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Preaching at Syon Abbey¹

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The monastery of the Holy Saviour, St Mary the Virgin and St Bridget, known as Syon Abbey, was founded by Henry V in 1415 and was the only house of the Bridgettine Order to be established in England; it was dissolved in 1539.² During the little more than a century of its existence, the Bridgettines at Syon acquired a powerful reputation for intellectual and literary activity, a reputation also held by Henry's second foundation, the Charterhouse of Jesus of Bethlehem on the other side of the Thames at Sheen.³ One difference between the two orders, however, lay in their relationship with the outside world. The Bridgettines were specifically enjoined to preach to the laity, whereas the Carthusians were forbidden to do so.⁴

The present study took its impetus from my curiosity as to whether three English sermons printed by Caxton in his 1491 edition of the *Festial* might be products of Syon.⁵ Their context was Bridgettine, and there was reason to assume that the sermons themselves might be Bridgettine. Although published studies of Syon Abbey stressed the importance of the preaching there, they proved to be surprisingly reticent about what Syon sermons were actually like.

The reason for their reticence became obvious in my investigations into preaching at Syon. Although Syon brothers were enjoined by their Rule to preach in the vernacular to both the nuns and the people, no more than one vernacular sermon is known to be extant today (nor is there clear evidence of any Latin sermons). In the light of so little evidence, and so little investigation into the subject, this paper studies the information that can be gleaned about preaching at Syon and about Syon sermons, discusses why the evidence is so meagre, and investigates possible Syon sermons, concluding with an examination of the three *Festial* sermons in order to attempt to determine whether they might be rare survivals of the brothers' considerable output.

Syon Abbey and its Preaching

The Bridgettine order lived under the rule of St Augustine, with St Bridget's own Rule, *Regula Salvatoris*, the Rule of the Saviour, as its constitutions; there were individual Additions for each house.⁶ It was a double order, established primarily for women, with a maximum of 60 nuns, 13 priests, 4 deacons, and 8 laybrothers.⁷ St Bridget's eagerness to hear sermons and to read the scriptures and saints' lives in her own tongue is recorded in the details of her life prepared for the bid for canonization,⁸ and one of her Revelations outlined Christ's own guidelines on preaching.⁹

The *Regula Salvatoris* required the priests (but not, it seems, the deacons)¹⁰ to expound the gospel of the day in the vernacular in the course of the mass; in addition, they were to preach publicly on all feast days whose vigils were fasted with bread and water and on other feasts celebrated by a vigil.¹¹ There is some doubt as to who might make up the audience for the gospel exposition, but it is clear that, apart from the brothers themselves, the sisters would be present, as well as laymen in the outer church.¹² The preaching at Syon on feast days may have been more elaborate than on Sundays, as it was at the mother-house at Vadstena;¹³ there it took place at almost any time in the morning, and the main audience would be layfolk, with varying numbers of Bridgettines in attendance too.¹⁴ It has been estimated that about 120 sermons were preached at Vadstena each year, although fewer may have been preached at Syon.¹⁵ What is known of Syon practice is that the sermon was to be written by the brother himself, and in order to 'recorde hys sermon' he was exempt choir duties for three days before as well as on the preaching day itself.¹⁶

The Syon brothers were well qualified to preach; indeed, two had served as university preachers at Cambridge before entering the community.¹⁷ Syon brothers were not allowed to profess before the age of 25, and in practice Syon appears to have acted as an early retirement home for clergy and academics. Several brothers had already served as secular clergy in London, Essex, and East Anglia before entering the community,¹⁸ while in the last thirty years of Syon's existence at least six Cambridge fellows were professed there.¹⁹ Throughout its century of life, the community produced authors of high calibre and scholarship.²⁰

The buildings at Syon presumably followed the Vadstena (i.e. the Bridgettine) plan, but there is no trace of them today. Bridgettine sisters and brothers lived entirely separately from each other, the sisters in buildings to the north of the church and the brothers in identical buildings to the south-west.²¹ The high altar (dedicated to St Peter), together with the twelve altars dedicated to the apostles (including St Matthias) and a thirteenth dedicated to St Paul, were at the west end; the altar of the Virgin

Mary, where the sisters' mass was celebrated, was at the east end, together with the people's altar of St Bridget.²² The brothers used the ground floor behind the high altar as their choir, while the sisters used a gallery suspended above the nave. There were clearly two libraries, one for the sisters and one for the brothers, with librarians in charge of each.²³ From 1426 the Bridgettines were involved in a move from Twickenham farther along the river to Isleworth, in order to secure more spacious accommodation, and on the new site building continued throughout much of the community's existence. Bills for 1479-80 refer to the church, chapter house, brothers' cloister, and library.²⁴ The church was not in fact consecrated until 1488, and even then not all building work was complete.²⁵ In 1490-1 new 'preaching places' were erected for both sisters and brothers, in 1494-5 there was joinery work to the 'upper chamber and the nether chamber annexed to the pulpit in the east end of our church', in 1501-2 a stone pulpit was built, and in 1518 there was work done on the pulpit in the sisters' side.²⁶

There was no shortage of an audience for preaching at Syon. The famous pardons, and, from 1500, the papal dispensation which permitted the brothers to bless rosaries,²⁷ made the Abbey an attractive pilgrim centre, convenient to London. Syon offered numerous pardons throughout the year,²⁸ but the great attraction was the 1425 pardon of Martin V which offered plenary remission twelve times in the year. It was mainly available at Lammastide, throughout eight consecutive days from evensong on the eve of the feast-day of St Peter ad Vincula, but it was also granted on three days in Lent (Mid-Lent Sunday and the Monday and Saturday in the first full week of Lent) and on the Monday in Whitsun Week.²⁹ The Lent and Whitsun occasions were familiar periods for preaching, but Lammastide offered an out-of-season attraction.

Soon after the Pope's bull of 1425, the blind and deaf Shropshire poet, John Audelay, had heard of the pardon and wrote a stanzaic 'Salutacio Sancte Birgitte' in praise of the saint, the pardon, the Pope, and the Bridgettines.³⁰ In 1434 Margery Kempe arrived three days before Lammas Day 'to purchasyn hir pardon þorw þe mercy of owr Lord' and stayed at least until Lammas Day, 'þe principal day of pardon'.³¹ From the late 1480s the eight-day period of plenary remission was to encompass two new and rapidly popular feasts, the Transfiguration of our Lord and the Holy Name of Jesus, celebrated on the 6th. and 7th. of August respectively.³² These new feasts provided two extra occasions for preaching, with 300 days of indulgence allotted for listening to the preaching.³³ It must therefore be assumed that the large numbers of pilgrims at this time benefitted from the occasions on which the Syon brothers preached *ad populum*.

Having established that English sermons were preached at Syon, 'omnibus

audientibus', the next stage was to trace them. As has been noted, the *Regula Salvatoris* enjoins two types of preaching in the vernacular – exposition of the Gospel during mass and public preaching on feasts celebrated with a vigil.³⁴ Over 5,000 sermons survive from Vadstena, although far fewer Gospel expositions appear to be extant.³⁵ Since it is known that the sermons preached at Syon (if not the Gospel expositions) were written down,³⁶ some at least might be expected to be extant, especially given the continuous tradition of the Syon house.³⁷

The Syon Catalogue for the Brothers' Library

The appropriate place to search for Syon preaching material is first of all in the Syon library catalogue. Bridgettine scholars in England are fortunate to have extant the catalogue made for the brothers' library by Thomas Betson in the early sixteenth century and continued by others up to around 1523.³⁸ Because the extant catalogue is of the brothers' library and not the nuns', it is almost entirely a Latin library, and there are only 26 English works and 4 in French.³⁹ In itself, that should not be a hindrance to tracing Syon gospel expositions and sermons, since it is most likely that, although delivered in English, they were written down in Latin.⁴⁰

Let us consider the Gospel expositions first. Numerous volumes in the brothers' library contained quotations from the epistles and gospels for the year, and sermons on both the epistles and gospels are recorded in the catalogue.⁴¹ The clearest reference to Gospel expositions occurs in relation to the Franciscan William of Nottingham's commentary on Clement of Lantony's gospel harmony, *Unum ex Quatuor*, which was preserved in the library in at least two separate volumes.⁴² One of these volumes (H18) also contained 'Quotaciones euangeliorum tocius anni tam de sanctis quam de temporalibus in hoc Monasterio predicandorum secundum idem opus in principio libri [i.e. Nottingham's commentary on Clement of Lantony]', and a further volume also refers to Nottingham's commentary in relation to Gospel pericopes.⁴³ Although no sermons are recorded, it appears likely that at Syon Nottingham's commentary formed the basis for the Gospel expositions enjoined by St Bridget's Rule. Indeed, a redaction of Nottingham's text survives, in which the text has been abridged and arranged so as to form commentaries on the Sunday gospels according to the Sarum rite.⁴⁴

Let us turn from the Gospel expositions to look at the sermons proper, considering first the English works listed in the catalogue. In the main, these are medical and devotional treatises, but amongst them is a sermon (what is in fact the

sole English sermon extant indisputably attributed to a Syon brother) on the Syon pardons written by Simon Wynter and another (lost) sermon by Wynter on the subject of penitence.⁴⁵ The pardon sermon survives today, in its fullest form in London, British Library Harley MS 2321, ff. 17r-62r.⁴⁶ Its subject matter, the Syon pardon, and the day on which it was preached, the feast-day of St Peter ad Vincula (1 August), make it a work of clear importance to Syon. The vigil of the feast saw the beginning of the eight-day period of Lammastide when special indulgences were granted to Syon. St Peter was accorded special status in the Bridgettine church, since the high altar was dedicated to him,⁴⁷ and *ad vincula* sermons are among the most numerous extant from the Bridgettine mother-house of Vadstena in Sweden.⁴⁸

As a sermon, it is puzzling. It covers 45 folios of a large octavo manuscript and treats in exhaustive detail the various pardons available at Syon and any conceivable queries that might be raised with regard to those pardons. It takes the form of a 'modern' or academic sermon, based on a text, 'Tibi dabo claves regni celorum' (Matthew xvi.19), from the Gospel of the day, which is first introduced in a pro-theme and then developed in the process of the sermon as three principals, each subdivided.⁴⁹ It is patently a single sermon but seems hardly preachable as such. It may be that it was preached over several days, but even so it would hardly have made interesting listening. If such long and dry sermons were indeed preached at Syon,⁵⁰ we may have an explanation as to why that inveterate preachee, Margery Kempe, does not refer to attending the preaching on her one recorded visit to the Abbey. Shorter versions of the sermon exist,⁵¹ and it may be that this version was never actually preached but merely retained as a full record of the Syon pardons.⁵²

The only other English sermon collection recorded in the catalogue is a reference in the index to 'Rogerus frater de Syon in suis sermonibus in anglica' (S36).⁵³ Unfortunately, here the index and the body of the catalogue do not tally, and we can find out no more about these sermons, which appear not to be extant today.⁵⁴

Latin sermons are frequently recorded in the catalogue.⁵⁵ Augustine's sermons alone number nearly two hundred entries,⁵⁶ and the library clearly held vast numbers of sermon collections, more than any other type of material.⁵⁷ It is hard to tell whether any of these might be in-house productions. Most are attributed to well-known sermonists, and the index to the catalogue assigns the sermons in only ten volumes to a mere three Syon brothers.⁵⁸

It may be that preaching sermons were accessed elsewhere, perhaps with the service books in the choir, where they would be in the charge of, not the librarian, but the chanter.⁵⁹ Perhaps the brothers kept them amongst their own possessions. It may be that they were not generally considered significant enough to be taken into the

library on their author's death, and that it was not usual to donate ones own sermons to the library.⁶⁰ It may even be that they were buried with their authors.

Perhaps earlier catalogues of the library included them,⁶¹ but Betson's job in preparing the catalogue extant today may have involved removing the brothers' own sermons, perhaps to make room for the influx of printed books, perhaps because only up-to-date material was wanted in the library.⁶² There may have been special reasons why the sermons of just these three, Rogerus, Simon Wynter, and Thomas Bulde, were retained;⁶³ certainly one can see reason for Wynter's pardon sermon to be kept as a detailed record of the indulgences granted to Syon.

