



# Drama and Sermon in Late Medieval England

Performance, Authority, Devotion

Charlotte Steenbrugge



EARLY DRAMA, ART, AND MUSIC

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MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS  
Western Michigan University  
*Kalamazoo*

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Steenbrugge, Charlotte, author.

Title: Drama and sermon in late medieval England : performance, authority, devotion / by Charlotte Steenbrugge.

Description: Kalamazoo : Medieval Institute Publications/  
Western Michigan University, [2017] | Series: Early drama, art, and music |  
Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017043666 (print) | LCCN 2017043819 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781580442787 (electronic book) |

ISBN 9781580442770 (hardback : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: English drama--To 1500--History and criticism. |  
Sermons, Medieval--England. | Drama, Medieval--History and criticism. |  
Theater--England--History--Medieval, 500-1500. | Sermons in literature. |  
Bible plays, English--History and criticism. | Christian drama, English  
(Middle)--History and criticism.

Classification: LCC PR641 (ebook) | LCC PR641 .S84 2017 (print) |

DDC 822/.109--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017043666>.

ISBN: 9781580442770

eISBN: 9781580442787

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## Introduction

IN 1933 G. R. Owst published his magisterial *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People*, in which he claimed that medieval drama was heavily influenced by sermons.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, issues with his findings because his “excess of zeal” to identify sermon themes and content in vernacular literary texts led him to exaggerate the influence of preaching and to underestimate the importance of a shared cultural background as a more likely explanation for similarities.<sup>2</sup> Despite this awareness of the shortcomings of Owst’s claims, little research on the links between preaching and drama in late medieval England has been undertaken, and scholars have widely accepted his claim that Middle English drama was markedly influenced by contemporary preaching.<sup>3</sup>

Such an assumption has significant consequences for our understanding and appreciation of late medieval English plays in particular. Moralizing or didactic speeches by virtuous or divine characters are routinely labeled “sermons” and expositors are frequently linked with preachers, as we shall see in chapters 3 and 4. Both claims imply that medieval drama was explicitly, and straightforwardly, aligned with ecclesiastical authority and that by staging preacherly characters the plays reinforce the importance of the preacher as the ultimate authority on all things moral and spiritual. As such, the role of vernacular religious plays in the laity’s devotional life becomes little more than that of a handmaiden to preaching. In extreme cases, the supposed influence of preaching is judged to undermine the literary value of the plays, with the plays being merely “works of persuasion cloaked in drama.”<sup>4</sup> The overpowering effect of sermon influence should even lead us to question “the accuracy of the label ‘drama.’”<sup>5</sup>

There are two further important problems with the research on the connections between preaching and plays in late medieval England. Firstly, some of this work seems to apply ideas of nineteenth-century and

twentieth-century realist drama to medieval drama. For instance, the claim that “the interruption of the dramatic business of the play with didactic addresses to the audience must be regarded as a manifestation of sermonic voice”<sup>6</sup> strongly suggests that audience address is atypical of drama, which presumably needs to preserve the fourth wall, and belongs in the preacher’s toolbox. But in fact medieval English drama has no fourth wall and regularly thrives on audience interaction, as we shall see further in chapter 5. Secondly, references to preacherly passages and characters in drama are almost always pejorative—the exception would be those to Mischief’s sermon-parody in *Mankind*—and there is then a marked sense that didactic, moralizing passages and characters, and indeed sermons, are necessarily boring and inherently untheatrical. Although Marianne G. Briscoe points out that “recognizable sermon elements would not conflict with and might in some cases actually enhance the recreational or festive motives, as well as the didactic goals, of late medieval dramatic entertainment,” she goes on to say that “Many examples of sermon influence in the plays ... actually interrupt the flow of the dramatic action.”<sup>7</sup> As we shall see in chapter 3, however, the few examples of sermons on the late medieval English stage have great theatrical potency. (If I argue against older scholars, G. R. Owst and Marianne G. Briscoe in particular, that is not to undermine the importance of their work, rather it is a token of esteem, proof of the important and challenging nature of their research.)

