an identical treatment.⁴

Certain clergy put a significant amount of effort into adapting the liturgy to the royal supremacy, demonstrating their commitment to Henrician religious policies and to accurate liturgical rendering of the English Church's ecclesiology. Many were anonymous priests, but when the provenance of the service book is known and information about the political and religious proclivities of their owners is available, a more distinct picture of who was operating and supporting these changes emerges.

3. Case studies : missals belonging to Henrician supporters

A. John Robsart's missal

A London printed Sarum missal now preserved in Durham University's Library once belonged to John Robsart (or his personal chaplain) who made a note of the date of birth of Aimee Robsart on 7 June 1532 in the calendar.⁵ A Norfolk justice of the peace, John Robsart was a royal supremacy enthusiast, whose commitment extended to referring to the king as 'within his realme supream hede of the church immediately under God' as early as 1535 in his will.⁶ This is sufficiently unusual to single him out as a true Henrician supporter. Fifteen years later, the evangelical author Thomas Becon dedicated *The Fortresse of the Faithful* to him and his wife, for the 'godly affection and

¹ Oxford, Brasenose College, UB.S. II. 97. See plates and part I, chapter 2.

² London, BL, C 41 g 2.

³ Durham, UL, Bamburgh Select 15. See below.

⁴ Manchester JR 16904, BL C 35 k 5 et BOD Douce B 241

⁵ This is, of course, the future Amy Dudley. See Simon Adams «Dudley, Amy, Lady Dudley (1532-1560)» in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, *op.cit.*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8144>, retrieved 19/06/2011.

⁶ *Ibid.*

christian zeal which [they had] borne toward the pure religion of God these many years'.¹

The missal is defaced to a high standard of consistency and detail : occurrences of '*papa*' are replaced with '*epi*' when used to refer to a historical bishop of Rome, the Good Friday petitions for the pope are heavily blotted out, the *missa pro papa* was first slightly altered and eventually entirely taken out.² The *Exultet* was carefully rephrased : the word '*rege*' was put in place of '*patre*' which is lightly crossed out in '*una cum patre nostro papam N*' and *papam* was blotted out. The repetition of '*rege nostro N*' was then cancelled.³ This very unusual technique highlights the notion that the king had indeed replaced the pope.

The idea that the king was the pope in his realm had had earlier advocates : in 1530, Charles Brandon and George Boleyn had declared 'the king is absolute emperor and pope in his kingdom'.⁴ And although this very notion was abandoned, many held the idea that the king had now taken, at least symbolically, the place of the pope in the kingdom of England. At Harwich, the king's injunctions had been pulled down from the pulpit 'whereof most customall other letters hath been set to abide quietly, as the bishop of Rome's letters'.⁵ Symbolically, the king's word was substituted to that of the pope within the church space.

These alterations therefore suggest in-depth understanding of the liturgy and awareness of the political and religious developments of the 1530s. Whether this reflected the opinions of the priest or his patron is difficult to establish. Two more details provide some inkling that the priest may have had evangelical sympathies : a rude quatrain on friars was written into the missal :

Saynt Ffrance was a friar in Rome
& after his order crept into England to sone [?]
Saynt Ffrance all friars agayne shall crye
roving abowte the contrye & holleringe manye a lye.⁶

Hostility to the Franciscans was a hallmark of the Henrician regime : the Observants had opposed the royal supremacy and friaries were promptly dissolved.¹

¹ *Ibid.*

² See part I, chapter 2 for the *Exultet* (section 2, D, ii) and the *missa pro papa*. See plate.

³ See plate.

⁴ J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII, op.cit.*, p. 267.

⁵ *Letters and Papers, op.cit.*, ix, 1059 (Kew, National Archives, SP 1/99 fo. 171)

⁶ Durham, University Library, Bamburgh select 15, see plate.

The Robsart missal may have been reformed by a priest named Edmund Banyard for on the first page of the calendar, the phrase : ‘ By me M[aste]r Edmund Banyard [?]’ has been added.² The formula is unlikely to indicate ownership, whereas it might suggest that the author of the defacings was owning up to his work. This would represent a very distinctive acknowledgement of the act of reforming the liturgy.

B. John Price’s missal

Hereford Cathedral Library holds a Sarum missal which belonged to John Price, who bequeathed it to the cathedral in 1555.³ John Price was another committed supporter of Henry VIII’s religious policies. Employed by Thomas Cromwell in the 1530s, to whom he was related by marriage, John Price was present at Henry and Anne’s wedding, and took part in the oath campaign of 1535 and in the trials of John Fisher and Thomas More. As an ecclesiastical visitor he participated in the dissolution of the monasteries and benefited from the spoils. He might have acquired service books in this context. His career as a local politician in Wales was crowned with success : in the 1540s he became sheriff and MP for Hereford and Ludlow. Not only did John Price have a stake in the Henrician regime, but he nursed an interest in liturgical matters: at the close of Henry’s reign, he was involved in the composition and publication of a primer in Welsh.⁴ Moreover as a member of the council in the marches of Wales, he will have come into contact with Richard Sampson, the author of a tract in defence of the supremacy and a member of the committee of bishops charged with the revision of the liturgy which authored the *Rationale for Ceremonial* (see below for the description of the canon of the mass in that document).

The calendar in John Price’s missal seems to have been defaced twice : the utterances of *papa* and St Thomas were scratched out and later heavily blotted out. The two techniques also occur in the canon, where the pope was taken out and later replaced by

¹ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, *op.cit.*, p. 155-156.

² The *Clergy of the Church of England Database* has not yielded any information for this person. (<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>).

³ Hereford Cathedral Library, N.I. 2.

⁴ Huw Pryce, « Prise, Sir John [Syr Siôn ap Rhys] (1501/2–1555) », *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, *op.cit.*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22752>, retrieved 18/06/ 2011.

the king. The different techniques suggest a sense of escalation in the intensity of the defacings.

There are indications that the second set of changes may have been made by a person not trained as a priest, perhaps John Price himself: the references to the pope or indulgences which have been overlooked in the first phase also remain untouched by the second. It seems that the latter amendments were made only to passages highlighted by the first series of corrections. Hence some rubrics mentioning indulgences are entirely unscathed while other have been corrected twice.

4. Official instructions and individual initiatives

A. diocesan patterns for the rewriting of the canon?

In John Clerk's instructions to his clergy, the rewriting of the canon features as the first item on the list of changes to effect to service books: 'Ffirst in the masse booke in the canon put oute papa and put in rege in the same plaice'. The change was duly carried out in the surviving missal from the diocese of Bath and Wells.¹ Similar orders may have been issued by other bishops but they have not survived. With provenance information from but a few books it is difficult to assess whether the rewriting of the canon was mandated by bishops.

Table : Provenance of service books in which the canon was rewritten

¹ Closworth, Dorset, Oxford, Bodleian, Don b 6. The canon is not included in the Great Bedwyn breviary (Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS Mus E 2/244).

Service book	Parish or family	Diocese
Ampleforth College, CV 144 (breviary)	Lancaster College, Co Durham	Durham
BL C 35 i 10	Llandeillo, Carmathenshire	St David
BL C 41 g 2	College of Westbury on Trym	Worcester
BL MS Add 30506	St Aldgate, Gloucester	Hereford later Gloucester after 1541
BL MS Harl. 3866	Bedingfield family, Oxborough, Norfolk	Norwich
BOD Arch G. d. 57	Lien avec la famille Cantrell,	
BOD Broxb 10.12	Connected to the Fane family, from Badswell (Tudeley parish) in Kent.	Rochester
BOD Douce B 241		Salisbury
BOD Douce BB 173		Londres
BOD Gough Missals 25	Witney, Oxfordshire	Lincoln later Oxford after 1541.
BOD Gough Missals 33	Southlittleton, Worcestershire	Worcester
BOD Gough 79	Connection with the Everards, from Reading ?	Salisbury
BOD Vet E1.c45	Penwortham, Lancashire	Lichfield and Coventry later Chester after 1541.
BOD Don b. 6	Closworth, Somerset	Bath and Wells
CUL Ms Add 6688	Bromsgrove, Worcestershire	Worcester
Durham. Bamburgh Select 15	Missel de Robsart, Norfolk	Norwich
Hereford Cathedral, N I 2	Missel de John Price	Hereford

Lambeth Palace, 1498.2	Thomas Otley, Pitchford, Shropshire	Hereford
Oxford, St John College, Cpbd B 2. 1.	Bodenham, Hereford	Hereford
Stonyhurst, Mss III	Tatham, Lancashire	York
Ushaw College MS 5	Esh-Laude, Durham	Durham

Alas, such a small sample is completely unrepresentative. One may note however that the rewriting of the canon occurs in four books from Hereford and three from Worcester. Both dioceses shared a boundary with the diocese of Bath and Wells and were headed by noted reformers after 1535, respectively Edward Foxe and Hugh Latimer.

Reforming one's service books, without being a public affair, was probably not a purely private matter either.

B. Local consultation and individual implementation

The case of the collegiate church of Lanchester assists in understanding the interplay between collective decision-making and individual implementation. The collegiate church was headed by a dean assisted by prebendaries. Vicars were appointed to serve the dependent chapels. In the manuscript missal gifted by John Rudde, the late 15th century dean, to the chapel of Esh Laude, the canon appears to have been rewritten : '*papa*' was entirely scratched out, while '*una cum famulo tuo*' and '*nostro N*' were lined through.¹ In the margin '*Henrico*' was added² and there seems to be a pen mark indicating that the king was to be moved to the position formerly occupied by the pope. This conjecture is also supported by the defacing of the *Exultet*, the entire phrase '*una cum patre nostro papam N atque rege nostro*' is illegible and '*Henrico*' occurs again in the

¹ Ushaw College, MS 5. See plate.

² All other cases in which '*Henrico*' is added the canon of the mass was rewritten : BL, C. 35. i. 10 ; BL, IB. 43955 ; Lambeth Palace, 1516.4 ; CUL, Add 6688 (*rege nostro H*) et CUL, GG. V. 24.

margin. The Penwortham missal presents similar features in the *Exultet* and the canon, in which both ‘*papa*’ and ‘*rege*’ are scratched out.¹

The Lanchester breviary was reformed with care and in the canon, not only is the pope suppressed, but ‘A’ and ‘B’ appear respectively next to the references to the king and bishop, suggesting an inversion of the traditional order in which these authorities were mentioned.²

The two books were used by priests who probably knew each other and who may well have had hierarchical relations. It is difficult to imagine that the royal order to deface all service books will not have been discussed by clerical colleagues, especially in the institutional context of a collegiate church. The decision to reorder the canon was probably made at the local level, since, in this instance, the choice differs from that made elsewhere in the diocese of Durham, notably Berwick upon Tweed, St Nicholas in Durham, Hexham and Longhorseley.³ At Lanchester, the priests may have discussed among themselves and agreed that it was appropriate to name the king before bishop. The priests then implemented the decision using their preferred technique: what we see in the missal is but a memento, a note to self on how to proceed to read the canon. The defacings are truly reminders to alter the liturgical performance, which ultimately mattered the most. Hence, changes to the performance were not necessarily implemented in the service books and the reverse also holds true.

4. The institutionalisation of the new canon of the mass

A. How widespread was this practice?

In the sample of liturgical books under scrutiny a significant minority of the canons of the mass were rewritten. In view of the built-in conservative bias of the corpus, this practice may have been much more widespread. It may have become so common that

¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet E1 c 45. See plate.

² Ampleforth College CV 144. See plate.

³ Respectively, Ampleforth, CV 122 ; Cathédrale de Durham, A. III. 32 ; Cambridge, St John College, A. 4. 2. ; Ushaw College, F. 3. 1 (intact). There is one more missal traced to the diocese of Durham, but it the canon was torn out (Oxford, Bodleian, Laud misc 302).

the altered form of the canon was not restored to its original order even in books preserved by recusant families. The Bedingfield family of prominent recusants kept a reliably defaced missal, including a rewritten canon.

B. The *Rationale of Ceremonial*

The document produced by the committee of bishops appointed in 1540 by Henry to examine the liturgy was composed of two reformers, Thomas Goodrich of Ely and Robert Holgate of Llandaff and four bishops who are usually considered to have been more conservative : Richard Sampson of Chichester, John Capon of Bangor, John Bell of Worcester and John Clerk. Although a moderate within the evangelical faction, Sampson was a dedicated supporter of the royal supremacy and Clerk seemed to have fully rallied to the Henrician regime, as the injunctions he issued to his diocese make clear. Capon's conservatism should be similarly qualified.¹

The modern editors of the *Rationale* believe that most of the work was accomplished by Goodrich, Bell and Capon, since the three other bishops were otherwise occupied during the period.

The *Rationale* provides a brief description of the rituals allowed in Henry's Church and of their authorized interpretation.² The canon of the mass is briefly described in about three pages to William Durandus' hundred³ :

And then following the example of Christ, the high bishop, which approaching the time of his passion, gave himself to prayer, and according to the apostle's doctrine to Timothy, the minister giveth himself to prayer; First in general for the universal church, of which he desireth peace and preservation, second for princes and rulers, that govern the same, third for all Christian and faithful people, remembering especially in his memento such as charity most bindeth him and time sufficeth him to do, [making an honourable mention of the saints which be departed, and first of our Lady, the XII apostles and as many martyrs

¹ Andrew A. Chibi, « Richard Sampson, His Oratio and Henry VIII's Royal Supremecy » *op.cit.*, p. 534-60 ; Andrew A. Chibi, « Sampson, Richard (d. 1554) », in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, *op.cit.*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24594>, retrieved 23/02/2010 ; Richard Rex, « Clerk, John (1481/2?-1541) », *ibid.*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5615>, retrieved 23/02/2010 ; Angelo J. Louisa, « Capon [Salcot], John (d. 1557) », *ibid.*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4592>, consulté le 23/02/2010] et Susan Wabuda, « Bell, John (d. 1556) », *ibid.*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2010>, retrieved 23/02/2010.

² See part III, chapter 3 for a more detailed analysis of the *Rationale of Ceremonial*.

³ Durand de Mende, *Le sens spirituel de la liturgie : Rational des divins offices, livre iv de la messe*, (Dominique Millet-Gérard, trad.) Genève : 2003, p. 298-417, and Timothy M. Thibodeau, « Les sources du Rationale » in *Guillaume Durand, Evêque de Mende, v. 1230-1296, canoniste, liturgiste et homme politique*, Paris : 1992, p. 152.

[...] desiring God by their prayers to protect and defend the whole congregation of all Christians and after certain prayers and petitions made for the people and also that the oblation be acceptable unto God, he proceedeth to the consecration first of the bread...

This section describes the *Te Igitur* prayer which is the beginning of the canon: although the petition for the church is a direct translation from the Latin, the authors depart notably from the canonical form when they note that the priest then prays for the princes and rulers that govern the Church. The pope is left out, as expected, but so is the diocesan bishop. The *Rationale of Ceremonial* thus seems to endorse the practice of priests who suppressed the reference to the bishop as well as the pope from the canon of the mass. Furthermore the origin of the clause ‘that govern the same’ is perplexing: is it a translation as is ‘of which he desireth peace and preservation’ or is an explanatory gloss? In the case of the former, would a clause referring to the king’s supreme headship have been inserted in the canon of the mass, as in Cambridge UL, Rit a. 150.1?¹

This document, often considered as a conservative defence of the traditional liturgy, offers, in fact, fairly radical departures from the traditional form of the canon of the mass.

C. Newly printed canons

In Antwerp, the widow of Christopher Ruremond published a newly corrected manual in 1543. The altered version of the canon of the mass reads :

In primis que tibi offerimus, pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica: quam pacificare, custodire, adiunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum una cum famulo tuo rege nostro N et antistite nostro N id est proprio episcopo nostro N et dicantur nominatim et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholice et apostolice fidei cultoribus.²

The use of black ink throughout this passage obfuscates the difference between the text and the rubric; and it is unclear who is being referred to with the third ‘*nostro N*’. Nevertheless, the king’s precedence over the bishop is unmistakable. The printer’s workshop took great care in tailoring the canon of the mass to the ecclesiological features of the Henrician Church.³ They would have been aware of the practice of

¹ See above, section 1.C.

² *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, Anvers : 1543 (STC 16149), sig. l vii(v)-l viii.

³ See also the changes in the *Exultet* in part I, chapter 2.

reordering the canon of the mass and estimated that it had become standard. In turn, the new formulation would have gained ground through publication and been adopted by the priests who purchased the new manual.

The British Library holds an extraordinary Sarum missal from Christopher Ruremond's 1528 edition. A newly printed version of the canon was inserted in lieu of the traditional canon of the mass.

In primisque tibi offerimus: pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica: quam pacificare, custodire, adiuuare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum una cum famulo tuo et rege nostro Henrico octavo et antistite nostro *N id est proprio episcopo nostro tantum et dicuntur omnia hec nominatim. Sequatur.* Et omnibus orthodoxis: atque catholice et apostolice fidei cultoribus.¹

The term 'pope' and the feasts of St Thomas occur elsewhere in the missal but a new run of the canon was printed and incorporated into the missal. After 1534, the printer may have wished to update his stock of obsolete missals by replacing the old version of the canon by one that would be more fitting with the recent developments. This move would also have been a marketing operation destined to ingratiate the evangelical printer's workshop to the regime.² Although but one of these updated books have survived, there will have been more, thus also contributing to the dissemination of the rewritten version of the canon.³

D. Successive amendments at Bodenham, Herefordshire

In the Hereford missal in use in Bodenham, the canon of the mass had been torn out under Edward VI.⁴ When Mary restored the mass, the missing pages were copied out by hand and inserted into the missal. The canon reads thus :

In primis que tibi offerimus, pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica: quam pacificare, custodire, adiuuare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum una cum famula tua regina nostra et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholice et apostolice fidei cultoribus.

¹ London, BL, C 110 g 3, see plate.

² See introduction for a brief presentation of Christopher Ruremond.

³ Only two books from the 1528 edition has survived : Cambridge, UL, F 152 b 6.4. Many more books from the 1527 edition have survived but they had probably been sold by the mid 1530s (Oxford, Bodleian Douce B subt 20, Gough Missals 22 and 191 ; Oxford, Christ Church College, W M3. 9, London, BL, C 35 i 9 ; Tidmarsh Parish Church, Missal ; Ushaw College, XVIII F 3. 1)

⁴ Oxford, St John's College, Cupboard B. 2. upper-shelf. 1. See plate.

Hence, the queen is the sole authority mentioned : this is, in fact, a ‘rewritten canon’ adapted to the advent of Mary. It is likely that the form harked back to what was used, in that parish, at the end of Henry’s reign, and is identical to that promoted in the *Rationale of Ceremonial*.

Later, probably after the queen’s wedding and when the clergy became aware that papal supremacy had been restored, they inserted the words ‘*una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. et Rege nostro N*’ before the reference to the queen, thus restoring the canon of the mass to its pre-1534 wording, with the added inclusion of the sovereigns.

A particular level of liturgical sensitivity is displayed throughout this copy of the Hereford missal. The subtle and repeated alterations to the canon of the mass are but another sign of the local clergy’s attention to consistency in public prayer.¹

Conclusion

What had, at first, appeared as an idiosyncratic liturgical arrangement proved to be a well established practice which, by the end of Henry’s reign, had become the accepted norm, probably even in conservative circles. Furthermore, this development testifies to the power of the royal supremacy as a religious conceit, requiring, in several instances, liturgical adjustments heretofore unacknowledged. The theological significance of worship beckons the forging of new religious doctrine in the crucible of liturgical experimentation.

¹ See also part II, chapter 2, section 2, B and plate for the repeated changes to the collect for the king. The typographical mistakes in the missal are also duly amended. The entire missal is reformed with care and consistency and stands out as a model of good practices.

A small piece of paper was pasted next to the votive mass for the dead, reading: ‘trusty frynde I commende me unto you [? ?] desyryng dayly’. This memento epitomises how the personal and pastoral combine when the priest fulfils his liturgical duties.

PART III: THE DOCTRINAL CONTENT OF THE LITURGY

In this third part, I will be examining the shifting doctrinal context in which the liturgical changes mentioned in the first two parts are to be understood.

CHAPTER 1 : THE THEOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE ROYAL SUPREMACY

The narrow relationship between the doctrinal content of the faith and its liturgical enactments is well established and often reflected in the adage *lex orandi, lex credendi*. The numerous alterations to the liturgical text implemented by the clergy to reflect the advent of the royal supremacy suggest that what they were seeking to reflect in the prayer of the church was more than an administrative reorganisation. Henry's advisers were quick to point that the bidding prayers had to be changed immediately to reflect accurately the emerging notion of the royal supremacy. Following that, numerous other passages were changed, rewritten or reordered by local priests, on order from their bishop, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, at least ; but certainly in some cases this was born out of an individual's aspiration to consistency. The liturgical changes found in the service books provide indications as to the doctrinal nature of the change at hand. If the liturgy is a mirror of the church's beliefs, are the elaborate liturgical changes required by the royal supremacy not indicative that something in the doctrinal fabric of the church was changing ?

Returning to Prosper of Aquitaine's original formula from which the Latin adage was coined, *ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*, it is clear that in fact what is meant is that the rule of prayer is meant to determine the rule of faith. It might be better to read what follows as an exploration of the new faith which has emerged from the liturgy. The doctrinal nature of the supremacy may be born of liturgical experimentations conducted locally and individually rather than reflected in them. Indeed 'the liturgy

dramatises and gives life to the truths that it proclaims',¹ and it is changed by dogmatic revolutions but can also give rise to them. This chapter thus responds to Paul de Clerk's invitation to 'consider the liturgy as a resource, as a theological locus, rather than simply as a form of expression which needs to be reformed to reflect dogmatic currents.'²

This is the very path that I have followed, from the variations on the traditional liturgy to questioning the doctrinal status of the royal supremacy through an exploration of non-liturgical sources.

1. Discourses on the royal supremacy

A. The Henrician confessions of faith: telling the obvious

i. 'A title annexed to the imperial crown of this realm'

The importance of the royal supremacy is unquestionable. The emergence of this concept at once justified and facilitated the break with Rome. As head of the church, Henry could reject appeals to Rome and have the Archbishop of Canterbury resolve the 'king's great matter' to his satisfaction. The opposition encountered by Cranmer in his efforts to conduct a provincial visitation led to the passing of the Act of Supremacy, in which the king's title as head of the church is acknowledged and his powers enumerated and yet the fact that Parliament did not establish the king's supremacy is emphasized. The rhetoric of this Act is rather striking as it constantly asserts that it is not creating anything new but merely stating a fact : the king is head of the Church by virtue of his imperial crown. The same point is made by the king himself :

but also the same our nobles and commens both of the Clergie and temporaltye by an other severall actes and upon like fundacion for the publique weale of this our Realme have united, knitte and annexe to us and the crowne Imperiall of this our Realme the title, dignitie and stile of Supreme hedd in erth immediatly under God of the church of England as undoubtly evemore we have ben. ³

¹ Jean-Daniel Benoît. *Initiation à la liturgie de l'Eglise réformée de France*, p. 14 : 'par son caractère dramatique, [la liturgie] rend vivantes les vérités qu'elle proclame'.

² Paul de Clerk, 'La liturgie comme lieu théologique', p. 129 : 'considérer les réalisations liturgiques comme une ressource, comme un lieu théologique, plutôt que des les envisager seulement comme des expressions à réformer selon les courants de la dogmatique'.

³ London, BL, Cleopatra E VI fo. 218.

Positive law has only confirmed a pre-existing condition, as Thomas Legh and John ap Rice are well aware : “That the King, who is now acknowledged Supreme Head of the Church of England (though he always was so) [...]”¹ In such examples, one may perceive the anxiety around the problem of reconciling the passing of the Act of Supremacy with the eternal nature of the king’s supremacy on his Church.² But any doubts were glossed over by saying that in fact, papal supremacy was established by human law and was therefore lawfully overturned in the same manner.³

Hence, the royal supremacy can only be acknowledged or recognised as a fact.⁴ It is as obvious and unquestionable as the obedience due to Christ :

And as all Christian people, as well spiritual as temporal, be bound to believe, honour and obey our Saviour Jesus Christ, the only Head of the universal church, so likewise they be, by his commandment, bound to honour and obey, next after himself, Christian kings and princes, which be the head governors under him in the particular churches.⁵

The authors of the texts seeking to define the contours of the doctrine in the English Church were members of the high clergy who must have been wary of defining too precisely the royal supremacy for two reasons. They probably feared that misrepresenting the nature and extent of the supremacy might anger the king and put their authority (threat of a *praemunire*) if not their lives at risk. The other reason is that a clear definition might result in their giving too much away. The potency of this line of argument at a time when the relative powers of king and (arch)bishops were at stake should not be taken lightly.⁶ The royal supremacy may even be a useful tool for bishops to assert their independence from all other ecclesiastical authority. As a historian, it is easy to fall prey to this manner of presentation of the royal supremacy as an unquestionable reality. Although Scarisbrick does identify the ‘theological revolution’ brought about by this idea, he does not explore explicitly its doctrinal nature.⁷

¹ *Letters and Papers*, ix, 424 (London, BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra. E. vi fo. 254 and Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 1, ii, p. 216)

² See also J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 390

³ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 114, 117 and 122 (*Bishops’ Book*) and p. 282, 286 and 288 (*King’s Book*)

⁴ Note the use of the term acknowledge with reference to the supremacy.

⁵ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 248

⁶ See Bowker’s account of conservative bishops fighting to maintain the exclusivity of their authority in their diocese in the context of Cranmer’s 1534 provincial visitation.

⁷ J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 324

ii. An instrument for reform

The supremacy authorises royal or vice-gerential visitations and injunctions,¹ the dissolution of the monasteries and the publication of formularies of faith.² The supremacy itself is never defined in these formularies, although their legitimacy rests firmly on the king's authority. The only mentions are in passing in the Preface or as the unquestionable foundation on which the articles are promulgated at the beginning of each of the *Ten Articles*.³ Apart from the requirement to advertise and teach it, the royal supremacy is not mentioned in the royal Injunctions of 1536 and 1538.⁴ It was often simply described as an instrument to enact much needed reforms in the church :

the King's highness, graciously tendering the weal of his subjects' souls, hath in part already, and more will hereafter, travail for the abolishing of such images as might be an occasion of so great an offence to God, and so great a danger to the souls of his loving subjects.⁵

G.R. Elton and Christopher Haigh have taken up this instrumental understanding of the royal supremacy : 'what mattered [to Stokesley if not to Fisher] was not the royal supremacy but what Henry made of it.'⁶

B. Constituted by God and prescribed by Scripture

In the formularies, which are very concerned with the difference between things necessary for salvation and things indifferent, the supremacy itself is never overtly classified in either category. The best account of the supremacy is found in the article on the sacrament of orders in the *Bishops' Book* and the *King's Book* :

Moreover, the truth is, that God constituted and ordained the authority of Christian kings and princes to be the most high and supreme above all other powers and offices in the regiment and governance of his people ; and commuted unto them, as unto the chief heads of their commonwealths, the cure and oversight of all the people which be within their realms and dominions, without any exception. [list of secular powers] but specially and

¹ *Articles of Visitation*, p. 2

² *Formularies of Faith*, p. 26-7 (*Bishops' Book*)

³ See also Article 8 on the cult of the saints, Lloyd, *Formularis of Faith*, p. xxx.

⁴ *Articles of Visitation*, p. 3

⁵ *Injunctions*, p. 38

⁶ Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformations*, p. 121-5, quotation p. 123

principally to defend the faith of Christ and his religion, to conserve and maintain the true doctrine of Christ and his religion, to conserve and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true preachers and setters forth thereof, and to abolish all abuses, heresies, and idolatries, which be brought in by heretics and evil preachers [punish w/ corporeal pains] and finally to oversee and cause that the said priests and bishops do execute their said power, office, jurisdiction truly, faithfully, and according in all points it was given and committed unto them by Christ and his apostles.¹

Moreover, Christ himself did not try to upset worldly kingdoms, since his kingdom is not of this world.²

Having established that the supremacy of kings in the world is willed by God, the promoters of the Henrician settlement argue the case from Scripture. The biblical passages usually used to ground the authority of the Roman church over all others are interpreted in another light³ and the natural spiritual headship of kings asserted with references to Old Testament kings, the fifth commandment, Prov 20:24, 1Peter 2:13-14 and 17 and Rm 1:13.

Papal supremacy when it existed, having been established by positive laws, is indifferent.⁴ While the overlordship of kings is established by of divine right, grounded on Scripture and never presented as a matter of *adiaphora*. The sub-prior of Woburn, Rauff Woborne executed for denying the supremacy, had, among other offences, argued 'that the bp. of Rome's usurped power was abrogate by common consent of the realm, but never alleged scripture to prove the King's title, or that the bishop of Rome's power was justly taken away'.⁵

¹ *Formularies of Faith*, p. 120-1 (*Bishops' Book*) and p. 286 (*King's Book*); see also Gardiner's argument in Jannelle, *Obedience in Church and State*, p. 89 : God has put men in authority as his vice gerents and requires that we obey them. And in that place he hath set prince [whom] as representours of his Image unto men [...]

² *Formularies of Faith*, p.120 (*Bishop's Book*); note that this passage is left out of the *King's Book*; see also Cuthbert Tunstall's Palm Sunday sermon, STC 24322, sig C iii; Sampson and Edward Foxe make the same point, see Chibi, « Richard Sampson, his *Oratio* and Henry VIII's Royal Supremacy », *Journal of Church and State*, 1997, p. 548.

³ Andrew A. Chibi, « Sampson », p. 555-6; Rex, « The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation », *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, n°4 (Dec., 1996), p. 889 ;; *Formularies of Faith*, (*Bishops' Book*) p. 55-6. Similar arguments are developed by Gardiner and Tunstall.

⁴ Starkey, *An exhortation to the people instructing them to unity and obedience*, 1536 (STC 2323). See Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 193-4.

⁵ *Letters and Papers* 13, i, 981 (SP. 1/132 f.76).

2. Teaching, preaching and believing

A. 'preaching the word of god, the royal supremacy'¹

Under the influence of Lutheran thought,² the term 'word of God' emerges and replaces the phrases 'God's law' and 'Holy Scripture' in the 1530s. In Henrician propaganda 'the word of God' comes to be coupled with preaching in favour of the royal supremacy. The king required the bishops to :

set forth, declare, and preach unto our said subjects the very true and sincere word of God, **and** (without all manner color, disimulation, and hypocrisy) manifest and publish the great and innumerable enormities and abuses' of the bishop of Rome.³

Preaching the 'word of God' also came to be associated in the 1530s with sermons on obedience and submission.⁴ Although, in his 1536 injunctions, Cromwell uses the term 'by God's commandment', a year later, Rowland Lee writes to the priests of his diocese of Coventry and Lichfield :

that ye and every one of you do instruct and teach your parishioners, the King's majesty to be only the Supreme Head under Christ in earth of this his Church of England, unto whom all potestates and powers of the same own to obey, being thereto obliged and bound by God's word⁵

Obedience is sacred duty demanded by God, simultaneously built on and bolstering the claim of royal supremacy.⁶

In a further letter, the king again uses the word 'and' to connect the two items on the preaching agenda in 1535, i.e. the word of God and the supremacy :

the bishops themselves must teach and preach unto the people the true manere and sincere word of God **and how** the sayd stile and jurisdiction of supreme hede appertaineth unto us, our crown and our dignity royall.⁷

¹ This paragraph is a very brief summary of Richard Rex's article : 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, n°4 (Dec., 1996).

² Rex specifies that the use of the term is not accompanied by a wholesale acceptance of the 'Lutheran scriptural principle'. p. 890. See his comments on Gardiner's use of the Lutheran theology of obedience, p. 884-5.

³ *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol I, p. 230 quoted by Rex, p. 890.

⁴ And see Richard Rex p. 890 : 'In its new signification, 'preaching the word of God' was a fluid term, and might denote preaching the bold Lutheran message of justification by faith alone, or the less strident evangelical claim to be preaching in accordance with scripture, or the specific business of preaching obedience to the royal supremacy'

⁵ *Injunctions and Visitation Articles*, p. 19

⁶ See also : J. Strype (ed.), *Ecclesiastical memorials*, I, ii, p. 175 : 'Verbum Dei est, obedire Regi, non Episcopo Romano' quoted in Richard Rex, 'The Crisis of Obedience', p. 889.

⁷ SP. 1/93 f.135v and Cleopatra E VI, fo. 218.

Indeed, one may wonder how different these two items are meant to be and if their close association does not reflect that they are but one and the same thing. Rex's argument is very convincing : by constantly referring to 'the word of God' and the supremacy, the notion emerged that these two concepts overlapped. To the examples quoted by Rex, one may add Lee's decision to copy the formula in his letter in response to rumours of his unwillingness to enforce royal policies :

His highness, in his most honourable lettres comaundethe me to commawnde and charge all ecclesistical persons to teache and preache the verie syncer worde of god, and to sett for the and declare his highnes title dignitie and style of supreme hed.¹

The rhetoric initiated by the promoters of the royal supremacy then seeped into the language of its local supporters. To take another example from Rex's articles, in Ipswich, 'an ennemy of the word of God' was replaced by 'a true preacher of the word of God, a great setter forth of the king's mostjust and lawful title of supremacy'.²

Finally, the royal supremacy is almost systematically referred to as something to be preached and taught. This is the case in the short 'declaration for priests unlearned' (see next section for the complete text) as in John Clerk's instruction to the clergy in the diocese of Bath and Wells. He requires them to preach and teach the people that the power of the pope is extinct in England and that the title of head of the Church is annexed to the royal title and dignity. Having thus been instructed, masters are to

puerly and sincerly instructe educate and bryng up the yowtheis to them committed with often inculcation and teaching them the iuste and lawfull abolishment expulsion and puttyng oute of the said busshoppe of Rome is usurped Jurisdiction power and authoritie after soche sorte and fashion that the iuste title stile and Jurisdiction (beyng now in their young and tendre hartes depely rooted and engraphed) may allwayes herafter encrease and contynew in their breestes and stomakes, as a moost loiall faythfull trew and loving opinion towards the kinges highnes and his succession for ever.³

The clergy were thus enrolled to teach the faithful about the royal supremacy. The method is not unusual, and the Church's hierarchy had been used in the past to convey important news or to convince the people of the validity of a war or of royal claims to the throne of France.⁴ But in the 1530s, the clergy were mobilised in their capacity to

¹ Cléopatra E VI, fo. 243.