Another possibility, which does not presuppose the loss of the brothers' own sermons, is that at least some of the anonymous sermon collections donated by Syon brothers were their own work. In other words, the Syon sermons are there in the catalogue but not distinguished as such. Unfortunately, although the premiss may be correct, it is impossible to prove.⁶⁴

It may be useful at this stage to point out the problems associated with the catalogue and the index. Betson would appear to have been meticulous in compiling them, but they did not stay that way for very long. Presumably accessions were so numerous as the printed book trade developed that the successive attempts to update the catalogue caused the discrepancies between that and the index which have been referred to already.⁶⁵ However, it is not just a matter of new accessions; in many cases Betson's entries have been erased and either left blank or had new entries written over them.⁶⁶ This is the case with the sermons attributed to Syon brothers, to which I have already referred. As I have said, the index to the catalogue assigns sermons in ten volumes to three Syon brothers. The catalogue itself, however, lists the works of only one of these men, Simon Wynter – the four volumes containing sermons by the other two have disappeared and their pressmarks have been allotted to different volumes. In fact, Wynter's are the only sermons attributed to a Syon brother which exist in the catalogue as it now stands.⁶⁷

If we turn from Wynter's sermon to other sermons surviving from the Syon brothers' library which might have been preached at Syon, we find that only one unattributed sermon collection (and part of a single 'sermo ad clerum') is recorded in Neil Ker's and Andrew Watson's lists of over a hundred surviving volumes from Syon Abbey.⁶⁸ The collection is in a volume (referred to here as the Cox manuscript) donated by John Lawsby, a Syon priest who died in 1490.⁶⁹ He left forty volumes to the library, five of them sermon collections,⁷⁰ and the one extant volume contains thirteen Latin sermons based on Gospel or Epistle pericopes, all but one dominical sermons.⁷¹ It is too the only one of Lawsby's five sermon collections to remain

unattributed.⁷² Whether John Lawsby's volume of sermons was preached at Syon thus became a matter for investigation and will be considered further below.⁷³

The Sermons Preached at Syon Abbey

By this stage of my research, it was clear that any search for Bridgettine sermons would have to extend beyond material with clear Syon connections. It was at this point that I tried to establish what a Syon sermon might be like.

In Chapter 23 of St Bridget's *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes* Christ shows the saint 'quomodo et quid predicandum est populo'⁷⁴ in relation to the preaching duties of Chapter 15 of the Rule. Briefly, those who preach Christ's truth are to use words which are simple and few, having their basis in the reading of Holy Scripture. Their sermons must not be too difficult nor too showy and fancy in structure and style but must be adapted to the capacity of the audience. Sunday preaching should expound the gospel of the day and should be based on the Bible, the words of Christ, Mary and the saints, the lives of the fathers and the miracles of the saints, and the Creed, and should offer remedies against temptations and vices. What must be avoided is tedium and talking above the heads of the listeners: 'For my most beloved Mother was a very ordinary woman, Peter a simpleton, Francis a rustic; and yet they have done more for people's souls than eloquent academics, because they had perfect love for those souls.'⁷⁵

These words of Christ to St Bridget provide useful information on the type of sermon to be preached in the Bridgettine order. What they reveal which is relevant to the Lawsby sermons, which are largely dominical, is that the Sunday exposition of the Gospel could extend to a full dominical sermon. The relationship between the Gospel expositions at Sunday mass enjoined by the *Regula Salvatoris* and the extant Vadstena dominical sermons is discussed by Andersson and Borgehammar.⁷⁶ They offer two suggestions: firstly, that both an exposition and a sermon might have been delivered at Vadstena on Sundays;⁷⁷ secondly, that, since the dominical sermons that survive from Vadstena are often 'a sophisticated hybrid of *exposicio* and thematic sermon',⁷⁸ it might be that the Gospel exposition often took the form of a full dominical sermon. It would seem, then, that, despite the lack of explicit reference to dominical sermons in the Bridgettine Rule, such sermons were preached at Vadstena.⁷⁹

The evidence of the *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes* also relates to the type of sermon favoured by St Bridget – that it should be simple in language and structure, largely scriptural in basis, and accessible to an unlettered audience. In this context, the

academic sermon of Simon Wynter might appear to be un-Bridgettine, as would the sermons of the Cox manuscript, which also follow the academic model of construction. Both Simon Wynter's sermon and the Lawsby sermons use scriptural and broadly catechetical material which might be seen to accord with the Revelation. More problematically, it appears likely, as Andersson and Borgehammar assume,⁸⁰ that the reference to 'ista verba mea et dilecte matris mee sanctorumque meorum'⁸¹ is to the *Reuelaciones* themselves, which mostly take the form of the direct speech of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and occasionally the saints, to St Bridget. The major difference between Wynter's sermon and the Lawsby sermons is that Wynter's sermon, indisputably a Syon sermon, cites the works of St Bridget frequently,⁸² whereas the Lawsby sermons appear not to refer to the saint at all.

The Evidence of the Vadstena Sermons

It was at this point in my research that it became clear to me that the extensive sermon material surviving from the Bridgettine mother-house at Vadstena in Sweden must be considered in order to establish how closely the guidelines of Chapter 23 of the *Reuelaciones Extravagantes* might have been followed in Bridgettine sermons. Although Syon sermons are elusive, approximately 5,000 Bridgettine sermons survive from Vadstena,⁸³ and research in progress is revealing valuable information about those sermons.⁸⁴

Preliminary study of the Vadstena sermons would appear to confirm the evidence of Simon Wynter's *ad vincula* sermon in two respects: firstly, that the academic method of sermon construction (seemingly alien to the saint's Revelation) was a Bridgettine norm; secondly, that citation from the Revelations of the saint ('ista verba mea et dilecte matris mee sanctorumque meorum') is to be expected in Bridgettine sermons. Simon Wynter's single sermon may be compared with the ninety-five Vadstena *ad vincula* sermons which survive.⁸⁵ Like them, it follows the academic structure, taking its theme from the Gospel of the day and making its subject matter the captivity of sin and the means of liberation from sin, and it includes, amongst scriptural and patristic authorities and citation from canon law, *exempla* from the Revelations of St Bridget. What marks Wynter's sermon as different is, in the first case, its prolixity, and in the second, its concentration on indulgences (from which Syon derived its singularity).⁸⁶

The use of St Bridget's Revelations would appear to mark a Bridgettine sermon more clearly than anything else. What became clear to me in correspondence about the

Vadstena sermons was that nearly every sermon included some reference to the saint. Indeed, Stephan Borgehammar has remarked, 'As source material the Revelations admirably filled the needs of a late medieval preacher. The Vadstena preachers used them constantly – I have so far (I think) never seen a Vadstena sermon without at least one quotation from St Birgitta.'⁸⁷ Despite subsequent modification of this statement,⁸⁸ it is at least clear that the use of the Revelations as both *auctoritates* and *exempla* is a clear indication of a Bridgettine sermon, perhaps the only clear indication.⁸⁹ It appears that only a clear reference to the works of St Bridget or to Syon Abbey would indicate, for example, that the Cox manuscript contains dominical sermons preached at Syon Abbey, and no such reference appears to exist.

Further evidence of the nature of Vadstena sermons has served to indicate what might have been Syon practice. Of course, Bridgettine sermons were no more original works than the mass of medieval sermons. They were constructed from material available to the brothers in their libraries, namely, collections of ready-made sermons, such as those of Jacobus de Voragine, collections of *exempla*, Bible concordances, and preaching manuals.⁹⁰ Indeed, in a reply in 1416 to the archbishop of Norway's inquiry as to how the Vadstena brothers composed their sermons, the deputy confessor-general, Finvid Simonis, pointed out that Bridgettines used no set method or pattern but collected their material from different sources by divine inspiration.⁹¹

Sermons with Bridgettine References

At this stage, my search for sermons preached at Syon turned to sermons without clear Syon associations but with references to the saint. The only published material relates to English, rather than Latin, contexts.⁹² Although there is ample evidence of the use of Bridgettine material in tracts and treatises, the evidence for sermons is not extensive.⁹³ Indeed, the state of current published research suggests that only two English sermons make use of Bridgettine material. One is a sermon for the feast of the Assumption,⁹⁴ the other for the feast of St Mary Magdalene.⁹⁵

About a third of the Assumption sermon is a translation from Chapter 20 of the Bridgettine Breviary, the *Sermo Angelicus*,⁹⁶ while the rest of the sermon makes use of material from the saint's Revelations (I, 31, 7, 20, II, 16);⁹⁷ the sermon for the feast of St Mary Magdalene has three excerpts from the Revelations (IV, 108, 76, 83).⁹⁸ It would appear at least worth investigating whether the sermons were originally written at and for Syon.

The Assumption sermon is directed at nuns who (like those at Syon) have the

Virgin Mary as their 'modyr, vowe and patronesse' by a preacher who appears to be a fellow religious.⁹⁹ The feast of the Assumption is one of those whose vigil is fasted with bread and water, and therefore one on which a sermon was preached at Bridgettine houses.¹⁰⁰ This particular sermon is based on the second lesson for the Saturday office from the Bridgettine Breviary, Saturday being the day devoted to the Assumption of the Virgin in the Bridgettine nuns' offices.¹⁰¹ It falls into two parts, which might even be considered separate, short addresses: the first part, which ends 'Amen', deals with the Assumption itself and then lists the seven privileges granted Mary by Christ; the second allegorises the various items making up a nun's habit. The material is almost exclusively Bridgettine, although this is not acknowledged, and there is only a handful of new lines to interlink the different passages.¹⁰²

It appears to me likely that this was composed by a Syon brother to be delivered *ad moniales*. There are arguments against the suggestion, one being that, although the evidence for Syon sermons delivered *ad populum* is sparse, the evidence of sermons delivered to the Syon sisters is non-existent.¹⁰³ For Veronica O'Mara, to whose work on this sermon I am indebted, the most compelling evidence that the Assumption sermon is not a Syon production is that the allegorisation of the nun's habit does not include the distinctive Syon crown.¹⁰⁴ Further, the manuscript is not of Syon provenance, although none of the texts it contains would have been strange to Syon and most would have been extremely familiar there.¹⁰⁵

The manuscript consists of booklets in several different hands and East Anglian dialects, and O'Mara suggests its provenance as an East Anglian nunnery, perhaps Carrow in Norwich.¹⁰⁶ The Assumption sermon exists in a quire of its own in a hand of its own, and, in my opinion, is a Bridgettine sermon adapted for a different female community.¹⁰⁷ It is my suggestion that it was originally written by a Syon brother for the sisters at Syon, for in which other order would a preacher take as the matter for his sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin material from the Syon sisters' office devoted to the Assumption?¹⁰⁸

The Mary Magdalene sermon is a more academic work and must be the product of a scholar of the calibre of the Syon brothers.¹⁰⁹ It appears to satisfy the criteria we have discovered for other Bridgettine sermons. It takes as its theme a Gospel text which, after a pro-theme, is developed according to three principals. It is a long sermon, although not as long as it might have been, since the preacher chooses to omit the second principal altogether.¹¹⁰ The authorities cited were all to be found in the Syon brothers' library,¹¹¹ and the feastday of St Mary Magdalene was one celebrated amongst the Bridgettines by the preaching of a sermon.¹¹² Nevertheless, despite three citations from the *Revelations*, amongst other *exempla* and scriptural and

patristic authorities, it was clearly not written at Syon.

Indeed, O'Mara has plausibly dated one of the four interconnected sermons in the manuscript to 25 March 1414, prior to the founding of Syon Abbey.¹¹³ Moreover, the sermons in the manuscript were all written for a male or mixed audience by a northern scribe using a West Riding of Yorkshire dialect, and there are excellent reasons for associating the manuscript with the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary, York.¹¹⁴

The Bridgettine references in the Mary Magdalene sermon are nevertheless of great interest. As O'Mara has noted: 'in using St Birgitta's *Revelationes* in the Mary Magdalene sermon [the preacher] shows himself to be one of the earliest Middle English writers and possibly the first known English homilist to do so'.¹¹⁵ Although further investigation of the sermon must await Dr. O'Mara's edition, it may be noted here that there were early Yorkshire connections with the Bridgettines through the involvement of the Fitzhugh family in the first attempts to found a Bridgettine house in England.¹¹⁶

The Search for Syon Sermons

By this stage, two points had become clear in relation to the subject of my research. One was that a search for Syon sermons should be undertaken amongst collections without clear Syon associations. The Syon brothers, like the Carthusians, encouraged wide dissemination of their in-house productions through the technology of the printing press,¹¹⁷ and it appears that, even before that technology became available to them, texts were copied and disseminated elsewhere, even amongst other orders. An investigation amongst the sermons of other orders might perhaps uncover more Bridgettine references. The second point was that any search for Bridgettine material would probably prove fruitful in the context of Latin sermons, the editing of which has been, perhaps understandably, but unjustifiably, neglected in this country.