These problems are compounded by the fact that knowledge of medieval sermons, their conventions, compositional influences, and performance has become more substantial and sophisticated in the last few decades, a fact which drastically affects our understanding of the potential effects of the influence of sermons on drama and vice versa. Our appreciation of the literary and dramatic originality of medieval religious plays has similarly developed considerably in recent years.

The relationship between late medieval English plays and sermons is not just of interest because they were the two main performative genres at the time, and arguably had similar didactic and religious aims, but also because they seem to garner popularity at roughly the same time. Of course, the scarcity of sources—particularly of surviving sermon and play texts—may distort this image. There definitely were plays well before the late fourteenth century, many on religious matters and in the vernacular too, such as *La Seinte Resurrection* (ca. 1175), the saints’ plays mentioned in FitzStephen’s description of London (ca. 1170–82), and a representa-

tion of the Lord's Resurrection which was performed outdoors at Beverley in the summer of 1220 "ut assolet" ("as usual").<sup>8</sup>

But religious plays in English appear to have become especially prominent from the late fourteenth century onward.<sup>9</sup> The first references to the York Corpus Christi pageants as well as those from Beverley date from 1377, to Coventry from 1392, to Chester from 1421–22, and to Newcastle from 1427.<sup>10</sup> The N-Town manuscript, which contains a collection of East Anglian biblical drama, was compiled in the middle or second half of the fifteenth century; the exact dates of the individual texts are not known but presumably they stem from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The Brome *Abraham and Isaac* survives in a late fifteenth-century manuscript, but linguistic evidence points toward a composition in the early fifteenth century. The Towneley manuscript, conversely, is post-Reformation; the dates of the plays contained in the manuscript are unknown, but some of these texts could well be sixteenth-century and even postdate the Reformation.

Texts of non-biblical religious plays in English also start to survive from around the late fourteenth century onward, although most exemplars are from the later fifteenth century. *The Pride of Life* is the earliest example and probably dates to the mid to late fourteenth century; it is, however, presumably Irish in origin. The composition of *The Castle of Perseverance* and the manuscript of *Dux Moraud* are usually dated ca. 1400–25. *Occupation and Idleness* is mid fifteenth-century. *Wisdom*, the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*, and *Mankind* are probably all from the 1460s–70s. Henry Medwall's *Nature* was in all likelihood performed in London in the early 1490s. The Digby *Mary Magdalene* and *The Conversion of St. Paul* are generally thought to date to the very late fifteenth or very early sixteenth century.

Sermons in English also seem to have experienced a revival in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Naturally, there was a fair amount of preaching from early on, nor were the earliest sermons always intended for fellow clergymen.<sup>11</sup> Several Old English sermons have survived and at least some of these texts were aimed at the laity; Wulfstan and Ælfric also encouraged preaching to the laity in the vernacular.<sup>12</sup> The Anglo-Saxon period seems to have been followed by a dip in original preaching in English, although Old English sermons continued to be copied into the twelfth century. The earliest reference to a pulpit in an English church is connected with Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds (elected 1182), so evidently there was at least some interest in preaching.<sup>13</sup> There



must have been crusade preaching as well from 1095 onward; some traces remain of Gerald of Wales's crusade-preaching campaign in Wales in 1188.

The early thirteenth century introduced a marked shift toward more regular preaching to the laity in the vernacular throughout Western Europe. Important factors conducive to this change include the emergence of the mendicant orders and the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. The latter encouraged bishops to organize preaching of pastoral material to the laity throughout their diocese:

Inter cetera quae ad salute spectant populi christiani, pabulum verbi Dei premaxime noscitur sibi esse necessarium ... ut episcopi viros idoneos ad sanctae presicationis officium salubriter exequendum assumant, potentes in opere et sermone, qui plebes sibi commissas vice ipsorum, cum per se idem nequiverint, solícite visitants, eas verbo aedificent et exemplo

[Among other things that pertain to the salvation of the Christian people, the food of the word of God is above all necessary ... Wherefore we decree that bishops provide suitable men, powerful in work and word, to exercise with fruitful result the office of preaching; who in place of the bishops, since these cannot do it, diligently visiting the people committed to them, may instruct them by word and by example.]<sup>14</sup>