² Richard Rex provides several examples of this : p. 890 quoting *Letters and Papers*, 12, 1063. See other examples p. 891.

³ SP. 3/6, fo. 42v. See also *Tudor Royal Proclamations* vol. i, p. 230.

⁴ See PART 2, chapter 1.

preach the word of God and disseminate what amounts to the church's magisterial teaching on the royal supremacy.

B. believing in the truth of the royal supremacy and professing it

The royal supremacy is repeatedly termed 'a truth'. Unsurprisingly, Henry himself, writing to the Earl of Essex, requiring him to arrest any priest suspected of supporting the pope and 'sowing their sedicious, pestylent and false doctrynes' rather than 'the most holly lawes and precepts of almighty god' described his intention thus :

We therefore myndyng not only to provide for an unity and quietness to be had and contynued amonge our subgietts but also greatly covetyng and desyryng them to be brought to a perfecion and knowledge of the mere veritie and truth and no longer to be seduced nor blynded with any suche supersticiouse and false doctryne [...] will therefore and commaunde you that [doo apprehende and take them or cause them to be apprehended and taken and commytted to ward] suche sedicious personnes that in suche wise do spreade, teche and preache or otherwise sett forth any suche opynions and pernicious doctryne to the exultacion of the poser of the bishop of Rome bryngyng thereby our subgietts into error, gruge and murmuracion¹

Henry opposes the papists' 'pernicious doctrine' with 'the perfecion and knowledge of the mere veritie and truth'. Diocesan administrations also resort to the concept of truth when discussing the royal supremacy. John Clerk hence ordered his clergy to

publisshe, preche and teache[...] in such wise that the kynges peopull and Subiectes may bee fully instructed edified and establisshed in trewe knowledge and beleffe not only of the iust extinction and extirpation out of this Realme of the busshopp of Rome is usurped authoritie and Jurisdiction, but also of the iuste application incorporation and union of the tytyle stile and dignitie of supreme hedde of the Church of Englonde to the kynges highnes is Crowne Imperiall.²

A very similar treatment is found in the short declaration that unlearned priests were to read to their parishioners in the dioceses of Lincoln,³ Ely⁴ and York¹ and probably many more, if Elton's hypothesis is correct and this text was written by Cromwell² :

¹ Cleopatra E VI, fo. 217, the emphasis is mine.

² Kew, National Archives, SP 6/3, fo. 42v, the emphasis is mine.

³ Lincoln Archives Office, Register 26, fos 260-261v and Susan Wabuda, 'Bishop John Longland's mandate' p. 261.

⁴ Bishop Goodrich's Register : Cambridge University Library, G/1/7 fos 125r-v.

Ye shall understand that the unlawfull jurisdiction power and authority of longe tyme usurped by the bisshope of Rome in this Realme who then was called pope is now by Godes lawe iustly lawfully & (upon good) groundes raysons and causes by autorite off Parliament and by and with the hole consent and agreement of all the bisshops prelates and both universities of Oxfforthe and Cambridge And also of the hole Clargie of this Realme extinct and ceased for ever as of no strenghte, value or effecte in the Realme of Englonde. In which realme the saide hole Clergie, Bisshopes, prelatis and either of the Convocations of bothe provynces with also the universities of Oxforthe and Cambridge have accordyng to godes lawes and uppon good and lawfull reasons and growndes knowledge the kynges highness to be the supreme hede in erthe immediaty under God of the Churche of Englande whiche theyr knowlege (being) confessed and now by parliament established and by godes lawes iustysiable to be iustlye executid. So ought everi trew Christen subiecte of this Realme not onely to knowlege and obediently [to] recognise the kynges highness to be supreme hede in erthe of the Churche of Englande but allso to speke, publisse and to teche there children and servantes the same and to shewe unto them [how ?] that the saide bishope of Rome hathe hertfore usurpyd not onely upon god but also upon prynces of the Realme and there progenitors. Wherefore and to thentente ye sholde the better beleve me herein and take and receave the trueth as ye ought to doo I declare this unto yow not onely of my selfe whiche I knowe to be true but also declare unto you that the same ys certified to me frome the mouthe of myne ordinarye the bishop of Ely under his seale whiche I have redy to shew unto you.³

Parish priests are the prophets who bear witness to the truth that they receive from their bishops. Moreover people must believe, acknowledge this truth and also ‘speke, publisse and teche’ it to their dependants. Are these not the terms a Christian might use to refer to the Gospel and his duty to bear witness to its truth? Is not this passage reminiscent of the Prologue of John’s Gospel? The royal supremacy is presented as good news to which the English must convert.

Gardiner reflected if not his own experience of conversion to this truth, at least that experienced by Henry, probably Cranmer and many others.⁴ Scarisbrick is right when he writes : ‘we must understand that to such as Cranmer and doubtless may others, [the doctrine of the royal supremacy] was real and compelling – both a revelation and a liberation- and that for them the king’s headship was a holy thing which demanded obedience as to a father in God.’⁵ In a pamphlet in response to Paul III’s condemnation of the execution of John Fisher, Gardiner testifies that ‘now att the last, by the benignite of god , who hath gyven us a better Jugement, wee ar losyd, and made free.’ The simile

¹ Kew, National Archives, SP 6/5 fo. 73 and fo. 165-72 (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.* viii, 294).

² G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 233-5.

³ transcribed from : Goodrich’s Register, Cambridge University Library, G/1/7 fos 125r-v; my emphasis.

⁴ For Henry’s experience of conversion see Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 326 and *Letters and Papers*, x, 141. See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer* p. 58-60. .

⁵ J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 389.

with Paul's Damascus conversion is here only suggested, but is made explicit in *De Vera Obedentia*. Gardiner's judgement had long been obscured by superstition but was, by God's grace, suddenly exposed to 'the light of the true veritie'.¹ To this, Gardiner added an self-justification for his prolonged silence on the royal supremacy :

I was astonied whan I knewe the truthe : even as a mannes eies being dilled with darkenes are wont to be amased at sodayne brightnes whan the light breaketh out. For I had not the gift that Paule undoubtedly had who as sone as God had ouer throwne him, fell down and spake the words of obedience, sayeng, Lorde, what wilte thou have me to doo ?

Later he repeatedly used the words 'truth' and 'verity' when discussing the duty of obedience of Christians, and, for the bishop of Winchester, obedience and royal supremacy were inextricably connected.

When Cranmer's leniency towards papists was challenged, the archbishop replied :

What will ye have a man do to hym that ys not yet come to the knowledge of the trueth of the gossell [...] Shall we perhaps, in his jorney comyng towaris us, by severitie and cruell behaviour overthrowe hym, and as it were in his viage stoppe hym? I take not this the wey to alleure me to embrace the doctrine of the gossell.²

Cranmer resorted to the language of conversion (as a journey, a voyage) in relation to the supremacy, for, without God's grace and without showing mercy, no man can convert another to the 'truth of the gospel' and to 'our religion', another term he used in the same passage. In this conversion from the superstition of papism to the true light of the royal supremacy, the Bible was meant to play a central role: 'Henry was convinced that publishing the Bible in English would disseminate the obvious truth of royal supremacy'.³

After 'acknowledging and declaring'⁴ or 'consenting, recognising and approving'⁵ the royal supremacy, the bishops 'also by worde othe profession and writyng under our signes and seales have confessed ratified corroborated, and confirmed the same.'⁶ Cuthbert Tunstall's vocabulary conveys the same idea that the royal supremacy is an essential aspect of the Christian faith : 'putting our confidence in allmighty god and cleaving fast to the kynges maiestie, our supreme hed in erth next under

¹ Pierre Jannelle, *Obedience in Church and State*, p. 69.

² Quoted in Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's doctrine of repentance*, p. 20.

³ Richard Rex, 'Obedience', p. 892.

⁴ Pierre Jannelle, *Obedience in Church and State*, p. 39 and p. 91.

⁵ Kew National Archives, SP 6/3, fo. 42.

⁶ Kew, National Archives, SP 6/3, fo. 42.

Christ'.¹ Acceptance of the royal supremacy is paramount to being a true Christian. John Rastell suggested Cromwell have his primer printed, so that the prayers for the king that it contained might 'bryng them to the ryght believe'.²

Finally, responding to Paul III's declaration that John Fisher had died for God, the catholic religion, justice and truth, Gardiner replied :

as though it war for god, to contrary his prince beyng the vicar of God for the catholike religion, nott to geve suche obedience as thatt same religion requiryth, and asthough it war for Justice to breke the lawes lawfully promulgat, and finally asthough it war for the troth, to repugne agaynst the troth.³

The ultimate aim of this rhetorical purple-patch is to prevent the emergence of martyrs to the papal cause.⁴ In this context of defence of the true religion against 'the beleive of the popes naughty doctrine', the competing discourses on heresy deserve particular attention.⁵

C. Who are the heretics ?

i. Is papal supremacy a heresy ?

The first step in the evolution of the notion of heresy in Henry's England took place in January 1534, when Parliament passed a new heresy law excluding attacks against the pope from this category of offence. Believing in the pope's authority was termed a false doctrine and an error before being considered as something akin to heresy. In 1537, Cranmer wrote to the king :

ffor if it were no erroneous that was taught of his powere that he is christes vicar in erth & by goddess lawes heade of al the worlde spiritual and temporal & that al people must beleve that donccitates salutes & that who so ever doth any thyng against the see of Rome is an heretike & that he hath autotitie also in purgatory, with such other many false thynges which were taught in tymes past to be articles of our faith. if thies thynges were not erroneous, yea and errores in the faith then must needis your graces lawes be erroneous that p(ro)usvntes the busshoppe of Rome to be of no more power by goddess laws than other busshoppes & theym to be traytors that defende the contrary. Tthis is certen, that who so ever sayth that the church never erred must either deny that the church ever taught any such errores of the busshope of Rome his poweres & than thay spoke against that which al the worlde knoweth & al bookes written of that matter thies iii or iiii hundreth yeres do testifie: or ell

¹ Cuthbert Tunstall, *Palm Sunday sermon*, STC 24322, sig Eiii(v)- Eiiii :

² SP. 1/85, fo. 113-114 (*Letters and Papers*, 7, 1073), fo. 114.

³ Pierre Jannelle, *Obedience in Church and State*, p. 31.

⁴ On this strategy see : Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 153-5

⁵ Kew, National Archives SP 1/85, fo. 113-114 (*Letters and Papers*, 7, 1073), quotation from fo. 114.

they must say that the said errores be none errores but truthes & than it is both **traison & heresy**.¹

Rejecting the royal supremacy on religious principle, as a matter of faith in the Roman church's authority is thus deemed heretical.² And yet, papists are condemned for high treason, for denying that Henry is the lawful head of the church is as seditious as denying that he is king. There is one exception to this rule : the trial of Friar Forrest, an Observant Franciscan burnt at the stake along with the statue of Dderfel Gadarn. Peter Marshall has explored the complex reasons, both diplomatic and domestic, that made this experiment unique.³

There are two main sets of reasons why the idea that papism was a heresy became untenable *officially*. Accusations of heresy would have provided much-needed ammunition for the international campaign against England, already encouraged by the papacy. And although considering papism to be a heresy was consistent with one part of the Henrician formularies of faith, it jarred with the new ecclesiology outlined in the *Ten Articles*. How could the Church of England tenably be one among several national churches of equal dignity and the only true church, surrounded by a sea of papist heretics ?

Solid as this argument might be, is not the burning of John Forrest as a heretic more important than the fact that it only happened once ? Domestically, and perhaps even diplomatically, the message sent by this policy probably had a lasting impact on popular understanding of the king's supremacy. Even if all papists were later executed as traitors, it does not follow that they were not also heretics. The action of the State certainly set in motion an idea that subsequently escaped its control and surely lived on, thriving on the anti-papal propaganda.

If the supremacy is not adiaphorous, then it is a matter of faith and rejecting it must be a heresy. In 1543, the *King's Book* certainly implied that refusing the royal supremacy was a heresy as well as treason. In its introduction to the Creed, one reads that :

First it is to be noted, that all and singular the twelve articles contained in this Creed be so necessary to be beleived for man's salvation, that whosoever will not constantly believe them, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them, cannot be very members of Christ and his espouse the church, but are very

¹ Cleopatra E VI, fo. 235, the emphasis is mine.

² For a similar argument that papism is heretical see : *Letters and Papers*, xiv, i, 376. See also how this can be inferred from the Bishops' Book (other examples in Peter Marshall, 'The Burning of John Forrest' *The Historical Journal*, vol 41, no 2 (1998) p. 358-9.

³ In the French thesis, I have summarized Peter Marshall's article.

infidels or heretics, and members of the Devil, with whom they shall be perpetually damned.¹

Believing the articles of the Creed certainly means accepting them in the sense of the detailed exposition that this text introduces. And, in the gloss of the ninth article, the royal supremacy is explicitly expounded (see quote above,).² It then follows that denying the supremacy will result in the offender's exclusion from the church and hence from eternal salvation. Developing a different line of argument and in the wake of the Pilgrimage of Grace, Edward Lee guaranteed eternal damnation to disobedient subjects :

All curates and other having benefices appropriated by themselves if they can , or by other preachers, once every quarter, must teach and instruct the people of their duty of faithful and loyal obedience to our Soverieng lord the King, declaring that they be bounden to yield entire and perfect obedience to King's Highness by God's law express, **under the pain of damnation everlasting.**³

It is difficult to argue that such absolute obedience did not include submission to the royal supremacy.

ii. Is the royal supremacy a heresy ?

Conversely, the supporters of papal authority unanimously condemned the royal supremacy as a heresy. Paul III condemned Henry for schism, heresy and the execution of a cardinal. ⁴ And Gardiner responded by pitting the two religions against each other : 'I pray god further us in thatt christian religion, which he callith heresy'. ⁵

In 1556, Cardinal Pole wrote in the legatine constitutions : 'the greatest amount of error has arisen on those points which relate to the doctrine of the head of the church and the sacraments'

Ethan Shagan touches on an essential point when he writes :

we are faced with a discrepancy between standard historiographical views of the 'Henrician schism' and powerful contemporary perceptions of 'Henrician heresy'. The idea of 'schism' comes easily to historians who want to de-emphasise the importance of the Henrician Reformation, as indeed it did to sixteenth-century English Catholics who wanted to downplay the theological

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 226-7.

² *Ibid.*, and 248. Here I am applying Peter Marshall's line of argument on the Bishops' Book to the King's Book and the royal supremacy ('The Burning of John Forrest', p. 359).

³ *Visitation Articles, op.cit.*, p. 51, the emphasis is mine.

⁴ Pierre Jannelle, *Obedience in Church and State*, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

significance of their own conformity. This firm distinction between schism and heresy, however, was something of a fiction, or at least a convenience, rather than an accurate depiction of the religious dynamics of the 1530s.¹

Rhetorically, the situation is one in which two competing visions of the true face are facing a stand-off, with each side making solid and exclusive truth-claims. Discerning heresy in the doctrine of one's opponents was a means of asserting the validity of one's position but such accusations conversely bolstered the other side's commitment to label one a heretic. As with most fights and name calling, it is difficult to determine who to blame for starting it.

The discourses on the royal supremacy intimate that it was not a mere a jurisdictional or political matter but a question that bore on the issue of salvation, of truth and hence had passed into the dogmatic teaching of the Church.

3. The royal supremacy, a dogma of the Church of England ?

A. Definitions of doctrine and dogma

The *New Dictionary of Theology* offers the most detailed definitions of these two terms, which I have briefly summarized in this section.

Doctrines are 'rooted in the person of Christ, they are not merely repetitious either of the kerygma or of the words or deeds of Christ, but faithful interpretations of the meaning of these for particular times and circumstances. Further, doctrines enunciate the truth, but since they respond to the Mystery of God in Christ, none of them, nor even all of them taken together, exhaust the truth. They are shaped by the language, thought patterns, and concerns of the particular community or historical era in which they are formulated.' Although the New Testament is the primary source of doctrine, 'the Church expounds the meaning of Christ's life through teaching, liturgy, writings of theologians, lives of holy men, pronouncement of ecumenical councils and papal pronouncements', provided that all these alternative sources are 'in the service of and under the authority of sacred scriptures. Doctrines are ultimately meant to 'provide

¹ Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics*, p. 42.

Christians with a worldview by which they may understand themselves and their relations to the God of JC and to other men and women'. The Church believes that its teachings are protected from error by the Holy Spirit. This protection is effected 'through the reciprocal relation between teachers and those who live under the governance of the Holy Spirit and who receive those teachings. Authentic teaching is not arbitrarily exercised' nor is it 'extrinsic to the community but an expression of the community's insight into the meaning of Christ's works and deeds. Most doctrine is received within the self authenticating Christian tradition without being specifically defined by the teaching office' (such as concern for the poor or the need for personal prayer). Often a crisis will 'force a definition of what is understood to be authentic and true'.

The authors then establish a distinction between doctrines which 'speak authoritatively to specific circumstances but are not revelatory or unchangeable' and dogmatic teaching which 'refers to those doctrines understood to be certainly revealed and which mark the parameters of orthodox faith'.¹ Although contemporaries may not have used this terminology, they clearly distinguished between changeable traditions, to which papal supremacy may have, for a time, belonged and the royal supremacy which rapidly acquired the attributes of a dogma.

The authority to promulgate dogmas rests in 'the Church's belief that in scripture and tradition God's intention for humankind had been revealed to the ecclesial community and that the community's leadership can authoritatively interpret and promulgate this truth. To be adequately understood, therefore dogma, should be situated within the context of revelation.' Although it is 'not coincident with revelation, it is one manner in which revelation is explicated. Functionally then, dogma fulfils the same purpose as revelation: the engagement of one's entire person, mind, feelings, body in an existential encounter with the truth.' and 'many times dogmas, in the modern sense, are enunciated to eliminate error and to establish the parameters of revelation rather than to teach what is already believed by the faith community.' And the authors are careful to state that, as in the case of doctrines, 'some essential truths have never been expressed dogmatically', such as the mystical body of Christ or the reality of grace. In brief, 'dogmas relate to the truth of the revelation and doctrines explain and teach

¹ *The New Dictionary of Theology*, Joseph A. Kimonchnak ; Mary Collins, Dermot A. Lane (ed.), Dublin 1987, definition of 'doctrine', p. 291-3.

how a particular dogma may be understood. There may be several acceptable explanations or doctrines surrounding a single dogma ; the Church admits of pluralism in doctrines, not in dogmas'.¹

B. The royal supremacy, a 'functional dogma'²

When discussing the royal supremacy, historians³ frequently use the term 'doctrine' but systematically in a political or a figurative sense.⁴ The study of the royal supremacy as a doctrine of the church is obscured by the rhetorical veils in which it is shrouded in contemporary documents for the complex reasons reviewed above.

In theory, it is quite easy to assert, as does Daniel Eppley that : 'Indeed, the royal supremacy with its concomitant repudiation of papal primacy was itself a doctrinal innovation : 'by claiming that he was rescuing the English church from the evil papal usurpation, Henry was consciously asserting what had previously been heresy'.⁵ However, in the rest of his discussion of the royal supremacy, Eppley focuses on the extent of the king's powers to determine doctrine rather than on the doctrinal nature of the supremacy itself.

The liturgical changes described in the previous three chapters have led me to question the nature of what the clergy was, in a diversity of ways, reflecting or constructing. Moreover, in more than one instance the liturgy is completely pruned of all catechetical teaching save the exposition of the supremacy (the new bidding prayers and the new litany). Some liturgical pieces function solely as advertisements of the king's supremacy; the only faith deposited in these prayers is doctrine of the royal supremacy. Likewise, sermons and homiletic teaching were, for a while, exclusively focussed on promoting the supremacy as an essential truth to be acknowledged, believed and professed.

¹ *Ibid.*, definition of 'dogma', p. 293-4.

² This term was suggested to me by Alec Ryrie, may he be here thanked for enduring long conversations on this idea.

³ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p.7, 8, 13, 14 (twice), 150 ; Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p.58 ; J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 389

⁴ I thank Alec Ryrie for clarifying his own use of the term in this sense.

⁵ Daniel Eppley, *Defending the Royal Supremacy*, p. 12 quoting Ives' entry for Henry VIII in the *ODNB*.

The supremacy, as it is described in contemporary texts, has all the distinctive features of a dogma of the church : grounded on Scripture, at times even a byword for ‘the word of God’ itself, it was acknowledged, confessed and ratified by the clergy. It was then made known to the people who were expected to be converted to its truth.¹ Is it not ‘a religious truth established by Divine Revelation and defined by the Church’ ?² The repeated claim that it had been accepted by the ‘common consent’ of the church and realm is another feature likening the supremacy to a dogma. On the contrary, papal supremacy was, at best, merely a doctrine (a mutable teaching of the church on ecclesiology) but never a dogma, for the pope’s authority was ‘neither given to him by God in his holy scripture, not allowed by the holy fathers in the ancient general councils, not yet by the consent of the whole catholic church.’³ Indeed, positive public endorsement of the royal supremacy was at the heart of the regime’s policies of 1534-5. The oath campaign is always, and rightly so, interpreted as a policy intended to guarantee political loyalty, but could it not also be read as an attempt to enforce religious orthodoxy? And Thomas More, for one, certainly saw it in that way: politically, he was ready to acquiesce to the new succession law, but the supremacy was the sticking point, because of its spiritual significance.⁴

The prudent conclusion is to advance that the royal supremacy was a functional dogma in Henry’s church, although it was never entirely explicitly defined at such, it comes very close to being an article of faith necessary to salvation. But, it is undoubtedly treated as a such, at times by the regime itself, often by its promoters and very probably by a portion English people. Moreover not being proclaimed a dogma, does not prevent central tenets of the faith from being part of the doctrinal fabric of the Church.

Why was it virtually impossible to *officially* promulgate the royal supremacy’s status as a dogma? To the two reasons mentioned earlier, one more may be added. Rhetorically, it would have been difficult to simultaneously claim to be effecting the

¹ In his *Dictionary of Theology*, Karl Rahner highlights the public nature of dogmatic revelation, in contrast to what he terms ‘private revelation’.

² *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, F. L. Cross, E. A. Livingstone (ed.) Oxford : 1997, definition of dogma.

³ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p.282 (*King’s Book*).

⁴ For him, it was not what Henry would do with the supremacy that mattered, rather it was the supremacy itself.

restoration of the apostolic faith while proclaiming *ex cathedra*¹ a dogmatic teaching that would itself have appeared new. Finally, overt assertion would have created more resistance, both at home and abroad than ever could the pervasive but diffuse popular belief encouraged by official propaganda that the royal supremacy truly was an article of faith for loyal English subjects.

¹ The legitimate source of authority for such a promulgation would have appeared unclear in the early years of the break with Rome.

CHAPTER 2 : CHANGES TO THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

The origin of the word canonization is a timely reminder of the liturgical nature of the cult of saints. Up to the ninth century, including the new saint in the canon of the mass was one of the two steps, along with the translation of his relics, leading to the creation of a new cult.¹ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the papacy claimed the exclusive right to canonize saints and wrested it away from local bishops and monasteries. In England, this right became extinct a few centuries later, after the break with Rome of 1534, when the king took on the authority to determine doctrinal and liturgical matters for the Church. The nature and practice of the cult of saints would henceforth be determined by royal edict.

Of the seven honours rendered to a saint, three are purely liturgical: 'his intercession is invoked in the public prayers of the church, the Eucharist and Divine Office are celebrated in his honour, his festival is observed'.² Saints were also honoured by the custom of dedicating a church in their honour and by extension by the naming of a person or an institution after them, thus creating a link of patronage and enhanced reliance on the intercessory powers of the saint. The three last modalities of the cult of saints are: the inscription of their name in the catalogue of saints, the creation of pictorial representations, and the public honouring of his relics. These devotional practices were very popular in England at the end of the Middle Ages, as shown by many of the revisionists' accounts of the Reformation and studies of popular culture in

¹ Eric Waldram Kemp, *Canonization and authority in the Western Church*, Oxford: 1948, p. 1-2.

² *Ibid.* 2

the 16th century.¹ Guilds and confraternities flourished, the liturgical calendar was brimming with feast days of varying degrees in importance and the people eagerly participated in both the spiritual and the celebratory aspects of saints' days.² Finally praying to the saints and asking them to grant favours was often deemed more efficient and felicitous than direct prayer to Christ or God. These ideas were reinforced by the facts that some saints specialised in solving particular problems and that each person had at least one patron saint.³

Under Henry VIII, pilgrimages and the cult of relics were banned, lights placed before images extinguished, images put down, shrines dismantled. More generally, the cult of saints came under scrutiny as the doctrinal basis for such practices was re-examined. The demise of these practices has been well documented.⁴ However, little attention has been devoted to the evolution of the liturgical dimension of the honouring of the saints.

Changes to the cult of saints are usually approached through the prism of high politics and enforcement. The doctrinal pronouncements of the Henrician church have been carefully scrutinized, alongside the royal and episcopal injunctions translating these policies into practical orders. But the responses elicited from clergy and laity on the receiving end of the enforcement effort are more difficult to assess, and if disobedience left records, conformity and obedience usually did not. The liturgical celebration of the saints was a privileged point of contact between high theology and practical devotion; high-flying liturgical texts were performed to a laity usually well aware of the benefits of saintly intercession and eager to collect the spiritual benefits that could be reaped from church attendance. An approach based on the survey of a significant corpus of extant service books offers a unique chance to assess the multifarious changes that were affecting the doctrine and practice of the cult of saints. Despite the evident conservative bias of a corpus of service-books which had survived systematic destruction in 1549,

¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 155-205 ; Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, op.cit., p. 58-70; Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation*, Cambridge : 1989, p. 59; Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: the Ritual Year 1400-1700*, Oxford : 1994, p. 27, 44 and 65.

² See Le Vavasseur, *Le cérémonial selon le rite romain*, Paris : 1902, p. 73-102 for a detailed explanation of terminology and hierarchy of feast days.

³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 161-3 and 178-81. [Also ? long title form of this below?]

⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the altars : traditional religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, 2nd edn (London/New Haven, CT, 2005), 394-5 (saints days); 408, 443 (litany); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, (New Haven, CT/ London, 1996), 327-8 (litany) 398, 406-10 ; 413-4 ; G.W. Bernard *The king's reformation : Henry VIII and the remaking of the English church* (New Haven, CT/ London, 2005), p. 292, 581, 592.

these sources reveal not only how dramatically the pope and St Thomas Becket were expunged from the liturgy, and how liturgical performance could be affected by the changes, but also that Becket's was not the only cult that was affected by the Henrician Reformation.

1. The Henrician changes to the cult of the saints

A. Challenging saintly intercession

The virtue and manner of praying to saints is first altered in the Ten Articles of 1536. Although remission of sin could only be obtained from God, 'by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient Mediator for our sins', yet praying to saints was recognized as 'very laudable'. They were worthy intercessors and could pray 'pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God'. There followed a recommended prayer :

all holy angles and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his dear son Jesus Christ's sake, we may have grace of him and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, (not wanting ghostly strength), to observe and keep his holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives' end; and in this manner we may pray to our blessed Lady, to St John Baptist, to all and every of the Apostles or any other saint particularly, as our devotion doth serve us.

Moreover, praying was to be done without 'vain superstition', such as thinking 'that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same.'. Finally holydays must be kept 'unto God, in memory of him and his saints, upon which days as the Church hath ordained their memories to be celebrated', for as long as the Supreme Head of the Church deemed necessary and proper, as he possessed the authority to 'mitigate and moderate' such celebrations.¹

Hence, intercessory prayers became less specific and were no longer to be addressed to saints reputed for their efficiency in specific fields. The connection between patron saints and individuals or communities was no longer presented as an essential

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. xxix.

devotional feature.¹ Duffy asserts that, with this text, the Henrician regime was destroying an essential dimension of popular devotion.²

To illustrate the particular relationship individuals may have entertained with their patron saints, we may turn to John Fisher and Thomas More. Although, the bishop's patron saint was probably John of Beverley he seemed to have seen himself as a Baptist-like figure.³ And after his death he was often cast by his hagiographers as John the Baptist opposite Anne/Salomé/Herodias and Henry/Herode. Rastell dutifully noted that John Fisher was executed 'the twenty-second day of June next following, being Tuesday and the day of St. Alban, the first martyr in England, and the day before the even of the Nativity of St. John Baptist', associating the bishop of Rochester to these renowned martyrs.⁴ Similarly Thomas More is well known for writing, when unsure of the date of his imminent execution : 'I would be sorry, if it should be any longer than tomorrow, for it is St Thomas Eve and the octave of St. Peter, and therefore tomorrow long I to go to God, it were a day very meet and convenient for me'.⁵ Saints' lives provided not only exemplars of holiness but also frameworks of interpretation for historical events. In the 1530s, the allegorical dimensions of the cult and imitation of the saints appeared less desirable, in particular since the most famed English saint had died a martyr for the liberties of the church.

Under Henry VIII, the role of the saints was to serve as models of good living and no longer as heavenly intercessors whose help it was legitimate to ask. William Marshall, pushing Henry's agenda in a more evangelical direction, clearly established the existing connection between papal authority and the canonisation of saints and disqualified both ideas in one move :

Right doubtful it is, as I think, to pray unto all those that be mentioned, named, and called saints in the common primers in latin. For although many of them, by what authority I cannot tell, have been canonised and made saints, by such as have been bishops of Rome ; yet whether they be saints or no I commit to the secret judgement of God.⁶

¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, op.cit.* p. 179-81. On intercession, confraternities and guilds see Catherine Vincent 'L'intercession dans les pratiques religieuses' in Jean-Marie Moeglin (ed.), *L'intercession du Moyen Age à l'époque moderne, autour d'une pratique sociale*, Geneva: 2004, p. 175-93.

² Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 393.

³ Eamon Duffy, 'The Spirituality of John Fisher', in Brendan Bradshaw and Eamon Duffy (ed.) *Humanism, Reform and Reformation*, Cambridge : 1989, p. 219-23 and Brendan Bradshaw see also Thomas Bailey, *The Life and Death of John Fisher*, p. 2-3 and T.E. Bridgett, *Life of Blessed John Fisher*, London : 1888, p. 401.

⁴ As cited in Reynolds, *Saint John Fisher*, London: 1955, p. 281.

⁵ As cited in Anthony Kenny, *Thomas More*, Oxford/ New York : 1983, p. 89.

⁶ Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine*, p. 204.

This new attitude towards saintly intercession is also exemplified in the treatment of the *Ave Maria* in Henrician formularies of faith and in state sponsored devotional works. By the 1520s the phrase ‘Ora pro nobis’ or ‘Ora pro nobis peccatorum’ was regularly being added to the prayer.¹ This trend is abandoned in the 1530s at least in English primers printed in London.² Echoing Latimer’s interpretation of the *Hail Mary*, Marshall warned his readers: ‘here first of all take heed no man put his sure trust and hope in the Mother of God’ as does Gowghe: ‘Here thou seest that in these words no petition but pure praises’.³ The *Bishops’ Book* and the *King’s Book* also approach the Hail Mary as a meditation on the incarnation and on Christ and not as a prayer.⁴ With the 1538 Injunctions, the recitation of *Aves* at certain given times is banned, in a move to undercut the practice of acquiring indulgences by praying the *Angelus*.⁵ So, by the 1540s, when the English recited the *Ave Maria* or prayed on their beads, they may have used a different text than in the 1520s. More importantly, they were expected to be doing something very different.

B. Changes to the litany of the saints

Missals, processionals and breviaries offer a variety of litanies. Some are specific to liturgical days (Palm Sunday, Easter Vigil, Rogations, Pentecost, Ascension, Corpus Christi, etc.), others are used in sacraments or sacramentals (Baptism or *Commendatio animarum*) or in times of need (*causa necessitatis vel tribulacionis*) and finally litanies are

¹ The short version of the prayer is found in Betson, *The ryght profitable treatise*, sig. a iii; Richard Whitford, *A worke for Housholders*, STC 25422, sig B iii(v); *The Floure of the commandments*, fo. Ccl i-ii(v). The intercession is included in the *Kalendar of Shepherdes* (see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pl. 39); *Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum*, London: 1523 and *This Prymer of Salysbury Use*, Rouen: 1537 (see, Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine*, p. 131 and 152).