The two points may be conveniently illustrated by one example.¹¹⁸ Durham University Library, Cosin MS V.III.16 is a manuscript which has clear Syon associations. It contains a letter, perhaps a covering letter for the whole manuscript, addressed, perhaps by Thomas Betson, to 'Welbiloued susters in our lord Iesu Crist' (fol. 118^r), that is, to nuns at another convent.¹¹⁹ The manuscript contains Latin sermons currently unattributed which might conceivably be sermons preached at Syon.¹²⁰

Caxton's 1491 Edition of the Festial

We must turn at this point to the subject which motivated the present research, namely, whether three sermons printed in Caxton's 1491 edition of the *Festial* might be Bridgettine.

The *Festial* is a collection of sermons *de tempore* and *de sanctis* compiled by the Austin canon, John Mirk, probably in the 1380s.¹²¹ It circulated widely in manuscript and was printed by Caxton first in 1483 (*STC* 17957) and then again, in a different edition,¹²² in 1491 (*STC* 17959). Numerous other editions exist up to the year 1532. It is probably the most printed English work before the Reformation.

Caxton's two editions of the *Festial* were both issued in conjunction with another work, the *Quattuor Sermones*,¹²³ catechetical and penitential material clumsily accommodated into four preaching sermons.¹²⁴ Between the two editions, however, two new feasts were licensed for celebration, the feasts of the Transfiguration of our Lord and the Holy Name of Jesus. A third new feast, the Visitation of the Virgin, had been ordered for Canterbury even before the date of Caxton's first edition.¹²⁵ At the end of his 1491 edition of the *Festial*, Caxton therefore added three new sermons for these feasts.¹²⁶ After them he inserted the *Hamus Caritatis*, a brief treatise on the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament and the Two Precepts of the New Testament. Then he issued the whole edition, together with the *Quattuor Sermones*, still separately set up.

Undoubtedly, Caxton had dealings with Syon, and, as has been pointed out already, the Bridgettines at Isleworth and the Carthusians at Sheen and at the London Charterhouse, exploited the technology of the printing press from an early date in order to spread Bridgettine and Carthusian material produced in England and abroad.¹²⁷ But why should these three sermons added to the *Festial* be Bridgettine?

The possibility that they might be was suggested by the fact that the works issued with them, the *Quattuor Sermones* and the *Hamus Caritatis*, make use of Bridgettine material. The *Quattuor Sermones* is basically a re-working of two texts, firstly what is now known as the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, Archbishop Thoresby of York's English catechetical material issued to priests in an educational drive of 1357,¹²⁸ and then the penitential treatise known as *The Clensyng of Mannes Sowle*.¹²⁹ The Revelations of St Bridget are cited twice, much paraphrased.¹³⁰ In view of what has been said above about the Syon Assumption sermon, it is perhaps significant that there are various reasons to connect the separate elements of the *Quattuor Sermones* with an East Anglian monastic or nunnery context with interests very close to those of the Bridgettines at Syon,¹³¹ but as it stands it is to be preached by a secular priest to

his own parishioners. It is a very clumsy piece of amalgamation and adaptation, but it may well have some connection with Syon.

The *Hamus Caritatis* is a much clearer case. In subject-matter and style, it bears strong comparison with the *Treatyse to dyspose men to be vertuously occupied* by Thomas Betson, and I suspect that the work may even be by Betson.¹³² Its title, 'the fish-hook of love', is reminiscent of that other text known at Syon, the *Stimulus Amoris*, the English version of which, attributed to Walter Hilton, was known as *The Prickyng of Love*.¹³³ The content is similarly directed at the pious layman: it is introduced as 'A shorte exhortacyon ofte to be shewed to the peple . . .' (sig. s4^r, col. a), and is addressed to a male householder with family and household responsibilities.

Its format is that of the academic sermon.¹³⁴ The theme is a Gospel text ('Doo to a nother as thou wold be done vnto', sig. s4^r, col. a), which is stated and developed as a pro-theme and then expanded into two principals based on the two Gospel precepts, which encompass a discussion of the Ten Commandments, so that the whole sermon deals with the commandments of the Old and New Testaments. Most importantly, it cites as *auctoritas* the Revelations of St Bridget¹³⁵ and concludes with a prayer to Christ which invokes the mediations of 'his blessid moder Mary & his holy spowsesse Saynte Brygytte and all saynts' (sig. s5^v, col. a). It is clearly a Syon production.

This context should serve to explain my curiosity about the three new sermons. Caxton acquired two new texts for his second edition of the *Festial*, the *Hamus Caritatis* and the three sermons. If the *Hamus* is clearly Bridgettine, might not the sermons be so too? Since it transpires that Syon sermons are so rare, the discovery of three submerged in an unexpected printed context would be of some interest. Moreover, the sermon for the Transfiguration of our Lord includes a reference to Syon: the Gospel text the preacher uses is that for the Saturday in the first full week of Lent and he notes that indulgences are available on that day – 'as is to Syon plener remyssioun' (sig. R4^r, col. a).

Unfortunately, as will have become clear, it is not easy to establish what is a Syon sermon, even when there are citations from Bridgettine texts, as there are not in this case.¹³⁶ The usual format for a Bridgettine sermon is that of the academic sermon, but academic sermons are by no means the prerogative of Bridgettines.¹³⁷ With the exception of quotation from the Revelations, the guidelines of St Bridget were not distinct from those followed by non-Bridgettine sermon writers. The adaptation of material from traditional authorities, which was the Bridgettine method of sermon composition, was also, of course, the norm in other circles. We cannot hope, therefore, to find a particular 'Syon style' or even 'Syon material'. The only clear

indication that a sermon might have been preached at Syon would appear to be that it quotes from the saint's Revelations, which these sermons do not.

The New Sermons in Caxton's 1491 Edition of the Festial

As these facts became clear to me in the course of my research into the Syon sermons, what had seemed a probability, that the *Festial* sermons were from Syon, came to seem less likely, or at least less capable of proof. Nevertheless, Caxton acquired the sermons from somewhere, and they are not recorded elsewhere in any English collections known to me. Indeed, as far as I am aware, no sermon for the feast of the Holy Name exists, at least in the vernacular, at all.¹³⁸ Given that one of the new *Festial* sermons may be a unique example of its kind, and given that the other two sermons are rare, some investigation of the sermons would nevertheless seem to be worthwhile, with an attempt to establish some Bridgettine characteristics.

The sermons for the Visitation of the Virgin (2 July) and the Transfiguration of Our Lord (6 August), two feasts founded on scriptural events, are remarkably similar in structure to the Assumption sermon discussed above. Each begins with an exposition of the Gospel passage on which it is based¹³⁹ and then falls into two parts, showing a tendency, like the Assumption sermon (which lists the seven privileges granted Mary by Christ and then allegorises the items of a nun's habit), to list and catalogue (the three reasons Our Lady visited Elizabeth, the four times Our Lady spoke and the four miracles that ensued, the three types of sinner who offend by their speech; the nine categories of people who need not fast). The two parts of these sermons are not linked thematically or structurally: the first part of the Visitation sermon ends with an invocation to recite the 'Ave Maria';¹⁴⁰ the first part of the Transfiguration sermon ends with a simple 'Amen' (sig. R4^v, col. a), as does the Syon Assumption sermon.¹⁴¹ Both the Visitation and the Transfiguration sermons include a single *narratio*. They address a lay audience and teach practical social and pious duties in a simple style which would accord with St Bridget's guidelines.

A small portion of the Visitation sermon is echoed in one of the Latin sermons from Vadstena,¹⁴² the structure of which is relevant to the present discussion. The sermon, for the first Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany, takes its subject-matter from the Gospel text of the wedding in Cana of Galilee. In structure it follows the two-part model already outlined, although the two parts are more clearly pro-theme and process than in the sermons under consideration. The first part cites four reasons why Christ attended the wedding and ends with the 'Ave Maria';¹⁴³ the second part

reintroduces the theme and deals with the eight categories of married men, for seven of whom marriage offers spiritual danger.

It may be foolhardy to hazard general comments on the structure of Bridgettine sermons from the narrow corpus of sermons under consideration. Nevertheless, the Revelations of St Bridget particularly urged that sermons should be simple in style and structure, and it may tentatively be suggested that a simple Bridgettine sermon might be bi-partite in structure, the first part concluding with an invocation to the Virgin or an 'Amen', and that the explanation of lists might be a method of preaching considered appropriate for a sermon *ad populum* or *ad moniales*.

It is perhaps worth pausing on the fact that the first parts of the two Visitation sermons conclude with the recitation of the Ave Maria, since this is a normal feature of Bridgettine¹⁴⁴ (and, perhaps, Carthusian) practice.¹⁴⁵ The pro-themes of sermons in the Cox manuscript occasionally end with a formulaic invitation to prayer, such as ' . . . pro gracia impetranda dicat quilibet et mente pia Pater Noster, Ave Maria' (fol. 1v) or ' . . . pro gracia impetranda dicat et cetera' (fol. 47r).¹⁴⁶ The practice is, however, common, and academic sermons of varied origins either commence or conclude their pro-themes with the Ave Maria, perhaps together with the Pater Noster.¹⁴⁷

The Visitation sermon is, naturally, centred around the Virgin Mary, and the feast was 'of special importance' to the Syon Bridgettines.¹⁴⁸ It deals with the virtue of silence and the vice of swearing, all congenial material to Bridgettines.¹⁴⁹ The authorities cited are familiar names in the Syon brothers' library.¹⁵⁰

The first part of the Transfiguration sermon deals with the observance of fasting in Lent, material taken from St Vincent Ferrer;¹⁵¹ the second part, on the mount of heaven, is taken from a sermon ascribed to St Augustine.¹⁵² Both authors are well attested in the Syon library catalogue.¹⁵³ Apart from fasting, the preacher urges, as Lenten disciplines for the layman, prayer, attendance at divine service, attention to sermons, dissemination of the preacher's words in the household circle, and going to holy places where pardons may be obtained.¹⁵⁴ It is in this sermon that Syon is cited as a place where plenary remission may be obtained.¹⁵⁵

The feast of the Holy Name of Jesus (7 August) is represented by a markedly different, and longer, sermon than the other two. This can partly be explained by the nature of the feastday itself, but the sermon is anyway not completely developed from the stage of preaching notes.¹⁵⁶ It does not expound the gospel of the day, although it quotes from it, but explains instead the meaning of Jesus' name as a sort of exordium and then develops as an academic sermon with three principals, the first of which is subdivided three times.¹⁵⁷ It is packed with *narrationes*¹⁵⁸ and heavily dependent on

scriptural authority, with Augustine and Bernard as additional authorities.¹⁵⁹ Its tone is more affective and its style more Latinate than the other two sermons.¹⁶⁰ It may have come from a different source, or may be by a different author, from the other two sermons.

As for its Syon affiliations, the feast of the Holy Name, together with the feast of the Transfiguration, occurred within the most important preaching period in Syon, the first week of August, when plenary remission was available for both Lammas Day (1 August) and its octave.¹⁶¹ The Holy Name was revered in the writings of Rolle and Hilton, favourite Syon authors,¹⁶² and it was strongly associated with St Bridget through the Fifteen Oes, which call on the name of Jesus ('O Jhesu . . .') and which were in England attributed to a vision of the saint herself.¹⁶³ Moreover, it is tempting to surmise that this sermon, the only one known for the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, might be the text 'De virtute nominis Ihesu cum aliis' recorded in the Syon catalogue in a large volume of sermons, tracts, and other preaching material donated by Thomas Fishbourn, the first confessor-general of Syon Abbey.¹⁶⁴

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, the subject of preaching at Syon Abbey is one which demands further research. The comparison with Vadstena is one which must be pursued, and the current editing of the Vadstena Latin sermons in Sweden will undoubtedly allow further conclusions to be drawn at a future date. It is more than likely that Syon and Vadstena sermons were similar; common sources may have led to similarities in subject matter, and it may even be that at times the same sermons were preached.¹⁶⁵ Another area of research is, of course, the Latin sermon in England, of which numerous manuscripts remain unedited.