Whether this canon led to more preaching in England is impossible to ascertain, but it certainly led to more Church legislation which encouraged preaching to the laity on the so-called *pastoralia*.<sup>15</sup> The most important of these was canon 9 of Pecham's Lambeth Constitutions of 1281—often referred by its opening words *Ignorantia sacerdotum*—which required:

quilibet sacerdos plebe presidens, quarter in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, dia una sollempni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium exponat popula vulgariter, absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica, quatuordecim fidei articulos, decem mandata decalogi, duo percepta evangelii, scilicet, gemine caritatis, septem etiam opera misericordia, septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progénie, septem virtutes principals, ac septem gratie sacramenta.<sup>16</sup>

[that every priest bearing rule over the people [should expound] plainly in their vulgar tongue without any fantastical imagination or invention of any manner subtlety or curiosity either by himself or some other, four times a year, that is to wit every quarter of the year once, and that in one solemn feast or more the Fourteen Articles

of the Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Two Precepts of the Gospel, that is to say both Charities [one towards God, the other towards our neighbor], the Seven works of mercy, the Seven Deadly Sins with their branches, the Seven principal Virtues and the Seven Sacraments of Grace.]<sup>17</sup>

Despite these repeated thirteenth-century calls for more preaching, it seems that their impact was only felt much later. There is too little evidence to determine the quantity of preaching activity before the late fourteenth century, but it is reasonable to suppose that there was a revival at that time. That parish preaching increasingly became the norm from the mid to late fourteenth century is supported by the number of permanent pulpits which appear in English churches at this time.<sup>18</sup> Helen Leith Spencer, working on Middle English sermons, notes that contemporaries show an awareness of change in preaching practices in the late fourteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Alan J. Fletcher notes that the written production of vernacular sermons picks up in the 1380s.<sup>20</sup> And Siegfried Wenzel, working on Latin sermons, remarks that the history of preaching in medieval England commences again ca. 1380.<sup>21</sup>

That the revival of preaching and the flourishing of vernacular religious drama appear to coincide in time is indicative of the importance of both genres in late medieval English devotion. There need not be any causal relationship linking the two phenomena. It is more likely that both in their own way responded to various aspects of the contemporary religious and historical background, such as rising levels of lay literacy and the consolidation of urban centers, than that an increase in preaching resulted in more plays being performed or vice versa. On the other hand, Pamela M. King has shown the strong correlation between the liturgy and the selection of topics in the York Corpus Christi Play; she has also argued that most lay people knew biblical stories primarily through vernacular preaching as part of the liturgy.<sup>22</sup> Increased parish preaching may have resulted in closer acquaintance with the Bible and that, in turn, might have led to a greater desire on the part of the laity to enact these stories. Clearly, vernacular drama did not exist in a vacuum and the co-existence of sermons and plays probably exerted some influence in either direction. But, as will hopefully become clear in the remainder of this book, there is no evidence to suggest a particularly strong link between the flourishing of the two genres. That both genres came into their own at roughly the same time also implies that they served different purposes and responded to different needs in late medieval life.

The questions concerning the relationship between the two genres are consequently due a fresh appraisal in order to offer more accurate insight into the problem of possible cross-fertilization, as well as into the importance of drama in late medieval devotion. Were sermons and plays staged in conjunction with each other by figures of religious or civic authority, or were their performances predominantly independent? If the latter, does that indicate a lay struggle for a greater role in moral and even religious instruction? Are there indications of clerical unease at the effectiveness of plays as a means of instructing the lay population? These aspects will be explored in chapter 1. In chapter 2, the question is whether Middle English sermons exploit theatrical features to improve their effectiveness and, if so, whether that demonstrates an attempt to emulate plays, or, if not, whether it points to a desire to preserve a marked distinction between the two genres. Conversely, in chapters 3 and 4, I investigate whether plays use sermon-like strategies to convey their moral messages; that is, do they adopt an established, ecclesiastical medium to gain a position of authority? Or do plays present their moral messages in ways divergent from sermons in order to lay claim to an independent status of authority? In chapter 5, I assess the similarities and divergences in the relationship between a preacher and his congregation, on the one hand, and an actor and his audience, on the other hand. Finally, how plays and sermons treat one particular aspect of late medieval religion, namely the sacrament of penance, which was an important element of individual devotion as well as a major topic of contention at the time, will be analyzed in chapter 6. This chapter tries to sketch the position of various plays within the context of contemporary religious politics, in line with current research that seeks to refine our understanding of late medieval English devotional life and to present a careful analysis of the impact of the Church's attempts at containing alternative theologies.<sup>23</sup> Questions such as these need to be asked in order to ascertain the importance of both sermons and drama on the late medieval literary and devotional scenes.