² *A Prymer in Englyshe, with Certeyn Prayers and Godly Meditations*, London: 1534 (William Marshall); *Thys Prymer in Englyshe and in Laten is Newly Translatyd after the Laten Text*, 1536: Rouen; *The Primer in English for Children after the Use of Sarum*, c. 1537; *Hore beate Marie Virgine secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis*, London: 1541 (Thomas Petyt); *Hore beate Marie virginis secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburium de novo impressa*, London: 1541 (John Mayler); *This prymer of Salysbery Use, bothe in English and in Laten*, London: 1536 (John Gowghe); and in Hilsey’s primer: *The Manuall of Prayers, or the Prymer in Englyshe*, London: 1539. See respectively, Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine*, p. 197, 162, 173, 153 (2 utterances), 213 and 228.

³ George Corrie (éd.), *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, Cambridge: 1845, p. 229; *A Prymer in Englyshe, with Certeyn Prayers and Godly Meditations*, (Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine*, p.197); *This prymer of Salysbery Use, bothe in English and in Laten, op.cit.*, (Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine*, p. 214).

⁴ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 203-208 (Bishops’ Book) and 354-8 (King’s Book). In the latter, the section is entitled « The Salutation of the Angel to the Blessed Virgin Mary ».

⁵ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, p. 42.

recited as part of the daily round of prayers (at compline) and in private devotions. This intercessory prayer was considered to be a powerful mean of obtaining divine favour.¹ Its structure could vary according to liturgical specificities, but it was usually composed of three parts : an introductory prayer to the triune God followed by the *Kyrie Eleison*. Then followed a series of intercessions to the saints : the minister would invoke particular saints and the choir respond *Ora pro nobis*. The litany was concluded by a set of demands : the celebrant would make a series of petitions to which the quire would answer *Propicius esto, parce nobis Domine, Libera nos Domine* or *Te rogamus*.

The 1538 Injunctions modified the aforementioned litany used in cases of necessity or hardship :

Where in times past men have sed in divers places in their processions to sing Ora pro nobis to so many saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following as *Parce nobis Domine* and *Libera nos Domine*, it must be taught and preached that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis* and to sing the other suffrages.²

The implementation of this minor change greatly depended on the good will of the clergy and the evidence suggesting it was done remains very scarce.³ Yet, the measure is a clear indication of regime's policy of discouraging devotion to the saints and the new understanding of mediation it was encouraging. Christ was the 'only sufficient Mediator for our sins' and saints were merely 'advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ.'⁴ Evangelical primers similarly deemphasize a traditional mode of prayer associated with papism and superstition.⁵

Finally, the new litany promoted by the regime in 1543 is actually not a litany of the saints at all. Only a few major saints get a passing reference and the focus of the prayer is clearly shifted to the petitions.

C. New paths to salvation

¹ Whitford, *A werke for housholders*, STC 25422, sig. Bi.

² *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, p. 42

³ *Letters and Papers*, xviii (ii) 546, p. 301.

⁴ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, *op.it.*, p. xxix.

⁵ *The manuell of prayers, or the prymer in Englyshe set out at lengthe, whose contentes the reader by the prologe next after the kalendar, shal sone perceave and there in shal se breffly the order of the whole booke*. London : 1539 (John Mayler). See also the litany in two editions of Marshall's *A Goodly Prymer in Englysshe, newly corrected and printed*, London : 1535 and 1537 and in Hilsey's *Manuall of Prayers*, *op.cit.* See respectively Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine*, p. 203-204, 209 and 227.

Gradually many of the devotional practices relating to the cult of saints were more strictly controlled before being banned. In the Ten Articles, the censuring of images is allowed only as long as the honour is actually directed towards God himself. With the 1536 Injunctions, the clergy were no longer allowed to set forth or to extol any images, relics, or miracles for any superstition or lucre, nor to allure the people by any enticements to the pilgrimage of any saint, otherwise than is permitted in the Ten Articles.¹ Priests were also to instruct their parishioners in what truly pleased God and deter them from unworthy devotions:

they shall exhort as well their parishioners as other pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments and fulfilling of His works of charity, persuading them that they shall please God more by the true exercising of their bodily labour, travail, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to the said pilgrimages ; and that it shall profit more their soul's health, if they bestow that in the poor and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said images or relics.²

Good works are thus redefined so as to promote socially useful activities rather than wasteful spending on the dead, saints and images. Salvation is to be gained in communal life and service of the living, rather than through the intercession of the dead. Conversely, the strong suspicion cast on the existence and exact workings of Purgatory meant that although prayers for the dead were allowed, they were no longer considered automatically efficient in souls from the pains of Purgatory. The narrow links between the militant, triumphant and suffering portions of the Church were severed. Salvation was no longer seen as essentially a communal and collective pursuit.

In 1538, pilgrimages were banned, shrines were to be dismantled and relics destroyed while a campaign of preaching against feigned relics was in full swing.³ Images of saints which had been abused were taken down and some were destroyed.⁴ In a few missals,

¹ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles*, p. 5.

² *ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Peter Marshall, 'Forgery and Miracles in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Past and Present*, n° 178, and 'The Rood of Boxley, the Blood of Hailes and the Defence of the Henrician Church', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, n°46, 1995 ; Helen Parish, *Monks, Miracles, and Magic: Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church*, London : 2005, p. 79-80.

⁴ For a general presentation of iconoclasm see Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts : Laws against Images*, Oxford : 1988, vol. 1, p. 222-46. This historian rightly notes the difficulty pertaining to the distinction between images that were abused and the rest, p. 228-9. See also Ethan Shagan, *Popular politics and the Reformation*, p. 215-8 ; Diarmaid MacCulloch, « Worcester : a Cathedral City in the Reformation », in Patrick Collinson and John Craig (ed.) *The Reformation in English towns 1500-1640*, London: 1998, p. 99-103. See Nicholas Shaxton's injunctions for the diocese of Salisbury in *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. ii, p. 57. For the example of Defel Gadarn burnt with the papist John Forrest, and the attack against the relics such as the holy blood of Hayles, see Peter Marshall, 'The Burning of John Forrest', 'Forgery and Miracles in the Reign of Henry VIII', *Past and Present*, n° 178, and 'The Rood of Boxley, the Blood of

the blessings on pilgrims were taken out of the dedicated votive mass.¹ Henry thus appeared as a reforming king, responding to calls for spiritual renewal and purification of abuses.

On the question of the cult of saints, the realm was deeply split between the evangelicals who had completely rejected this aspect of traditional religion and the conservatives who maintained a strong commitment to its underlying doctrine and its practical applications.² While John Bale refused to teach the Ten Articles for he disagreed with half of them,³ the papist Henry Lytherland told his parishioners that they could expect as many graces from the Virgin as they could from God and he showed them :

none other causes where throughe the peple shulde opteyne the favoure of God, remysyon of synne & everlastyng lyffe, but only throughe worshippyng of our lady, worshipyng of sayntes & images, offerynges & upholdyng of gylde.⁴

The Henrician *via media* created a disjunction between devotional practices and their meaning and outlawed the attitudes of both groups, as the spectrum of what was tolerated was narrowed.⁵

Ultimately, however, salvation was at stake. Without becoming Protestant, the path to salvation in the English Church was no longer distinctly Catholic : one would be saved by one's good works but the ones Henry's regime promoted were very different from that of the past. Devotional good works such as prayers, offerings to saints and pilgrimages were to be abandoned in favour of acts of greater political and social utility such as work and obedience. Helen Parish's analysis of the debates on saintly intercession as 'a testing ground for debates over the authority of scripture and tradition' is absolutely justified.⁶ The late medieval model of sanctity is not entirely

Hailes and the Defence of the Henrician Church', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, n°46, 1995 ; Helen Parish, *Monks, Miracles, and Magic: Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church*, London : 2005, p. 79-80.

¹ Cambridge, UL, Peterborough W 13 Rit a 152.2 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 25, Gough Missals 27 and Gough Missals 31. However compliance seems to have been fairly rare, and in the printed missal belonging to the parish of Southlittleton, the votive mass for the relics of the church survived unscathed (Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 33).

² For examples of radical rejection of the cult of saints : Thomas Carden, vicar of Lynne, Margaret Toftes and John Bland, respectively in *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 306-7, 311-2

³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, *op.cit.* p. 164

⁴ Kew, National Archives, SP1/130, fo. 141. For other examples of conservatives defense of the cult of saints : see for instance, Canon Gardiner and others priests in Kent (*Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 292 and 301).

⁵ *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 292, 307, 311-2, 313. For a similar conclusion, see Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics in the Reformation*, p.199-234, and p. 225.

⁶ Helen Parish, *Monks, Miracles, and Magic*, p. 2

compatible with that promoted by Henry VIII : monastic life is condemned, Elizabeth Barton's mystical experiences, although tailored to the hagiographical tradition, are debunked. The dissolution of the monasteries, the attack on traditional piety and the challenge mounted against saintly intercession all reflect the practicalities of the soteriological changes advanced by the regime.

Finally, it is likely to be correct that the dissolution of the monasteries and the attack on traditional devotion to the saints may be partly explained by the fear that new cults to the papist martyrs might emerge.¹ It seems that the regime was rightly alarmed: an Oxford man, Turnbull, speaking of the religious who had been executed in 1535 for refusing the royal supremacy allegedly had declared 'that he trusted to have a memory of them among other of the saints one day'.²

D. The abrogation of holy days

Shortly after passing the Ten Articles, Convocation decided to abolish certain feast days. The dedication of the church would no longer be celebrated on the anniversary of the ceremony but rather on 'the fyrst Sondag of the moneth of Octobre, forever, and upon none other day'.³ The celebration of the patronal festival was also to be discontinued, unless it occurred on an authorized feast day. Eamon Duffy duely summarized this ecclesiastical legislation:

All feasts falling in harvest, from July 1 to 29 September, as well as those occurring in the Westminster law term, were abolished, excepting only feasts of the Apostles, the Blessed Virgin, and St George. Ascension Day, the Nativity of John, All Saints' Day and Candlemas were also to continue to be observed. The clergy might continue to celebrate ethe traditional Masses and offices on the abrogated days, but they were not to 'do the same solemnely, nor ... ryng to the same in the maner used in hygh holydayes, ne to command or indict the same to be kepte or observed as holydayes'.⁴

¹ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, *op.cit.* p. 152-3. See also Martin Heale's explanation on the spiritual causes of the dissolution in Martin Heale, 'Training in Superstition: Monasteries and Popular Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, n°58, 2007, p. 417-439. For the possible emergence of a cult of John Fisher, see also T.E. Bridgett, *Life of Blessed John Fisher*, p. 407.

² *Letters and Papers*, xiii (ii), 561 (Kew, PRO, SP1/137, fo. 143v).

³ Wilkins, *Concilia Magna Britanniae*, *op.cit.*, vol iii, p. 823-4.

⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 394, quoting the above.

And parishioners were to pay their dues at Christmas, Easter and on the feasts of St John the Baptist and St Michael. The king then wrote to the bishops,

... commanding them, and every of them in no wise, either in the church or otherwise, to indict or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished, [...] but to pass over the same with such secret silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in Convocation.¹

The strategy recommended by the king did not fool many laypeople.² Eamon Duffy has unequivocally emphasised the importance of this change:

This Act constituted the first overt attack by the Henrician regime itself on the traditional pattern of religious observance in the parishes and it was bound to have a very large impact. At one stroke the crown decimated the ritual year, not only wiping out a multitude of local festivals but removing many major landmarks from the Sarum calendar at large.³

Eamon Duffy then offers a series of examples of parishioners, priests and even bishops who expressed their desire to celebrate these feasts or who decided to hold them despite the ban. This change was probably one which was very well known and understood by the laity. Indeed, they were much more affected by it than the clergy who would continue to honour the saints liturgically, albeit with a much smaller audience in attendance while industrious laymen went about their more fruitful occupations. The abrogation of these feast days is noted in some primers.⁴

In several liturgical books the changes required by this legislation are included in the calendar, demonstrating that this order had been advertised down to the smallest parishes. The dates of the Westminster terms were added to the calendars, probably to serve as an aide-mémoire for the parish priest.⁵ The abrogation of feast days also entailed changes in devotional practices such as fasting on the eves of these days. The mention of the vigil of St Lawrence is thus crossed out of two missals, probably as a

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia Magna Britanniae, op.cit.*, vol. iii p. 824.

² See below : failure to announce feast days created commotions in some parishes.

³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 395 and more generally for the abrogation of feast days, see, p. 394-9.

⁴ See *Thys Prymer in Englyshe and in Laten, op.cit.* also in Grafton and Whitchurch's *The Primer both in English and latin*, London: 1540 and Hilsey's *Manuall of Prayers*, respectively in Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine*, p. 175, 219 and 229.

⁵ Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 161 and Jesus College F 17.15.

consequence of this decision.¹ However conservative clergy continued to encourage the practice.²

Many priests made a short note of the change of date for the feast of dedication. In the Madeley missal, 'dominica prima octobris festum dedicationis ecclesie' is added for the month of October.³ The original mention of the dedication of the church of Launton is crossed out of the month of December and 'Dedicatio ecclie de lantoni semper cele[bratur] esse prima d[om]m[in]ica mens[is] octob[ris]' is copied onto the relevant page of the calendar.⁴

At Ranworth, successive changes were duly noted into the richly adorned and voluminous antiphonal of the parish. The bishop of Norfolk had probably imposed a common date for the celebration of dedication feasts and hence the original 'Nota quod tertia dominica mensis octobris est semper dedicacione ecclesie Ranworth' was changed to 'Nota quod tertia dominica mensis octobris fuit semper dedicacione ecclesie Ranworth'.

'Memorandum quod dominica prima mensis octobris erit semper dedicacio ecclesie de Ranworth quam rex henricus octavus ordinavit in suo tempore' This was later changed again, in all likelihood under the reign of Mary, when 'de Ranworth' was crossed out and the phrase 'per totum Regnum suum' was added to the end of the sentence.⁵ This additional observation is all the more interesting that, in several books, the perpetual nature of the change is often emphasized in the manuscript comments : 'festum dedicationis ecclesie celebrat erit in dominica prima mensis octobris inperpetum'.⁶ In some liturgical books, the original dedication memorandum is simply crossed out.⁷ However in other books it remains untouched, as in missals used in the London parish of St Botolph, at Maldon, Deerhurst, Norwich, Colwich and in a few

¹ Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 191 and Jesus College F 17. 15.

² *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 295 (vicar of Chillam), p. 300 (Edward Sponer, vicar of Boughton) and p. 301 (curate of Allington).

³ Cambridge, Trinity College, C. 6.8.

⁴ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud misc. 299.

⁵ One could hazard that the missal was used in another parish than Ranworth after the restoration of the Catholic faith.

⁶ Oxford, Jesus College F 17. 15

⁷ The dedication date is crossed out from : Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl D 938 and St John College, Cupbd B 2 uppershef 1 ; London, British Library, MS 39675.

others.¹ As suggested from the liturgical evidence, the change of date for this feast had a significant impact locally.

In 1542, Convocation decided that ‘all mass books, antiphoners, portuises in the church of England should be newly examined, corrected, reformed and castigated from all manner of mention of the bishop of Rome’s name, from all apocrypha, feigned legends, superstitious orations, collects, versicles and responses’ and of ridding the calendar of the saints not mentioned in Scripture.² This decision was probably moot but in the Arlingham breviary, the services of Sts Aldhelm, Leo and Osmund were defaced while the word ‘legenda’ was added next to the matins of St Aldhelm in another breviary.³ Finally, in two finely reformed missals, the woodcuts illustrating the feast days of several saints were damaged.⁴ In the Magdalen College holding the faces of many saints are lightly defaced while the woodcuts representing popes Calixtus, Clement and Linus are dramatically damaged.⁵ The approach of the other priest was even more distinctive : he mocked the images of the popes, St Hugh and St Benedict by adorning them with horns, donkey ears and tails; a suggestive shape was appended to St Leonard’s staff and the faces of St Roman and St Bricius were scribbled over.⁶ The existence of two missals with such similar particularities calls for a precise analysis of the phenomenon.

Table comparing the defacings of woodcuts in the two missals.

* signals that the woodcut was only slightly damaged

Woodcuts defaced both in Oxford, Magdalen College M. 21. 15 and in Cambridge, St John College A. 4. 25	Calixtus Clement
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¹ Respectively, London, Guidhall, MS 515 and British Library, MS Harley 2787 ; Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl liturg. c. 3, Oscott College, MS 203 ; London, British Library, MS Harley 4919 and MS 25588 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Vet E1 c 11.

² Wilikins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, vol iii, p. 863

³ Salisbury Cathedral MS 152, fo. 259v (lessons 3, 7, 8, 9), fo. 268 (lessons 1,2, 3), fo. 373v (lessons 1 and 5). And York, Minster Library XI G 19

⁴ Sergiu Michaelievski analysed the symbolic correspondence between devotion and iconoclasm, see *The Reformation and the visual arts. The Protestant image question in Western and Eastern Europe*. London/New York : 1993, p. 76-92, especially p. 91.

⁵ Oxford, Magdalen College M. 21. 15.

⁶ Cambridge, St John College, A. 4. 25.

	<p>Linus</p> <p>Augustin, bishop of Canterbury</p> <p>Benedict</p> <p>Roman, archbishop of Rouen</p> <p>Leonard</p> <p>Bricius</p> <p>Hugh (of Lincoln)</p>
<p>Woodcuts defaced in Oxford, Magdalen College M. 21.15 but untouched in Cambridge, St John College A. 4. 25</p>	<p>Egidius</p> <p>Nicholas</p> <p>Osmund</p> <p>German</p> <p>Denis</p> <p>Martin</p> <p>Peter et Paul*</p> <p>Lawrence*</p> <p>Catherine*</p>
<p>Woodcuts defaced in Oxford, Magdalen College M. 21.15 but not included in Cambridge, St John College A. 4. 25¹</p>	<p>Augustin, bishop and doctor</p> <p>Fabian et Sebastian</p> <p>Frideswide</p> <p>Visitation*</p>
<p>Woodcuts untouched in both missals</p>	<p>All apostles</p> <p>Paul</p>

¹ Le missel d'Oxford contient davantage d'illustrations que celui de Cambridge, pour plus de détails sur les caractéristiques plus générales des deux missels, on peut se reporter au catalogue.

	<p>John the Baptist</p> <p>Anne</p> <p>Jerome</p> <p>Michael</p> <p>Edmond</p> <p>Edward</p> <p>Georges</p> <p>Kenelm</p> <p>Oswald</p>
<p>Woodcuts intact in Oxford, Magdalen College M. 21. 15 and not included Cambridge, St John College A. 4. 25</p>	<p>Feast of the Purification of the Virgin</p> <p>Feast of the Annunciation</p> <p>Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross</p> <p>Feast of the Assumption</p> <p>Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin</p> <p>All-Saints</p> <p>Foy</p> <p>Lucy</p> <p>Cecilia</p>

This table should assist in picking out the common features in the defacing patterns of these two books. There is common hostility towards saints who sat on Peter's throne, abbots and saints who founded religious orders (Benedict, Hugh, Leonard) and St Augustine of Canterbury, deputed by pope Gregory to convert the English.¹ Saints whose lives are notoriously legendary are also targeted (Roman and Bricius). Conversely, the woodcuts illustrating the services of biblical saints, canonised English kings, the Bible translator St Jerome and feast days related to the Virgin and to Christ remained

¹ See Part 1, chapter 1 for diverging interpretations of the conversion of the English.

unscathed. Few other references to saints are defaced in liturgical books, although, in one instance, the mention of St Thomas Aquinas is taken out of a wedding rubric, perhaps because the theologian had been of too much service to the papacy.¹

No new cults emerged under the reign of Henry VIII, although the regime could have decided to promote that of the king's saintly forbear, Henry VI.² Instead, the norms of sanctity were reassessed and in this new light the cult of St Thomas of Canterbury appeared deeply offensive and was promptly banned and eradicated.

2. The demise of a saint : Thomas of Canterbury

A. St Thomas of Canterbury : the greatest English saint at the end of the Middle Ages

i. The life and death of Thomas (c. 1118-1170)³

- Thomas of London appointed chancellor by Henry II.
- Archbishop of Canterbury.
- Opposition to the Clarendon Constitutions which might have made the king the 'real head and master of the English Church'.⁴

¹ London, BL, C35 i 4.

² The inclusion of Erasmus of Rotterdam's death date in a primer raises interpretative questions : was it included as were the deaths of kings and family members in calendars or is this a sign that some considered him as one of God's elect? See Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Marie Virgine*, p. 206 ; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, op.cit.*, p. 444-445.

³ The most recent and comprehensive survey of the life of Thomas of Canterbury and the debates it has raised since the late 12th century is by the editor of the saint's correspondence : Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, London: 2004, 330 p. See also Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, Berkeley : 1990, 334 p. For the edition of the different *vitae*, see: Michael Staunton (ed.), *The lives of Thomas Becket*, Manchester : 2001, 255p. ; *Thomas Becket and his biographers*, Woodbridge : 2006, pp. 246 and G. Greenaway (ed. and transl.), *The life and death of Thomas Becket, Chancellor of England and Archbishop of Canterbury, based on the account of William FitzStephen, his clerk, with additions from other contemporary sources*. For diverging interpretations of the causes of Thomas' death : see Anne Duggan's introduction and p. 124-136, 200, 213 and 236. See also for instance : Zachary N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy : from the Conquest to the reign of John*, Cambridge : 1989 (1931), p. 10 : 'Becket insists that the liberty of the *ecclesia Anglicana* is at stake, and by liberty he makes clear that he means freedom from royal control, and at the same time freedom to obey the Pope, to be governed by papal authority as was the rest of the church.' For the idea that Thomas was a traitor : J. F. Davis, « Lollards, reformers and St. Thomas of Canterbury », in *Birmingham Historical Journal*, n°9, 1963/4, p. 4-5.

⁴ Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, p. 105 and also quoted by Robert E. Scully, 'The unmaking of a saint : Thomas Becket and the English Reformation', *The Catholic Historical Review*. (n°86, vol. 4), 2000, p. 581. Anne Duggan's discussed the novelty of each of the Clarendon Constitutions, in *Thomas Becket*, p. 45-60.

- Exile and the Vezelay excommunications. Becket established a clear distinction between spiritual powers and the authority of kings and excommunicated several royal servants.¹ The king enforced the Clarendon Constitutions by an oath campaign.²
- Tentative reconciliation, return to England and assassination.
- Public repentance of Henry II and miraculous deeds by the saint.

ii. The cult of St Thomas³

- A very popular cult : pilgrimage destination, most lavishly decorated shrine in England, 84 parishes dedicated to Thomas, two feasts in the liturgical year (his Feast and his Translation).⁴

The liturgy honouring St Thomas was unequivocal in the celebration of the martyr's just cause and holy sacrifice for the liberties of the Church, as trumpeted by the collect of his feast day : 'O God, in behalf of whose Church thy glorious bishop Thomas fell by the swords of wicked men ; grant we beseech thee, that all who implore his help may effectually obtain their petitions.'⁵ The liturgy of the two feasts of Thomas develop parallels between Thomas and Christ and the prayers and lessons are a clearcut validation of the Church's position in the conflict which opposed the bishop and the king.⁶ As early as 1535, John Clerk had demanded that his clergy suppress from the lessons of the Translation the reference to the pope's indulgences and to the celebration

¹ Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, p. 102-110 and 113

² *Ibid.*, p. 114, 174 (the oaths isolated the English Church and protected it from any interdict) and p. 176 (Becket issued an absolution for oaths taken under duress).

³ On the cult and liturgy in honour of St. Thomas, see Raymonde Foreville, *Thomas Becket dans la tradition historique et hagiographique*, London : 1981, pp. 348 and *Le jubilé de saint Thomas Becket : du XIII^e au XV^e siècle, 1220-1470, étude et documents*, Paris : 1958, pp. 242 ; Sherry Reames (ed. and transl.) 'Liturgical Offices for the Cult of Saint Thomas Becket' in Thomas Head (ed.), *Medieval hagiography : an anthology*, New York : 1999, p. 561-93; Andrew Hughes, 'Chants in the rhymed office of St Thomas of Canterbury', in *Early Music*, vol. 16, n°2 (1988), p. 185-202 and Robert E. Scully, S.J. 'The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation', in *The Catholic Historical Review*. (n°86 – vol. 4), 2000, p. 582.

⁴ For a summary presentation, see Robert E. Scully, S.J. 'The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation', p. 582.

⁵ Frederick E. Warren (ed. and transl.), *The Sarum Missal in English*, London : 1911, vol. 1, p. 113. The original is in *Missale*, col. 71 : Deus, pro cuius Ecclesia gloriosus pontifex Thomas gladiis impiorum occubuit; praesta quaesumus ut omnes qui ejus implorant auxilium, petitionis suae salutarem consequantur effectum.

⁶ The entire offices of the breviary were translated and commented by Sherry Reames, 'Liturgical offices for the cult of St Thomas Becket', p. 561-93.

of the martyr's jubilee.¹ Finally, the sequence, a long narrative poem sung before the Gospel similarly exalted Thomas and vilified the king and his henchmen:

Let Canterbury at this feast
Devoutly homage pay.
The furious soldier band
Shouts forth the tyrant's king command,
Lawless will and fierce decree
Forced their way full haughtily
Thomas with unswerving tread
Stood unshaken, undismayed,
In obedience to his King
Meets the sword with steady eye,
Counting it all gain to die.²

In the 1530s, the stark opposition between the heavenly king and the worldly tyrant of the sequence undoubtedly appeared abhorrent to Henry VIII whose policies closely resembled that of his forebear. When obedience to the king had become the prime virtue, martyrs such as Thomas were not setting the right example. Although the feast of the Translation of the Relics of Thomas had been suppressed in 1536 by Convocation and the king, this was not sufficient to eradicate the cult of the saint.

B. From saint to traitor

i. Becket beckoning

Becket had long been a symbol of the Church's resistance to kings and his ghost was regularly conjured up by rebels and the victims of royal authority. In 1533, archbishop

¹ For the jubilee see Raymonde Foreville, *Le Jubilé de St Thomas Becket, Etudes et Documents*, Paris : 1958, 242 p. There was no jubilee in 1520 as the pope and archbishop Warham failed to find a financial compromise. For the injunctions by John Clerk, see Kew, PRO, MS, State Papers 6/3, fols 42–44v edited in the Appendix.

² *Ibid.* For the original, see *Missale*, col. 72 :

‘Colat et festa dominica devota cantuaria
Intonat jussa tyrannica turbulente militia.
Dirae leges et mandata insolenter sunt prolata.
Loca christo consecrata profanavit vis armata.
Sed christi sic in vestigio stabant thome pedes recti, ut nequirent inde flecti.
In sui regis obsequio arbitratus lucrum mori, captu offert percussori.’

William Warham evoked his distant predecessor when fighting charges of praemunire.¹ And that year Henry VIII did not visit the shrine when he was in Canterbury. The symbolic connection was not wasted on Cranmer himself, who changed the seal of the archdiocese in 1538 and had earlier ignored the customary fast on the eve of St Thomas' feast to the displeasure of the inhabitants of Canterbury.²

With the advent of the royal supremacy, the oath campaign, the loss of independence of ecclesiastical courts, the ban on appeals to Rome, history seemed to be repeating itself and in the 12th century the final victory had evaded the king. The pope dwelled at length on the parallel in a letter to kings of France and Scotland, arguing moreover that Fisher's cause bested that of Becket. Humble friars were making similar analyses, as they commented on the windows representing Becket's martyr and the subsequent repentance of Henry II.³ Henry and his advisors could not let Thomas More or John Fisher be cast as Becket-like figures.⁴ And if they were traitors, then Becket had to be made one as well. Moreover, as Alec Ryrie has recently argued, the attack against Becket coincided with the campaign against Reginald Pole and his family : both the saint and the cardinal were papist traitors threatening the legitimacy of Henry's regime. Having failed to take down Pole, Henry turned his rage against the dead archbishop whose cause closely resembled that of his nemesis.⁵

ii. uncanonising Thomas

The reading of Becket's life as that of a martyr and a good pastor was never completely unchallenged.⁶ Indeed, the events that led to his murder in the cathedral had been given a variety of interpretations ranging from saintly abnegation to haughty provocation. The story was revised in the latter direction with a 1538 royal proclamation: Thomas had fled to France and to the pope after quarrelling

¹ Robert E. Scully, 'The Unmaking of a Saint', p. 587 ; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 330 ; G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation*, p. 489-490 and F.R.H. Du Boulay, 'The Fifteenth Century' in C.H. Lawrence, *The English Church and the Papacy*, p. 240-241.

² Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 228-229 and 198.

³ Madeleine Hope and Ruth Dodds *Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. i, p. 64 and *Letters and Papers, op.ci.*, viii, 626.

⁴ The pope dwelled at length on the parallel in a letter to kings of France and Scotland, arguing that Fisher's cause bested that of Becket. See Maria Dowling, *Fisher of men : a life of John Fisher, 1469-1535*, Basingstoke/New York : 1999, p. 169.

⁵ Alec Ryrie, 'The Second martyrdom of Thomas Becket', lecture delivered at Canterbury, 10 March 2010.

⁶ Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 200, 213, 236.

unnecessarily with Henry II, and had attempted to have just laws repealed by a foreign potentate. Later he had refused to acknowledge the validity of the coronation of the young king in 1170 in a dispute over primacy with the Archbishop of York. Finally, he had died a traitor to his king, the immediate cause of death being his resisting lawful arrest.¹ Thomas of Canterbury was no longer to be called a saint and a martyr but 'Bishop Becket' and a traitor. In the formularies of faith, sedition and treason are not only presented as odious crimes but also as vile sins :

Every man must be obedient unto the high powers, for the powers be of God.
And therefore whosoever resisteth the powers, resisteth the ordinance of God ;
and they that resist the ordinance of God shall get themselves to damnation.²

Becket's disobedience was of the damnable sort, as were as More's and Fisher's. His Canterbury shrine was thus dismantled, images in his honour destroyed and the celebration of his feast day (29 December) and his translation (7 July) discontinued and replaced with the ferial service, in an effort to wipe his spirit out of the collective memory.³

C. Liturgical impact in the parishes

At the parochial level, the order to relinquish the celebration of the feasts of St Thomas seems to have been widely implemented.

Table : the suppression of the cult of Becket from missals

Missals	259
Reformed and relevant missals	219
Missals in which the services of St Thomas are intact or almost intact. ⁴	40

¹ Paul Hugues and James Larkin (ed), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol 1, p. 276. See also G. R. Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 257 n. 1; Robert E. Scully, 'The Unmaking of a Saint: Thomas Becket and the English Reformation', p. 579–602.

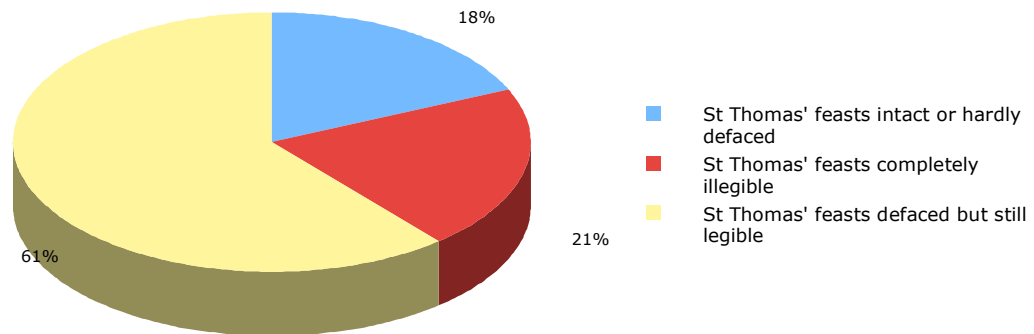
² Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 154 (Bishops' Book) and p. 317 (King's Book).

³ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, p. 42.

⁴ I have created a measurement index to assess the defacings of these services. The index ranges from 0 (intact) to 6 (completely illegible). In the third line I have included all missals who scored 1 or less.

Missals in which the services of St Thomas are illegible or almost illegible ¹	45
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The defacing of St Thomas' feasts in reformed missals



In a significant majority of books, the liturgy of St Thomas is suppressed. In some cases, the word 'vacat' is simply added in the margin but in most books, the prayers specific to Thomas are crossed out, leaving only the gospel and epistle readings and the memories of other saints intact. Often, priests have granted particular attention to the words 'Thomas', 'pontif' and 'martyr', thus depriving the saint of his name and his titles. This may also reflect a minimal degree of obedience, allowing the clergy to continue to celebrate these feasts while conforming outwardly.² It is also possible that the celebration of the feasts was abandoned in a parish, even if the missal was not reformed accordingly.

The uncanonizing of Thomas necessarily entailed the disappearance of his name from the litany : this was effected in many breviaries as well as in newly printed books.³ The suppression of the feast of the Translation of Thomas had practical implications

¹ Here I have counted all missals who have scored 4 or more.

² See for instance, John Longland's prayer book : London, BL, MS 21974 ; see also Oxford, Bodleian, Douce BB 173 (see plate)

³ Ampleforth College, CV 92 and CV 144 ; Durham University Library, Cosin V 12 ; London, BL, MS Stowe 12 ; Lambeth Palace, 1511 ; Oscott College, R00863 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Douce BB 200, Gough Missals 72 and 193, MS Bodl.948, Lat. liturg. b 14, Laud misc. 299 ; Salisbury Cathedral, MS 152 ; Worcester Cathedral Sel A 51 5 ; York Minster, X P. 32, XI G 19/1, MS Add 69.

too : when referring to dates, people generally named the feast day, in particular for well-known feasts. Henceforth, 7 July was called ‘nonas julii’ : for instance the date of the feast of Relics was no longer ascribed to the first Sunday after the Translation of Thomas but to the first Sunday after the ‘nonas julii’ in several books. This new terminology may then have spread to common parlance.¹ Finally, images of Thomas were taken down or altered to represent other saints, and parishes dedicated to the martyr chose another patron saint.² Evidence from the correspondence of Cromwell and other testimonies suggest St Thomas’ cult was quite successfully eradicated in the late 1530s. It would appear that the cult of St Thomas was more successfully suppressed than prayers for the pope.³

Helen Parish has fittingly argued that

just as the making of the saint was the result of the interaction of doctrine, piety and political authority, so the destruction of the saint was accomplished by a reconsideration of the the nature of doctrine, piety and political authority.⁴

The royal supremacy had indeed granted the king the power to decide who was worthy of the Church’s honour and how saint days ought to be celebrated. Henry did not shy away from using his authority to shape the English Church and polity to his liking. However, the cult of Thomas Becket was not the sole instance of nefarious interaction between rebels and saints.