It is to be hoped that the present preliminary attempt to investigate Bridgettine sermons preached in England may be the forerunner of further research and the precursor of greater results. In any case, the discovery of vernacular sermons for three 'nova festa', for one of which no other English sermon is recorded, must be of some interest, and, although I have not been able to prove the *Festial* sermons Bridgettine, I hope at least to have provided some guidelines as to what a Bridgettine sermon might have been like and to have paved the way for future research on the subject of preaching at Syon Abbey.

NOTES

¹ This article was first presented as a paper to the Conference on Medieval Monastic Preaching at Downside Abbey, 2-5 April, 1997. At the time I had already corresponded with Dr Stephan Borgehammar of the Department of Theology at the University of Lund, who is working on the sermons from Vadstena Abbey which form part of the 'C' Collection at Uppsala University Library. However, it was only in re-writing the article for publication that it became clear to me that the evidence of the Bridgettine mother-house at Vadstena in Sweden was crucial in throwing light on Syon practices. The questions I needed to answer in relation to Syon were very much those addressed and answered in relation to Vadstena by Dr Borgehammar and Dr Roger Andersson in a then unpublished article, 'The Preaching of the Birgittine Friars at Vadstena Abbey (ca 1380-1515)', now published in *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 8 (1997), 209-36. Dr Borgehammar answered my queries promptly and fully, making available to me both the above article and also his then unpublished lecture on 'St Birgitta, an Architect of Spiritual Reform', now published in *Birgittiana*, 5 (1998), 23-47. I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to him.

² There is a substantial amount of published material on the English Bridgettines. See G. J. Aungier, *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1840); J. R. Fletcher, *The Story of the English Bridgettines of Syon Abbey* (Bristol: Burleigh Press for Syon Abbey, South Brent, 1933); D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948-59), II, 175-81, III, 212-21; *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (hereafter *VCH*): *A History of the County of Middlesex*, I, ed. by J. S. Cockburn, H. P. F. King, K. G. T. McDonnell (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1969), 182-91 (by F. R. Johnston); M. B. Tait, 'The Brigittine Monastery of Syon (Middlesex) with Special Reference to its Monastic Uses' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1975); Roger Ellis, *Viderunt eam Filie Syon: The Spirituality of the English House of a Medieval Contemplative Order from its Beginnings to the Present Day*, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 68: 2 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1984); F. R. Johnston, 'The English Cult of St Bridget of Sweden', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 103 (1985), 75-93; Christopher de Hamel, 'The Library: The Medieval Manuscripts of Syon Abbey and their Dispersal', in *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and their Peregrinations after the Reformation. An Essay by Christopher de Hamel with the Manuscript at Arundel Castle* (privately printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1991), pp. 48-133 (Notes to Part I pp. 133-50, Index of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, pp. 151-58). In addition, mention should be made of *Birgittiana*, the twice-yearly journal founded in 1996, which is edited at Odense University, Denmark and published in Naples, Italy.

³ On Sheen, see *VCH: The Victoria History of the County of Surrey*, II, ed. by H. E. Malden (London: Constable, 1905), 89-94. On the Carthusian order, see Knowles, II, 129-38, 175, III, 222-40, and E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London: SPCK for the Church Historical Society, 1930).

⁴ For the Bridgettines' obligation to preach, see further below. For the Carthusians' contrary obligation, cf. the *Consuetudines* of Guigo I (1109-36): 'Libros quippe tanquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodire, et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut, quia ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus praedicemus' (*Patrologia Latina* (hereafter *PL*), 153, cols. 693-4), i.e. 'We wish books indeed to be guarded most carefully as the eternal food of our souls and to be made most assiduously, so that, because we may not preach the word of God by mouth, we may do it with our hands'.

⁵ For details of these sermons, see S. Powell, 'Syon, Caxton, and the *Festial*', *Birgittiana*, 2 (1996), 187-207, and 'What Caxton did to the *Festial*', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 1 (1998), 48-77.

⁶ For the successive versions of the Rule, see *Sancta Birgitta: Opera Minora I: Regula Salvatoris*, ed. by Sten Eklund, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet (hereafter SSFS), Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 8:1 (Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975). For the Additions, see *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauoure and other Middle English Brigittine Legislative Texts*, ed. by J. Hogg, 4 vols, Salzburger Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 6 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1978-80), III: *The Syon Additions for the Brethren and the Book of Syngnes from the St Paul's Cathedral Library Manuscript* (1980). The Rule, the Additions, and the Table of Signs were earlier printed in abridged form by Aungier, pp. 243-409.

⁷ *Regula Salvatoris*, p. 118, sections 148-53 (Chapter 12).

⁸ *Acta et Processus Canonizacionis Beate Birgitte*, ed. by Isak Collijn, SSFS, Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 1:1 (of 10 parts) (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1924-31), 78: 'De lectura. Cum vero vacabat a labore manuum, continue relegebat vitas sanctorum et bibiam, quam sibi in lingua sua scribi fecit, et vbi poterat audire sermones proborum virorum, labori suo non parcebat in eundo ad eosdem sermones audiendos', i.e. 'Concerning reading. When she was not involved in physical labour, she continually read over the lives of the saints and the Bible, which she arranged to have written for herself in her own language, and where she could hear the sermons of good men, she did not spare her effort in going to hear those sermons'.

⁹ *Den Heliga Birgittas Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, ed. by L. Hollman, SSFS, Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 5 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), p. 133 (Chapter 23), which is discussed further below.

¹⁰ The injunctions on preaching refer specifically to the thirteen priests. Andersson

and Borgehammar (pp. 219-20) note that the deacons at Vadstena were also allowed to preach, particularly on days when the priests were not enjoined to do so. Indeed, the deacon Johannes Benechini (Bridgettine Order 1416-61) was a notable preacher.

¹¹ *Regvla Salvatoris*, p. 121, section 174 (Chapter 15): 'Qui [sacerdotes vero isti tredecim] quidem omni die dominico euangelium illius diei in ipsa missa omnibus audientibus in materna lingua exponere tenentur cunctisque solempnitatibus, quarum vigiliis seu profesta ieiunant in pane et aqua, atque aliis quibuscumque festis vigiliam habentibus publice predicare', i.e. 'Every Sunday those thirteen priests are required to expound the gospel of that day in the vernacular during mass with everyone listening, and to preach publicly on all solemn days, the vigils or eves of which they fast with bread and water, and on other feastdays which have a vigil'. Quotations are from the Π Text, 'the oldest text of Birgitta's own version that can be entirely reconstructed from the extant manuscripts' (*ibid.*, p. 21), which is close to Urban VI's bull of 1378 (Π Text, where the relevant Chapter is Chapter XIII). For a recent analysis of the various texts, see Roger Ellis, 'The Visionary and the Canon Lawyers: Papal and other Revisions to the *Regula Salvatoris* of St Bridget of Sweden', in *Prophets Abroad: the reception of continental holy women in late-medieval England*, ed. by Rosalynn Voaden (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1996), pp. 71-90. For the days of preaching at Vadstena, see Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 220-23.

¹² Cf. *Regvla Salvatoris*, p. 121, section 171 (Chapter 15): 'Christus precipit hic, quod fratres sacerdotes dicti monasterii debeant . . . certis diebus euangelium in materna lingua *ipsis monialibus* [my italics] predicare', i.e. 'Christ commands this, that the brother priests of the said monastery ought . . . on certain days to preach the gospel in the vernacular *to the nuns themselves*', and section 174: 'Qui [sacerdotes vero isti tredecim] quidem omni die dominico euangelium illius diei in ipsa missa *omnibus audientibus* [my italics] in materna lingua exponere tenentur', i.e. 'Every Sunday those thirteen priests are required to expound the gospel of that day in the vernacular during mass *with everyone listening*'. Only the text of the Rule (section 174) can safely be taken to represent St Bridget's intentions, although the rubric (section 171) makes plain that the sisters would be a constant presence. An alternating programme of services was a distinctive feature of Bridgettine liturgy, with the brothers following the Sarum rite and the sisters using their own Bridgettine breviary (see note 97 below). Whereas the sisters were required to be present in the church throughout all the morning offices and masses, the brothers were not required to attend the nuns' offices. The number of layfolk in the church at any time was, of course, variable. See the discussion in Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 211, 223-28.

¹³ For an explanation of both types of sermon at Vadstena, see below and Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 228-32.

¹⁴ Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 223-26. They cite (p. 224) a rule from a post-1450 Vadstena customary, *Liber Usuum*, which was intended for use by all the houses of the order. This stipulates that when there is preaching, the ceaseless morning liturgy should be interrupted so that any brothers or sisters who wish may attend. When I began this research, I assumed a clear distinction between sermons *ad populum* and those *ad moniales*. At Vadstena, however, the majority of sermons appear to have been preached with a lay audience in mind, and this may have been the case at Syon too. For the little evidence for sermons *ad clerum* and *ad moniales*, see below.

¹⁵ Stephan Borgehammar, 'Preaching to Pilgrims: *Ad vincula* Sermons at Vadstena Abbey', in *A Catalogue and its Users: A Symposium on the Uppsala C Collection of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Monica Hedlund, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 34 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1995), pp. 91-100 (p. 92). The Rule required preaching on feasts with a vigil, i.e. c. 25 a year, as well as on Sundays. The high estimate of 120 sermons a year is based on Vadstena practice, which from an early date exceeded the regulations, with additional preaching on other feast days and local holidays, and at some vigils, as well as sometimes at vespers (Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 11-12). It may be that Syon similarly extended its preaching days, particularly when the Syon pardon was available.

¹⁶ Hogg, *The Syon Additions*, p. 122, ll. 1-3: 'lvⁱⁱ chaptyr. Of the offices of the prechours. Eche of the prechours schal besyde the sermon day haue thre hole days at lest oute of the quyer to recorde hys sermon et cetera'.

¹⁷ William Bond (d. 1530) and Richard Reynolds (martyred 1535).

¹⁸ For example, Thomas Betson (see below) had been rector of Wimbish, Essex and then vicar of Lissington, Lincolnshire, and John Lawsby (see below) had been rector of Little St Bartholomew, London and then vicar of Ware, Hertfordshire.

¹⁹ John Fewterer (Pembroke Hall), John Copynger (Christ's College), William Bond (Queen's College), Richard Lache (St John's College), Richard Whitford (Queen's College), and Richard Reynolds (Corpus Christi College). See Knowles, III, 212-15.

²⁰ Simon Wynter (d. 1448/9), Clement Maidstone (d. 1456), Thomas Betson (d. 1516), William Bond (d. 1530), Richard Whitford (d. 1542), and John Fewterer (died after 1535) are named Syon authors. On Wynter see George R. Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth-Century England: Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, Symon Wynter and Beinecke MS 317', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 60 (1985), 32-46. On Maidstone, see Monica Hedlund, '*Liber Clementis Maydeston*: Some Remarks on Cod. Ups. C 159', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 3 (1992), 73-101. On Betson see A. I. Doyle, 'Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 11 (1956), 115-18. Bond wrote *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* ([1531], [1534], STC 3277-8). On Whitford, see *Richard*

Whytford's *The Pype or Tonne of the Lyfe of Perfection: with an Introductory Study on Whytford's Works*, ed. by James Hogg, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 89, 5 vols (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1979-89), I:I (1979), and Veronica Lawrence, 'Richard Whitford and Translation', in *The Medieval Translator*, ed. by Roger Ellis and Ruth Evans (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), pp. 136-52. On Fewterer see Elizabeth Salter, 'Ludolphus of Saxony and his English Translators', *Medium Aevum*, 33 (1964), 26-35, and J. Rhodes, 'Deuoute Prayers in Englysshe of Thactes of Our Redemption', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 28 (1973), 149-51. See further in J. Hogg, 'The Contribution of the Brigittine Order to Late Medieval English Spirituality', in *Spiritualität Heute und Gestern: Internationaler Kongress vom 4 bis 7 August 1982*, ed. by J. Hogg, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 35, 3 vols (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1983), III, 160-74, and Roger Ellis, 'Further Thoughts on the Spirituality of Syon Abbey', in *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England*, ed. by W. F. Pollard and R. Boenig (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 219-44.