3. Northern saints in York servicebooks

The abrogation of feast days, the suppression of the cult of St Thomas and the challenging of the doctrine of saintly intercession were official policies that naturally percolated into service books. The comprehensive study of such material highlights

¹ Cambridge, UL, Rel bb 51.1 ; London, BL, C 35 i 7 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Douce BB 173 (see plate) and in *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum, noviter impressum et in plurimis purgatum mendis*,

² Robert E. Scully, « The Unmaking of a Saint : Thomas Becket and the English Reformation », p. 597 and Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People*, p. 116.

³ For two cases in which the Translation was celebrated in 1537 after the feast had been abrogated see *Letters and Papers*, xii, (ii), 131 and 357. In 1540, Miles Coverdale complained of the survival of a church window representing Thomas, *Letters and Papers*, xiv, (i), 1199. Two parishioners denounced their priest who had not suppressed Thomas’ offices from his breviary, Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People*, p. 117 and *Letters and Papers*, xiv, (i), 87.

⁴ Helen Parish, *Monks, Miracles and Magic : Reformation Representations of the Medieval Church*, London/New York : 2005, p. 18.

patterns that might otherwise go unnoticed: the liturgy of Sts Cuthbert, Wilfrid, John of Beverley and William of York were defaced or altered in half of the reformed missals and breviaries according to the use of York.

Defacings of saints' feast in York service books

Service book	Total	Relevant books ¹	Books in which the liturgy of one or several Northern saints was defaced
Missals	20	15	5
Breviaries	10	5	5
Rituals	6	0	0
Processionals	4	4	0
TOTAL	40	24	10

These four saints had strong local ties to the diocese of York and their cults remained popular. Their demise was utterly unknown to me before I consulted York liturgical books and is likely to have resulted from local decisions. I wish to offer substantiated explanations for this occurrence.

A. The lives of these saints

i. St Cuthbert (635-687)²

- Entered Melrose and became abbot in 664.
- Attended Whitby and defended local traditions against Roman customs in 664.³
- Implemented Roman uses at Lindisfarne.

¹ I have not included unreformed books and the manuals which were not relevant in this context.

² « St. Cuthbert », in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08469b.htm>, retrieved 23/02/2011.

³ See Part 1, chapter 1, and Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of England*, p. 126 ; Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 103-113 and Jean-Philippe Genet, *Les îles Britanniques au Moyen Âge*, p. 37-38 and Kathleen Hughes « The Celtic Church and the Papacy », p. 18.

- Appointed bishop of Lindisfarne against his will in 684.
- Resigned his see and died in 687.
- Buried in Lindisfarne and later displaced by the monks seeking to protect the body of the ‘wonder-worker of England’ until his remains were officially translated to Durham.
- His feast day was celebrated in both provinces on 20 March and the feast of the Translation of his relics was commemorated in the York rite on 4 September.

ii. St Wilfrid (635-709/10)¹

- Educated at Lindisfarne, travelled to Rome and Lyons.
- Appointed abbot of Ripon, established Benedictine rule.
- Attended the council of Whitby where he secured victory for the Roman faction.
- Appointed bishop of the Northumbrians and the Picts, he sought consecration in Compiègne to avoid being consecrated by bishops he considered heretical.²
- Chad appointed bishop in his place.
- Reclaimed his bishopric, implemented Roman customs, founded several Benedictine monasteries in Northumbria and Mercia.
- Entered a dispute with king Ecgfrid when he supported the queen’s vow of chastity.³
- Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury divided Wilfrid’s diocese into smaller units and appointed three new bishops.⁴

¹ Ian Thacker, « Wilfrid [St Wilfrid] (c.634–709/10) », in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29409>, retrieved 9/07/2011 and Barnes, A. « St. Wilfrid », in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, édition en ligne <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15621c.htm>, retrieved 23/02/2011. See also William Foley *Images of Sanctity in Eddius Stephanus' 'Life of Bishop Wilfrid', an Early English Saint's Life*, Lewiston : 1992, 174p. and Catherine Cubitt, ‘Wilfrid’s ‘usurping bishops’: episcopal elections in Anglo Saxon England, 600-800’, in *Northern History*, n°25, 1989, p. 18-38. For broader studies of the period, see Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of early Anglo-Saxon England*, London : 1990, 218p. ; John Eric, *Reassessing Anglo-Saxon England*, Manchester/New York : 1996, p. 28-37.

² In other sources, Wilfrid is termed bishop of York or bishop of Northumbria, I have used Barbara Yorke’s terminology, in *Kings and Kingdoms of early Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 84.

³ For church regulations of marital relations in the 6th and 7th centuries, Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain*, p. 226-8.

⁴ This episode is particularly confusing, notably due to the lack harmony in geographical nomenclature. Ian Thacker, « Wilfrid [St Wilfrid] (c.634–709/10) », has: Ripon, Hexham and York. Peter H. Blair, *Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 135, Lindsey, York and Lindisfarne and Hexham. The clearest explanation is provided by Susan E. Wilson : Bosa is appointed to the see of York for the bishopric of Deira, Aedhaed became bishop of Lindsey and later of Ripon when the bishopric was returned to

- Wilfrid appealed to Rome asking for the annulment of Theodore's decision and recognition of his own authority as metropolitan of the North. The consecrations of the new bishops were cancelled by a council.
- Wilfrid returned to Northumbria, was imprisoned by the king and exiled.
- On his return to his bishopric, Wilfrid opposed the reorganisation imposed by Theodore and appealed to Rome which ruled in his favour.
- In a compromise settlement, Wilfrid returned to his diocese and reclaimed control over Ripon and Hexham only, as he considered that Roman supremacy had been vindicated.
- Wilfrid was buried in Ripon and venerated as a saint in the diocese of York and in his monastic foundations.
- Both provinces celebrated his feast day on 12 October. In the York rite, his translation was commemorated on 24 April.

iii. St John of Beverley (†721)¹

- Benedictine monk at Whitby.
- Consecrated bishop of Hexham in 687.
- There is uncertainty about who of Wilfrid or John held the position of bishop of York between 703 and 705.
- Retired in his monastic foundation of Inderawuda where he died and was buried.
- John of Beverley is associated with a miraculous legend involving incest, rape, murder, conversion and resurrection.²
- Beverley became an important pilgrimage centre and John's reputation spread to the Continent. His feast was celebrated on 7 May in both provinces and his translated commemorated in the York rite on 25 October. John of Beverley was

Ethelred of Mercia and Eata was appointed bishop of Bernicia before the diocese was further divided into two sees with Eata at Lindisfarne and Tunberht at Hexham, see Susan E. Wilson, *The Life and After-life of st John of Beverley: The Evolution of the Cult of an Anglo-Saxon Saint*, Aldershot: 2006, p. 27. For successive bishops of York, Lindisfarne, Hexham and Ripon, see Catherine Cubitt, 'Wifrid's 'usurping bishops'', p. 19-24.

¹ D. M. Palliser, 'John of Beverley [St John of Beverley] (d. 721)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14845>, retrieved 23/02/2011 and Susan E. Wilson, *The Life and After-life of st John of Beverley*, p. 1-138.

² Susan E. Wilson, *The Life and After-Life of John of Beverley*, p. 37-41.

the patron saint of the Percy family and his cult came to be associated with the Lancastrians during the War of the Roses.

iv. St William of York (†1154)¹

- William Fitzherbert was appointed treasurer of York cathedral, *circa* 1114.
- Exiled with archbishop Thurstan who sought the pope's support in his conflict with Henry I over the independence in his province from that of Canterbury.
- The election of the next archbishop of York was fiercely contested as the king, the chapter, the pope and later religious orders vied for control. Several elections were cancelled before William was finally consecrated. He had not however been sent the pallium.
- Bernard of Clairvaux continued to protest the election of a candidate he deemed unsuitable. Pope Eugene III, a former Cistercian monk, suspended William and required that the dean of the cathedral attest to the validity of the election.
- A new election resulted in the consecration of Henry Murdac despite the opposition of the king and the people of York who prevented him from entering the city until he was reconciled with the King.
- After the deaths of Bernard, Eugene III and Henry Murdac, William Fitzherbert was restored to his see. As he entered York, under the acclaim of its people, a bridge collapsed without claiming a single victim. This miracle is highly praised in the matins of his feast. Shortly after his triumphant return to York, William fell ill as he was celebrating mass and died.
- Several miracles occurred on his tomb, established his cult locally. His relics were transferred to the high altar in 1284. He was honoured twice in the York rite : on 8 June and on the first Sunday after the Epiphany.

v. The biographical explanation : possibilities and limitations

¹ Christopher Norton, *William of York*, Woodbridge : 2000, pp. 273 and Janet Burton, 'William of York (d. 1154)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9606>, retrieved 24/02/2011]

The three late seventh-century saints, SS Wilfrid, Cuthbert and John of Beverley, had all been active at a time of assertion of Roman traditions in the English Church (epitomized by the synod of Whitby in 664) and of conflict between the provinces of York and Canterbury. Under Bede's pen, Cuthbert, who had initially opposed Roman customs, came to stand for both the unification of the church under Roman overlordship and the preservation of what good there was in the Celtic traditions. The lives of all these saints were intricately related to the conflicts between the Southern and Northern provinces.

Wilfrid himself offers a striking contrast to the type of godly behaviour Henry VIII required of his subjects. He engaged in disputes with King Ecgrith of Northumbria, encouraging the queen to make a vow of chastity; the type of clerical meddling that Henry VIII would have found particularly distasteful. Wilfrid appealed to Rome twice, sought consecration in France because he doubted the validity of an English consecration, defended the Roman party at Whitby, promoted curial traditions in connection with the cult of relics and encouraged the continental form of monastic life. In his afterlife, he became an example of *pius pater* according to the Roman model.¹ The lives of Cuthbert and John are less distinctly offensive, although the former is known to have been a promoter of the Benedictine rule in England and his shrine in Durham was one of the most visited by pilgrims. It is very unlikely that William of York's life would have singled him out as an enemy of Henry's. However, his afterlife may have appeared more repellent to the Henrician regime. During the Interdict on England (1208-14), his relics attracted much attention; miracles occurred and were exploited by the clergy in the dispute between the King and the Church centred on York. William then became a symbol of the 'the righteousness of the church in the face of tyranny'. His canonisation in 1226 was effected by Rome, as the papacy started to claim the exclusive right to canonize. This could have contributed to the depiction of St William as a 'Roman saint' rather than an English saint. Yet, there is no evidence that any of these saints were ever targeted by the regime.

The biographical approach fails to advance a cogent explanation to the defacing of the liturgy of these saints in York service books. The masses, lessons, antiphons do not read very differently from that of other saints and would probably wouldn't either, of

¹ William Trent Foley, *St. Wilfrid of York as pius pater: A Study of Late Roman Piety in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor: 2000, 363p.

themselves, warrant suppression. It is best to look at these defacings as two separate phenomena. I will focus first on the Anglo-Saxon saints and then on St William of York as the mirror image of St Thomas of Canterbury.

B. The saints of the Pilgrimage of Grace

Beyond these biographical details, the political context of the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536 offers the clearest insights into why the liturgies of the 7th century saints were suppressed. This theory is particularly convincing since none of these saints were suppressed from Sarum service books, suggesting the validity of the local politics approach.

i. The Pilgrimage of Grace

- Multiple causes of the rebellion : religious, economic, political/feudal.¹
- The Pilgrims have several liturgical demands : restoration of feast days, of the dedication day, of the bidding of the beads. Robert Aske feared that the dissolution would affect the provision of liturgical services.²
- Brief survey of the events of the Pilgrimage : from Lincolnshire to Yorkshire and Westmoreland, the Pontefract Articles, the king's pardon, January rising.

ii. Defending the saints and the liberties of the church

C.S.L. Davies identified implementation of the abrogation of feast days by parish priests as a 'precipitating factor' of the rebellion.¹ This is particularly true for the towns

¹ Flechter and MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, Harlow : 2004, p. 37-47 and Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s*, Oxford : 2001, p. 11-18 ; Madeleine Hope and Ruth Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-1537 and the Exeter Conspiracy 1538*, Cambridge : 1915, 2 vols. ; Elton, 'Politics and the Pilgrimage of Grace' in *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, vol iii, 183-215 ; on religious factors, see C.S.L. Davies, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered', in *Past and Present*, n° 41, 1968, pp. 54-76. On the diversity of the different 'hosts' (armies) see Michael Bush, *The Pilgrimage of Grace : A Study of the rebel armies of October 1536*, Manchester : 1996, 445 p. For a presentation of the divergent forces and factors at work, see Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, p. 89-114.

² C. S. L. Davies, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered', p. 67 and Madeleine Hope and Ruth Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol.i, p. 383.

of Kirby Stephen and Watton whose curates failed to announce the feasts of St Luc and St Wilfrid.² The musters of Beverley, Skipworth Moor, Arram and Sutton Ings assembled at the behest of John Hallam, on 12 October, the feast day of Wilfrid. This local feast days marks the start of the spread of the rebellion to the East-Riding of Yorkshire. During the siege of York, it is very likely that the Pilgrims celebrated the feast of St John of Beverley, on 25 October. It is probably not by pure chance that the captain's mass was held on that very day.³ The Pilgrims' demand for the restoration of feast days is good example of the mixed motives behind the rebellion: religious, economic and social factors explain the fight for saints' days and the *status quo*.

The rebels also demanded that the liberties of the cathedrals and churches of Durham, St Peter of York, Beverley and Ripon be restored.⁴ This grievance was targeted against legislation passed between 1534 and 1536 by which the king reclaimed his royal privileges over privileged territories partly or entirely placed under the Church's authority.⁵ The shrines of William, John, Cuthbert and Wilfrid were located in York, Beverley, Durham and Ripon respectively. Moreover, these four cities were strategic locations during the Pilgrimage of Grace and musters or risings of armed men took place in all of them.

iii. Sainly protection of the pilgrims

The people of Durham called themselves the *haliver folk*, in reference to Cuthbert. Local identity was narrowly tied to the legal specificities of the Palatinate, the cult of their saint and the existence of a banner with quasi-miraculous powers. It had been

¹ C. S. L. Davies, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace reconsidered', p. 72, 61 and 67-69 and R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, p. 105. Another important factor was the activity of the commissioners who were suppressing smaller monasteries and examining the clergy.

² Michael Bush, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, p. 292-3 and p. 35 and R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, p. 242 and 189-90, 376.

³ Riobert Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, p. 249.

⁴ See the Pontefract Articles, as edited in R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace* p. 460-63, at p. 462. For the quasi regal powers of the king in the Durham Palatinate, see Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, p. 41 and Madeleine Hope and Ruth Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol.i p. 35.

⁵ For the impact of the *Act for continuing of certain Liberties and Franchises heretofore taken from the Crown*, the *Act limiting an Order for Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Persons* and the *Statute of Uses*, see Madeleine Hope and Ruth Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. i, p. 8, 355, 384; Rachel Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, London: 1921, p. 137-9. More generally see Eric Ives, « Genesis of the Statute of Uses », in *The English Historical Review*, 1967, vol. 82, n° 325.

displayed in many battles against the Scots and was ‘never carried or showed at any battle, but, by the especial grace of God Almighty, and the mediation of holy St Cuthbert, it brought home the victory’.¹ The banner of St Cuthbert was one of the two main rallying signs of the pilgrims, along with the banner of the Five Wounds.² Cuthbert’s banner brought legitimacy to the Pilgrims as it symbolised the justice of their cause and it guaranteed victory. The battle plan set out that the Durham contingent would head the troops as the rebels marched on York.³

St Cuthbert’s was not the only famous Northern standard: the monks of Beverley were the keepers of St John’s banner which had been carried in many a battle since it made king Aethelstan the victor in the battle of Brunanburh. In 1138, Archbishop Thurstan had flown the banners of John of Beverley, Wilfrid of Ripon and St Peter’s cathedral as he led king Stephen’s armies in the battle of the Standard. Kings Edward I, Edward II, Edward III and Henry IV had flown the Beverley banner and Henry V triumphed at Agincourt on the feast of the Translation of St John of Beverley. The saint had become one of the patrons of the royal family and Henry V and Henry VI had visited Beverley as pilgrims.⁴

Although there are no descriptions the banners of St John and St Wilfrid in the Pilgrim hosts, it is very likely that the people of Beverley and Ripon would have enrolled such potent symbols of traditional religion and conveyers of victory, as parishes that did not have banners took their processional crosses with them to battle.⁵

iv. Suppressing the cult of rebel saints ?

While the Pilgrims fashioned themselves as defenders of the saints and of the traditional forms of their cult (pilgrimage, relics, feast days), they also enlisted the local

¹ Fowler (ed.) *Rites and Monuments of Durham*, p. 26, quoted in Madeleine Hope and Ruth Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. i, p. 238.

² On the banner of the Five Wounds, see R.W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, p. 129, 139 and Andrew Flechter and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p. 28.

³ Madeleine Hope and Ruth Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. i p. 138.

⁴ John of Beverley, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, *op.cit.* ; Susan E Wilson, *The Life and After-Life of John of Beverley*, p. 121-23.

⁵ Madeleine Hope and Ruth Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, vol. i, p. 156 (Hoyden), 175 (description of the hosts gathered before York), 221 (Penrith Fell), 236 (Halifax), 330 and vol. ii, p. 114 (Westmorland). The significance of the banners of Cuthbert and John of Beverley are emphasised in Christopher Allmand, ‘Les saints anglais et la monarchie anglaise’, in Claude Gauvard, Françoise Autrand and Jean-Marie Moeglin (eds.), *Saint Denis et la royauté, études offertes à Bernard Guénée*, Paris : 1999, p. 752.

saints in their fight. All of this could well have sparked revenge from zealous reformers, anxious to suppress local cults, which had featured prominently in the rebellion. In a long ballad assailing the rebels, Wilfrid Holme mocked the miraculous relics of St Wilfrid, ‘St Peter’s and St John’s grease to conserve the braine [...] and St Cuthbert’s standerd of Duresme to make their foes to flye’.¹

Moreover the shrines of William, Wilfrid and John of Beverley were only dismantled belatedly, at the prompting of the king, after a visit to the city of York in 1541. It is possible that this tardy response singled out these northern saints for special treatment at the hands of local clergy eager to embrace the early Reformation. Characters such as John Dakyn, an agent of Cromwell and dean of Richmond who had been forcefully involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace, could later have spearheaded the liturgical repression of the Pilgrims’ saints.²

C. William of York

As for the attack on the cult of St William, looking at it from a comparative perspective may offer a better explanation. Up to the 13th century, the city of York had lacked an important feature for a cathedral city: a famous shrine. There were many local cults in the diocese but none that focussed on York itself. It is probably not coincidental that the promotion of the cult of St William closely parallels that of Becket: a spattering of miracles took place in York between 1173 and 1177, just after the death and immediate canonization of St Thomas. In 1226 or 1227, the York saint was canonized, only a few years after the munificent translation of the relics of Thomas.³ At last, the northern province and the city of York had the local saint and shrine that they desperately needed as they strove to equal Canterbury in fame, jurisdiction and power.

¹ Wilfrid Holme, *Fall and Evill Successes of Rebellion from time to time*, London : 1572 (STC 13603), sig. G iii (v).

² On John Dakin, see R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, p. 212 ; G. W. Bernard, *The King’s Reformation*, p. 355-356, Anthony Flechter, *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, p. 85.

³ Christopher Norton, *William of York*, p. 192-6 and ODNB.

The church windows of York seem to reinforce the parallel between the two archbishops.¹

Conversely, the suppression of the cult of St William could be seen in parallel to that of St Thomas, creating a symmetry between the two provinces. After Canterbury had dismantled their shrine and suppressed a much-loved saint, eager reformers in York might have felt pressure to do the same to their local canonized archbishop. This hypothesis is further validated by the fact that in three books St Thomas's and St William's are the only feasts that were crossed out.² In the Swine breviary, the two archbishops get the same treatment with their feasts cut out while the offices of Cuthbert, Wilfrid and John are simply blotted out.³

D. Liturgical explanations for the defacings

Table of defaced feasts in York service books

	Missal	Missal	Breviary	Breviary	Breviary	Breviary	Calenda
Repository	Oxford, Bodl.	Cambridge, UL	London, BL	York, Minster Library	Durham, UL	Oxford, Bodl.	Leeds, UL
Shelfmark	Douce B 243	F 150a41	C35b4	Add.69	Cosin V.I.2	MS Gough liturg.1	MS Ripon
Provenance	unknown	unknown	unknown	Swine	Hutton Rudby	unknown	Cottingham
Thomas	mass	mass	office	office	office	missing	blotted out
William	sequence	mass	office	office	office	office	blotted out
Wilfrid	sequence	sequence	intact	office	lesson ii & iii	office	blotted out
John	sequence	sequence	intact	lesson ii	office	office	blotted out

¹ Thomas French, *York Minster: St William's window*, Oxford : 1999, 124p. ; and John C. Dickinson, 'Some Medieval English Representations of St Thomas Becket in France', in Raymonde Foreville, *Thomas Becket, Actes du Colloque International de Sédères*, Paris : 1975, p. 265-272.

² Oxford, Queen's College Sel d 79 ; York, Minster Library, Stainton 12 and XVI A 9.

³ York, Minster Library, MS Add 69.

Cuthbert	sequence	intact	office	office	office	office	blotted out
						11,000	
Autres saints		11,000 virgins	Sylvester	Numerous others	Margaret	virgins, passages in the feast of Egidius and Edward	Abrogated feast days and other feasts

This table is a clear indication that these changes are not the result of a top-down order but rather that they reflect individual decisions. The geographical diversity of the sample also signals that this policy can probably not be ascribed to a single dean : Cottingham and Swine are in the East Riding of Yorkshire, while Hutton Rudby is located in John Dakyn’s deanery of Richmond. In some books the entire liturgy honouring these saints is taken out, while in others it is only partly suppressed : for instance the sequences of these feasts are crossed out of the two missals. Suppressing these two long narrative poems would be consistent with the downgrading of a special feast to a ferial day, as was required in the royal order abolishing the cult of St Thomas. The liturgical line of interpretation is reinforced by the surviving calendar of the Cottingham breviary, in which most of the abrogated holy days were suppressed from the list of feasts of obligation.

Conclusion

In the 1530s and 1540s, the doctrine justifying the cult of the saints was doctrinally undercut. The demise of intercessory prayer to the saints required that late medieval devotional patterns be abandoned in favour of more explicitly Christo-centric prayer. Hence, the litany was culled of its references to saints by the 1538 Injunctions and its English version of 1543 dispensed with this customary feature. The attack on the saints took a more political turn with the demise of Thomas Becket. Finally, in the wake of the Pilgrimage of Grace and the attack on Thomas Becket, Northern clerics to abandon the cult of other saints. Liturgical evidence offers perspectives on religious change in parishes recorded in no other source.

CHAPTER 3: DOCTRINAL AND LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF SACRAMENTAL PRACTICE

This chapter offers a detailed survey of the impact of Henrician reforms on religious practice with a special emphasis on sacramentals and sacraments. The main thrust of this chapter is to compare the liturgy and its traditional understanding with the doctrinal teaching and practices prescribed in the official confessions of faith. Detailed analysis of early 16th century catechisms¹ and of the evidence gathered in Kent in 1543² will be added to the more obvious liturgical and doctrinal sources (missals, manuals, the Ten Articles, the Bishops' Book and the King's Book).

¹ *The ordinary of Christen men*, London : 1506, STC 5199.20 ; Guy de Roye, *Doctrinal of Sapience*, London : 1489, STC 21431; Mirk, *Instructions for a parish priest*, London : 1848 and *The Festival*, London : 1519, STC 17973.5 ; Simmons (ed.), *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, London : 1879. Durandus remained a very influential thinker in England in the early 16th century, see Timothy M. Thibodeau, 'From Durand de Mende to Thomas More : Lessons Learned from Medieval Liturgy', in Roger E. Reynolds, Kathleen G. Cushing and Richard Gyug (ed.) *Ritual, Text, and Law : Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy*, Aldershot : 2004, p. 84-5; John Bossy, 'The Mass as a social institution', in *Past and Present*, n° 100, 1986, p. 32, n. 5, p. 34, 38, 39, 47; Karl Young 'Instructions for parish priests', *Speculum*, vol 11-2, April 1936, p. 228, n. 8 and *seq.* ; Gordon Jeanes, *Signs of God's Promise : Thomas Cranmer's Sacramental Theology and the book of Common Prayer*, London : 2008, p. 52 ; Paul Rorem, *The Medieval Development of Liturgical Symbolism*, Bramcote : 1986, p. 29.

² For a summary presentation of the events of 1543, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 297-323 and Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 223-31.

1. Traditional liturgy and new teachings : sacramentals under Henry VIII.

A. What is a sacramental ?

- Peter Lombard established a distinction between sacraments (instituted by Christ, these rituals confer grace *ex opere operato*) and sacramentals (instituted by the Church, they confer grace *ex opere operantis Ecclesiae*).¹
- Sacramentals may refer to liturgical ceremonies or private devotions.
- In the strictest sense, a sacramental is defined as a prayer, a ritual or an object instituted or acknowledged by the Church. Their field of application is aptly summarized by the Latin verse : *Orans, tinctus, edens, confessus, dans, benedicens*. Sacramentals are therefore immensely varied : a quantity (the baptismal effusion), a quality (admixture of water and wine in the eucharist), a prayer (the *Confiteor*, the rosary, litanies), an act (aspersion of holy water), a posture, offerings to the poor, blessings may all be given this special status by the Church.
- Sacramentals share a common efficacy with good works as they prepare the soul to receive grace.²
- Worthy reception of sacramentals grants remission of venial sin and spiritual or material graces. The liturgy of sacramentals usually subtly combines in complex deprecatory formulas, spiritual efficacy with demands for apotropaic and prophylactic benefits.
- At the turn of the 16th century, these rituals remained popular and were considered an important aspect of Christian devotion.³

¹ See 'sacramental' in Robert Le Gall (ed.), *Dictionnaire de liturgie*, (<http://liturgiecatholique.fr/Sacramental.html>, retrieved 26/10/2010) and « sacramental » in *Catholic Encyclopedia*: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13292d.htm> retrieved 26/10/2010. See also a very detailed analysis of sacramentals in Gaspar Lefebvre, « Les sacramentaux », in René Aigrain (ed.) *Liturgia : Encyclopédie populaire des connaissances liturgiques*, Paris : 1930, p. 749-792. For a briefer discussion of sacramentals and their relation to charms and magic see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 277-287.

² *The ordinary of Christen men*, sig. C ii.

³ Speaking more specifically to religious communities, Richard Whitford reminded his readers in *Pype or Tonne of the hufe of perfection*, London : 1532, sig A iii : 'For you may take this for a sure troth. That person in

B. Holy water

i. The liturgical blessing of water

At Sunday mass, the priest exorcised salt and water, before mixing and blessing the elements that constitute holy water. In this passage, three types of requests are made : for spiritual benefits (the salvation of the believers, the gift of the Holy Spirit), for material blessings (good health) and for apotropaic favours which are expected from the blessed elements (chasing evil and demons).

Exorcizo te, creatura salis, per Deum + vivum, per Deum + verum, per Deum + sanctum, per Deum, qui te per Eliseum Prophetam in aquam mitti jussit, ut sanaretur sterilitas aquæ: ut efficiaris sal (*hic rescipiat sacerdos sal*) exorcizatum in salutem credentium; et sis omnibus te sumentibus sanitas animæ et corporis; et effugiat, atque discedat ab eo loco, quo aspersum fueris, omnis phantasia, et nequitia, vel versutia diabolicæ fraudis, omnisque spiritus immundus, adjuratus (*et finiatur hoc modo*) per eum, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem.

R/ Amen.

Sequitur Oratio sine Dominus vobiscum sed tantum cum Oremus.

Oremus

Immensiam clementiam tuam omnipotens eterne deus humiliter imploramus (*hic rescipiat sacerdos sal*) ut hanc creaturam salis quam in usum humani generis tribuisti bene+dicere et sancti+ficare tua pietate digneris, ut sit omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, et quicundum ex eo tactum vel respersum fuerit, careat omni immunditia omnique impugnatione spiritalis nequitie. Per dominum...

R/ Amen.

Exorcizo te, creatura aquæ, in nomine Dei + Patris omnipotentis, et in nomine Jesu + Christi Filii ejus Domini nostri, et in virtute Spiritus + Sancti: ut fias aqua exorcizata ad effugandam omnem potestatem inimici, et ipsum inimicum eradicare et explantare valeas cum angelis suis apostaticis, per virtutem ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi: qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem.

R/ Amen

Sequitur Oratio sine Dominus vobiscum sed tantum cum Oremus.

Deus, qui ad salutem humani generis, maxima quæque sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti: adesto propitius invocationibus nostris, et elemento huic (*hic rescipiat sacerdos aquam*) multimodis purificationibus præparato, virtutem tuæ bene+dictionis infunde : ut creatura tua, mysteriis tuis serviens, ad abjiciendos dæmones, morbosque pellendos, divinæ gratiæ sumat effectum; ut quidquid in domibus, vel in locis fidelium, hæc unda resperserit, careat omni immunditia, liberetur a noxa: non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non aura corrumpens: discedant omnes insidiæ latentis inimici; et si quid est, quod aut incolumitati habitantium invidet, aut quieti, aspersione hujus aquæ effugiat: ut salubritas, per invocationem sancti tui nominis expetita, ab omnibus sit impugnationibus defensa. Per Dominum...

religion : that doth dispise or sette little by the least or smallest ceremonie shall never be good ne perfyte religious persone' and sig A ii(v) : 'and yet those rules ben knytte and made fast together with the holy ceremonies of religion'

R/ Amen

Hic mittat sacerdos sal in aquam in modum crucis, ita dicendo sine nota.

Commixtio salis et aquae pariter fiat : in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

Amen

Versus : Dominus vobiscum

R/ Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus

Oratio

Deus, invictæ virtutis auctor, et insuperabilis imperii Rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator: qui adversæ dominationis vires reprimis: qui inimici rugientis sævitiam superas: qui hostiles nequitas potenter expungas: te, Domine, trementes et supplices deprecamur, ac petimus: ut hanc (*hic respiciat aquam sale mixtam*) creaturam salis et aquæ dignanter aspicias, benignus illustres, pietatis tuæ rore sanctifices; ut, ubicumque fuerit aspersa, per invocationem sancti nominis tui, omnis infestatio immundi spiritus abigatur: terrorque venenosi serpentis procul pellatur: et præsentia Santi Spiritus nobis, misericordiam tuam poscentibus, ubique adesse dignetur. Per Dominum ...

R/ Amen¹

Holy water is then cast while an antiphon is sung, followed by versicles and responses. A final collect concludes the ritual :

Exaudi nos, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens, aeternæ Deus, et mittere dignare sanctum angelum tuum de coelis, qui custodiat, foveat, protegat, visitet, et defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo per Christum Dominum nostrum.

The spiritual, material and apotropaic benefits expected from the use of holy water are explicitly mentioned and yet, these prayers remain unqualified supplications (*‘adesto propitiis invocationibus nostris’ ; ‘trementes et supplices deprecamur, ac petimus’*) and thus differ from the performative prayers of sacraments.

The blessing of water epitomizes the overlapping layers of meanings, which characterize the liturgy of sacraments. The very order in which each element is exorcised and blessed bears symbolic meaning : salt is blessed before water, as contrition of the heart must precede absolution.² The liturgy also suggests an allegorical reading of the ritual as it refers to the use of water in the Old and New Testaments (the

¹ *Manuale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis*, Paris : 1529, sig a ii – sig a iii(v) and Dickinson (ed.) *Missale ad usum Sarum*, col 29** - 33** for the York ritual, see Henderson (ed.) *Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis ecclesie Eboracensis*, Durham : 1875, p. 1-3.

² Durand de Mende, *Le sens spirituel de la liturgie*, p. 101.

prophet Elisha and Christ's baptism) and in the Church's sacraments (baptism and eucharist).¹

Holy water, cast on the people at the start of Sunday mass, absolved venial sins² and remained available to the laity at all times, either at home or in the church.³ Lydgate reminds his readers of the uses and powers of holy water:

Whan thou comste to the holy place,
Caste holy water on thi face,
And pray to god that made us alle,
Thi wenyalle sennys mot fro the ffall.⁴

The sacrament of baptism also includes the use of exorcised salt and holy water at the beginning of the ceremony. The author of *The ordinary of Christen men* provides a detailed commentary on the sacramental use of salt : 'that [it] be consecrated for the profyte of the people that wyll come unto the throuth of the fayth' therefore 'we that requyre that this creature of salte be made such sacrament in the name of the blessyd trynyste that he may chace the devyll'. Salt must be exorcised 'to the end that this medycyne abyde in the soule of all them that yt receyve in the name & in the vertue of our lord'.⁵ Salt is a symbol of wisdom and allegorically represents the soul. The priest blesses the salt seven times, as he does the child; therefore both body and soul are reputed to have been blessed seven times.⁶ The commentator goes on to say that in the baptismal liturgy, all acts 'betoken thynges spyrytuall as in puttynge the salte in the mouth of the chylde'. He then details the numerous properties of salt and asserts that 'by these propretees unto us is fygured truly as wytnesseth the holy scripture the noble vertue of sapyence and of dyscrecyon'. Finally the author highlights the unequivocal efficacy of the exorcism of the salt :

these other thynges be the whiche sygnyfye and make that that they signifye & in these thynges there is dede and worde as in the coniuracyon of the devyll whan the preest unto hym sayth : cursed and dampned spyrite departe than forth with this creature [...] They sygnyfye & make ryally in dede that these wordes sygnyfye.⁷

¹ I will use the term symbolic when the sacramentals are signs or reminders of something else (sacraments, penance...); the use of the term allegorical will denote that a sacramental is a reenactment of a passage of Scripture (baptism of Christ...).

² Durand de Mende, *Le sens spirituel de la liturgie*, p. 99 : comparing it the ashes used for a similar purpose under the Old Law.

³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 124 (on the holy water clerk) and 281-2.

⁴ Simmons (ed.), *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, p. 149.

⁵ *The ordinary of Christen men*, sig. C i.

⁶ *Ibid.* sig. D iii.

⁷ *Ibid.* sig C i (v).

Why are sacramentals efficacious? The author bolsters his claim by quoting William Durandus who argued that since the Holy Spirit, who can not lie, governs the Church in all things and in particular in matters relating to the sacraments,

wherefore it behoveth to saye that these wordes & these dedes that man holdeth & kepeth in the custome of the chyrche in executyng these sacramentes be not made for no thyng and with thynkyng but ryally and truly make and sygnifye the thynges before sayd.¹

Emphasis is firmly placed on the performative powers of the liturgical formulas and on the validity of a literal interpretation of the liturgy. Holy water heals the soul and body, purifies places; and, on hearing the blessed words, the devil is put to rout. Such interpretations were perfectly in tune with popular practice at the end of the Middle Ages. In fact, to a large extent, the liturgy legitimated the quasi-magical uses of holy water, thus creating the mix of superstition and accepted religious beliefs which Eamon Duffy has termed 'lay Christianity'.² Prophylactic use of the sacramental was very common, as it served as a remedy for many ills and criticism of such usage must be carefully scrutinized as it often served polemical purposes.³ Holy water was the most sought after and regularly used sacramental until the 1530s.

ii. Holy water in the Henrician Church

In the Ten Articles, the sacramental is treated as a symbol, justifying a purely allegorical understanding of the ceremony : 'sprinkling of holy water [is] to put us in remembrance of our baptism, and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross'.⁴ The general cognisance of sacramentals is subtly refashioned, as they are

to be used and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify ; not suffering them to be forgot, or to be put in oblivion, but renewing them in our memories from time to time : but none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, sig C i(v)-ii

² Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p. 283

³ The use of holy water as a remedy for piles is condemned (*Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 293). Drinking holy water is forbidden in the King's Book and sprinkling it on beds banned in Cranmer's 1547 Injunctions to his diocese (Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 298 and *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, p. 187).

⁴ *Formularies of Faith*, p. xxviii.

⁵ *Ibid.*

The new teaching on sacramentals constituted a radical simplification of the multiple layers of meanings conveyed by the liturgical texts. How could this interpretative evolution translate into liturgical practice? Indeed, performing the same rituals while expecting them to mean something different would necessarily create a disjunction.

It appears that Hugh Latimer may have required that the clergy of his diocese use a new text when performing the rite of casting holy water on the faithful :

Remember your promise in baptime,
Christ his mercy and bloudshedding,
By whose most holy sprinkeling
Of al your sinnes you haue free pardoning.¹

This new prayer may have circulated in the diocese of Worcester in the late 1530s. A new anthem in the vernacular with a translation of the versicles of psalm 51 was copied onto the last page of the temporal in the dramatically reformed breviary of the parish of Arlingham, in Latimer's diocese. It is a fuller version of the same text with slight variations :

Remember youre promys made yn baptyem.
And chrystys mercyfull bloudshedyng.
By the whyche most holy sprynkling.
Off all youre syns youe have fre perdun :
Have mercy uppon me oo god.
After that grat mercy.
Remember &c.
And according to the multytude of the mercys.
Do away with my wyckydnes.
Remember. &. Cet.
Glory be to the father and to the sun. And to the holy goost.
As hyt was yn the begynnyng so now and ever & yn the world of worlds so be
hytt.
By the wyche.²

This work would probably have replaced the *Asperges me* ritual. I disagree with H.T. Kingdon's ascription of the text to the 1470s and his contention that such an early vernacular production is an early portent of the Reformation. He then argued that the

¹ John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, London : 1563, p. 1417, see *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (1563), available from : www.johnfoxe.org.

² Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 152, edited in Christopher Wordsworth (ed.), *Ceremonies and processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, Cambridge : 1901, p. 143.

Arlingham text might have inspired Latimer's reformed ritual.¹ I believe it is more likely that this is an alternative version to Latimer's anthem, which may be incomplete in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. H.T. Kingdon disregards the fact that, in the 1530s, the Arlingham breviary was extensively reformed to exclude references to the pope as well as offices and lessons honouring St Peter and other saints, suggesting a meticulous implementation of Henry's reforms, therefore also likely to include liturgical adaptations to the teaching on sacramentals. Finally, internal evidence suggests that this text is too adequately tailored to the 'Ten Articles' teaching on sacramentals not to have been composed in the late 1530s.

The new teaching on the sacramentals was thus duly channelled through the allegorical treatment of holy water. The ritual was interpreted as a reminder of baptism and the water stood in the stead of the holy blood of Christ which alone granted forgiveness and salvation: in Latimer's hymn, the word 'sprinkling' applied primarily to the blood of Christ on the cross, of which the water was a mere sign. . In the more evangelical parishes of the diocese of Worcester, the liturgical texts accompanying the ritual of holy water would have evolved significantly in the late 1530s at the behest of one of the more radical reforming bishops.

Disputes over the use of holy water were also front and centre in the 1543 inquiry into Kentish heretics. Conservatives encourage traditional understandings and practices² while evangelicals have stopped blessing water, ban their parishioners from using it or downright mock it.³ Margaret Toftes declared that «her daughter could piss as good holy water as the priest could make any' and warned the parish clerk's servant not to bring any holy water to her house saying the water in her well was as good.⁴

Such radical interpretations, although not acceptable in view of the Ten Articles, are nevertheless justifiable : if holy water has no efficacious powers, how is it any different from unsanctified water? Henry's policy of compromise, by authorising traditional practices while shifting their meaning, resulted in exacerbated semantic tension and a growing disjunction between prayer and doctrine. It also outlawed beliefs and attitudes

¹ H.T. Kingdon, 'On an early vernacular service', *The Wiltshire Archeological and Natural History Magazine*, vol XVIII, n° LII, p. 62 ; see plates between p. 66 and 67.

² *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546 p. 296, 300, 308

³ *Ibid.*, p. 295, 291, 306-7, 311.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

from both ends of the religious spectrum, narrowing orthodoxy down to a contradiction.

C. Holy bread

On Sundays, a household of the parish would bring a loaf to church, which would be blessed and distributed at the end of the service.¹ People would usually consume it as an eucharistic ersatz or keep it for later use, in time of necessity, as it was commonly held that 'if one died without a priest, reception of holy bread was accounted a sufficient substitute for house'.² The Sarum rite offered two blessings for holy bread :

Bene+dic, Domine istam creaturam panis sicut benedixisti quinque panes in deserto, ut omnes gustantes ex eo recipiant tam corporis quam animae sanitatem. In nomine pa+tris, et fi+lii et Spi+ritus Sancti. Amen (*aspergaturque aqua benedicta*).³

And :

Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens, aeterne Deus, bene+dicere ; ut sit omnibus summentibus salus mentis et corporis, atque contra omnes morbos et universas inimicorum insidias tutamen. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, panem qui de coelo descendit et dat vitam et salutem mundo, et tecum vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia saecula saeculorum.⁴

The liturgy thus asserted that this bread would procure spiritual and bodily health and protect the faithful against sickness and the assaults of evil. References to Christ, the bread of heaven provided the symbolic connection to the Eucharist and holy bread is likened allegorically to the manna of the Old Testament. Although remission of venial sins is not explicitly mentioned here, it is probably suggested by the broader liturgical context, as an absolution prayer was commonly recited before distribution of the bread.⁵ Finally, in practice, partaking in the sacramental was considered mandatory and priests would enquire of such lapses during confession.⁶

¹ The blessing would probably have taken place after the reading of the beginning of the Gospel of John, a text whose apotropaic virtues are well known (see Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p. 124).

² Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p. 125

³ *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, Paris : 1529, sig. a v and *Missale ad usum Sarum*, col. 35**.

⁴ *Missale ad usum Sarum*, col. 34**

⁵ Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, p. cccxix, n. 77.

⁶ John Mirk, *Instructions for a Parish Priest*, p. 45.

In the Ten Articles, the symbolic connection with the Eucharist is firmly upheld, a slightly different allegorical reading emphasising unity put forth and defiant criticism of late medieval added for good measure :

giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet it is but one loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving of the holy sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity ; which in the beginning of Christ's church men did more often receive than they use nowadays to do.¹

The doctrinal shift may also have carried practical implications : Hugh Latimer reputedly required that priest distribute holy bread saying :

Of Christes body thys is a token,
Which on the crosse for your syns was broken
Wherfore of your syns you must be forsakers,
If of Christes death you wyl be partakers.²

Here again the sign gives way before the signified as holy bread is shown to be a mere token of the eucharist itself pointing to Christ's Passion, which is the sole source of salvation. This ritual did not crystallize opposition the way holy water did, yet some parishioners in Kent declined to receive blessed bread and John Serles is accused of declaring that 'there is heresy in the words of blessing of holy bread and holy water'.³ Henry's keen participation in the ritual is well-known and was interpreted by courtiers and historians alike as a signal that England's faith remained orthodox, despite assuming the supreme headship of the Church and spearheading the reform of abuses.⁴

D. Blessing of candles at Candlemas

The celebration of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin started with

one of the most elaborate processions of the liturgical year, when every parishioner was obliged to join in, carrying a blessed candle, which was offered, together with a penny to the priest at Mass [...] The people took blessed candles away from the ceremony, to be lit during thunderstorms or in times of sickness, and to be placed in the hands of the dying.⁵

¹ *Formularies of Faith*, p. xxviii.

² John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1348

(http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/main/11_1563_1348.jsp)

³ *Letters and Papers*, *op.cit.* xviii, (ii), 546 p. 331.

⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p. 423.

⁵ Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p.16-17, see also p. 15 and 282-3.

The apotropaic powers granted by the blessing are indeed clearly articulated in the first collect:

Benedic, + domine Jesu Christe, hanc creaturam cerei, supplicantibus nobis, et infunde ei per virtutem sanctae crucis benedictionem celestem; ut qui eam ad repellendas tenebras humano usui tribuisti talem, signaculo sanctae crucis tuae fortitudinem et benedictionem accipiat, ut quibuscunque locis accensa sive apposita fuerit, discedat diabolus, et contremiscat et fugiat pallidus cum omnibus ministris suis de habitationibus illis, nec praesumat amplius inquietare servientes tibi. Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancti vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum.¹

The rest of the Candlemas liturgy is rife with symbolic and allegorical meanings which Durandus prefers, in this instance, to apotropaic interpretations.² The latter were however echoed in primers and amply contributed to the popularity of the feast.³

As to the teaching of the Ten Articles, it does not here differ significantly from traditional expositions: 'bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, in memory of Christ the spiritual Light, of whom Simeon did prophesy, as is read in the church that day'.⁴

As faith in the sacramentals eroded, blessed candles fell into disuse amongst the more evangelical priests and parishioners: Christopher Nevinson recommended that parishioners be discouraged from taking the candles home.⁵ Lay people and priests who abided by this rule were accused of disrespecting well established usages, although theirs was probably a logical attitude in view of the official teachings.⁶ Such paradoxes aptly demonstrates the difficulty of reforming the abuses related to the sacramentals and yet dispensing with an outright ban on these rituals. Such were the limitations of Henry's bipolar policy concerning the sacramentals.

In the latter and more evangelical version of the *Rationale of Ceremonial*, the ceremony was omitted all together from the list of sacramentals. Deprived of its apotropaic uses and derided by the reformers, it may well have been gradually disappearing from the liturgical landscape.⁷

¹ Dickinson (ed.), *Missale ad usum Sarum*, col. 687-702. The rest of the liturgy of Candlemas is appended to the thesis.

² *Formularies of Faith*, p. xxviii.

³ Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virgine*, p. 115 and Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p. 282-3.

⁴ *Formularies of Faith*, p. xxx.

⁵ *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 291.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 311 (Thomas Hollys and Richard Turner) and 307 (Thomas Makeblyth).

⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 276 and n. 129 and *Rationale of Ceremonial*, p. 32.

E. Blessing of ashes on Ash Wednesday

The ritual performed on the first day of Lent was always interpreted as a mark of repentance, as illustrated by the carefully crafted blessing of the ashes and the following collect :

Omnipotentes sempiternae deus qui misereris omnium et nihil odisti eorum que fecisti, dissimulans peccata hominum propter penitentiam, qui etiam subvenis in necessitate laborantibus, bene+dicere et sancti+ficare digneris hos cineres quos causa humilitatis et sancte religionis ad emundanda delicta nostra super capita nostra more ninivitarum ferre constituisti. Et da per invocationem sancti tui nominis ut omnes que eos ad deprecandam misericordiam tuam super capita sua tulerint, a te mereantur omni delictorum suorum veniam accipere, et hodie sic eorum sancta inchoare jejunia, ut in die resurrectionis purificatis mentibus ad sanctum mereantur accedere pascha, et in futuro perpetua accipere gloriam. Per Christum... (*hic aspergant cineres aqua benedicta, deinde dicatur*) Dominus vobiscum

Oremus,

Deus qui non mortem sed penitentiam desideras peccatorum, fragilitatem conditionis humane benignissime respice et hos cineres quos causa preferentiae humilitatis atque promerendae venie capitibus nostris imponi decrevimus, bene+dicere pro tua pietate digneris, ut qui nos cineres esse monuisti, et ob pravitatis nostrae meritum in pulverem reversuros cognovimus, propter omni veniam et premia penitentibus repromissa misericorditer consequi mereamur. Per dominum...

R/ Amen

Postea distribuantur cineres super capita clericorum et laicorum a dignioribus personis ; signo crucis cineribus signent, sic dicendo :

Memento homo quia cinis es ; et in cinerem reverteris. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

The faithful carried ashes on their head as a sign of repentance and in the hope that by so doing they will be awarded forgiveness of their sins. The sacramental is thus not directly efficacious.

The teaching of the Ten Articles on the Ash Wednesday rite was perfectly congruent with its liturgy:

giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent and penance, that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return, which is right and necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother tongue always on the same day.¹

The use of the vernacular in the distribution of ashes is however an innovation. There is little doubt that the laity knew the meaning of a Latin formula which was often

¹ *Formularies of Faith*, p. xxviii

commented upon in sermons.¹ But the immediacy created by the use of the vernacular in the liturgy is novel. The *Rationale for Ceremonial* reaffirmed that the use of the vernacular was the norm in the 1540s :

The giving of ashes upon Ash Wednesday, with these words ‘Remember man that thou art ashes and to ashes thou shalt return’ is to put us in remembrance in the beginning of lent of our frail nature and uncertainty of this life here, wherefore it were very good and convenient to express the same in English to the understanding of unlearned persons.²

This example provides yet another illustration of what Diarmaid MacCulloch has described as the hallmark of Cranmer’s liturgical policy under Henry VIII: ‘cautiously nibbling away at the edges of the liturgy before a main thrust against the Latin mass’.³

F. Blessing of palms

On the last Sunday before Easter, palms were blessed as the liturgy commemorated Christ’s entry into Jerusalem.⁴ In the exorcism and blessings of the palms, the four features of sacramentals function in close harmony: the ritual is an allegory of the biblical event and a symbol of obedience and good works:⁵

Deus, cujus Filius pro salute generis humani de coelo descendit ad terras ; et appropinquante hora passionis suae Hierosolymam in asino sedens venire et a turbis rex appellari ac laudari voluit [...] ut sicut Hebraeorum pueri Hosanna in excelsis clamantes eidem Filio tuo Domino nostro Jesu Christo cum ramis palmarum occurrerunt ; itaque nos arborum ramos gestantes, cum bonis operibus occuramus obviam Christo, et perveniamus ad gaudium sempiternum.

The blessing also procures spiritual benefits and grants the blessed objects apotropaic powers:⁶

bene+dic etiam et hos ramos palmarum caeterarumque arborum, quos tui famuli ad nominis tui benedictionem fideliter suscipiunt : ut in quemcunque locum introducti fuerint, tuam benedictionem habotires illius loci omnes

¹ John Mirk, *The Festyvall*, London : 1519, Wynkyn de Worde (STC 17973.5), sig. Ciii(v) : Have mynde thou man of asshes thou art comon and to asshes thou shalte retourne agayne.

² *Rational for ceremonial*, p. 32-3. Note that this version is closer to the Latin original.

³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 332

⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p. 22-8.

⁵ Durand de Mende, *Rational ou manuel des Divins Offices*, vol. 4, p. 48-9. Mirk uses the palms as a reminder of the duty to confess, see *Festivall*, sig. E iiii : ‘Wherefore all crysten people sholde bere palme in processyon in tokenynge that he had foughte with the fende our enemy & hath the vycctory of hym by shryfte of mouthe, satysfaccion with dede, mekely done his penaunce with grete contrycyon in his herte’.

⁶ The complete liturgy is offered in the appendices.

consequantur : ita ut omni adversa valitudine effugata, dextera tua protegat quos redemit.

The liturgy validated the use of palms to protect homes and chase evil powers from the place where they were introduced. Eamon Duffy has described an additional tradition : that of making small crosses with sticks and string while the Passion gospel was read.¹ In the 1540s, the evangelical John Scory condemned this superstitious tradition which seemed to have involved a blessing performed with the Paschal Candle, thus probably requiring the clergy's cooperation.

In the Ten Articles, the allegorical and symbolic functions of the sacramental are emphasised with a firm pastoral focus :

bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday, in memory of the receiving of Christ into Jerusalem, a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts.²

The ceremony is a catechetical medium devoid of spiritual and apotropaic powers. The didactic and symbolic emphasis reflects the concerns of the Henrician policies designed to purify the Church of its medieval abuses. In Thomas Becon's *Potation for Lent*, the very same understanding of the ceremony is put forth. Henry's policies were clearly influenced by the evangelical faction in these matters.

Refusing to take part in the Palm Sunday procession and ceremony signals the evangelical sympathies of Thomas Holly and Thomas Makebley.³ Evangelical concerns do not solely focus on popular practices and abuses, the liturgy itself is condemned: John Bland allegedly declared 'that if the people knew what abominable, words are said in the hallowing of palms, they would not bear them'.⁴ Bland's attack on traditional prayer is not limited to the sacramentals for the thrust of his argument undermines the entire liturgical system: 'that if women did understand what was read and sung in the matins, mass and evensong, they would be ashamed one of another; for there was in it both heresy and treason'.⁵

¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 28, but Duffy does not provide a clear source for this practice which is absent of missals and manuals.

² *Formularies of Faith*, p. xxx

³ *Letters and Papers, op.cit.* xviii (ii), 546 p. 311, 307, 315.

⁴ *Letters and Papers, op.cit.* xviii (ii), 546 p. 312 .

⁵ *Ibid.* More generally John Bland condemned the sacraments of confession, baptism and the eucharist. For Bland's connections to Thomas Cranmer, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 304 and 317.

G. Good Friday ceremonies

The paucity of the provisions for Good Friday ceremonies in the missal is emphatically unrelated to the popularity of the ritual.¹ For instance, it is known that the king took part in these ceremonies with great eagerness.² The ceremony started with the clergy processing barefoot to the cross which was then venerated by the faithful.³ The well-known rituals of the sepulchre and ‘creeping to the cross’ are not explicitly rubricated in the service books. The latter is however documented by John Mirk :

than after these orysons the crosse is brought forth to the whiche all crysten people sholde do worshyp to hym that this daye dyed on the crosse and praye our lorde to forgyve us our trespasse as Chryste prayed to this fader in heven to forgyve them that dyde hym on the crosse.⁴

The gesture of adoration made before the cross nevertheless applies to Christ. Perhaps surprisingly, the Ten Articles provide additional insight on the course of the ritual:

creeping to the cross, and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good Friday before the cross, and there offering unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross ; setting up the sepulture of Christ, whose body after his death was buried⁵

A brief mention of other sacramentals concludes the section on ceremonies in the 1536 formulary :

the hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and benedictions by the ministers of Christ’s church ; all other like and laudable customs, rites and ceremonies be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable.

Many more ceremonies are not enumerated in the Ten Articles : the extinction of the Paschal candle on Maundy Thursday, the blessing of incense and the paschal, the baptismal unctions, the consecration of sacred vessels by the bishop and the blessing of bells, to name but a few.⁶ These however were seemingly less popular and not as liable

¹ Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the altars*, *op.cit.* p. 29-35.

² *Letters and Papers*, xiv (i) 967; MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 241; *The remains of Thomas Cranmer*, Oxford: 1833, vol. ii, p. 412; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 423.

³ *Missale ad usum Sarum*, col. 330-2.

⁴ John Mirk, *Festivall*, sig. F iii(v).

⁵ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. xxxi.

⁶ John Mirk, *Festivall*, sig. E v(v)-E vi ; ⁶ *Missale*, col 336-7†, 338-343† ; *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 15*, p. 96*-103*, p. 103*-4* (the apotropaic powers of bells is explicitly acknowledged in the blessing). In the King’s Book, the blessing of the altar, the chalice and the corporal are added to the list (Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 310).

to ‘magical’ abuses. Officially sacramentals remained in use and yet Chapuys wrote alarmingly that the English had ceased to believe in Purgatory and to use holy chrism.¹

Although traditional practices are allowed and encouraged, even by the king himself; the meaning of the liturgy is drastically streamlined and its efficacy denied. Why were the sacramentals not abolished? Moderate, or some might say half-hearted reform policies are a well-known trademark of the Henrician *via media*, expressing a preference for compromises even at the cost of doctrinal consistency. Conservatives were satisfied that traditional practices were up-held and resorted to this argument when trying to persuade opponents to return into the fold.² Diarmaid MacCulloch perpend that the preservation of the sacramentals is victory for the conservative camp despite the shift in doctrine conceded in the formularies.³ These changes legitimated evangelical attacks on ceremonies which no longer effected what they promised and could effortlessly be painted as objectionable superstitious abuses. Liturgy and doctrine were no longer concurring deposits of the faith but competing sources of truth and this deeply affected the status of the former.

2. Changing sacramentals : from efficiency to symbolism

Eamon Duffy has contended that the attack on sacramentals deprived the laity of an important source of spiritual comfort in the face of death and adversity.⁴ By firmly placing the emphasis on the battle against superstition, its impact on the people, and the official authorisation of the ceremonies, Duffy disregards the consequences of Henry’s policies on the nature of public prayer and the place of liturgy vis-à-vis Church doctrine.⁵

¹ *Letters and Papers*, x, 601.

² In 1535, Thomas Starkey tried to persuade Reginald Pole that the faith and practice remained soundly Catholic in England, *Letters and Papers*, viii, 218.

³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 276.

⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p. 15-6 and 281-2.

⁵ I disagree with Eamon Duffy’s claim that ‘the *Rationale of Ceremonial* represents a decisive reaffirmation of the value of the traditional ceremonies’ (Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p. 428)

A. The liturgy as catechism

The distinction between things necessary to salvation and things indifferent was of pivotal importance to the designers of the Ten Articles, with the ceremonies squarely assigned to the latter category.¹ Thus sacramentals were maintained solely to preserve public order, a key priority for the regime, and would be henceforth be supplemented with instructions regarding their true allegorical and symbolic meaning. The traditional understanding of the efficacy of these rituals is deliberately dismissed: ‘none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven’.² The same argument is taken up in Bishops’ Book :

although the same ceremonies have no power to remit sin, yet they be very expedient things to stir and cause us to lift up our minds unto God, and to put us in continual remembrance of those spiritual things which be signified by them.³

The King’s Book further added : ‘and to cause them to have more reverence toward the sacraments’.⁴ It is thus the clergy’s role to instruct the parishioners of the true meaning of ceremonies, i.e. that

such traditions and ceremonies be as a certain necessary introduction or learning expedient to induce and teach the people reverently to use themselves in their outward worshipping of God.⁵

The endless repetition of the phrase : ‘we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe’ sometimes with slight variations strongly makes clear that the clergy’s primary duty was teaching.⁶ Amongst clerical duties, teaching and preaching is listed first in both formularies.⁷ Proper knowledge and true understanding trump devotional practice in the minds of the reformers. Introducing the vernacular into the liturgy delivers a further result : it makes prayer more fervent and more efficient :

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. xv-xvi.

² *Formularies of Faith*, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 111.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xvii- xxxii, and in the Bishops’ Book : p. 82-129, 186, 189, 194, etc...; note that this was replaced in the King’s Book with a more neutral phrasing such as ‘it is to be noted’ (p. 253) ‘you shall understand’ (p. 269) or ‘it is to be understand’ (p. 277).

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 109 and 278.

And to the intent therefore your hartes and lypes maye goo together in praier, it is very convenient, and moche acceptable to god, that you shuld use your private prayer in your mother tongue, that you understanding what you aske of god, maye more earnestly & fervently desyre the same your hartes & myndes agreing to your mouthe and woordes.¹

Hence, the mechanism by which prayers worked is dramatically transformed: praying without understanding is not praying. The King's Book advanced an identical argument in its commentary on the Our Father.²

B. What do ceremonies 'signify'?

Edward Muir has analysed how the significance of rituals evolved with Reformation and 'the appearance of the word ritual, moreover, indicates a major intellectual shift in the understanding of the relationship between human behaviour and meaning'.³ The ceremonies ceased to be operative and were rather interpreted as signs pointing to other realities. The transition from one understanding to another could only be effected by an emphasis on teaching, so as to communicate the change in the meaning of rituals. The Bishops' Book reflects a novel perception of ceremonies which

be also (as you would say) certain painted histories, the often sight and contemplation whereof causeth the people the better to remember the things signified and remembered in the same.

The crux of the matter is conveniently illustrated by varied uses of the word 'signify' over the period. In *The ordynarye of Crysten men*, a 1504 catechism, ceremonies 'sygnyfye and make that that they sygnyfye' and 'They sygnyfye and make ryally in dede that that these wordes sygnyfye'.⁴ Additionally, the verb 'signify' is used in the active form to describe the effects of the ritual while the passive usually denotes its symbolic or allegorical readings as does the words 'betoken' or 'token':

By the token of the crosse in the brest of the lytell chylde is sygnyfyed the love of Jhesu Christ and of his holy passion [...]. By the token of the crosse

¹ *An exhortation vnto prayer thought mete by the kinges maiestie, and his clergy, to be read to the people in euery church afore processyons. Also a letanie with suffrages to be said or song in the tyme of the said processyons*, London : 1544, sig. Bi (r-v).

² Lloyd *Formularies of faith*, p. 335.

³ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, p. 7.

⁴ *The ordynary of Christen men* sig. C i (v).

between the sholders upon the whiche man bereth the burden is sygnyfyed the obedience of the ten commaundments of the law.¹

In marked contrast, the authors of the *Rationale for Ceremonial* recommend the ceremonies be simply taken ‘for good tokens and signs to put them in remembrance of things of higher perfection’.² Ceremonies were no longer efficacious nor was much credit granted to what they purported to effect.

To take but one more example, the use of exorcised salt during the baptism is treated in much detail by the author of the 1504 catechism. The author translated the words uttered by the priest : ‘Take now the salt of true sapience to the ende that it may please god to gyve the grace for to come to the lyfe eternal’ and then went on to explain ‘what sygnyfyeth us the salte so nobly consecrated’.³ Having enumerated the virtues of salt and its uses in the Old Testament, he concluded : ‘And by these proprettees unto us is fygured truly as wytnesseth the holy scripture the noble vertue of sapyence and of dyscrecyon by the which man deserneth bytwene good and ylle’.⁴

The description of the sacramental is much briefer in the *Rationale for Ceremonial* of the 1540s :

And then he putteth hallowed salt into his mouth to signify the spiritual salt, which is the word of God, wherewith he should be seasoned and powdered that thereby the filthy savour of stiking sin should be taken away preserving him from corruption and making him a more apt vessel to continue in the moisture of wholesome and godly wisdom, and therefore the minister prayeth that he may be replenished with his heaven food, and that he receiving this grace of baptism may obtain everlasting reward.⁵

The salt merely represents the word of God and has no efficacy of itself : it is merely a sign of what Scripture will do for the faithful rather than an active agent of God’s grace.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, C viii, see also sig. C i.

² *Rational of Ceremonial*, p. 43.

³ *The ordynary of Christen men* sig. C i (v) and C ii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. C ii.

⁵ *Rational for Ceremonial*, op. cit., p. 7-8

⁶ The simile was earlier used by Thomas Gibson, *The ceremonies annexed to the celebration of baptême*, sig. A ii (v). For a short biographical notice, see I. Gadd, ‘Gibson, Thomas (d. 1562)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10634>, retrieved 8/07/2011]

C. The issue of authority

In Bishops' book, the authors claimed that authority on liturgical and ceremonial matters belonged to the clergy :

the jurisdiction committed unto priests and bishops by the authority of God's law, is to make and ordain certain rules or canons concerning holydays, fasting days, the manner and ceremonies to be used in the ministration of the sacraments, the manner of singing psalms and spiritual hymns, [...] the diversity of degrees among the ministers, and the form and manner of their ornaments, and finally concerning such other rites, ceremonies, and observances as to tend and conduce to the preservation of quietness and decent order to be had and used among the people when they shall be assembled together in the temple.¹

This rule applied before the conversion of kings and the extent of Christian princes' authority over the liturgy thereafter was not clearly resolved in the Bishops' Book. In two royal proclamations, Henry VIII boldly vindicated his power to abrogate or alter the ceremonies of the Church.² In the *Rationale for Ceremonial*, the committee on the liturgy took this into account and asserted that

these rites and ceremonies [...] now used in the ministration of sacraments for their godly signification, are very commendable and to be observed, and in no wise to be omitted without a reasonable cause, except it shall be seen to the rulers and governors upon good considerations to take away, alter, or changing them.³

The emphasis on royal power in the matter is transparent in the King's Book:

And therefore concerning such ceremonies of the church, as have been institute by our forefathers, and be allowed by the princes or kings of the dominions, which next to God be the chief heads of the churches...⁴

Sacramentals owe their survival entirely to the king's forbearance. The sole limit to the king's power is Scripture. When discussing the Six Articles, Alec Ryrie has commented on the revolution effected by this 'firm commitment to biblical authority', as

the regime was no longer holding to a long-established truth hallowed by tradition [here the doctrine of transubstantiation], but trying to arrive at that same definition *de novo*. [...] If traditional forms of doctrinal authority were

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 110. See also p. 56 the more ambiguous claim that the governors of the church institute rites and ceremonies.

² *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, p. 270-6 and p. 278-80.

³ *Rationale for Ceremonial*, p. 43.

⁴ Lloyd, *Formularies of faith*, *op.cit.* p. 310.

being questioned, then every scrap of doctrinal territory had to be fought for. This was a profoundly radical process, even if in this case it led to a conservative conclusion.¹

Radical distrust of the liturgy is another hallmark of the Henrician Reformation : the literal meaning of the prayers of the church are inadequate sources for doctrine. The liturgy ceased to be a trustworthy and autonomous deposit of the faith. Hence, pastoral teaching was not intended to clarify the liturgy but rather to correct it.

D. Political and spiritual stakes

In the 1540s, sacramentals became an important stake in the battle between conservatives and evangelicals. Moreover, one's attitude in respect to these ceremonies came to denote accurately one's religious sympathies.

Amongst the Kent clergy many had failed to declare the 'true meaning of the ceremonies', a lapse frequently associated with failure to comply with other royal commands (advancing the supremacy, discouraging pilgrimages, reading the royal injunctions).² The conservative opponents to Cranmer also neglected to instruct their parishioners of the 'difference between ceremonies and works commanded by God'.³ Contrary to traditional teachings and the literal interpretation of the liturgy, sacramentals were no longer considered good works, thus further undermining the liturgy's role in salvation. So then what did these rituals mean to the people?

E. Towards extinction?

As time wore on, the regime's tolerance for sacramentals declined steadily. As the reformers attempted to winnow superstition from devotion, the powers of the ceremonies diminished and the field of accepted practices narrowed. The committee of bishops assigned to revise the liturgy seem to have read the writing on the wall :

But for so much as plenary remission of sin and everlasting life is purchased unto us by the merits of Christ's passion only, therefore all such exorcisms and prayers which attribute remission of sins, redemption, propitiation, salvation, or

¹ Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 36.