²¹ For details of the buildings as required by the Rule and as preserved at Vadstena, see *The Bridgettine Breviary of Syon Abbey*, ed. by A. J. Collins, Henry Bradshaw Society, 96 (Worcester: Stanbrook Abbey Press, 1969 for 1963), pp. xii-xvi, and Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 223-24. The matter is explored more fully in Borgehammar, 'St Birgitta: An Architect'. For a detailed description of Vadstena Abbey, see M. Lindgren, 'Altars and Apostles: St Birgitta's Provisions for the Altars in the Abbey Church at Vadstena and their Reflection of Birgittine Spirituality', in *In Quest of the Kingdom*, ed. by A. Härdelin, *Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae*, 48 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991), pp. 245-82.

²² R. W. Dunning, 'The Building of Syon Abbey', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, n.s. 25 (1981), 16-26, notes (p. 18) that papal approval was given in 1480 for a non-eastern orientation for the church, but he rejects such an orientation for Syon. It is clear, however, that the western choir of Bridgettine churches, as stipulated in the architectural details in *Reuelaciones Extravagantes*, pp. 143-150 (Chapters 30-34), reflected a deliberate Bridgettine emphasis, although the celebrants always faced east.

²³ The Syon *Martiloge* (London, British Library, Additional MS 22,285) ordained a special annual Office of the Dead to benefactors of each library, which was to be recited by the custodian of that library (fols 4^{r-v}, 17^v-18^r). A 1482 ordinance for binding, repairing, writing, and limning books, made between the abbess of Syon, Elizabeth Muston, and the keeper of the men's locutory, Thomas Raile, requires Raile to 'bynde and repayre alle bookes needefulle wythine vs of bothe sydes, þat is to say, the bookes of oure queeres deliuerede to him owdere by þe Chauntre of the brethren syde or be Chaunstresse of owre the systren syde, and þe bookes of lybraries deliuered to hym be þe kepar of þe brethrenes

librarie or be þe kepar of oure þe sistrenes librarie' (quoted from R. J. Whitwell, 'An Ordinance for Syon Library, 1482', *English Historical Review*, 25 (1910), 121-23 (p. 122)).

²⁴ Dunning, p. 18.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Dunning, pp. 18-19. Despite the explicitness of the details, the location of the pulpit(s) is not clear (if indeed they should be considered pulpits, rather than reading desks). On the evidence cited, it might appear that there were pulpits in both the brothers' and the sisters' quarters (presumably the lady abbess would address the nuns from the sisters' pulpit, given that the brothers were denied access), that the main pulpit in the church was at the east end, and that there may have been an external pulpit for the sort of open-air preaching that sometimes took place at Vadstena (Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 227-28). There was an outside pulpit at Vadstena, but there is no evidence of a permanent pulpit inside the church (*ibid.*, note 34, p. 224).

²⁷ *VCH (Middlesex)*, p. 186 and note 1.

²⁸ There is confusion amongst scholars about the pardons available at Syon, although Simon Wynter's sermon on the subject (which is discussed below) is both explicit and exhaustive. For briefer details, see Aungier, Appendix No. VII, pp. 421-26.

²⁹ Urban VI had granted the *Vincula* pardon to Vadstena in 1378, five years after the saint's death. In 1425 Martin V extended the pardon to Syon, with extra privileges.

³⁰ *The Revelations of Saint Birgitta*, ed. by W. P. Cumming, Early English Text Society (hereafter EETS), Original Series (hereafter OS), 178 (London: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1929 for 1928), pp. xxxi-xxxvii.

³¹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by S. B. Meech, EETS, OS 212 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1961 [1940]), pp. 245, ll. 32-33 and 246, ll. 32-33.

³² For details of the Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name (legislated for the Canterbury province in 1487 and 1488 respectively, and for York in 1489), see R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 13-39 and 62-83. Two of the three *Festial* sermons with which this article is ultimately concerned are for these feast-days.

³³ British Library, Harley MS 2321, fol. 27^r (Simon Wynter's sermon).

³⁴ See note 11 above.

³⁵ Investigation of the Vadstena Gospel expositions is still at an early stage, but Dr Borgehammar suggests that the relatively few extant Gospel expositions may be explained by the fact that the Sunday duty to expound the gospel, presumably in the form of the glossing of each verse, was a practice which would have come easily to the Bridgettine brothers and may not have been written down.

³⁶ See note 16 above.

³⁷ For the history of the Syon house after the Dissolution, with an investigation into the reasons for loss and survival of the Syon libraries, see de Hamel, pp. 111-29. In fact, despite the continuous tradition of the Syon sisters, the nuns themselves had with them during their peregrinations only a few of the original books. For a reference to volumes obtained by Richard Grafton 'ex spolijs Syon', see 'The Migration of Manuscripts from the English Medieval Libraries', in N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. by Andrew G. Watson (London: Hambledon, [1985]), pp. 459-70 (p. 464 and footnote 1).

³⁸ *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth*, ed. by Mary Bateson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), edited from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 141. Bateson's account of Betson (p. xxiii, note 5) has been superseded by Doyle, who has identified Betson as the original scribe of the catalogue. It is currently being re-edited for the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues by Dr Vincent Gillespie (*The Catalogue of the Brethren's Library of Syon Abbey*).

³⁹ Bateson, p. ix. Service books were kept separately, the monks' with the chantor and the nuns' with the chantress in their respective choirs (see note 23 above).

⁴⁰ The majority of Vadstena sermons are in Latin, sometimes with Swedish glosses. See note 157 below, and Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 216.

⁴¹ Several volumes (Bateson, E51, 59, 91; H18; I16; M14, 86; P55; Q15; S23, 43) contained quotations from the epistles and gospels for the year (Bateson, Supplement to the Original Index, p. 257). Of these, Q15 also contained sermons on the epistles and gospels, and S43 contained dominical sermons on the gospels, which should probably be considered distinct from Gospel expositions. Cf. P47: 'Textus Epistolarum & Euangeliorum tam de temporali quam de sanctis per totum annum que in hoc monasterio de Syon predicanda sunt' (Supplement to the Original Index, p. 259, *sub* Syon: Sermones). See too note 64 below.

⁴² Bateson, H17 and H18 (both recorded as 'Notyngham super vnum ex 4^{or} secundum Clementem lanthoniensem'). I am grateful to Dr Vincent Gillespie for alerting me to these entries.

⁴³ Bateson, H40 ('Tabula leccionum, Epistolarum & omnium euangeliorum sub concordancia vniformi tam dominicalium quam sanctorum festiualium & omnium sanctorum tam de proprio quam de communi per totum annum & cum quotacione euangeliorum secundum quod reperiri valeant in Notyngham super textum Clementis').

⁴⁴ For further details (including information on indices prepared for the commentary), see H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 35. The redaction survives in two manuscripts, neither traceable to Syon

(Cambridge, University Library, MSS Gg.iii.31 and Kk.iii.27).

⁴⁵ Bateson, N35: 'Sermo egregius in anglica de Indulgentiis per dominum Symonem Wynter sacerdotem huius monasterii professum' (f. 49), 'Sermo eiusdem de penitencia in anglica & incipit *Penitentiam agite*' (f. 60). K43 may be the Latin version of the pardon sermon ('Sermo de Indulgentiis secundum Dominum Symonem Wynter').

⁴⁶ See Michael A. Hughes, 'The Syon "Pardon" Sermon edited from MS Harley 2321 with Introduction, Notes and Glossary' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Liverpool, 1959). An internal reference to Thomas Fishbourne, first confessor-general, as deceased dates its composition to after 13 September 1428 (Hughes, p. xxiv). The present make-up of the manuscript does not tally with the catalogue descriptions of volumes containing the sermon (see Bateson, K43 and N35). It is preceded by a Latin sermon on indulgences by Francis of Meyronnes (d. c. 1328), to which Wynter refers three times in his sermon (the Syon catalogue details two copies of Francis of Meyronne's sermon, D63 and D76, neither in the context of Wynter's sermon) and followed by details of the Assisi pardon, a 'breuiarium tocius veteris et noui testamenti', various historical and scriptural notes (including material on Rome and pilgrimages from England to Rome), and a *Speculum Monachorum*. Although it seems inevitable that the manuscript originated at Syon, there is no indication of its provenance and it is not listed amongst the Syon manuscripts in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. by N. R. Ker, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 184-87, nor in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books, Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. by A. G. Watson (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987), pp. 64-65.

⁴⁷ The special power of St Peter is referred to in *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, pp. 149-50. sections 15-19 (Chapter 34).

⁴⁸ On Vadstena *ad vincula* sermons, see Borgehammar, 'Preaching to pilgrims'.

⁴⁹ See Spencer, pp. 228-68, for a full discussion of the structure of late medieval sermons.

⁵⁰ Sermons may well have been long (and perhaps dry). Andersson and Borgehammar note (pp. 211-12) that Italian and Bavarian manuscripts of the *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes* have an addition to Chapter 23 stating that sermons should be measured by an hour-glass so as not to over-run. One manuscript stipulates that sermons delivered outside the church might be longer than an hour (*ibid.*, pp. 227-28).

⁵¹ Abridged and adapted versions are found in California, Huntington Library MS HM 140, fol. 169^f; Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.54, pp. 177-99 (a palimpsest); London, BL MSS Harley 955, fols 72^f-76^v and 4012, fols 110^f-113^f (printed Aungier, pp. 422-26), and Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 750, fols 140^v-141^v, 183^f. See Hughes, Appendices A and B, pp. 123-35.

⁵² This may be indicated by the fact that it is a carefully corrected copy with over 200 corrections and emendations (Hughes, p. xxiv). Its survival in the vernacular may be explained if it was to be available for consultation by the sisters, but in that case its presence in the catalogue of the brothers' library is odd. For a probable Latin version of the sermon, see note 45 above.

⁵³ Bateson, Index *sub* Rogerus, p. 241.

⁵⁴ It may be that S36 is identical to S18 ('sermones 34 notabiles'), which Roger donated to the Abbey together with other preaching material (E47 and M37). It is not noted that S18 is in the vernacular, and the first word of the second folio ('Crisostomus') does not solve the question of whether the sermons were English or Latin.

⁵⁵ The Supplement to the Original Index includes the entry *Sermones* which lists 61 volumes containing 'sermones' and then cites a further eighteen categories of individual and collected sermons, some attributed but most not (Bateson, pp. 258-59). Amongst these, 'Sermones Evang. domin.' (P36-37, 44, 51) are unattributed dominical sermons based on the Gospel of the day.

⁵⁶ Augustine's works as a whole are listed in Bateson, Index, pp. 206-15. The sermons occupy pp. 210-5 (pp. 210-11 according to day of preaching, pp. 211-5 alphabetically according to subject matter).

⁵⁷ Tait, p. 254: 'the vast number of sermon collections, topping the list [of volumes recorded in 1428 and 1523] on both occasions, is . . . a strong indication of the serious attitude of the monks towards their preaching duties'.

⁵⁸ Rogerus: S36 (Index *sub* Rogerus, p. 241); Simon Wynter: K43, N35, ff. 49 and 60, P39, P40, R18, S21 (Index *sub* Symon, p. 242); Thomas Bulde: P41, P42, R19 (Index *sub* Bulde, p. 219 and *sub* Thomas, p. 242). Hugo Damelett, whose own sermons were indexed as S33 (Index *sub* Hugo), was not, as Bateson asserts (p. 227, footnote 7), a Syon monk but a secular priest and rector of St Peter's, Cornhill, London from 1447 to his death in 1476. (See *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, ed. by A. B. Emden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), *sub* Damlett, Hugh).

⁵⁹ The discussion that follows is dependent on the stimulating paper, 'The Lost Library of Syon Abbey', delivered by Dr Vincent Gillespie at the Conference on the Life, Writings and Order of St Bridget of Sweden, Buckfast Abbey, Devon, July, 1994. Any errors of fact or interpretation are, however, my own and must await correction with the publication of Dr Gillespie's new edition of the Syon catalogue.

⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Simon Wynter left four volumes of his own sermons (P39, P40, R18, S21) to the Abbey.

⁶¹ Such must have existed because the *Additions* required the Bishop of London on visitation to ask 'If there be an inventory or register of the bokes of the library and how

they and other bokes of study be kepte and repayred' (cited by Whitwell, p. 121).

⁶² In conversation, Dr Gillespie has suggested this as the explanation for the loss of the old volumes of canon law from the catalogue.

⁶³ Rogerus left three volumes to the Abbey (E47, M37, S18) and may be the Rogerus Twiforde to whom ('et ceteris fratribus de Syon') Joan Buckland gave Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 630 (Ker, p. 308 *sub* Buklonde and p. 310 *sub* Twiforde). (But see Emden *sub* Twiforde.) On Wynter, see note 20 above. He left the Abbey nine volumes (K35, L26, M6, M35, P39, P40, R18, S16, S21). Nothing is known about Bulde.

⁶⁴ The main problem, which is discussed below, is the unreliability of the catalogue. Nevertheless, a study of the sermons (largely housed under pressmarks P-S) reveals donations by Syon brothers of several unattributed collections of dominical and feast-day sermons, such as they were required to preach, e.g. P36 (donated by John Bracebridge): 'Sermones Euangeliorum dominicalium. Item alii sermones pauci de magnis festiuitatibus', P37 (donated by John Pynchebek): 'Sermones dominicales', P51 (donated by John Lawsby and discussed further below): 'Sermones dominicales super Epistolas et Euangelia dominicalia cum diuersis thematibus pro vno sermone', Q14 (donated by William Wey): 'Sermones dominicales super Euangelia per totum annum. Item sermones de festis principalibus et sanctis . . .', Q16 (donated by William Fitzthomas): 'Omellie siue sermones super Euangelia dominicalia et festorum de temporali per totum annum. Omellie siue sermones super Euangelia de sanctis. Omellie siue sermones super Euangelia de communi sanctorum', Q33 (donated by Robert Denton): 'Sermones epistolarum et euangeliorum dominicalium. Sermones de sanctis', Q47 (donated by William Catisby) 'Sermones dominicales'. There are still some notable omissions. For example, Richard Reynolds left a library of 93 volumes, none of which could be his own sermons, and Richard Whitford left 18 volumes, only one containing 'Diuersi sermones' which might conceivably be his own. (For a list of the donors cited in the catalogue with some biographical information, see Bateson, Appendix I, pp. xxiii-vii.)

⁶⁵ Bateson notes that the Index 'contains many works not found in the Catalogue and omits many items in the Catalogue' (p. 202, note 1). She indicates 'incorrect references' by an asterisk.

⁶⁶ Bateson, pp. v-vi.

⁶⁷ The pardon sermon is described in the catalogue as 'egregius' (see note 45 above), which singles it out for particular notice. The term is used in relation to the Vadstena preacher, Iohannes Swenonis (d. 1390) in the *Diarium Vadstenense: The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey*, ed. by Claes Gejrot, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 32 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988), 51/2 ('Fuit eciam predicator egregius et magne facundie'). I am grateful to Dr Gejrot for presenting me with a copy of his

edition.

⁶⁸ The 'sermo ad clerum' survives in the binding and endleaf of Cambridge, University Library Additional MS 4081 (Ker, p. 185 and de Hamel, pp. 102-03). In 1898 Bateson could trace only six extant Syon volumes (pp. xvii-viii). The number was considerably augmented by Ker, pp. 184-87 (books), pp. 308-10 (donors), and Watson, pp. 64-65. See too de Hamel, pp. 114-24 and David N. Bell, *What nuns read: books and libraries in medieval English nunneries*, Cistercian Studies Series, 158 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 173-74. Bell refers to 'a sermon and prayers of St Bridget' in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 346 (now 2418), but the sermon is in fact the *Sermo Angelicus* (see note 97 below).

⁶⁹ On Lawsby, see note 18 above and Emden *sub* Lawsby, John. The manuscript is the property of Mr Gregory Stevens Cox of St Peter Port, Guernsey, to whom I am indebted for his kindness in answering my queries, in providing me with photographs of the cover and the first folio, and in visiting England in order to show me the manuscript. Mr Cox is the son of the late J. S. Cox, formerly of Morcombelake in Devon, who is cited as owner of the manuscript by Ker (p. 186 *sub* Morcombelake) and Watson (p. 65 *sub* Morcombelake).

⁷⁰ Bateson, P51-3, P55, S51.

⁷¹ The Syon catalogue (Bateson) cites the volume under the pressmark P51: 'Sermones dominicales super Epistolas & Euangelia dominicalia cum diuersis thematibus pro vno sermone. Duodecim abusiones secundum Augustinum. Tractatus de 12^{cim} vtilitatibus tribulacionis.' It notes that the second folio begins 'filius hominis'.

⁷² The sermons of P52 are by William of Auvergne, P53 by Jacobus de Voragine, P55 by Nicholas de Aquella, and S51 probably by Michael of Hungary. The *incipit* to the first sermon in collection P51 does not match any of the entries under the text '(Ecce) rex tuus venit' in *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, ed. by J. B. Schneyer, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, 43, 11 vols (Münster, 1969-90), X-XI: *Index der Textanfänge*.

⁷³ My investigation into the Cox manuscript ('The Cox Manuscript') currently takes the form of a University of Salford Working Paper in Literary and Cultural Studies, no. 33, which may be obtained from the European Studies Research Institute, University of Salford, Salford M5 4WT. After circulation of the Working Paper and closer scrutiny of the manuscript, the paper will be offered for wider publication.

⁷⁴ *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, p. 133: 'Circa XV. Capitulum regule Sancti Saluatoris . . . Christus ostendit, quomodo et quid predicandum est populo', i.e. 'Christ shows how and what must be preached to the people'.

⁷⁵ *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, p. 133: 'Capitulum XXIII. Christus loquitur: "Qui predicant veritatem meam, debent habere verba simplicia et pauca, in lectione sanctorum

scripturarum fundata, vt homines venientes delonge capere sufficiant et non attedianur in prolixitate et declamacione verborum superfluatorum. 2 Nec debent proferre verba contorta more adulancium, nec multiplicare incisiones et distinciones capitulorum seu subtilitates leoninitatum, sed omnia moderare iuxta capacitates audiencium. Quia que populus simplex non intelligit, solet plus mirari quam edificari. 3 Ideo, si est dominica, predicantes in ista religione proponant euangelium diei et eius exposiciones, Bibliam et ista verba mea et dilecte matris mee sanctorumque meorum, Vitas patrum et miracula sanctorum, symbolum fidei, remedia quoque contra temptationes et vicia secundum vnus cuiusque capacitatem. 4 Nam mater mea carissima simplicissima fuit, Petrus ydiota, Franciscus rusticus, et tamen plus profecerunt animabus quam magistri eloquentes, quia perfectam caritatem ad animas habuerunt."

⁷⁶ Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 228-32.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 231. See the evidence above on Syon gospel expositions.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁷⁹ The dominical sermons of the Cox manuscript might therefore be Syon sermons. The four volumes of Simon Wynter's sermons in the Syon catalogue were dominical sermons (see note 60 above).

⁸⁰ Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 212.

⁸¹ See note 75 above.

⁸² Cf. BL, Harley MS 2321, fol 30^v for an example of quotation, first in Latin, then in English, from the Revelations, Book 6, Chapter 102. Hughes has calculated (p. xi) twenty separate uses of the Revelations in the sermon.

⁸³ Vadstena Abbey was consecrated in 1384 and dissolved by 1550. About 450 of an estimated 1400 volumes survive, approximately a fifth of them in the vernacular. The majority of the Latin volumes are in Uppsala University Library, where they form a substantial part of the 'C' Collection. About 150 of them contain a total of 12,794 sermons, 6,126 written in the Abbey itself, of which about 5,000 sermons may be considered clearly Bridgettine. See Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 213-15. For information on the 'C' Collection and the Vadstena sermons, see *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, ed. by Margarete Andersson-Schmitt and Monica Hedlund, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 26, 7 vols (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988-95), *Vadstena klostrets bibliotek: Ny katalog och nya forskningsmöjligheter/The Monastic Library of Medieval Vadstena: A New Catalogue and New Potentials for Research*, ed. by Monica Hedlund and Alf Hårdelin, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 29 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), especially pp. 5-9 and 104-5 (English summaries), and Hedlund, *A Catalogue*.

⁸⁴ I am dependent for information about Vadstena sermons on the generous help of Dr Stephan Borgehammar and on the published material which he and his colleague, Dr Claes Gejrot, have made available to me. Close study of individual Vadstena sermons must await the two-volume edition currently being prepared in Sweden (see Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 234-36).

⁸⁵ For the following comments I am dependent on Borgehammar, 'Preaching', which is based on 'a rapid (and cursory) survey of 90 of them' (p. 94).

⁸⁶ The only Vadstena *ad Vincula* sermons to deal with indulgences appear to be those of the preacher, Nicolaus Ragvaldi, confessor-general from 1501-5 (Borgehammar, 'Preaching', p. 99).

⁸⁷ Borgehammar, p. 95.

⁸⁸ In a private communication (22 April 1997): 'I must now admit that every Vadstena sermon does not have a reference to St Bridget. I know of a handful which don't. But I would still say the vast majority of them have at least one quotation from the Revelations.' See too the discussion in Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 232-33.

⁸⁹ On the other hand, Ellis, 'Further Thoughts' (pp. 233, 237) points out that neither Betson nor Fewterer in their treatises makes use of specifically Bridgettine material (see notes 20 above and 137 below). The distinction between treatises (to be read) and sermons (to be preached) might be relevant in this issue (but see note 93 below).

⁹⁰ This information is the result of a private communication from Dr Borgehammar (24 April 1997), in which he cites an instructive example from the Vadstena collection, where a collection of sermons by Nicholas de Aquévilla has been customised for Bridgettine use, probably as a model volume for the abbey's lending library, simply by the occasional insertion of quotations from St Bridget.

⁹¹ Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 228.

⁹² To my knowledge, the existence of Bridgettine references in Latin sermons of English provenance has not been investigated.

⁹³ For the sometimes hazy distinction between treatises and sermons, see the discussions below on the *Quattuor Sermones* and the *Hamus Caritatis*.

⁹⁴ Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.i.11, fols 128^r-32^v. The sermon is discussed in Roger Ellis, "'Flores ad Fabricandam . . . Coronam': An Investigation into the Uses of the Revelations of St Bridget of Sweden in Fifteenth-Century England", *Medium Aevum*, 51 (1982), 163-86 (p. 175). It has been further investigated by V. M. O'Mara, 'An Unknown Middle English Translation of a Brigittine Work', *Notes and Queries*, 234 (1989), 162-64, and 'Preaching to Nuns in Late Medieval England', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 1998), pp. 93-119. The sermon is edited by O'Mara in *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons: Richard Alkerton's*

Easter Week Sermon preached at St Mary Spital in 1406, a Sermon on Sunday Observance, and a Nunnery Sermon for the Feast of the Assumption, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s., 13 (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1994), pp. 141-221.

⁹⁵ BL, Harley MS 2268, fols 199^r-207^r/208^r. See V.M. O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng of þe Tabernakyll of owre Sawle" according to the Preacher of the Middle English Sermons in BL MS Harley 2268', in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons: Proceedings of the International Symposium (Kalamazoo, 4-7 May 1995)*, ed. by B. M. Kienzele *et al.*, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 5 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996). See too V. M. O'Mara, 'A Study of unedited Late Middle English sermons that occur singly or in small groups, with an edition of selected sermons' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 1988), pp. 160-68. Dr O'Mara is currently preparing an edition of the sermon, with three others from the same manuscript, for publication in the Middle English Texts series.