² *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 293-6 and 300-1 ; p. 295-300 (Gardiner, Norton, Parkhurst and Edward Spenser, William Kempe, the vicar of Chillam, the curates of Westbere Ripple, Allington, Orpew, Lydd and Stodmarsh), see also Henry Litherland, the 'vicar of Newark': Kew, National Archives, SP1/130, fo. 140v (*Letters and Papers*, xiii, (i), 604)

³ *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 293-6 and 300-1.

other like to any other creature than to Christ shall be from henceforth omitted and in no wise used.¹

Was this ever implemented? This begs the question of the nature of *The rationale for ceremonial*: does the text describe or prescribe liturgical usages? I have interpreted the passage on the canon of the mass as a description but here, the use of the future tense denotes a far more prescriptive tone. Moreover this passage is only included in the more reformist version of the manuscript.² Since this text was never officially promulgated it is likely that this order was never implemented in most English parishes. Yet, in a *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, the prayers of several sacramentals are crossed out: it is possible therefore that, in this parish, the priest had relinquished exorcisms before baptism, the blessing of the font, casting of holy water at the churching of women and at the visitation of the sick and the unction with holy chrism in the sacrament of extreme unction.³ In another ritual, many blessings were torn out and must therefore have ceased to be used. Although such cases are scarce in the corpus of surviving liturgical books, such practices may have been a little more widespread than the mere statistics would have it.

In 1546, Cranmer desired to pursue the pruning of sacramentals and recommended ‘the banning of bell-ringing on All Hallows Day’ and ‘the covering and uncovering of images in Lent, the raising of the veil before the Rood on Palm Sunday at the singing of Ave Rex Noster and the ceremony of creeping to the cross’.⁴ These are the very rituals castigated by Richard Turner and John Bland, who were both part of the archbishop’s circle.

Their utter dependence on the king’s sufferance, their constant undermining by the doctrinal pronouncements of the Church, the sabotage they underwent at the hands of lay and clerical evangelicals placed the sacramentals in a very fragile position in the late 1540s.

¹ *Rationale for ceremonial*, p. 42.

² MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, *op.cit.* p. 276 and n. 129.

³ Oxford, Bodleian, Marl P. 1.

⁴ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 351 and Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the Altars*, p. 443-444.

3. Change and continuity in the doctrine and practice of the sacraments

Much has been written about the absence of confirmation marriage, ordination and extreme unction from the Ten Articles.¹ These four sacraments were, in the words of Edward Lee, the conservative bishop, 'found again anew' in the *Bishops' Book*.² This was and still is given one of two interpretations : a proof that the four sacraments had never disappeared or a sign that religious policy in England was at the hands of opposing factions which vied for control, and that this was a conservative victory following the defeat of 1536.

Whatever the reason, it is unlikely that sacramental practice was hugely affected. Would the English people have gladly gone without rites of passage as important as marriage and extreme unction? Nevertheless, the central issue at stake here is that of the entire Reformation: what in the time-honoured liturgy of the Church is necessary for salvation, what is indifferent and what is downright damnable?

A. Confirmation, marriage, ordination and extreme unction: sacraments or sacramentals?

The Bishops' Book established a two-tiered sacramental system, with some 'sacraments being less sacramental than others':³

Although the sacraments of Matrimony, of Confirmation, of Holy Orders, and of Extreme Unction, have been of long time past received and approved by the common consent of the catholic church, to have the name and dignity of sacraments, as indeed they be well worthy to have; (forasmuch as they be holy and godly signs, wherby, and by the prayer of the minister, be not only signified and represented, but also given and conferred some certain and special gifts of the Holy Ghost, necessary for Christian men to have for one godly purpose or other, like It hath been before declared;) yet there is a difference in dignity and necessity between them and the other three sacraments, that is to say, the sacraments of Baptism, of Penance and of the Altar, and that for different causes.

¹ Jean-Pierre Moreau, *Henri VIII et schisme anglican*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1994, p. 103 ; For J. J. Scarisbrick the Ten Articles are 'blatantly heterodox' and were intended to facilitate a rapprochement with the Lutheran princes, see *Henry VIII*, p. 337; see also G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 247; G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation, op.cit.* p. 281-2 ; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 161-2.

² Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, op.cit.* p. 400

³ Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformations*, p. 132

First, because these three sacraments be instituted of Christ, to be as certain instruments or remedies necessary to our salvation, and the attaining of everlasting life. Second, because they be also commanded by Christ to be ministered and received in their outward visible signs. Thirdly, because they have annexed and conjoined unto their said visible signs such spiritual graces, as whereby our sins be remitted and forgiven, and we be perfectly renewed, regenerated, purified, justified, and made the very members of Christ's mystical body, so oft as we worthily and duly receive the same.¹

The 'lesser sacraments' function more or less as sacramentals. And Thomas Cranmer seems to deny the clear distinction drawn by Peter Lombard between sacraments and sacramentals which are all 'mysteries' :

eucharistia, baptismus, pascha, dies Dominicus, lotio pedum, signum crucis, chrisma, matrimonium, ordo, sabbatum, impositio manuum, oleum, consecratio olei, lac, mel, aqua, vinum, sal, ignis, cineres, adaptio aurium, vestis candida, and all the parables of Christ, with the prophecies of the Apocalypse, and such other, be called by the doctors sacramenta.²

i. Confirmation³

At the end of the Middle Ages, the practice was for bishops to confirm children after their baptism or during childhood. The celebration is found in the *Manuale ad usum Sarum*:

In primis dicat Episcopus :

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini

Sit nomen Domini benedictum

Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Oratio: Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui regenerare dignatus es hos famulos tuos ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, quique dedisti eis remissionem omnium peccatorum : inmitte in eos septiformem Spiritum Sanctum Paraclitum de caelis. Amen.

Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus Amen

Spiritum scientiae et pietatis. Amen

Spiritum consilii et fortitudinis. + Amen

Et imple eos spiritu timoris Domini. +Amen

Et consigna eos signo sanctae crucis + et confirma eos chrismate salutis in vitam propiatus aeternam. Amen

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 129. The take in the King's Book is slightly different with a three-tiered system, see *ibid.*, p. 293-4. See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 189

² *Miscellaneous writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, p. 115.

³ Louis Ligier, *La confirmation*, Paris : 1973, pp. 302 ; Pierre-Marie Gy, 'Histoire liturgique du sacrement de Confirmation', in *La Maison Dieu*, n° 58, 1959, p. 135-45 ; Paul de Clerck, 'La dissociation du baptême et de la confirmation au Haut Moyen Age', in *La Maison Dieu*, n° 168, 1986, p. 47-75.

Et tunc Episcopus petat nomen, et ungat pollicem chrismate; et faciat in fronte pueri crucem dicens: Consigno te N signo crucis et confirmo te chrismate salutis. In nomine Pa+tris, et Fi+lii, et Spiritus + Sancti. Amen.

Pax tibi. Oremus.

Oratio: Deus, qui apostolis tuis Sanctum dedisti Spirituem, quique per eos eorum successoribus ceterisque fidelibus tradendum esse voluisti; respice propitius ad nostrae humilitatis famulatum: et praesta, ut horum corda quorum frontes sacrosancto chrismate delinivimus et singo sanctae crucis consignavimus, idem Spiritus Sanctus adveniens templum gloriae suae dignanter inhabitando perficiat. Per Dominum. In unitate ejusdem.

Ecce sic benedicetur omnis homo qui timet Dominum.

Benedicat vos Dominus ex Sion: ut videatis bona Hierusalem omnibus diebus vestris.

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus Pa+ter, et Fi+lius, et Spiritus + Sanctus. Amen

The collects are deprecatory rather than declaratory: the effect of the sacrament, i.e. the gift of the Holy Spirit, is requested from God rather than effected by the sacramental words and actions of the bishop. In its exposition of confirmation, a late medieval catechism for unlearned priests and the laity remains cautious and brief:

Every persone that hath understondyng ought to receyve thys sacrament. For by this sacrament ben put in the soule of hym that receyveth it worthily the seven geftes of the holy ghost by whyche he is armed agenst thassaultes of the fende of helle alle they that have not receyed thys sacrament and have understanyng ben in perill to be overcomen of the fende of helle by dedely synne.¹

The emphasis on worthy reception of the sacrament as a condition of its efficacy is reminiscent of the understanding of sacramentals which also operate *ex opere operandis*. Guy de Roye, however, specifies that confirmation is necessary and must be received when in doubt. Even in the traditional teaching and the liturgy of the church, the status of confirmation as a sacrament is slightly problematic.

Dropped from the Ten Articles, confirmation was then reinstated in *The Institution of a Christian Man*:

[the holy fathers of the primitive church] thought it very expedient to ordain, that all Christian people should, after their baptism, be presented to their bishops, to the intent that by their prayers, and laying of their hands upon them, and consigning of them with the holy chrisme, they should be confirmed, that is to say, they should receive such gifts of the Holy Ghost, as wherby...²

¹ Guy de Roye, *Doctrinal of Sapience*, sig. H vi. For a brief presentation of this catechism, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 56 and 112-3.

² Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 95.

Its treatment diverges slightly in the King's Book : [the holy fathers of the primitive church] did use and observe (as it hath been hitherto by succession of ages continued) that all Christian people should, after their baptism, be presented ...¹ Confirmation is simply a usage and not an ordinance of the Fathers of the Church.² Further, the sacrament is deemed not to be 'of such necessity but that without [it] men may be saved' but something that provides, 'if worthily taken [...] ghostly strength, aid and comfort' and that is 'very wholesome and profitable, and to be desired and reverently received'.³ Having downgraded ceremonies to mere symbolic gestures, the regime downgraded confirmation to the place formerly occupied by sacramentals.

Thomas Cranmer's understanding of confirmation presents no departure from the official doctrine of the English Church. He may even have convinced Henry that confirmation was no more than a sacramental or a worthy prayer:

The bishop, in the name of the church, doth invoke the Holy Ghost to give strength and constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed ; so that the efficacy of this sacrament is of such value as is the prayer of the bishop made in the name of the church.⁴

In 1536, Convocation declared that denying that children should be confirmed was a heretical opinion.⁵ It was held by Thomas Myle from Norwich in 1535 and was abjured by Thomas Becon in his 1543 recantation.⁶ The sacrament is taken out of one *Manual ad usum Sarum*, which is itself surprising since it was dispensed by the bishop and not the parish priest.⁷

ii. Marriage⁸

The liturgy of the sacrament of marriage is conducted in English and Latin and starts with word of welcome and an exhortation:¹

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

² See Cranmer's answers to the 1540 questionnaire on sacraments : *Works of Archbishop Cranmer*, J.E. Cox (ed.), Cambridge: 1846, vol 2, p. 115-117.

³ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 294

⁴ *The remains of Thomas Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 18.

⁵ John Wilkins, *Concilia*, p. 804.

⁶ I am grateful to Alec Rylie for these two examples : Muriel McClendon, *The Quiet Reformation : Magistrates and the Emergence of Protestantism in Tudor Norwich*, Stanford: 1999, p. 74 and London, Guildhall Library MS 9531/12, Bonner Register, fo. 44v

⁷ Voir Oxford, Bod, S. Selden d. 30

⁸ Jean-Baptiste Molin and Protais Mutembe, *Le rituel du mariage en France du XIIème au XVIe siècle*, Paris :1974, 348pp. See also John K. Leonard, 'Rites of Marriage in the Western Middle Ages' in Lisette Larson-Miller (ed), *Medieval liturgy : a book of essays*, New York : 1997, p. 165-202, esp. p. 188-191. and Sue Niebrzydowski, *Bonoure and Buxom : a study of wives in late medieval literature*, Oxford : 2006, p. 62-75.

Ecce convenimus hic fratres coram deo et angelis et omnibus sanctis eius in facie ecclesie ad coniungendum duo corpora : scilicet huius viri et huius mulieris. *Hic respiciat sacerdos personas suas* ut amodo sint una caro et due anime in fide et in lege dei ad promerendam simul vitam eternam *Deinde fiat admonitio ad populum in lingua materna sic:* admoneo vos omnes, per Patrem, et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum : ut si quis est ex vobis qui sciat aliquod quare isti adolescents legitime contrahere non possunt, modo confiteatur.

[...] The marriage ceremony then follows : with a dialogue between the priest and the couple and the exchange of the vows in English :

Post haec dicat sacerdos ad virum cunctis audientibus in lingua materna :

N vis habere hanc mulierem in sponsam et eam diligere et honorare, tenere et custodire, sanam et infirmam, sicut sponsus debet sponsam ; et omnes alias propter eam dimittere ; et illi soli adhaerere, quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duravit ?

Respondeat : Volo.

Item sacerdos ad mulierem :

N. vis habere hunc virum in sponsum, et illi obedire et servire, et eum diligere et honorare, ac custodire sanum et infirmum sicut sponsa debet sponsum ; et omnes alios propter eum dimittere, et illi soli adhaerere quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duravit.

Respondeat : Volo.

Deinde detur femina a patre suo vel ab amico ; quae, si puella est, discopertam habeat manum ; si vidua, tectam ; quam vir recipiat, in Dei fide et sua servandam, sicut vovit coram sacerdote ; et teneat eam per manum dextram in manu sua dextra. Et sic vir det fidem mulieri per verba de praesenti, ita dicens, sacerdote docente.

I, N. take the N to my weddyd wyfe, to have and to holde, for better for wurs, for rycher for porer ; in sikeness & in helth tyll deth us departe & thereunto I plyght the my trouth. *Manum retrahendo.*

Deinde dicat mulier, sacerdote docente.

I N take the N to my weddyd husbonde, to have & to holde, for better for wurs, for rycher for porer, in sykenesse & in helth, to be bonoure & buxum, in bed & at borde, tyll deth us depart ; therto I plyght my trouth. *Manum retrahendo.*

The ring may then be blessed by the priest with a prayer in which God is asked to grant that ‘she who shall wear it may be armed with the strength of heavenly defense and that it may be profitable unto her eternal salvation’. Holy water is then cast on the ring.

[...] *vir accipiat manu sua dextera cum tribus principalibus digitis, a manu sua sinistra tenens dexteram sponsae ; docente sacerdote, dicat :*

With thys ryng I the wedde and tys gold and silver I the geve ; and wyth my body I te worscype, and wyth all my worldly catell I the honore.

Et tunc proferat sponsus anulum pollicis sponsae dicens, In nomine Patris ; ad secundum digitum Et Filii, ad tertium digitum, et Spiritus Sancti, ad quartum digitum, Amen ; et ibi dimittat eum secundum Decretum xxx q v c Feminae ad finem, quia in illo digito est quaedam vena procedens usque ad cor ; et in sonoritate argenti designatur interna dilectio ; quae inter eos semper debet esse recens. Tunc inclinatis capitibus eorum, dicat sacerdos benedictionem super eos.

¹ For a translation into English, see Frederick E. Warren, *The Sarum Missal in English*, vol. 2, p. 143-61.

Benedicti sitis a Domino qui fecit mundum ex nihilo.
Respondetur Amen

A psalm is then sung and several blessings recited over the couple asking God to keep them, give them peace and fill them ‘with all spiritual benediction for the remission of [their] sins’. The

The wedding mass is adapted from the Trinity mass but contains a few final collects which are specific to the sacrament :

Oratio : Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et institutis tuis quibus propagationem humani generi ordinasti, benignus assiste ; ut quod te auctore conjugitur, te auxiliante servetur. Per Christum.

Oremus.

Oratio : Deus qui potestate virtutis tuae de nihilo cuncta fecisti ; qui dispositis universitatis exordiis, homini ad imaginem Dei facto, ideo inseparabile mulieris adjutorium condidisti, ut femineo corpori de virili dares carne principium ; docens, quod ex uno placuisset instituti, numquam liceret disjungi ;

Caveat sacerdos de ista clausula sequenti :

Deus, qui tam excellenti mysterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti, ut Christi et Ecclesiae sacramentum praesignares in foedere nuptiarum, *Quia non dicitur in secundis nuptiis usque* Deus per quem mulier jungitur viro, *ut patet inferius* : Deus per quem mulier jungitur viro et societas principaliter ordinata, ea benedictione donatur, quae nec sola per originalis peccati poenam, nec per diluvi est ablata sententiam ; respice, quaesumus, propitius super hanc famulam tuam, quae maritali jungenda consortio, tua se expetit protectione muniri. Sit in ea jugum dilectionis et pacis ; fidelis et casta nubat in Christo, imitatrixque sanctarum permaneat feminarum. Sit amabilis ut Rachel viro, sapiens ut Rebecca, longeva et fidelis ut Sara. Nihil in ea actibus suis ille auctor praevaricationis usurpet ; nexa fidei mandatisque permaneat uni thoro juncta ; contactus illicitos fugiat ; muniat infirmitatem suam robore disciplinae. Sit verecundia gravis, pudore venerabilis, doctrinis coelestibus erudita. Sit foecunda in sobole, sit probata et innocens, et ad optatam perveniat senectutem, et videat filios filiorum suorum usque in tertiam et quartam progeniem ; et ad beatorum requiem atque ad coelestia regna perveniat. Per Dominum.

This prayer is then followed by a long rubric explaining why this particular orison may not be used when one of the parties is a widow or a widower. The newlyweds did not communicate but, at the end of the ceremony, ate bread and drank wine blessed by the priest. Finally, the missal offers blessings for the couple’s room and bed, and a last blessing on them.

In the *Doctrinal of Sapience* marriage was presented as the first sacrament established by God in paradise and it ‘signifieth the love of ihesu crist and of his holy chyrche, and god hath so moche honoured it that he woulde be borne under the shadowe of mariage’.¹ The author then provided the ground rules for a healthy relationship and

¹ Guy de Roye, *Doctrinal of Sapience*, sig. I v(v)-vi(v).

detailed parental duties. Times when carnal union is prohibited were also specified. Finally, the author issues a reminder of ‘what mariages be of no value’. The Church guaranteed the validity of marriage and thus the legitimacy of children. It was therefore essential that invalid marriages not be celebrated or be exposed.

The Henrician doctrinal statements did not, in this instance, usher a clear break with the past.¹ Similar emphasis was placed on aspects which guarantee social order: the necessity of the sacrament,² the validity of the union and the duties of the parents. In 1537, the bishops retained the traditional distinction between the outward sign (the consent of the spouses) and the inner graces (the sanctification of procreation and the salvation offered to parents who raise their children well) of the sacrament. As a sacrament and because of the good works which it requires, matrimony is a path to salvation. *A Necessary Doctrine* abandoned this notion but dwelled at length on the numerous impediments which might invalidate a union, perhaps in a reflection of Henry’s own concerns. Both formularies relinquish the order that couples abstain from sexual relations at specific times, determined by the liturgical calendar. This may also have reflected the king’s proclivities. Fasting and abstaining ceased to be mandatory in Lent or the eves of holidays:³ the grip of the liturgy on day to day life was loosening.

In several missals and manuals, the introduction to the service which was to be said in English is duly translated, as a memorandum.⁴ But in 1546, a chaplain named Henry Sayers copied a slightly revised version into his manual :

Well beloyd people in our Saviour(s) we are here
A sembled to gether in the syght off god and
before the congregation to joyn thys man
and thys woman in the holy state of matrimony
and to make of towe bodyes one flesh and
one bloud. And neyther off them to have ther
owne soule in kepyng to goddess honour & glory

The evangelical slant of the phrasing is evident : no mention is made of the angels and saints and the term ‘congregation’ is preferred to ‘Church’.

Finally in the York rite, the consent formula is worded slightly differently :

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 82-92 and p. 269-277. Henry had wished for the sacrament of matrimony to be considered as a major sacrament (Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 212).

² Some had ceased to consider marriage necessary for cohabitation. My thanks to Alec Ryrie for the examples of Thomas Hytton and Philip. Gammon, in Thomas More, *The confutacyon of Tyndales answere* (1532, RSTC 18079), sig. Bb 4^r and Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People*, p. 24.

³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 405, 430. See also Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 116.

⁴ Cambridge, UL, MS Ee 4 19 and F153 c 4 ; Oxford, Trinity I 7 14 and York, Minster Library, MS XVI M 4.

Here I take the N. to my wedded wyfe, to have and to holde, at bedde and at borde, for fayrer for fouler, for better for warse, in sekeness and in hele, tyl dethe us departe, if holy kirk it will ordayne, and thereto I plight the me trouthe.¹

In a *Manuale ad usum Eboracensis*, the phrase is ‘if holy kirk it will ordayne’.² This could be interpreted as an attempt at ‘sarumisation’ after the Southern rite was imposed in the entire kingdom in 1543,³ or it could amount to a refusal of the Church’s authority in determining the validity of marriages. Even if there was little change in the celebration of weddings, the debasing of the sacramentals surrounding the celebration (blessing of the ring, communion to blessed bread and wine, etc) may have resulted in their disuse, which would have obliquely altered the traditional fabric of the sacrament.

iii. Extreme unction

The sacrament of extreme unction was usually performed in the home of the dying parishioner, where the priest would bring the blessed water, holy chrism and consecrated wafers required to dispense the last rites. The sacrament might follow the ritual of the visitation of the sick which included provision for confession.⁴

After holy water had been cast on the sick, the priest recited Ps 31 (*In the Domine speravi*) followed by an antiphon before reading the first collect:

Tunc dicat sacerdos Dominus vobiscum et Oremus. Oratio.

Omnipotens et sempiterna Deus, qui per beatum Jacobum Apostolum tuum locutus es, dicens : Infirmitur quis in vobis : inducat presbyteros Ecclesiae et orent super eum, ungentes oleo sancto in nomine Domini : et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et alleviabit eum Dominus, et si in peccatis sit dimittentur ei ; dignare per manus nostras hunc famulum tuum N. infirmum de oleo sanctificato ungere, et virtute benedictionis tuae saluti pristinae restituere : ut quod exterius per ministerium nostrum efficitur, hoc interius spiritualiter tua divina virtus ac invisibiliter tua malagmata operentur. Per Dominum.

Tunc sacerdos accedens ad infirmum incipiat Psalmus sequentem, chorus vel clericus totum prosequatur : et sic fiat de ceteris psalmis sequentibus.

Psalmus. Usquesuo Domini

Gloria Patri

Dum dicitur praedictus psalmus a choro vel a clerico, accipiat interim sacerdos oleum infirmorum super pollicem dextrum : et sic cum illo pollice tangat infirmum cum oleo, signum

¹ Henderson (ed.), *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 27.

² Oxford, St John’s College, MS 47.

³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 290.

⁴ In some manuscript manuals the two ceremonies are joined. *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 173*-177*.

sanctae crucis faciens, super utrumque oculum, incipiendo ad dextrum, et dicat sacerdos hoc modo :

Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per visum.

Resp. Amen

Sequatur psalmus Exaltabo te, Domine.

Gloria Patri..

Deinde super aurens, dicens :

Deinde in dorso inter lumbos maris, vel super umbilicum mulieris ita dicens :

Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per illicitas cogitationes et per ardorem libidinis.

Resp. Amen

Tunc erigens se sacerdos lavet manus suas cum sale et aqua, in vase quo stuppee olei ponuntur: quae igne crementur, et in coemeterio fodiantur. Postea dicat sacerdos super infirmum benedictionem hoc modo :

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, sit tibi haec olei unctio ad purificationem mentis et corporis, et ad munimen defensionem contra jacula immundorum spirituum.

Resp. Amen

Sequatur psalmus Domine clamavi ad te.

Gloria Patri

Deinde dicat sacerdos Dominus vobiscum et Oremus. Oratio.

Domine Deus, salvatore noster, qui es vera salus et medecina, a quo omne medicamentum venit, quique Jacobi apostoli tui voce nos instruis ut languidos olei liquore tangentes tuae postulemus misericordiam pietatis ; respice propitius super hunc famulum tuum N. et quem langor cruciat ad exitum et virium defectus trahit ad occasum ; medela tuae gratiae restituas ad salutem. Sana quoque, quaesamus, Domine, omnium medicator febrium cunctorum languorum cruciatus, aegritudinemque et dolorum omnium dissolve tormenta, viscerum ac cordium interna medica, medullarum quoque et cogitationum sana discrimina, ulcerum varietatumque putredines evacua, conscoentiarum atque plagarum obducito cicatrices veteres, immensasque remove passiones carnis ac sanguinis materiam reforma, delictorumque cunctorum veniam tribue. Sicque illum pietas tua jugiter custodiat, ut nec ad corruptionem aliquando sanitas, nec ad perditionem, nunc te auxiliante, perducatur infirmitatis. Sed fiat illi haec olei sacrati perunctio mortis et morbi atque langoris praesentis expulsio et peccatorum omnium exoptata remissio. Qui cum Deo Patre vivis et regnas deus per omnia saecula saeculorum.

Next, the priest exhorted the dying to confess the sins s/he might have forgotten in earlier confessions before asking : ‘Frater credis quod sacramentum quod tractatur in altari sub forma panis est verum corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi?’¹ To which the sick replied ‘Credo’ and would be then given communion if his state permitted. The priest then blessed the dying thus :

Benedicat + te Pater, qui in principio cuncta creavit
Resp. Amen. Et sic respondeatur ad singulas benedictiones.
Sanet te Dei Filius. Amen
Illuminet te Spiritus Sanctus. Amen
Corpus tuum custodiat. Amen

¹ *Ibid.* p. 50*

Sensum tuum dirigat, et ad supernam patriam te perducatur, qui in Trinitate perfecta vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen¹

The use of the subjunctive ‘indulgeat’ in the sacramental formula sets extreme unction apart from baptism or penance where the indicative is used to express the performative action of the ritual. As was the case for confirmation, in purely liturgical terms, extreme unction resembles a sacramental : the priest asks God to be merciful and grant forgiveness of sins and recovery.

In *Doctrinal of Sapyence*, the sacrament is but briefly expounded :

This sacrament availeth moch to forgiving sinnes and ofte it aledgeth the maladye for it was establisshed for the helthe of the soule and for the helthe of the body.²

Guy de Roye insists that the sacrament can be received more than once :

he is in peryl of dampnacyon yf he deye without receyvving it, for none ought to refuse it whiche is in peryl of deth.³

These remarks must be contextualised : the laity superstitiously ascribed powers to the last sacraments. Eamon Duffy has documented their anxieties in detail :

The Church forbade anointing till death was imminent, so that reception of this sacrament effectively constituted a death sentence. But there was more to lay reluctance than this. It was widely and erroneously believed that the solemn anointing of all the senses involved in the reception of Extreme Unction was a sort of ordination or consecration, cutting the recipient off from the normal activities of life, even should they recover. They would have to live thereafter as a sort of animated corpse, as it was widely thought that ‘stinking Lazarus’ had done after Jesus had raised him from the tomb. Despite all the authorities could do to reassure them, many lay people believed that an anointed person could never again eat meat, or have sexual relations with his or her spouse.⁴

Guy de Roye’s intention probably must have been to provide such reassurances to his lay readers and enforce the teachings of the Church. The *Manipulus Curatorum* offers a more comprehensive but similar account, detailing the biblical origins of anointing the sick, the theological aspects of the sacrament (matter, form, ministry) and the practical course of action (the eyes of people born blind, for instance, need not be anointed). The effects of the sacrament is the restoration of spiritual health through remission of sins and reception of grace.⁵ John Mirk finally delineates how to dispose of the vessels and

¹ *Ibid.* p. 51*

² G. de Roye, *Doctrinal of Sapyence*, sig. J iii(v)- iv

³ G. de Roye, *Doctrinal of Sapyence*, sig. J iv

⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 313.

⁵ John Mirk, *Manipulus Curatorum* fo. xlix- fo. li.

material which have been in contact with the holy chrism and the purification rituals involved when the dying recovered.

In the Bishops' Book, extreme unction is termed a sacrament but described as a sacramental, instituted by the apostles but not by Christ himself. Spiritual and prophylactic benefits are to be gained from extreme unction which is nevertheless simply a prayer to God. The ritual is efficient *ex opere operantis*, dependent on the faith and virtue of the participants :

And the grace conferred in this sacrament is the relief and recovery of the disease and sickness wherewith the sick person is then diseased and troubled, and also the remission of his sins, if he be then in sin. This grace we be assured to obtain by the virtue and efficacy of the faithful and fervent prayer used in the ministration of this sacrament of anointing. [...] For the better understanding whereof, two things be here specially to be noted. The first is, that St. James calleth here the prayer to be used in the time of this inunction, the prayer of faith : whereby he meaneth, that this prayer ought to be made in that right faith, trust and confidence, which we ought to have in God, to obtain the effect of our petitions made in the ministration of this sacrament [...]. And that when we direct our prayers unto God for any bodily health or relief, or for any other temporal commodity, we ought always to temper our prayer with this condition, that is to say, if it shall so stand with God's will and his pleasure.

The commentary is partly lifted from the first collect which bolsters the bishops' claim that extreme unction is a lesser sacrament. The use of the phrase 'the prayer of faith' is ambiguous and could be interpreted either as the individual's faith in God or as that of the community expressed through the liturgy. However it may well have carried evangelical connotations and have aimed at contrasting the 'prayer of faith' with empty rituals and vain ceremonies.

In the King's Book, extreme unction is thus analysed :

We ought assuredly to trust that God, working in the ministration of his sacraments, doth by the prayer of the minister, and of such as assist him, forgive those sins of the sick man [...] and yet we ought not thereupon to conceive a vain false hope of the effect of this sacrament, that, living in filthy and abominable sin, [...] we should by the ministration of extreme unction, have all our sins forgiven ; for this sacrament is ministered fruitfully only to those that be members of Christ's church and [...] have benn by penance restored to the same...¹

Extreme unction and confirmation are lumped together as the two sacraments which :

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 292.

although they be not of such necessity but that without them men be saved, yet, forasmuch as in the ministration of them, if they be worthily taken, men receive more abundantly ghostly strength, aid and comfort, they be very wholesome and profitable, and to be desired and reverently received.¹

Although criticism of extreme unction may well have been rooted in earlier fears concerning the might of its powers, in the 1530s and 1540s, it took a distinctly sceptical slant. John Benson of Alhalond parish in Canterbury spake in contempt of the Sacrament of extreme unction.² Others distrusted the efficacy of the holy chrism. John Carter, the vicar of Streatley, Bedfordshire, was arrested for upholding a very unconventional view of last rites: ‘when a man was dying people rush for the priest, saying ‘come, come he wilbe gone’, and that it would be just as good to anoint him with a little tar or shoemakers’ oil.’³ A London draper entertained similar radical doubts about the sacrament and was examined for saying: ‘There ys nor neu^er was more *virtue* yn y^e holy vnctyon of oyle & creme [*sic*] nor was or ys yn grese or butter.’⁴ Finally, in one *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, the rubrics directing the priest to apply holy chrism are lightly crossed out.⁵ It is possible that in some parishes this part of the sacrament was omitted.

iv. Ordination and priesthood

The few pontificals that have survived were, in all likelihood, not in use in the 1530s and 1540s. The Henrician bishops’ books were destroyed in 1549 and it is therefore impossible to find any liturgical evidence of changes in the ordination of priest. Peter Marshall’s work on the status of priests before and after the Henrician Reformation is exemplary.⁶ The sacrament of order, by the bishops’ imposition and consecration prayer, conferred an indelible dignity to its recipient, setting him apart for divine service, especially for the eucharist and thus placing him above angels.⁷ This would explain the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

² *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii) 546, p. 310.

³ Alec Ryrie provided me with this example: John Fines, *A biographical register of early English Protestants and others opposed to the Roman Catholic Church 1525-58*, vol. 1, p. 218-9; A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York*, London: 1959, p. 49 and Central London Record Office, Repertory 10, fo. 28r.

⁴ Central London Record Office, Repertory 10, fo. 28r. I am grateful to Alec Ryrie for providing the case and its transcript. See a similar example in A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York*, London: 1959, p. 49.

⁵ Oxford, Bodleian, Marl. P. 1. The sacramentals and ceremonies of baptism were also defaced in this book, see above, section 2, E.

⁶ Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood*, 271p.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117-9. See also Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 134-5.

severe penalties incurred by whoever struck or killed a priest.¹ The catechisms similarly stress the reverence due to priests.²

In the Henrician confessions of faith, ordination is considered a sacrament which creates

ministers or officers, which should have special power, authority, and commission, under Christ, to preach and teach the word of God unto his people ; to dispense and administer the sacraments of God unto them, and by the same to confer and give the graces of the Holy Ghost ; to consecrate the blessed body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar ; to loose and absolve from sin all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same ; to bind and to excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults ; to order and consecrate others in the same room, order and office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves ; and finally to feed like good pastors and rectors, with their wholesome doctrine.³

As previously noted there is a strong emphasis on teaching, which starts and ends the list of clerical duties. This could have practical consequences for the clergy : Nicholas Shaxton required that, in his diocese, priests who did not speak English be barred from holding office.⁴

In the Bishops' Book, the power of the keys is narrowly constructed:

This said power and administration [...] is called the keys, or the power of the keys ; whereby is signified a certain limited office, restrained unto the execution of a special function or ministration.⁵

Minor orders and the related sacramentals (tonsure and unctions) were considered to be simply traditions devoid of spiritual meaning. The clergy were placed on an equal footing with secular authorities, established by God to govern the world. The perfectly orthodox notion that priests and bishops are instruments of God is given unusual emphasis. Finally as the authority to define doctrine and liturgy was concentrated in the hands of the king, the article on holy orders reflects a strong interest in the royal supremacy. The king himself refashioned this article and the King's Book reflects the further diminished credit accorded to the sacrament.