⁹⁶ See O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 177, 206-7, and *Sancta Birgitta: Opera Minora 2: Sermo Angelicus*, ed. by Sten Eklund, SSFS, Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 8:2 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972). The Bridgettine sisters followed their own office, while the brothers used the Sarum rite. For the Latin version of the sisters' office, see *The Bridgettine Breviary*, and for the Middle English translation, see *The Myroure of Oure Ladye*, ed. by J. H. Blunt, EETS, Extra Series, 19 (London: Trübner, 1873). The *Myroure* is discussed in Ellis, *Syon Abbey*, pp. 115-23, and in Ann M. Hutchison, 'Devotional Reading in the Monastery and in the Late Medieval Household', in *De Cella in Seculum*, ed. by Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp. 215-27. See further note 149 below.

⁹⁷ See O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 177-78, 213. For Book I of the Revelations, see *Sancta Birgitta Revelaciones Book I*, ed. by C.-G. Undhagen, SSFS, Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 7:1 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1978). For Book II, see *Revelaciones S. Birgitte* (Lübeck: Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1492). The material is also found in *Regvla Salvatoris*, pp. 106-7, sections 56-64 (Chapter 4).

⁹⁸ For Book IV, see Ghotan's edition cited at note 97 above.

⁹⁹ Cf. the invocation to 'sustres' (l. 6) and the references to 'owre gloriows modyr, vowe and patronesse' (l. 2), 'þe poyntis of oure religion' (l. 107), and 'vs þat be religious persones' (ll. 112-13) (my italics). O'Mara (*A Study*, pp. 204-05) is reluctant to accept that such phrasing implies that the author was a member of the same religious order as the sisters whom he addresses.

¹⁰⁰ Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 220.

¹⁰¹ The sources are discussed fully in O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 173-85. The second lesson for the Saturday office is based on Chapter 20 of the *Sermo Angelicus*. See further in Collins, pp. xxi-xxii, 129, and Blunt, p. 5.

¹⁰² O'Mara sees the sermon as 'a fine example of medieval plagiarism' (p. 163), but it may be pointed out that it would not have been necessary to acknowledge sources if the original audience were themselves Bridgettines more than familiar with the material preached.

¹⁰³ There is no evidence from Syon for the preaching of sermons to the sisters and there were no special provisions for such preaching in the Rule (but see note 12 above). However, sermons for the sisters were certainly preached, if rarely, at Vadstena, and it would appear likely that some were preached at Syon too. See Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 226, and *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 39 (Spring, 1997), 45, for a synopsis of the paper, '*Aquae fluentes, flores virentes, aves cantantes*: Preaching to the Sisters of Vadstena Abbey', delivered by Maria Berggren at the Tenth Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium, Linacre College, Oxford, July 1996. O'Mara notes that the Assumption sermon 'is remarkable in that it is the single known case of a Middle English Nunnery sermon in manuscript form' ('A Study', p. 17).

¹⁰⁴ O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 165-70. A more recent comment in 'Preaching to Nuns', p. 108 ('the sermon as it stands was not intended for Birgittine sisters') suggests, however, some moderation of her earlier caution. The discussion below is my own and derives from my reading of Dr O'Mara's edition and my own study of the material. It runs counter in tone and sometimes opinion to that of Dr O'Mara, to whose scholarship and to whose kindness in making available to me her material and her interpretation of it I am nevertheless indebted in numerous ways.

¹⁰⁵ Amongst much material which would bear detailed scrutiny, the manuscript contains chapters from Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ* (produced at the Carthusian house at Mount Grace), from the translation of Suso's *Orologium Sapientie*, kept in the Syon brothers' library (see Bateson, O.3), and from *The Prickynge of Love* (see notes 131 and 133 below). It also contains a version of the mass for the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, associated with Syon (see further below). For a description of the contents, see O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 147-52.

¹⁰⁶ Dr O'Mara is reluctant to commit herself on the matter of whether the manuscript is made up of booklets (*A Study*, pp. 141-52). Her suggestion that it may stem from Carrow is based on the Norfolk dialect and on similarities between the description of the nun's habit and the habit worn by Benedictine nuns (*A Study*, pp. 164-72). It is accepted by Marilyn Oliva, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich 1350-1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998), pp. 62-63.

¹⁰⁷ Andersson and Borgehammar note (p. 217) that it was Vadstena practice to lend sermon collections to local priests, where presumably they might be copied for parochial use. If the same thing was done at Syon (whether to parish priests or fellow religious or

both), it would mean that Syon sermons might easily be found outside a Bridgettine context. Indeed, O'Mara quotes a letter preserved in Durham, University Library, Cosin MS V.iii.16, fol. 118^{r-v} (discussed further below), which may have been written by Thomas Betson and which appears to suggest that 'there might be nothing unusual in Brigittine texts being used by another order' (*A Study*, p. 172). She cites too 'a specific connection between the Benedictines at Norwich and the Brigittines at Syon' (*ibid.*). The connection between Syon and East Anglia may be further strengthened by the knowledge that Syon brothers tended to stem from London, Essex, and East Anglia.

¹⁰⁸ O'Mara notes (*A Study*, p. 178) that 'the choice . . . was to a large extent a natural one', but does not note that it would have been so only to a Bridgettine.

¹⁰⁹ The sermon and its manuscript are discussed in O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng"' and in O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 146-78 (especially pp. 160-78), 238-39, 255, 259-60.

¹¹⁰ 'For als mekylle als þe tyme passys fast away, and lang sermownys nowondays arn haldyn tedius and yrkesome, leuyng to another tyme þe secunde principalle of owre sermown, a schorth worde of þe thyrd, and sone make an ende' (f. 203r), quoted in Spencer, p. 248.

¹¹¹ Apart from the Bible, they are Augustine (Bateson, *Index sub Augustinus*, pp. 206-15), Chrisostomus (*ibid. sub Crisostomus*, pp. 220-21), and Richard Fitzralph (*ibid. sub Armachanus*, p. 205).

¹¹² Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 11 and 24.

¹¹³ O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng"', p. 231.

¹¹⁴ See O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng"', p. 231-32, who is, however, rather more hesitant about the date and provenance of the manuscript in note 12 to p. 231. We must await her edition for a full investigation of the manuscript and its sermons, but it may be suggested that the reference in the Mary Magdalene sermon to 'þis glorijs womman Mary Mawdilane in qwase place and to qwase worchep 3e are gedryd here' may indicate a sermon preached at the hospital of St Mary Magdalene in York. (See *VCH: A History of Yorkshire: the City of York*, ed. by P. M. Tillott (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1961), pp. 362-64 and *A History of the County of York, East Riding*, III, ed. by K. J. Allison (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1976), p. 109.)

¹¹⁵ O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng"', p. 235.

¹¹⁶ The impetus for the founding of a house of the Bridgettine order in England would appear to have been northern in origin, involving notable Yorkshiremen such as Henry V's chamberlain, Henry Lord Fitzhugh of Tanfield, and his brother-in-law and treasurer to the king, Henry Lord Scrope of Masham. The original plan was that the house would be established on the site of the hospital of St Nicholas in York. See Jonathan Hughes,

Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), p. 75, and Aungier, *passim*. On further Bridgettine connections with Yorkshire, see Nicholas Rogers, 'About the 15 "O"s, the Brigittines and Syon Abbey', *St Ansgar's Bulletin*, 80 (1984), 29-30.

¹¹⁷ de Hamel notes: 'There were far more books printed for Syon than for any other English monastery' (p. 101). See note 128 below.

¹¹⁸ I am, as ever, indebted to Dr Ian Doyle for alerting me to the manuscript discussed below and for his comments on it.

¹¹⁹ See note 107 above and Bell, pp. 173-74.

¹²⁰ It is Dr Doyle's opinion that the manuscript, 'although addressed to another house, is in other respects surely derived from Syon' (private communication). He has not been able to identify the Latin sermons elsewhere but has detected a Bridgettine allusion in one. For the manuscript and its interesting contents (including the Revelations of St Bridget), see *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis*, ed. by B. Bolfield, Surtees Society, 7 (1838), Appendix XVI, pp. 168-69 (*sub* V.III.16). It may be of interest that, like the Cox manuscript, it contains the pseudo-Peter of Blois tract on the uses of tribulation. Apart from the Cox manuscript, two other manuscripts in the Syon brothers' library contained this tract (M15, fol. 31, M38, fol. 32).

¹²¹ For fuller details of the material treated here, see Powell, 'Caxton, Syon and the *Festial*' and 'What Caxton did to the *Festial*'.

¹²² *Pace* STC 17959.

¹²³ *Quattuor Sermones*, ed. by N. F. Blake, Middle English Texts, 2 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975).

¹²⁴ See S. Powell, 'Why *Quattuor Sermones*?', in *Texts and their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society*, ed. by J. Scattergood and J. Boffey (Dublin: Four Courts, 1997), pp. 181-95.

¹²⁵ For the feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name, see note 32 above. For details of the feast of the Visitation, see Pfaff, pp. 40-61. It had been promulgated by Pope Boniface IX in 1389 but was so little celebrated that Sixtus IV virtually re-established it in a decree of 1475. It was licensed for the province of Canterbury in 1480.

¹²⁶ For the Visitation sermon, see sigs. R1^r, col. a - R3^v, col. a, for the Transfiguration sermon sigs. R3^v, col. b - R6^r, col. b, for the Holy Name sermon sigs. R6^r, col. b - S3^v, col. b. Caxton intended from an early stage to add a sermon for the feast of the Visitation, and he includes between the sermon for Saints Peter and Paul (29 June) and that for the Translation of St Thomas of Canterbury (7 July) the direction: 'Festum Visitacionis beate Marie require in fine libri' (sig. m5v). Presumably he became aware, or was advised, while the collection was being set up, that a sermon for the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin

was essential to any contemporary collection. In practice, by the time Caxton had set up the whole of the *Festial*, the other two feasts had been licensed, and he included sermons for those feasts as well. This situation, in which the *Festial* was updated by the addition of sermons for three new feasts, may be compared to the habit of adding new feasts as a supplement to breviaries and missals. See Pfaff, p. 57: 'Nearly the final stage in [the feast of the Holy Name] becoming a fully liturgical feast is illustrated by a missal [Oxford, MS Bodley Jones 47] to which the three principal "nova festa" have been added at the end with rubrics in the margin of the sanctorale directing attention to the additions, e.g. "Festum transfigurationis domini et de nomine Jesu. Require in fine libri".'

¹²⁷ On Syon productions printed by Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson, see Sue Ellen Holbrook, 'Margery Kempe and Wynkyn de Worde', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July, 1987*, ed. by M. Glasscoe (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 27-46; J. T. Rhodes, 'Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth-Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), 11-25; Powell, 'Syon, Caxton, and the *Festial*', and Powell, 'What Caxton Did to the *Festial*'. On the circulation of Carthusian and Bridgettine material into the wider world, see Roger Lovatt, 'The *Imitation of Christ* in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th. series, 18 (1968), 97-121, Michael G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), 225-40, Vincent Gillespie, 'Cura Pastoralis in Deserto', in *De Cella in Seculum*, pp. 161-81 (especially pp. 175-81), and S. Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books', *The Library*, Sixth Series, 20 (1998), 197-240 (pp. 217-21).

¹²⁸ See S. Powell, 'The Transmission and Circulation of *The Lay Folks' Catechism*', in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 67-84.

¹²⁹ For further details on these texts in the context of the *Quattuor Sermones*, see Powell, 'Why *Quattuor Sermones*?', pp. 81-83.

¹³⁰ Blake, pp. 33, ll. 27-37 (cf. Revelations II, 27B) and 40, l. 24 - 41, l. 5 (Revelations IV, 16B). For Books II and IV, see Ghotan's edition cited at note 97 above.

¹³¹ In the form in which it is found in the *Quattuor Sermones*, the *Catechism* is known only in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.19 (fols 194^r-241^r), a manuscript which contains, amongst other items of interest to the Bridgettines, *The Chastising of God's Children* and *The Prickyng of Love* (on which see note 105 above). It seems likely that all the texts in the manuscript stem from East Anglia. Copies of *The Chastising of Goddes Chyldern* were owned by the Bridgettines at Syon, as well as by the Carthusians at London, Sheen, and Hull. Chapters 19 and 20 of it are translated from the *Epistola Solitarii* of St Bridget's Spanish confessor, Alfonso Pecha, while *The Prickyng of Love* is a devotional

treatise translated and abridged from the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Stimulus Amoris*, another favourite Syon text. See *The Prickyng of Love*, ed. by Harold Kane, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 92:10, 2 vols (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1983). *The Clensyng of Mannes Sowle* is based to some degree on *The Chastysyng*, as the scribe of Oxford, Bodley MS 923 acknowledges, and a manuscript reference to Sibilla de Felton, Abbess of Barking 1394-1419, shows that it was in the Benedictine abbey of Barking by 1401 and therefore presumably composed for it. See *The Chastising of God's Children and the Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* ed. by Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), pp. 36-38, and A.I. Doyle, 'Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s., 25:2 (1958), pp. 222-43, especially pp. 239-40.