René Bornert has explained that 'the liturgy is as a complex system which necessarily involves a certain understanding of ministry. Therefore, changes in the liturgical system affect the theological perception of ministry. Conversely a reinterpretation of the

¹ *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 87*

² Guy de Roye, *The Doctrinal of Sapience*, sig. H viii (v)-I ii and I iv.

³ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 101 (Bishops' Book) and 278 (King's Book).

⁴ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, p. 53.

⁵ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, *op.cit.* p. 102 (Bishops' Book).

ministry alters the liturgical system.¹ The doctrinal revision of the sacraments and sacramentals can not fail to induce changes in the perception of the clergy's status: the radical difference imprinted by ordination was coming under scrutiny and being challenged by men and women. On the one hand, 'persons have made themselves priests and were none', such Gilles Barham accused of having heard confessions and celebrated mass in the parish of Northgate.² While, on the other hand, laymen seek to undo the effects of ordination : 'Mr. Isaac took a priest named Sir Thomas, put him in secular apparel and made him a horsekeeper'.³ In the Canterbury parish of St Andrew, laymen drank from the chalice and a certain Thomas Dalle took it in his bare hands saying 'that Almighty God did make he (*qu.* his ?) hand as well as He did the priest's; and so willingly and presumptuously did take the chalice in his bare hand, comparing that the priest's hand is no better than his.'⁴ The chalice was a sacred vessel that only the priest could touch.⁵ Objections to the particular status of priests and of consecrated objects were not entirely new,⁶ but the Henrician reforms may well have encouraged and partly validated such claims.

B. Baptism⁷

i. Being baptised in the early 16th century

At the end of the Middle Ages, the baptismal celebration started outside the church. The priest enquired of the gender and name of the child and asked whether s/he had already been baptised at home. Boys were placed to the right of the priest and girls to

¹ René Bornert, *La réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg*, p. 419 : 'un système liturgique met en jeu une certaine notion du ministère. Les deux se conditionnent réciproquement. Une mutation du système liturgique entraîne un changement dans la perception théologique du ministère. Inversement, une réinterprétation du ministère modifie le système liturgique.'

² *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 312.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

⁵ Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood*, p. 66.

⁶ Ethan Shagan, *Popular politics and the English Reformation*, p. 138.

⁷ See entry 'baptism' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02258b.htm>, retrieved 20/07/2011 ; Michel Rubellin, 'baptism', in André Vauchez, Barry Dobson and Michael Lapidge (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages, op.cit.* p. 147-148. See also Gordon Jeanes, *Signs of God's Promise : Thomas Cranmer's Sacramental Theology and the book of Common Prayer*, London : 2008, p. 13-31 (as previously mentioned my approach differs significantly from that of Jeanes, although I will exploit similar sources). For later developments, see Bryan Spinks, *Reformation and Modern Rituals and Theologies of Baptism : From Luther to Modern Practices*, Aldershot : 2006, 254p.

his left. Several ceremonies then followed : the blessing of the child, the signing of the cross on his forehead, chest and head, the recitation of a collect, the exorcism of salt, a few grains of which were placed in the mouth of the child. The priest exorcised the child according to the gender specific regulations of the ritual. After reading a collect, and the gospel followed by another orison, the priest applied some spittle on the ears and nostrils of the child and instructed the god-parents to recite a *Pater*, an *Ave* and the Creed. This was usually followed by short exhortation in English on the importance of baptism and the duties of the god-parents. Next, the priest drew a sign of the cross on the child's hand and led it into the church where, if need be, the font would be hallowed.¹ This ceremony ended with the litany. Baptism proper started with the renunciation ritual in which the god-parents and the assembly renounced Satan, all his works and all his pretensions.² The child was brought to the font for baptism :

Postea tangat Sacerdos êctus infantis et inter scapulas de oleo sancto crucem faciens cum pollice, dicens : Et ego linio te, super pectus, oleo salutis, inter scapulas, In Christo Jesu Domino nostro ut habeas vitam aeternam, et vivas in saecula et saeculorum. Amen.

Deinde interrogato nomine ejus, respondeat, N. Item Sacerdos : N., credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem creatorem caeli et terrae. Respondeat : Credo. Item sacerdos :N., credis et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, natum et passum. Respondeat : Credo. Item sacerdos :N., credis et in Spiritum Sanctum ; sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam ; sanctorum communionem ; remissionem peccatorum ; carnis resurrectionem, et vitam aeternam post mortem. Respondeat : Credo. Tunc interroget sacerdos nomen infantis, dicens : N., Quid petis. Respondeant : Baptismum. Item sacerdos : Vis baptizari. Respondeat : Volo.

Deinde accipiat Sacerdos infantem per latera in manibus suis, et interrogato nomine ejus baptizet eum sub trina mersione tantum Sanctam Trinitatem invocando, ita dicens : N., et ego baptizo te in nomine Patris ; Et mergat eum semel versa facie ad quilonem et capite versus orientem ; Et Filii ; Et iterum mergat semel versa facie ad meridiem ; Et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Et mergat tertio recta facie versus aquam. Tunc patrini accipientes infantem de manibus Sacerdotis levant eum de fonte ; ut autem surrexit a fonte, accipiat Sacerdos de chrismate cum pollice suo dicens : Dominus vobiscum et Oremus.

Oratio : Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te regeneravit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum, Hic liniat infantem de ipso chrismate cum pollice in vertice in modum crucis, dicens : ipse te liniat chrismate + salutatis in Christo Jesu Domino nostro in vitam aeternam. Amen.

Postea induatur infans veste chrismati, Sacerdote interrogante nomen infantis, et dicente sic : N., Accipe vestem candidam et immaculatam, quam perferas ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam aeternam et vivas in saecula saeculorum. Amens.

[...] Deinde quoesito nomine ponat cereum ardentem in manu infantis dicens : N., accipe lampadem ardentem, irreprehensibilem custodi baptismum tuum ; conserva mandata ; ut cum venerit Dominum ad nuptias possis occurrere ei una cum sanctis suis in aula caelesti, ut habeas vitam aeternam et vivas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Si episcopus adest statum confirmari eum oportet et postea communicari si aetatis ejus est, dicendo sic : Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat corpus tuum et animam tuam in vitam aeternam. Amen

¹ Note that the water of the font was reserved to baptism : *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 11* : ‘quoniam in decretis originalibus sanctorum Patrum Clementis et Paschasii Paparum invenitur quod aqua fontium non est aqua aspersionis, sed baptismatis et purgationis.’

² For a translation into English of the rite of baptism, see <http://www.allmercifulsavior.com/Liturgy/SHP%20Baptism-Confirmation.pdf>, retrieved 20/07/2011.

Si infans sit injungatur patri et matri tueri puerum vel tueri facere ab igne et aqua et omnibus aliis periculis usque ad octatam septem annorum ; et si ipsi non faciant patrini et matrinae tenentur.

The author of *The Ordynary of Christen Men* introduced his readers to baptism by translating its rite, a method characteristic of liturgy-based catechism of the early 16th century. The meaning and effects of the sacrament was lifted from one of the collects :

Jhesu crist as at this daye wylled to call unto his holy grace & benedyccyon & unto the holy fonte of baptem to the ende that he be made the temple of god by the water of regeneracyon in remysson of all synnes.¹

A fuller explanation followed the translation of the liturgy, displaying the complex workings of sacramental matter and form :

By the holy fonte where the chylde is brought to us is gyven to understonde and sygnifyed the blessyd mystery of the passyon in the crosse for there is it founde the fountayne of eternall lyfe in the wiche the chylde is wasshed bayned & purified frome the tache and mysclerye of all synne and the yate of paradysse to hym is openyd and unto that sygnifycacyon oure lorde wylled that his holy syde to hym were opened.²

God grants remission of sin and Christ saves sinners through his passion, but the water of baptism is not a mere sign of grace, it seems to be its agent.³ An explanation of how the three immersions in water function is then offered :

It betokenth by the water of baptem he is wasshen & clense from all synne be it of worde, of dede, or of thought, be it mortall, actuall or veniall. And for this mystery is made in the name of the blyssed trenyte as it is sayd. And of that we have a fygure in the baptyon of our lorde Jhesu cryst where all the blyssed trenyte was shewed sensyibly.⁴

The various layers of meaning, symbolical, allegorical and performative subtly overlap and interplay. Water is used in memory of Christ's baptism and is efficacious through the Trinity.

The water of the font was 'clearly considered to be both powerful and holy, and the priest was strictly charged to prevent anyone except the child from even touching the

¹ *The Ordynary of Christen men*, sig C vii (r-v). See, *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 9 (starting Nec te latet, Satana...).

² *The Ordynary of Christen men*, sig C viii (r-v).

³ *Ibid.*, sig D vii (v) and sig. D viii (v).

⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. D i(v)-D ii.

baptismal water'.¹ Adequate measures were taken to prevent any such accident for the baptism of Princess Elisabeth and Prince Edward.²

The role of the elements in the sacrament is further explored with the translation of the collect recited during the anointment which immediately followed the baptism itself:

God almyghty fader of our sauuyour Jhesu cryst the whiche the regenerat by the water of baptem with the blessyd holy goost & the whiche the pardoned all thy synnes gyve the now the name of the holy creme & the make the (sic) membre of Jhesu cryst & the promytte eternall lyfe amen.³

The author of the catechism finally presented the theologian's view of the sacrament: by baptism is given to the Christian 'a spyrytuell token that these theologyens cal caractere that maye never be defaced be he saved or dampned.'⁴ The effects and graces of baptism are multiple: 'augmentacyon of grace & lyght of knowledge spyrytuell' incorporation in the 'holy chirche the whiche is the mysticall body of Jhesu cryst' and at last, 'by the baptem is the gate of heven opened'.⁵

Baptism was possibly the most important sacrament; so essential that, in time of emergency, it might be administered by laymen and women. When it became apparent that the child might not live, the midwife usually performed the baptism. Thus it behoved the clergy to ensure that lay people knew how to baptise: water had to be used along with the proper formula in Latin or English.⁶ This remained a high priority and was often included in the injunctions of the Henrician bishops.⁷

¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 280.

² *Letters and Papers*, vi, 464: « the font, of silver, stood in the midst of the church three steps high, covered with a fine cloth, and surrounded by gentlemen with aprons and towels about their necks, that no filth should come into it » and *Letter and Papers*, xii, (ii), 911.

³ *The Ordynary of Cristen Men* sig. D ii(v). See, *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. D ii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. D ii (v).

⁶ Guy de Roye, *Doctrynal of Sapience*, sig. H v (v) and John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, p.3-5. The Sarum and York manuals recommend that priests regularly teach this at Sunday mass: *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 19-20.

⁷ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, p. 49-50 (Edward Lee for York), p. 58 (Nicholas Shaxton for Salisbury), and *Letters and Papers*, 13, (ii), 23 (Roland Lee for Coventry).

ii. Baptism in Henrician formularies

In the Henrician formularies, baptism is undoubtedly recognised as a sacrament, ‘instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesu Christ as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life,¹ for it alone can erase original sin.

Although the core theology of baptism is unchanged, the presentation method differs significantly from traditional catechisms. Scripture is the only source of doctrine quoted in the article on baptism.² The communion of saints and the participation of the baptised in the treasury of merits are not acknowledged, and the *modus operandi* of God’s grace in the sacrament never spelled out. The respective roles of matter and form were not specified and the sacred character of font water not noted.

The elements used in the sacramentals were deprived of their efficacy, and rather understood as signs. Does this semantic shift also apply here? What does water do in baptism? Its exact function is not defined in the formularies, hence warranting more distinctly symbolic interpretations of the sacraments. Thomas Gibson, in his 1537 tract on baptism simply described the ritual of baptism with no emphasis on the power of the water from the font. The god-parents’ role as witnesses and educators is repeatedly highlighted as Gibson asserts the importance of understanding and knowledge in faith. Side-stepping the usual commentary on the effects of the sacrament, he concluded his presentation with the four duties of the baptised as symbolised by the four elements used in baptism : salt, water, oil and fire.³ The first and last points explicitly associate the salt with the gospel and the candle with obedience to God’s commandments :

The fyrst charge is that we take salt of wysdom of goddes word and rewle our lyfe ther after and salt our soules that they stynk not in synne. For and thys hevenly salt fayle from men they shulde be cast out as christ teechyth in the gospel. [...]The iiiii. charge is this that we kepe the commaundements of god, as the prest commaundith us at the fonte puttyng a candel brennyng in our hand for as a candille brenyng is wastyd by fyer, so synnes in our soule shulde be wastyd and destroyed wyth kepyng of the commaundementis of god havynng devout love to hym and to our even christen.⁴

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. xviii and p. 93 (*Bishops’ Book*) and p. 253 (*King’s Book*): ‘this sacrament was instituted and ordained by our Saviour Jesu Christ in the New Testament as doth appear by Christ’s own words to his apostles’.

² In the Bishops’ Book : Jn 3,5 ; Mc 16,16 ; Mt 3,11 ; Luc 3,16 ; Actes 2, 38 ; Tite 3, 5 and in the King’s Book : Mt 28, 19 ; Mc 16, 16 ; Rom 5, 12-21; Jn 3, 5 (quoted twice); Ephes 5, 25-6 ; Rom 6, 3-4.

³ Thomas Gibson, *A declaration of the seremonies a nexyd to the sacrament of Baptyme*, sig. A v : ‘wyth iiiii thynges we be chargyd in our Baptym al though blinde prestis knowe yt not, whan they geve to us iiiii Elamentis in tokenyng of them, that is salt& water and oyle & fier.’

⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. A v (r-v).

The meaning of the baptismal candle is partly based on the liturgy and traditional teaching but with a clear stress on good works commanded by God. The connection of the second and third duties of the baptised to the elements is looser :

The ii. charge is that our eeries be openyd ever more redy to here chrystes gospel and understande yt. For Christ seyth, he that hath eerys of herynge, let him here and he that redyth let him understande. The iii. charge is this that we kepe our Baptym that is the couenaunt of our Baptym and trew beleve in the father and the sone and the holy ghost as the prest appolith us whan we saye *Credo*.

The evangelical outlook of Gibson's disquisition on the sacrament is evidenced by his insistence on education, reading and understanding the Gospel (he that redyth, let him understand) and on testifying of one's faith. Although such teachings may be a little outlandish in Henry's England it may have influenced official practice and doctrine.

iii. Did the liturgy of baptism change after 1536?

The *Rationale for Ceremonial* briefly described the ceremonies preceding baptism in the Sarum rite, yet the traditional powers of the exorcism of salt or blessings of the child were overlooked and liturgical motions essentially interpreted as symbolic and allegorical. The sign of the cross on the chest 'signifying that it is not enough to confess Christ with mouth openly unless he doth stead fastly believe in heart inwardly'. The hallowed salt symbolizes 'the spiritual salt, which is the word of God, wherewith he should be seasoned and powdered that thereby the filthy savour of stinking sin should be taken away preserving him from corruption'.¹ The minister, making a cross on the child's forehead, 'adjur[es] the devil to depart'.² The rite of spittle serves as a reminder of Christ's miraculous healing of the deaf and dumb,

so he healed him signifying thereby the grace and godly influence descending from heaven which by the operation of the Holy Ghost openeth our nose to take the sweet odour and savour of the knowledge of Christ and our ears to hear his word[s] and commandments.³

The anointment with oil also signifies that the baptised 'should be steadfast stout and strong to bear the yoke of our Lord and patiently to sustain such cross of persecution

¹ *Rationale of Ceremonial*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*

trouble and affliction'.¹ There are significant differences between the two copies of the manuscript in the presentation of baptism *per se*, reflecting the theological conflicts rife in the episcopate and clergy at large:

Then the minister calleth the child by the name and baptizeth it in the name of the Father and [of] the Son and of the Holy Ghost, putting it into the water a of the font and taking it out again, *or else pouring water upon the infant* whereby *the person christened hath not only remission of all his sins by the operation of the Holy Ghost, but also by the same* is signified [not only] the death and resurrection of Christ, the only cause of our health and salvation but also that we should daily mortify our evil desires and corrupt affections, and *so washed from sin* walk in a new, pure and godly life and conversation.²

The italicised passages were dropped from the more evangelical manuscript held in Lambeth.³ The power of the words and element to wash away sins is squarely denied in that version of the text. At the most radical end of the spectrum, baptism can be seen simply as a symbolic reflection of the death and resurrection of Christ and a call to live a godly life. However, the Book of Ceremonies was never published or promulgated as an official pronouncement of the Henrician church, and should therefore be interpreted cautiously for it is an merely echo of the theological controversies of the period.

The authors go on to describe the end of the ritual in a similar fashion : the child's head is anointed with chrism, 'signifying thereby that he is made an (sic) Christian man by Christ the head of his congregation ; and that he is anointed with the spiritual unction of the Holy Ghost, that by his assistance and grace he may attain everlasting life'.⁴ He is then robed in a white garment,

in token of his manumission and freedom from the former captivity of the devil, and it signifyeth also a Christian purity and Innocency, which after the washing away of the spots of his old sin, he ought studiously to conserve and keep, and so to come to the presence of Christ at the day of the Judgement.⁵

The committee of bishops never lost sight of the didactic function ascribed to ceremonies and thus recommended the use of English in the confession of faith prior to the actual baptism, 'to the intent the godfather and godmother with others there present may know what is a Christian man's profession at his baptism'.⁶ As early as June 1536,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11-2.

³ The evangelical version of the text, held at Lambeth is later than the one held at the British Library (Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 276).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 10

Hugh Latimer called for the use of the vernacular in the celebration of baptism.¹ In fact, it is likely, that English was already used when celebrating baptism as many questions were asked of the godparents and their answers were instrumental in the performance of the ritual and, at times, determined the content of the liturgy. While performing the baptism, priests probably explained the meaning of their motions and prayers to the people in attendance.² The catechetical material presented earlier may support the view that this ceremony was one which the laity understood fairly well.³ In manuscript books, there are passages in baptismal service are in the vernacular and some printed books contain manuscript notes and cues in English.⁴ The lack of English in service books, even for pieces set in the vernacular (bidding of the bedes, wedding service) is principally due to the fact that they were produced by foreign printers whose English seems, at times, deficient.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, the more radical version of the *Rationale for Ceremonial* advised that all exorcisms and prayers remitting sins be dropped. This would have dramatically altered the liturgy of baptism, but in practice it is unlikely to have been adopted, except by the most radically evangelical ministers, such as the owners of two Sarum manuals in the Bodleian.⁵ The Kent dossier provides a few more examples : Richard Turner refused to anoint the breast and back of the children he baptised; Thomas Carden preached in Lynn ‘that the water of the font is no better than other water’; John Bland was examined for having declared ‘that in the christening of children priests be murderers’ and refusing to sing the lityny of the saints at the hallowing of the font.⁶ The effects of baptism were also in dispute : Humphrey Cotton, a priest whose missal was unreformed, advanced that every Christian man ‘being regenerate by the Sacrament of baptism and holpen by the Grace of God is in as full state of free will as Adam was before his fall’⁷ ; while John Scory entertained deep-seated doubts as to its effects:

And ye say that the sin is taken away by the water of baptism, but it is not so.
But look how that the wife that occupieth the fire all the day and at night

¹ *Latimer's Sermons, op.cit.* p. 33-57.

² Susan Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Ritual, an interpretation of early modern Germany*, London/New York : 1997, p. 44.

³ See above and *The Ordynary of Christen men, op.cit.*

⁴ See the instructions to the godparents in London, BL, Royal A 2 xxi, fo. 14v. See London, BL, C 35 g 9 and C 52 g 2 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 167 and 187, Trinity College I 7 14.

⁵ Oxford, Bodleian, Seld d 30 and Marl P. 1.

⁶ *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 301, 313, 306, 312.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 307-308.

covereth it with ashes to preserve the fire; so doth the sin remain under the Sacrament.¹

The strength of the Henrician settlement was its exploitation of ambiguity to construct a doctrinal middle-ground. However this posture was not devoid of weaknesses of its own : the middle of the road was very narrow and both conservatives and evangelicals veered off course ; and, worse still, conflict festered on the ambiguities of Henry's doctrinal compromise.

C. Confession

i. Confessing before 1530²

In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council required that Christians confess at least once a year, before partaking in the eucharist at Easter.³ Confession was closely regulated and pastoral manuals treated the sacrament with great detail, care and precision, to ensure that it was validly administered.⁴ Confessing penitents was an essential priestly duty and although reality probably required that the sinner 'be brief, be brutal and be gone',⁵ late medieval literature offered a very minute examination process which was:⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 315

² Groupe de la Bussière, *Pratiques de la confession*, Paris : 1983, 298 p. ; P.M. Gy « La pénitence et la réconciliation in A.G. Martimort (ed.) *L'Eglise en prière*, Paris : 1984, vol iii, p. 115-31. See also Thomas Tetler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton : 1997, p. 82-133 ; Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, New York : 1968 (1896) ; John Bossy, 'The social history of confession', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 25 (1975), p. 21-38 ; James Dallen, *The Reconciling Community : the Rite of Penance*, New York : 1991, 493p., and *Liturgie et rémission des péchés, Conférences Saint-Serge, XX^e Semaine d'études liturgiques : Paris, 2-5 juillet 1973*, Rome : 1975, 293 p. ; J. Hughes 'The administration of Confession in the Diocese of York in the Fourteenth Century' in D.M. Smith (ed.) *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, York : 1991, p. 87-163.

³ Tetler contends this is the most important decision in the history of the Church, in *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, p. 21. On the frequency of confession, see Thomas Tetler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, p.70-82 ; Peter Marshall, *The catholic priesthood and the Reformation*, p. 18 and Nicole Bériou 'Autour de Latran IV (1215) : la naissance de la confession moderne et sa diffusion' in Groupe de la Bussière, *Pratiques de la confession*, p. 89-91.

⁴ Mirk, *Instructions for a parish priest*, London : 1848, p. 24-55 ; Guy de Monte Reocheri, *Manipulus Curatorum*, London : 1508, STC 12474, H viii-O v ; The *Ordinary of Cristen men*, sig. P. i – Jjii ; R. de Roye, *Doctrynal of Sapience*, sig. R vi-T iii. For the conditions required for a valid confession, see Thomas Tetler, *Sin and Confession*, p. 96-7.

⁵ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 60. For more detail on the reality of late medieval practice, see *ibid.*, n. 19 ; Peter Marshall, *The catholic priesthood and the Reformation*, p. 5-9, 11-13 and Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of Repentance*, p.54, n. 100.

⁶ For examples of examinations, see Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, p. 293 ; see also Guy de Monte Rocheri, *Manipulus Curatorum*, *op.cit.* sig. M i – Mviii(v). Tetler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, p. 131-232. For a summary of the examination of conscience, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 54-

the meane for to make a true & a perfyte confessyon. And by the consequent to have absolucion& remyssyon & specially salvacyon with the company of faythfull crysten men.¹

The first requirement was to make a thorough and true confession which often afforded the sinner a broad catechetical tour d'horizon: the priest would question the penitent on the seven sins, on temptations procured through the five senses and on his failure to practice the Ten Commandments, the seven works of mercy, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the eight beatitudes and he would finally control the sinner's orthodoxy with the Creed. Priests would also control basic Christian knowledge (*Pater, Ave, Credo*). Depending on the gravity of his sins, the penitent would need to obtain absolution from the competent authority: priest, bishop or pope. Information about reserved sins was therefore instrumental to the validity of the sacrament. Finally, the priest would ascribe a penance to the sinner, the realisation of which would serve as satisfaction for his sins. A *Pater* said as a penance by injunction of a priest was deemed to be worth a hundred thousand identical prayers recited of one's own initiative.²

Liturgical books contain virtually no prescriptions for the sacrament of penance; therefore reconstructing the precise course of an ordinary confession is not a simple task.³ The *Manuale ad usum Sarum* offers a precise ritual only to confess the dying in its *ordo ad visitandum infirmum*. John Mirk's *Instructions for a Parish Priest* provides the most detailed description : after detailing her sins, the penitent would say the *Confiteor* in English. The priest then pronounced an absolution followed by a prayer:

Ego auctoritate dei patris omnipotentis & [beatorum] apostolorum petri et pauli & officii michi commissi in hac parte absoluo te ab hiis peccatis michi per te confessis & ab aliis de quibus non recordaris. In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancto. Amen.

Ista humilitas et passio domini nostri ihesu christi & merita sancte matris ecclesie & omnes indulgencie tibi concesse et omnia bona que fecisti & facies

63. For edited questionnaires from 13th and 14th century manuscripts, see Pierre Michaud-Quantin, 'Deux formulaires pour la confession du milieu du XIII^e siècle', in *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, n°31, 1964, p. 43-62 and Cyrille Vogel, *Le pécheur et la pénitence au Moyen Âge*, Paris : 1969, p. 80-113. Penitents would be interrogated according to their gender, marital status and occupation: Michael Haren, 'The Interrogatories for Officials, Lawyers and Secular Estates of the Memoriale presbiterorum' and Peter Biller, 'Confessors' Manuals and the Avoiding of Offspring', in *Handling Sin : Confession in the Middle Ages*, Peter Biller and A J Minnis (ed.), York : 1998, pp. 123-164 and 165-187.

¹ *The Ordynary of Cristen men*, sig. P. i.

² Guido de Monte Rocheri, *Manipulus Curatorum*, sig. N ii (fo. xcviij). This notion was rebutted by Cranmer in 1537, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 143 and Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's doctrine of Repentance*, p. 121-122.

³ The exact course of a confession would vary according to local custom : P.M. Gy, 'La pénitence et la réconciliation', in A.G. Martimort (ed.) *L'Eglise en prière, op.cit.* p. 127.

usque in finem vote tue sunt tibi in remissionem istorum & omnium aliorum peccatorum tuorum. Amen¹

The same absolution is included at the end of the curse in the manuals, with a rubric specifying that, in an ordinary confession, the priest is to ascribe a penance to the penitent before absolving her. In the absence of other evidence, it is likely that this was used to absolve parishioners at their yearly Lenten confession.

The performative power of the absolution is evidenced by the use of the indicative (*ego [...] absolvo te*) endorsed by the Church at the Council of Florence in 1323 and later rendered mandatory at Trent. Since the 13th century, deprecatory formulas had been losing ground. James Dallen has explained that

the tendency from the thirteenth century on was to make the indicative formula clearer and shorter to emphasize the causal role of the power of the keys and to assure the penitent of forgiveness. Contemporary literature frequently recommended that the confessor omit any superfluous prayers or phrases that might dilute the penitent's confidence or distract from the central reality of the *ex opere operato* operation of the sacramental absolution.²

Medieval teaching on penance remained however subject to criticism as its emphasis on the necessity of satisfaction to obtain remission was inconsistent with the words of the absolution reputed to have an effect *ex opere operato*. This strain reflected theological debates within the Church on how grace operates in the sacrament and on the relative importance of contrition, absolution and satisfaction.³ The collect *passio domini* epitomises the complex factors at work in the sacrament : forgiveness of sins is obtained by the Passion of Christ, the merits of the church, and the good works of the penitent.

In the *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, confession is included in the order of visitation to the sick. The course of the ritual is :

- penitential psalms

¹ John Mirk, *Instructions for a Parish Priest*, p. 55-6. Lea takes the absolution used in England from this source, in *A History of Auricular Confession*, *op.cit.* vol. i, p. 487. The distinction between the absolution and the prayer *Passio*

Domini is mine. For information on this prayer, see P.M. Gy « La pénitence et la réconciliation » in A.G. Martimort (ed.) *L'Eglise en prière*, Paris : 1984, vol iii, p. 129-131.

² James Dallen, *The Reconciling Community*, p. 167, n. 25 ; see also Henry C. Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession*, *op.cit.* vol. i, p. 460-94 ; see also Paul Bradshaw (ed.) *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, p. 367-8

³ Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of Repentance*, p. 44-6 and Thomas Tetler, *Sin and Confession*, p. 12-27 and 282-93 (for the debates on the means of obtaining remission of sins). See also: James Dallen, *The Reconciling Community*, p. 139-43. On the importance of admission see Nicole Bériou « Autour de Latran iv (1215) : la naissance de la confession moderne et sa diffusion » in Groupe de la Busière, *Pratiques de la confession*, p. 79-81.

- antiphon
- casting of holy water
- Kyrie and petitions
- collects asking God to allow the sick to recover

The priest then examined the faith of his parishioner. Having described the main articles of the Catholic Church, the priest concluded by asking a general question : ‘Haec est fides catholica, frater, quam nisi fideliter firmiterque crederis sicut sancta mater Ecclesia credit : salvus esse non poteris’.¹ The priest then exhorted the sick man to persevere in the virtues of faith, hope and charity before inviting him to make a perfect confession of all his sins. A penance was ascribed, and would have to be accomplished if the dying made a recovery. The priest was also charged of explaining the power of the sacrament of penance. Much of this would be conducted in English.² A final prayer resembling the *Passio Domini* collect articulated the numerous benefits imputed to the sinner through the intercession of the Church : the sinner is granted the benefits of his personal merits acquired by indulgences and blessing, his contrition, confessions, fasts, prayers, pilgrimages and good works as well as the merits of Christ’s Passion, of the Virgin Mary and of all the saints.

At this point, the ritual contains an ‘ordinary absolution’ :

Dominus Jesus Christus pro sua magna pietate te absolvat ; et ego auctoritate ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et auctoritate mihi tradita absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis his de quibus corde contritus et ore mihi confessus es, et ab omnibus allis peccatis tuis, de quibus si tuae occurrerent memoriae libenter confiteri velles et sacramentis Ecclesiae te restituo. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.³

and an alternative one for penitents who hold a papal bull of plenary remission which contains two clear references to papal authority:

Dominus Jesus Christus pro sua magna pietate te absolvat ; et ego auctoritate ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et domini nostri domini N divina providentia summi pontificis, et virtute gratiae tibi concessae et electionis qua me in tuum confessorem elegisti in hac parte mihi commissa, absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis de quibus corde contritus et ore mihi confessus es, et ab omnibus allis peccatis tuis de quibus si tuae occurrerent memoriae confiteri velles ; ab omni fractione votorum, et ab

¹ *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 46*.

² British Library, MS Stowe 13, fo. 47-48 and Oxford, St John College, MS 47 (the exhortation is edited the *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 110*-111*.

³ *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 48*.

omni omissione paenitentiarum salutarium sacramentaliter tibi injunctarum, et ab omni transgressione divinatorum mandatorum: tibi concedo plenam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum tuorum, in quantum claves Ecclesiae et potestas domini [pape] se extendunt. Et si immiscendo te divinis sic innovatus es aut unquam fuisti, quo aliquam notam irregularitatis contraxisti vel paenam suspensionis interdicti seu excommunicationis incurristi, eadem auctoritate tollo et amoveo, tecumque dispenso et sacramentis Ecclesie te restituo. In nomine Patris...¹

This is a statement of the sinner's full re-establishment in the Church thanks to the absolute power of the pope. Yet, it must be noted that the power of this absolution does not, in fact, exceed that of the ordinary absolution in time of death which granted remission of all sins. In case of recovery, the sinner who had incurred a sentence of excommunication or committed an offence that the pope alone could forgive would have to seek absolution from the proper authority. Although the popularity of the bull in England is difficult to assess, this absolution was included in all the printed manuals of Sarum and York.² The *ordo ad visitandum infirmum* ends with an ultimate absolution formula identical to the one used on Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday hence also including a reference to Peter's title of 'Prince of the Apostles'.³ Finally, the breviary also contains instructions to confess a priest before mass which describe a very similar course of action.⁴

The theory of papal authority conveyed in the sacrament of penance would necessarily require adjustments after the 1534 break with Rome and the establishment of the royal supremacy. The notion that some sins were reserved to the pope reinforced

¹ *Ibid.* The emphasis is mine.

² Robert Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England*, p. 397-8. In the 17th century, the practice was popularised on the Continent: François-André Isambert, 'Les Transformations du rituel catholique des mourants', *Archives des sciences sociales des religions*, n°39, 1975, p. 90.

³ *Manuale et Processionale*, p. 48*. This is a vestige of the earlier medieval rite of public penance, see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, *op.cit.* n° 908-909; James Dallen, *The Reconciling Community*, p. 172-6 and Paul Bradshaw (ed.) *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, p. 367-8.

⁴ *Sacerdos volens confiteri dicat*,

Benedicite, pater.

Sacerdos :

Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis ad confitendum omnia peccata tua. In nomine Patris et Filii...

Tunc dicat sacerdos :

Misereatur tui, omnipotens Deus...

Indulgentiam et absolutionem...

Meritum passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, suffragia sanctae matris Ecclesiae, bona quae fecisti et quae per Dei gratiam facies, sint tibi in remissionem peccatorum tuorum, *injungat poenitentia, dicens :* et pro poenitentia speciali, dices hoc et hoc, vel facies hoc et hoc.

Tunc absolvat et dicat : Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui est summus pontifex, per suam piissimam misericordiam te absolvat. Et ego auctoritate mihi concessa absolvo te, primo a sententia minoris excommunicationis, si indigeas; deinde absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritui Sancti.