¹³² See Powell, 'Syon, Caxton and the *Festial*', p. 203 and note 56.

¹³³ Bateson, M51 (Index *sub* Bonaventura: 'Idem in stimulo amoris', p. 218). See note 131 above.

¹³⁴ It is presumably a treatise in the first instance and only secondly preachable. It is not written for any particular day of the Church calendar, has a title (which a sermon would not have), and has no invocation to an audience (but nor do the three new sermons).

¹³⁵ See Powell, 'Syon, Caxton and the *Festial*', p. 203.

¹³⁶ There is no reference to St Bridget, even where, in the Transfiguration sermon, a reference to the company of saints in heaven might allow such a reference (sig. 5^v, col. b). Indeed, one might think that the whole sermon, which deals with the Transfiguration on the Mount of Tabor and makes comparison with the mount of heaven, might usefully have taken advantage of further comparisons with Mount Sion, if it were a Bridgettine work, as does William Bonde in *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* (quoted Ellis, 'Further Thoughts', pp. 239, 240). It may be naïve, however, to demand Bridgettine allusions in every Bridgettine work. Ellis notes the lack of references to the saint in John Fewterer's *The Mirror or Glass of Christ's Passion*: 'Given the very comprehensive nature of this material, one omission is striking. Fewterer makes no use of distinctively Brigittine material, especially St Bridget's many revelations about the Passion . . . [He] is no more willing to include the Saint than her writings in his work. Instead, he chooses as his model the thirteenth-century Beguine, St Mary of Oignies . . . ' ('Further Thoughts', p. 237).

¹³⁷ Although, as has been seen, St Bridget would appear to have favoured a simply constructed sermon, Bridgettine sermons appear to follow the academic model, with a theme based on the Gospel of the day in the case of Sunday sermons, and on a Biblical text or a liturgical quotation in the case of feast-day sermons (Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 228-34).

¹³⁸ O'Mara finds ('A Study' p. 56) only one Visitation sermon (in Longleat House, MS

4) amongst her single and small group sermons. Dr Helen Leith Spencer has informed me that she has come across a Transfiguration sermon in a collection by Odo of Cheriton (Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.i.11 and Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.22). Dr Patrick Horner concurs with Dr O'Mara and Dr Spencer in having found no record of a sermon for the feast of the Holy Name. For the situation with regard to Vadstena sermons, see note 161 below.

¹³⁹ The Visitation sermon takes the Gospel text of the visit of Mary to Elizabeth (Luke i.39-47); the Transfiguration sermon takes the Gospel text of the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor (Matthew xvii.1-13).

¹⁴⁰ *Festial* (1491), sig. R2', col. b: 'Wherfore lete vs ofte & deuoutely saye our Aue maria this salutacion. and we maye be sure/that she wyll resalute vs ayen. and helpe vs whan we haue moost nede.'

¹⁴¹ O'Mara notes (*A Study*, p. 215) that the first part of the Assumption sermon up to 'Amen' is treated in the *ordinatio* of the manuscript as if it were a pro-theme, and a gap is left after it. She points out that it is too long for a pro-theme, but, more significantly, that it does not show the thematic link with the rest of the text which is the *raison d'être* of a pro-theme.

¹⁴² I am grateful to Dr Borgehammar for alerting me to this sermon of Acho Iohannis (1416-42). It dates from the 1430s and is preserved in the 'C' Collection in the University Library of Uppsala (C 326, fols 251^v, col. a - 253^v, col. a). A minor but interesting point of resemblance with the *Festial* Visitation sermon occurs at fol. 252^v, col. a, where the preacher deals with the fifth category of sinful married men, those who kill their unborn children, perhaps by mistreating their wives during pregnancy. The material, although not the authorities cited, compares with matter treated as the second reason why Mary visited Elizabeth (sig. R2', col. a). The sermon is of further interest in that, although a Bridgettine sermon, it is one of the few that contain no reference to St Bridget.

¹⁴³ 'Pro uino igitur consolacionis diuine et lumine gracie fugiamus ad gloriosam uirginem, dicens hoc: Aue' (fol. 251^v, col. b).

¹⁴⁴ On the recitation of the Ave Maria after the pro-theme of a Bridgettine sermon, see Borgehammar, 'Preaching to Pilgrims', pp. 95-96 ('from the 1420s on it does seem to be regular practice') and Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 232. It is not a feature of Simon Wynter's pardon sermon.

¹⁴⁵ See James Hogg, 'Early Fifteenth-Century Charterhouse Sermons', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, pp. 53-72, where Hogg points out that the pro-theme of these sermons ends with 'a prayer for enlightenment both for the preacher and his audience, invoking the aid of Our Lady in the process' (p. 61).

¹⁴⁶ The phrase 'pro gracia impetranda' is one used in Vadstena sermons (Andersson and

Borgehammar, p. 232, note 57).

¹⁴⁷ See Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 232. It is a characteristic of *Three Middle English Sermons from the Worcester Chapter Manuscript F.10.*, ed. by D. M. Grisedale, Leeds Texts and Monographs, 5 (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1939) that the pro-theme should begin with a short prayer and end with the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria, 'for prayer and invocation were to be the keynote of the ante-theme' (*ibid.*, p. xiv). The York Mary Magdalene sermon, too, ends its pro-theme with a request for prayers (fol. 199^v).

¹⁴⁸ Pfaff, p. 57. Pfaff also notes (*ibid.*) a Sarum breviary of c1400 (London, MS British Library Royal 2 A xiv) which has been adapted for Syon use by a supplement containing, not only the three feasts of St Bridget (Commemoration, Translation, and Nativity), but also the Visitation of the Virgin.

¹⁴⁹ The order was dedicated to Jesus, Mary and St Bridget, and devotion to Mary was central to its observances and the basis of the sisters' offices, which were dedicated on each day of the week to a different episode of the Virgin's life. See Collins, pp. ix-xxiii, and Ellis, *Syon Abbey*, pp. 26-32, 115-23. On the virtue of silence, see further in Ellis, pp. 12-14, 99-103.

¹⁵⁰ Apart from the Bible and canon law, they are Albertus, Augustine, Bernard, Gregory, Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas, all of whom are recorded in Bateson, *passim*.

¹⁵¹ *Festial* (1491), sig. R4^v col. b: 'Hec Vincencius'.

¹⁵² I am grateful to Dr Roger Ellis for this reference. He notes that parts of the sermon (sig. R5^r, col. b - R6^r, col. a) correspond to an All Saints' Day sermon ascribed to St Augustine (*PL*, 39, cols 2135-37), which is excerpted in the 9th. lectio for the 3rd. Nocturn of the office of All Saints in the Sarum rite. See *Breviarium ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. by F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879-86), III, 975-76.

¹⁵³ For St Vincent Ferrer, see Bateson, P58, P59, R28 (Index *sub* Sanctus Vincencius, p. 245); for St Augustine, see note 56 above. The *Hamus Caritatis* also quotes from these two authorities, as well as from the Bible and from St Jerome.

¹⁵⁴ *Festial* (1491), sig. R5^r, col. a: 'And in like maner & wyse sholde we doo as moche as we maye in tyme of our faste in lente. entende to prayer. and to deuyne seruyce And to take good hede what is sayd at sermons & prechyng/ and of the preste whan he is in the pulpyt/ And to bere it awaye. & to doo therafter in as moche as ye maye / In rehersinge and techyng the same to your childern and seruantes that ye haue charge & power of/ Also goyng to holy places and to pardons'.

¹⁵⁵ *Festial* (1491), sig. R3^v, col. b - R4^r, col. a: 'This daye is gretely pryuyleged in holy chirche. In somoche that orders ben gyue as this day thorough all crystendom. and grete pardons ben graunted to this daye in dyuerse places. As is to syon plener remyssion'. It may

be noted that this wording is unlikely to have been original to the sermon, if it was preached at Syon. Simon Wynter refers to the house as 'þis place' (cf. MS Harley 2321, fol. 18': 'but for as muche as þer is in þis place muche indulgence and pardon not know to muche pepull . . . I purpose to speke specialli of indulgence and pardon'). The narrative of the Transfiguration of Our Lord (Matthew xvii.1-9) is the Gospel text for the Saturday in Ember Week in Lent. This may explain why Lenten material is used in a feast celebrated in August. Plenary remission was obtainable at Syon both on the Saturday in Ember Week (the first full week in Lent) and on the feast of the Transfiguration, which occurred during the octave of the feast of St Peter ad Vincula.

¹⁵⁶ It has either been truncated, or it is intended for augmentation at the time of delivery. The process is presented in macaronic divisions, e.g. 'That our Jhesus is of myght & power. it apereth in rerum creacione/ in demonum subiectiones/ et in miraculorum operacione/ The myght & power of Jhesu/ first I say is shewed & apereth in the creacyon & makynge of the worlde/ and of all that is therin . . .' (sig. 7', col. b), and only the first principal is fully developed. On macaronic text in the Vadstena sermons, see note 40 above.

¹⁵⁷ Only the first principal is subdivided and the second principal is introduced with the direction: 'Here mayst thou shew & preche. how for pyte that he hadde of mankynde/ and for to socour and releue hym of myserye þat he was in. Jhesus wold meke hymself for to be come man. and so procede yf thou wylt in his actes/ of mysery. of pouerte/ of pacyence/ & specially of the cyrcymstaunce of his passion/' (sig. S1^v, col. a). For the similar truncation of the second principal of the process of the York Mary Magdalene sermon, see note 111 above.

¹⁵⁸ There are eight *narrationes*, each of which demonstrates the efficacy of the name of Jesus.

¹⁵⁹ On the prominence of Augustine and Bernard in the Syon brothers' library, see Tait, pp. 259-60.

¹⁶⁰ It might be argued that, in the absence of a narrative to expound, the feast of the Holy Name would demand an affective tone and greater attention to formal features.

¹⁶¹ The feast of the Visitation was celebrated in Vadstena from 1412 as a *totum duplex* (Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 24) and numerous sermons exist (Borgehammar, 'Preaching'), but no sermons appear to survive from Vadstena for the feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name. On the popularity of the feasts in England, see Pfaff, pp. 33-39, 74-83. On the widespread devotion to the Holy Name, Pfaff comments: 'It seems that England led the way in the liturgical celebration of the Holy Name' (p. 77, note 7).

¹⁶² See Powell, 'Syon, Caxton', pp. 198-99 and footnote 39.

¹⁶³ On the English associations of the Fifteen Oes, see Rogers, pp. 29-30, and Eamon

Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 249-56. For details of a prayerbook used by a Swedish sister at Syon, which contains, amongst other items, the Fifteen Oes in Swedish and Latin, see Claes Gejrot, 'Anna Karlsdotters bönbok: En tvåspråkig handskrift från 1400-talet', in *Medeltida skrift- och språkkultur*, ed. by Inger Lidell (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 1994), pp. 13-60. I am grateful to Dr Gejrot for supplying me with a transcript of his article and indebted to Mr Michael Brook, formerly of the University of Nottingham, for his translation from the Swedish.

¹⁶⁴ Bateson, M83, fol. 92. 'The virtue of the name of Jesus' is precisely the subject of the sermon, which deals with, firstly, the might and power of the Holy Name, then the pity and succour of the Holy Name, and finally that 'Ihesus is & perpetuelly shal be to his louers rewarder & premyour' (sig. R7', col. b).

¹⁶⁵ In May 1415 four sisters, three novices, and two brothers left Vadstena for England to assist in the founding of the English house. The sisters were to remain at Syon all their lives. On the liaison of personnel and texts between Vadstena and Syon, see further in Gejrot, 'Anna Karlsdotters bönbok'.