Sacerdos volens accedere ad altare, induat se sacris vestibus, dicens, Veni...

the idea that the power of the keys had been entrusted to Peter who then delegated it partly to the bishops and priests. Plenary remission bulls and indulgences also relied on the idea that Peter's successor could impart the benefits of the treasury of merits to individuals. Richard Rex noted in John Fisher's presentation of the power of the keys a certain degree of confusion, for 'he indiscriminately referred to the sacramental and sacerdotal power of absolution, the peculiarly papal power of granting indulgences, and the jurisdictional clerical power of excommunication as if all three were the same kind of thing'.¹ In the Sarum liturgy, these three elements narrowly intertwine, especially in the sacrament of penance. Unsurprisingly, all of this posed practical and theoretical problems that the regime would have to resolve.

ii. Penance in the Henrician formularies

The necessity of oral confession to a priest had been challenged by the Lollards for more than a century and in the 1530s, the evangelical faction contested the efficacy of absolution. In the *Collectanea Satis Copiosa*, auricular confession was described as 'efficacious *ex opere operantis* not *ex opere operato*'.² Friar Robert Ward was accused of heresy for denying that absolution and satisfaction could remit sins and for upholding that good works were but 'another sacryfyse of lawde and prayse'.³ The parody of the sacrament in John Bale's *King John* showcases the extent to which confession was derided in the avant-garde evangelical circles.⁴

Moreover, the old medieval tensions over the sacrament resurfaced and the question of its scriptural basis became a central point of contention in the theological battles between evangelicals and conservatives. The first doctrinal statements of the Henrician Church brought about a theological compromise: both factions succeeded in getting specific ideas into the article on penance, regardless of their mutual compatibility.

The Ten Articles and the Bishops' Book teach that the sacrament was instituted by Christ (changed to 'by God' in the Bishops' Book) in the New Testament and

¹ Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher*, p. 108 ; Robert Swanson's comment on the connection between indulgences and the power of the keys is illuminating, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England*, p. 27-9.

² Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of Repentance*, p. 98

³ Kew, National Archives, SP. 2/R, fo. 17 (r-v) (*Letters and Papers, op.cit.* viii, 625).

⁴ Edwin Shepard Miller, « The Roman rite in Bale's King John », *op.cit.* p. 813-814.

necessary for salvation after baptism.¹ The traditional understanding of the three stages of penance was also acknowledged : ‘the sacrament of perfect penance, consisteth of three parts ; whereof the one is contrition, the other is confession and the third is the amendment of the former life’.² Contrition consists in acknowledging the abomination of one’s sins, conceiving great sorrow and fear of God, and trusting in God’s forgiveness, ‘not for worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent but for only the merits of the blood and passion of our saviour Jesu Christ.’ The second step necessary to ‘attain this certain faith’, is ‘confession to a priest, if it may be had. For the absolution given by the priest was instituted of Christ to apply the promises of God’s grace and favour to the penitent’.³ Confession to a priest was therefore subject to availability, although the efficacy of the absolution was emphasised as

the words of absolution spoken by the priest be spoken by authority given to him by Christ in the Gospel. And that they ought and must give no less faith and credence to the same words of absolution, so pronounced by the ministers of the church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself.⁴

Finally, the term ‘satisfaction’ was eschewed and priests were not ordered to assign a penance to the sinner to ensure full remission of sins. Good works, such as fasting, praying, making restitution were required as ‘the fruits of penance’, not as a necessary step to obtain forgiveness for ‘Christ’s death was sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompence, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners not only their sins, but also eternal pain due for the same’.⁵ This seems contradicted by the statement in the following paragraph that ‘these precepts and works of charity be necessary works to our salvation’ and will grant not only eternal life but also ‘remission or mitigation of the present pains and afflictions which we sustain here in this world’.⁶ The function of good works after confession is thus almost senselessly subtle: necessary to salvation, yet not. The article concluded that they are a way to

exercise and confirm [the Christians’] faith and hope and to ascertain them, that they shall from the same good works receive at God’s hand mitigation and remission of the miseries, calamities and grievous punishments, which God sendeth to me in this world for their sins.

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. xx and 96.

² *Ibid.*, p. xxi and 97.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xxii and 97-8.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. xxii and 98.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. xxii-xxiii and 98-99.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 98 and see also p. xxiii-xxiv.

The role of good works is thus confined to a sign of faith and to a quasi-prophylactic function. Hence, the concept of justification by faith was reshaping the theology of penance.

The Act of the Six Articles, too often interpreted as a major conservative shift in Henry's religious policy, is, in fact, rather less conservative than the *Bishops' Book* on the sacrament of penance.¹ Cuthbert Tunstall had adamantly defended the divine institution of auricular confession, to no avail, for the king would not budge on this issue.² The Act merely stated that it was 'expedient and necessarie to be retayned and contynued used and frequented in the Church of God'.³ Confession was a usage and to be maintained as such. This treatment is not very different from the one reserved to ceremonies. Ashley Null has argued that this was a clear victory for Cranmer over the conservative faction and that 'this departure from Catholic orthodoxy removed a significant barrier to justification by faith'.⁴

In the King's Book, some of the contradictions of the earlier formularies were resolved to the advantage of the evangelicals. Firstly, a clear distinction is established between penance and the sacrament of penance. Only the former is 'is a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that without it no man that offendeth God can be saved or attain everlasting life'.⁵ The sacrament of penance is 'properly the absolution pronounced by the priest upon such as be penitent for their sins' and is obtained through contrition, confession and satisfaction. Remission of sins is obtained by faith and by Christ's saving passion. Is auricular confession necessary then? The sinner 'being moved and troubled in spirit', 'prickled and stirred in his heart' will desire to turn to a minister of the Church to make a humble confession which will manifest his state of contrition. The article then mentions the penance imposed by the priest. The role of such works is not to satisfy for the sins but 'to please God with an humble, lowly heart ready to bring forth the fruits of penance', for 'to God no man can satisfy for sin'.⁶ At

¹ For this interpretation see Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 153; Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, p. 124-5; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 424 and 515. A more nuanced interpretation is found in J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 419-22 and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 251-3. Alec Ryrie's recent reevaluation of the Act of Six Articles is highly commendable and convincing: *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 28-30, 36.

² London, BL, Cleopatra E V, fo. 134-7 (Tunstall's letter with the king's comments) and 131-2 (the king's answer).

³ As quoted in Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 28.

⁴ Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of Repentance*, p. 154-5.

⁵ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 257

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

this stage, the penitent ‘may desire to hear of the minister the comfortable words of remission of sins’. On hearing the sentence of absolution, the sinner must believe that ‘his sins be now forgiven freely by the merits of Christ’s passion’.¹ Confession to a priest was ‘in the Church profitably commanded to be used and frequented’ for it is a means for the sinner to attain true contrition as he is examined and exhorted by the minister with scriptural readings and encouraged to perform satisfaction. Under these conditions ‘the words of absolution be effectually pronounced to the penitent of the remission of his sins’.² Absolution thus appears to be efficacious *ex opere operantis*?³ At the least this can be understood as an indirect attack on the priestly powers, which would be consistent with the King’s Book reservations regarding holy orders and the extent of the powers of the keys. However, in practice, many continue to believe that confession was instituted by God and denounce the evangelicals who believe otherwise.⁴

René Bornert’s detailed description of the doctrine of penance of the Strasbourg reformers discloses similarities with the Henrician understanding of the sacrament : only faith will obtain forgiveness of one’s sins, works are not meritorious and good works are worthy only as fruits of faith. The reformers condemned auricular confession as a mandatory and meritorious work but allowed it, if it was truly desired by the sinner, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Absolution was effective by virtue of God’s word and not due to priestly powers or to the use of a precise formula.⁵

Conversely, Tunstall’s arguments in defence of auricular confession resemble the Council of Trent’s statement on the sacrament of penance : it is necessary for salvation, instituted by God through Christ who granted his apostles the authority to judge sinners and remit sins, by virtue of power of the keys.

Peter Marshall has identified and analysed the 1530s crisis of confession and the changes in pastoral teaching on penance.⁶ With the 1538 Injunctions, confessors were ordered to use the sacrament to examine the religious knowledge of the penitents. Parishioners who did not know the Creed and *Pater Noster* in English were to be denied

¹ *Ibid.* p. 260-1.

² *Ibid.* p. 261.

³ By 1537, Cranmer had rejected the *ex opere operato* concept of sacramental penance and the merits of good works performed in penance, Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer’s Doctrine of Repentance*, p. 121-2.

⁴ *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 306.

⁵ René Bornert, *La réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg*, p. 395-400. For similarities with the Ausburg Confession, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual*, *op.cit.* p. 93.

⁶ Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*, p. 28-34.

communion at Easter. Although ‘the didactic aspect of confession was not in itself an innovation’,

to insist on an abstract standard of religious knowledge, rather than on contrition and sincerity of intention to amend, as an essential precondition for the reception of the eucharist, was to break with the traditional understanding of the purpose of the sacrament of penance.¹

This example manifests the regime’s propensity to harness sacraments and ceremonies to educational purposes, with confession serving as a catechetical examination and houseling as marking a pass.

Finally, by the same measure, confession might also serve to check people’s allegiance to the regime, or lack of it. Conversely, several papists executed for treason were accused of having used confession to spread sedition. Under such circumstances, the seal of confession appeared a flimsy principle in the face of such risks. It is very unlikely that these doctrinal changes as well as the break with Rome which voided the bulls granting plenary remission would have had no impact on the religious practice of the people.

iii. Confession in the late 1530s and 1540s

In 1543 and 1544, Christopher Ruremond’s widow printed in Antwerp two newly corrected *Manuale ad usum Sarum*. The special absolution for people holding papal bulls was omitted, as was the one included in the sentence of excommunication and which was probably used in ordinary confessions. The absolution for the sick in the *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* is the only one which remained in the service book and its original text as slightly altered so as to suppress Peter’s special title of ‘Prince of the Apostles’ (*beati Petri apostolorum principis*). Peter is simply called an apostle in this absolution and in the ones used on Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday. These are but small changes but exemplify the process of liturgical tweaking rife in Henry’s England.

In the surviving Sarum manuals, the liturgical provisions for confession have been diversely altered. In many books, the sentence of excommunication, or great curse was

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30

cut out, thus ridding the books of its accompanying absolution formulas.¹ Many priests deleted the references to the pope from the rubric describing how to confess holders of papal bulls and from the special absolution itself.

Total <i>Manuales</i> (York and Sarum)	52
<i>Manuales</i> relevant for this analysis ²	22
Rubric et absolution prayer intact	9
Rubric reformed by removing mention of the pope	2
Rubric taken out	3
Rubric intact but absolution reformed by removing mention of the pope	8
Absolution reformed (total)	12
- <i>domini pape</i> is deleted	8
- <i>domini pape</i> et <i>domini nostri N divina providentia summi pontificis</i> are deleted	4
Absolution is entirely deleted	1

One of the manuals which I have discounted in this analysis nevertheless deserves special attention for it appears that this entire section was cut out, as were many others, by a diligent reformer.³ In the view of the rest of the manual, there is little doubt that this was purposefully done to reflect liturgical change in Henry's Church. The interpretation of the same occurrence in four other manuals is less clear-cut and it would be difficult to maintain with absolute confidence that the passage's absence reflects the radical views of the priests who owned the books.⁴

¹ See part I, chapter 2.

² 14 unreformed manuals and 12 manuals (manuscript and 1543-1544 Antwerp editions) which do not contain this text are excluded as, are 2 fragments and 5 manuals for which the entire section is missing.

³ Oxford, Bodleian, Marl P. 1 (sacramentals, blessings, exorcisms also taken out.)

⁴ London, Lambeth Palace, 1529 ; Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Missals 187 and Stonyhurst College XII D 11.

What may be most striking is, in fact, the relatively large amount of cases in which the absolution stands undefaced. Could this ritual still have been used after 1534? One must wonder, what confidence would have been accorded by the faithful and their pastors to papal guarantees of this sort?

The outlawing of indulgences and the suppression of the curse affected two out of the three related aspects mentioned earlier : the sacramental and sacerdotal power of priests only barely survived while papal power to grant indulgences was abolished and the practical expression of excommunication disappeared. A related jurisdictional problem must have also emerged : who would remit the sins which had previously been reserved to the pope?¹

In most parishes, people continued to confess yearly yet the content of their discussion with the curate may have taken an unusual direction.

Confession was another point of contention between conservatives and evangelicals in Kent. The former were accused of excess confidence in the powers of the sacrament : Judas would have been absolved if only he had come to see a priest saying *Peccavi*.² Their opponents challenge the very notion that priests have authority to remit sin and John Bland allegedly stated: 'If you knew what abominations are in the words of absolution which the priest sayeth over you when you be shriven, you would abhor them'.³ The value of performing a penance was also questioned :

There be some priests do use to give penance in confession for sin; but I tell you, said he, whosoever giveth penance for sin robbeth God of his honor. I myself have done so, but I cry God mercy. I did it in ignorance.⁴

Such an opinion provoked outrage amongst conservatives but seems almost orthodox by the standards of the Bishops' Book and the King's Book. The Henrician doctrine on penance could therefore outlaw heretofore perfectly valid ideas on the value of prayers said in penance.⁵

¹ To answer this tricky question, we may turn to the treatment of the rubric on second mariages could perhaps be used as a test case : in a majority of cases, '*papa*' is simply taken out, but in a few missals the entire rubric including the quotation by Pope John XXII is suppressed (Cambridge, UL, Rit a 152.4, Saint Catherine's College, B II 13 ; London, BL, C 35 i 10 ; Oxford, Bodleian, S Seld d 23).

² *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 299.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 311-312.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁵ Guido de Monte Rocheri, *Manipulus Curatorum*, sig. N ii (fo. xcviij). This notion is refuted by Cranmer in 1537, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 143 and Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's doctrine of Repentance*, p. 121-122.

The laity's practice of confession was also shifting. Bartilmew Joye refused to make a detailed and personal confession and rather 'confessed to his curate in general "I am a sinner"; and, when the vicar asked him wherein, said he had confessed himself to the Lord already and would make no other confession'.¹ His parish priest, John Write, refused to absolve him, incurring a reprimand from Christopher Nevinson, Cranmer's vicar in the diocese. John Fishecock's take on confession was also eminently personal :

he was not confessed this year after the common sort, but thus:-first, without *Benedicite*,² he said 'I knowledge to God that I am a grievous sinner, and none so grievous as I, for I am not able to keep the commandments; for whoso offendeth in one offendeth in all. And therefore I cry God mercy.'³

A man named Archebold, living in Faversham also wished to make a general confession and entered into a debate with Simon Oxley, a priest, who declared that if he were his confessor, he would not let him do so. Archebold responded boldly asking him : 'hast thou authority to absolve me or give me penance? Nay, thou mayest keep sheep. Christ said mass upon the Mount of Calvary and that is sufficient for my soul'.⁴ The circumscribed disagreement about penitential practices ended with a brash assertion of the uselessness of confession; this may simply have been due to spirits running high but such an assertion was couched in rhetoric that would have been acceptable to the most committed Henrician reformers.

Finally, Christopher Nevinson issued the order not to absolve parishioners who had failed to learn their prayers in English, or else to absolve them in Latin 'so that they knew not that they were or be absolved'.⁵ This order has an unexpected implication: that, in some or most cases, absolution was said in English. It also reflects the reformist thrust to make the liturgy understandable and the notion that teaching trumped sacramental efficacy. Nevinson implies that if the priest used Latin, the people would not know that they were absolved, which seems a bit of a stretch in the late medieval context. This assertion finally demonstrates that Nevinson, like Cranmer, deemed absolution is to be efficacious *ex opere operantis* rather than *ex opere operato*. And the Henrician formularies of faith, due to their ambiguities, might validate such an

¹ *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. p. 313

² See above for the ritual of confession contained in the breviary, at the very end section C, i. note 3, starting 'Benedicite, pater.'

³ *Ibid.*, p. 311

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 310-11

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 313 and 311.

interpretation. By the late 1540s, confession, both in doctrine and in practice, had certainly evolved significantly.

D. The Mass

i. Doctrinal definitions and liturgical practice in the early 16th century

Historians have established the importance of the mass for the clergy and laity alike at the end of the Middle Ages.¹ The mass was understood as a propitiatory sacrifice benefiting the living and the dead. The words of the consecration transformed the species of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. The real presence of Christ in the eucharist had been defined as transubstantiation. Popular devotion had gradually focussed on the elevation of the consecrated host. Seeing the host had taken on a specific value of its own: it was considered as a sacramental, bestowing indulgences as well as prophylactic and apotropaic benefits on the beholder.² The mass ended with a blessing at the hand of the priest. This was also believed to bestow special graces because of the sacred character of the priest's hands.³ Devotional works and the pastoral tradition of the Church encouraged the laity to read every liturgical motion as a complex allegory of Christ's life and Christian beliefs.

ii. The sacrament of the altar in the Henrician formularies

The articles on the eucharist in the Ten Articles and the Bishops' Book are virtually identical. The consecrated elements contain 'substantially and really [...] the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ'. Under the form of bread the body and blood of Christ is 'corporally, really and in the very substance exhibited,

¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 91-130 ; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi, the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge/New York : 1991, 432 p.; John Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution', in *Past and Present*, n°100, 1983, p. 29-61 ; Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood*, esp. p. 35-85 ; Francis Clark, Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation,

² Robert Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise*, p. 251 and 265-266 ; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi, the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, p. 62-64, 152-163.

³ Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood*, p. 44.

distributed and received'.¹ The authors of the English formularies deliberately shun the term 'transubstantiation' which had come to be associated with the papacy and was non-scriptural.² The Act of the Six Articles confirmed the Henrician church's orthodox and anti-sacramentarian views in eucharistic doctrine.³ Much of the same is found in the royally approved *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man* but there is the unexpected mention that: '[Christ] did institute this sacrament as a permanent memorial of his mercy and the wonderful work of our redemption'.⁴ The very same terminology is found in the *Rationale of Ceremonial*.

The propitiatory nature of the eucharistic sacrifice is mentioned in none of the Henrician doctrinal statements. The efficacy of masses on the souls of the deceased was challenged as the term Purgatory came into disrepute and as the monasteries were dissolved. Evangelicals were quick to see how these different policies intersected and undermined the traditional mass. Alec Ryrie has shown that in 1540, Edward Crome argued that 'the destruction of the monasteries demonstrated that the regime had in fact abandoned the use of Masses for the dead'.⁵ Three years later, Richard Turner, a Ralph Morice protégé, declared that 'Christ was the soul priest and sung the last mass of requiem, and no other mass availed souls departed'.⁶ However, the Act of the Six Articles upheld 'private masses' :

it is mete and necessarie that private masses be contynued and admytted in this the Kinges English Church and Congregation, as whereby good Cristen people, orderinge them selves accordingly doe receyve both godly and goodly consolacions and benefyttes; and it is agreable also to Gods lawe.⁷

The law does not however support the traditional function attributed to these masses: they were usually celebrated by a priest assisted only by a clerk and they were celebrated for a departed soul. Here, the beneficiaries of these masses were the living rather than the dead. The word 'private mass' is preferred to the liturgical term 'votive mass', also suggesting that the reformers had imposed their lexicon if not their agenda in the law making process. The use of the term must also be connected to the

¹ Lloyd, *Formulaire of Faith*, p. xxv and 100.

² Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 36.

³ However this Act is not quite as supportive of the conservative cause as has been said, see Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 26-40.

⁴ Lloyd, *Formulaire of Faith*, p. 264

⁵ Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 34.

⁶ *Letters and Papers*, xviii (ii), 546, p. 310.

⁷ As quoted in Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 28.

negotiations with the Schmalkaldic League in 1538-9.¹ Perhaps the Act was, in fact, answering to the practical problems created by the influx of former monks in parishes who would have had to celebrate their daily masses, in the absence of any provision for concelebration.

iii. Changing perceptions of mass in the 1530s and 1540s

The doctrinal orthodoxy of Henry's Church in eucharistic matters can not be denied but has obscured other developments. To most lay people, the real presence of Christ at mass was not merely a theological nicety, it had practical consequences on their day to day lives. Seeing the host procured benefits : John Mirk promised his readers that if they saw the host they would not lack food or drink, that their idle oaths and words would be forgiven and that they would not die of a sudden death or become blind on that day.² Primers provided prayers to say at the elevation which was a moment of intense devotion. Seeing the host could even function as a sacramental and would be accounted as housel if one came to die that day.³ Moreover the Sunday ceremonies of holy water and blessed bread also granted divine favours and spiritual benefits such as forgiveness of venial sins. There had been many good reasons for the laity to attend mass on Sunday and on weekdays. After 1534, much of these traditional beliefs were not officially encouraged and were tarred with the brush of superstition. The change in the status of sacramentals suppressed major incentives to attend mass. Some evangelicals priests discontinued the use of sacramentals, thus further discouraging the laity from attending mass to reap the spiritual and material benefits they could gain from it. The abrogation of holy days had a similar effect of discouraging, if not preventing, the laity from attending services.

In practice, some priests made changes to the traditional liturgy of the mass : a new version of the *Confiteor* was condemned in 1536 by Convocation.⁴ Later Hugh Cooper probably used a similar version when he 'inverted the order of the *Confiteor*, omitting the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 30 and Rory McEntegart, *Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden and the English Reformation*, Woodbridge : 2002, p. 150-163.

² John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, p. 10 ; see also Simmons, *A Lay Folks Mass Book*, p. 56 and p. 116-7 and David Cornick, 'The Reformation Crisis in Pastoral Care', in Gillian Rosemary Evans (ed.), *A History of Pastoral Care*, London/New York : 2000, p. 224-6.

³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 120.

⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia Magna Britanniae*, p. 806 (item 58) : 'Confiteor Deo caeli et terrae, peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere, mea culpa ; ideo deprecor majestatem tuam, ut tu Deus, deleas iniquitatem meam ; et vos orate pro me.'

name of Mary and All Saints'.¹ And 'Sir James Newnam, a priest of Chartham, in his *Confiteor* refused to rehearse the name of Our Lady', demonstrating that the theological challenges to saintly intercession could impact the liturgy of the mass.² Richard Turner ceased casting holy water and censing altars, the tabernacle and the rood: such changes would have been completely visible to the laity and would have certainly altered their sensory perceptions of the mass.³ Others were experimenting with vernacular versions of the mass.⁴

The people's attitudes during mass were also evolving. The literate laity had been encouraged to understand the spectacle of the mass allegorically, each motion by the priest stood for an event in the life of Christ and often had overlapping layers of symbolic meaning.⁵ This type of participation to the mass was not acknowledged in the Henrician doctrinal statements nor in the *Rationale of Ceremonial* which offered a more general meditation on the merits of Christ's passion. The traditional interpretation of the 'spectacle of the mass' lost its currency in the 1530s. Moreover, the 1538 order to make Bibles available in churches created a rival focus during the services. In some parishes, God's word competed with the Church's liturgy for the attention of the faithful, as the literate read the Bible aloud to others at mass time. The parishioners would then be offered two very different ways of living their faith. Bible-reading during services was later explicitly banned by a royal proclamation, but it did not necessarily disappear completely : in Canterbury, Thomas Makeblyth, a barber read the Bible instead of taking part in processions.⁶ Thomas Dawby encouraged his parishioners to read the Bible 'even at the choir door where divine service was sung or said, from the beginning of the service to the ending, with as low a voice as they could'.⁷ Undeniably, the existence of an alternative soundscape in the church had effects on the people's participation in the liturgy. Peter Marshall has collected several more examples of parishioners whose behaviour during services departed from conventional attitudes, to say the least.⁸ These attitudes could be triggered by a deep-seated rejection of the

¹ *Letters and Papers*, xviii, (ii), 546, p. 310.

² *Ibid.*, p. 313.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁴ Wriothesley, *A chronicle of England*, p. 83 (mass and consecration said in English at Hadleigh, Suffolk and Stratford, Essex; *Te Deum* sung in English in London) and London, BL, MS Cotton, Cleopatra E V, fo. 304. See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 214 and 314.

⁵ Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood*, p. 35-41.

⁶ *Letters and Papers*, *op.cit.* xviii (ii), 546, p. 307. For the same offense, see p. 306 (Henry Tillet).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁸ Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood*, p. 73-75.

Church's traditional understanding of ministry and sacraments. These changes are aptly summarized by Peter Marshall:

the concept of the priest acting in the mass on behalf of and representing before God the entire Christian people could not but become increasingly problematic as the mass itself came to divide rather than unite English Christians.¹

In the 1530s and 1540s, the scope of attitudes in church ran the entire gamut from papalist to sacramentarian, although those that held these extreme views were not likely to survive very long. Some people continued to believe that by attending mass they were acquiring indulgences and sundry benefits, that certain votive masses delivered souls from Purgatory automatically, while others contested the powers of such 'beggarly ceremonies',² ignored or mocked them and challenged the sacramental theology of the medieval Church.

Conclusion

- Henry's policy in liturgical matters was to keep the rituals but alter their meaning, thus creating a hiatus between the liturgy and pastoral teaching.
- The regime ceased to hold the liturgy as a deposit of the faith but considered it an unreliable source for doctrine, which required didactic palliatives. The literal meaning of the prayers was not deemed trustworthy.
- At the most radical end of the evangelical spectrum, the liturgy was even considered by some as mere noise, unworthy of any respect³ or even as heretical.⁴
- Worship was no longer considered a good work in itself, respecting rituals simply was a matter of discipline and good order.
- It was the priest's duty to instruct his parishioners of the clear difference between 'the ceremonies of the Church' and 'the good works commanded of God'.⁵

¹ *Ibid.* p. 73

² *Letters and Papers, op.cit. xviii* (ii), 546, p. 306.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 312: 'John Boucher of Fretynden said 'that matins and evensong was no better than rumbling of tubs'; also that mass and the Dirige and were not laudable'. Others said they preferred the crying of dogs to the singing of priests (Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood*, p. 73).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 306, 312 (John Bland) and p. 316 (Sir Robert à Stotte: 'there was heresy sung at church that day').

⁵ *Letters and Papers, op.cit. xviii*, (ii) 546, p. 295 and 300 (Parkhurst).

- Excess attention to or faith in the liturgy was idolatrous but despising ceremonies was also offensive.
- To be saved Henry's subjects had to navigate a narrow corridor of orthodoxy and heretical views and practices flourished on both sides of the aisle.

CONCLUSION

Liturgical change under Henry VIII is all but imperceptible in non liturgical sources, and this has naturally produced erroneous assessments concerning the generally unchanging nature of public worship under Henry VIII.¹ My design was thus to contribute to a better understanding of what was happening in English parishes between 1534 and 1547 in the hope that a clearer picture of these liturgical developments would also provide helpful insights into how the Reformation became enrooted in England.

Liturgical change : the view from the choir

The first chapters of the thesis have sought to establish the pope's place in the liturgy of the church in England and the extent of the changes required to abolish his authority. Not only were the very numerous occurrences of the word '*papa*' removed from the books, but references to Rome, '*caput mundi*', to Peter's dignity of Prince of the Apostles, allusions to the disciplinary powers of the papacy were also challenged and taken out. Entire rituals, such as the great curse rituals were banned and torn out of the *Manuales ad Usam Sarum*. Finally, indulgences were suppressed from service books and may have been subsequently abandoned, at least in some of the more evangelical parishes. With the notable exception of the diocese of Bath and Wells, the clergy received no precise guidance on how to reform the liturgy. In the absence of a precise list of alterations to effect in the liturgy, each defacing was the result of an individual decision or a collective deliberation amongst clerical staff. I have postulated that this renders the liturgical arrangements found in service books worth analysing and have attempted to reconstruct the conditions, both political and religious, which may account for these choices. In

¹ See for instance : G.W. Bernard, *Henry VIII, op.cit.*, p. 601 : « The liturgy of the parish church was largely unaffected, as Henry's continuing attachment to the mass meant that there was no change in the central act of Christian worship. And many of the subtleties of the theological codifications that we have been considering impinged little on the lives of the people. »

many cases, moreover, books were ostensibly corrected several times over the period, suggesting changes in opinion or in personnel.

As early as April 1534, the clergy of the realm were appointed agents of transmission for royal propaganda and the liturgy was the first medium they were to use. Intercessory prayers reflected the Church's ecclesiology and hierarchical construct; the royal supremacy required that these prayers be refashioned to mirror the new structure of the realm, dominated by the figure of the king. Priests were thus charged of leading the laity in prayer for the king to enhance the subjects commitment to the royal supremacy. Archbishop Cranmer also required that the entire clergy unite daily in praying for the king and queen at mass. In some dioceses, new collects for Henry as head of the Church were composed and circulated. Clearly some priests had an even higher level of personal commitment both to the liturgy as a mirror terrestrial hierarchies and to the royal supremacy, leading them to revise the canon of the mass to name the king before the bishop. In fact, the new form might even have been the norm by the mid 1540s. In their daily and weekly round of prayer, the clergy certainly felt the full liturgical impact of the break with Rome.

Moreover, the successive confessions of faith and royal injunctions impelled adjustments to the traditional devotions and the meaning and efficacy of the liturgy. The clergy were required to encourage the laity to abandon the varied forms of the cult of the saints. The narrow links which had previously united the Church militant to the Church triumphant and the Church suffering were distended. The traditional soteriology was shifting and the clergy were to egg the laity on different paths to salvation, less focussed on devotion and more on obedience and charity.

The regime ordered that the clergy teach that the ceremonies of the church were to be understood as symbols and signs reminiscent of Biblical events and the sacraments. The liturgy of the sacramentals, however, asserted their efficacy in remitting venial sins and their apotropaic and prophylactic powers. Pastoral teaching was no longer intended to explain the liturgy, as traditional catechisms had done, but rather to correct it, for liturgical texts were no longer deemed trustworthy deposits of the faith. Many priests would have been mindful of this disjunction, leading them either to reject the teachings of the Henrician church or the liturgical tradition. Henry's middle way policy of maintaining the practices of the sacramentals while promoting a less superstitious understanding of their meaning merely narrowed the breadth of orthodox belief and

behaviour. The official position was, in fact, almost untenable, thus creating a climate of controversy in which the liturgy was the central stake.

Liturgical change : the view from the nave

On a Friday in April 1534, lay parishioners attending mass will have heard their parish priest read a dramatically different set of bidding prayers from the pulpit. The well-rehearsed list of suffrages starting with a prayer for the pope and then narrowing to the local concerns of the parish had been replaced with a much briefer order to pray for the king as supreme head of the church, the royal family, the clergy and the temporality. Prayers for the souls of the deceased were probably also shortened. With the new form of bidding prayers, the population at large encountered the royal supremacy for the first time. They would have immediately perceived that its advent called for changes, first and foremost, in public prayer. Hence the liturgy had become the prime vehicle for the royal supremacy. And by requiring that the people pray for the king as head of the Church, the regime was implementing liturgically the very same policy it sought to enforce with the oath campaign.

As the parishioners of the realm prepared to celebrate the feast of Easter in mid April, the laity may have been aware that the prayers for the pope had been dropped from the Good Friday suffrages and it is likely that some of the faithful will have noted the deacon's hesitant rendering of the end of the *Exultet*.

A few weeks later, laymen and women will no longer have been allured to come to the Feast of Corpus Christi by the promise of an indulgence. The ban on indulgences will certainly have affected many executors of testaments and more generally all persons eager to collect such 'promissory notes'. This will certainly have triggered discussions on the nature of the pope's powers, on the meaning of the break with Rome and raised many legal and spiritual conundrums, in particular concerning reserved sins and church discipline. Moreover, it is likely that priests whose livelihoods depended on Trentals and other indulgenced masses and lay people eager to seek reassurance for themselves and their kin will have sought to find a compromise. But ultimately these practices fell into disuse and the laity suppressed references to indulgences from their own prayer books.

The abrogation of holidays in 1536 would have had a considerable impact on the lives of parishioners as they were no longer invited to observe both fast and feast. Although the clergy continued to celebrate these saints in divine worship, they did so without solemnity and bell ringing. The rhythm of lay life was profoundly altered as the king took over control of the liturgical calendar, dictating when to labor and when to rest, i.e. more of the former and less of the latter, abolished fasting and abstinence periods that the Church had promoted for centuries. The liturgical soundscape also changed as the ringing of the *Angelus* was discontinued in 1538 and as more English was incrementally introduced into public worship.

The laity will have been informed of the new meaning of the sacraments and, in some parishes, customs would change as priests refused to let people take Candlemas lights home or give them holy water. What they had always understood to be good works were now deemed superstitious practices. In Kent, some lay people were at the forefront of the evangelical thrust against superstitious sacraments, rejecting and disparaging the ceremonies. As liturgical actors, their rejection of these rituals and of some sacraments affected the very workings of public prayer, making it a contested ground.

The theological and historical impact of liturgical change under Henry VIII

The abundant evidence of liturgical arrangements tailored to the king's headship has prompted me to think of the royal supremacy as more than a political doctrine or a means of reform. The concept had, indeed, taken on many features of a spiritual truth and had become, for all intents and purposes, a functional dogma of the Henrician Church.

As Diarmaid MacCulloch has pointed out, Cranmer often 'promot[ed] reform within the shell of traditional forms' and 'us[ed] traditional forms to new and subversive ends'.¹ In fact, this strategy was enormously successful both in getting the royal supremacy accepted by the people and in destroying the late medieval understanding of the liturgy, hence opening the way to further liturgical change. The liturgical focus brings to light

¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Cranmer, op.cit.*, p. 333 and 335.

the dramatic doctrinal and practical developments occurring in the English Church during the last fifteen years of Henry's reign.

The numerous liturgical experimentations developed at the parochial level and the general challenge leveled at the liturgy contributed to its demise as a source of faith. While trust in the liturgy gradually eroded, the belief emerged that the order of public worship was entirely in the king's purview. Both notions contribute to explaining how the wholesale revision and translation of the liturgy was readily accepted or tolerated by most English people in 1549. Attempts to understand *how* the English converted from Catholicism to Protestantism are undoubtedly illuminated by a thorough examination of the liturgical aspects of the Henrician Reformation.