But before we can commence the discussion a serious caveat is in order: it is necessary to stress how fragmentary and skewed our perception and knowledge of late medieval English drama and preaching are, despite all the advances in modern scholarship. Most scripts of dramatic events were presumably never recorded and many more that were recorded have not survived;<sup>24</sup> the same is undoubtedly true for preaching. Dramatic texts that have survived were in most instances written down with ulterior (non-performance) goals in mind, making the correlation between the surviving

texts and performance even more difficult;<sup>25</sup> again, as will become clearer in chapter 2, the same is to a large extent true for sermons. As a result, the late medieval English texts which have come down to us very likely do not offer an accurate representation of dramatic or preaching activity in late medieval England. Indeed, perusing the volumes of the REED project gives us a glimpse—but only a glimpse—of how varied dramatic activity was throughout medieval England. Moreover, the survival of sources is not just haphazard. For example, it seems likely that sermons that were aligned with mainstream doctrine had a better chance of being recorded and circulated than those which were less theologically sound—and that would probably have been the case for both orthodox and Lollard sermons. But just because most surviving sermons have sound theological underpinnings it should not be presumed that most sermons that were preached at the time did so too (though that is, of course, possible as well). Any analysis of medieval drama and preaching based on the surviving sources will necessarily be incomplete and is likely to reflect certain facets disproportionately. This is an unavoidable flaw of this kind of research, but it is important to keep in mind that our perception of late medieval English drama and sermons is strongly biased in favor of the tastes and ideologies of the few clerics, bureaucrats, and other individuals who, for personal or professional reasons, wrote down texts. Texts, then, constitute an unbalanced source of evidence for late medieval English dramatic and sermon practices.

The other important issue to remember is the several crucial uncertainties that surround the surviving texts. Importantly, the performance and textual histories of most of the play and sermon texts used in this book are extremely difficult to pin down. The suggested settings of *Mankind* have ranged from an inn yard performance in front of a crowd of country bumpkins, performance under patronage of a religious guild, the Shrovetide revels of a noble household or Cambridge college, to a fundraising event for ecclesiastical matters under the auspices of the great Benedictine monastery of Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>26</sup> Actually, we have absolutely no evidence that it was ever performed at all. The so-called N-Town Cycle is, in fact, not a cycle at all but rather some kind of anthology of East Anglian biblical plays. The purpose of this compilation is unclear, but it may well have been primarily or exclusively aimed at a reading audience and have been composed for devotional rather than dramatic reasons; if, when, where, for whom, and by whom the plays were performed is not known. And, of course, it is again unclear how representative the taste of the scribe-compiler of this manuscript is of East Anglian biblical drama.

The York Corpus Christi Play was certainly performed and we have a reasonable—indeed, an unusual—amount of information about its performance. Even so, the relationship between the text and the cycle’s performance history is complicated: did these pageants have a text as early as the 1370s or was the text a later addition? That is, was the York Corpus Christi Play originally a dramatic, but mainly non-textual, procession? And if spoken text was a later development, when did this aspect emerge: by the time of the *Ordo Paginarum* (1415) or shortly thereafter?<sup>27</sup> Or did the actual surviving texts take form closer to their recording in the Register (ca. 1463–77), about a century after the earliest surviving mention of the Corpus Christi Play?<sup>28</sup> Moreover, we know from John Clerke’s marginalia that the text was altered in several mid sixteenth-century performances. How representative are the York Corpus Christi Play texts of the York Corpus Christi Play as it was experienced in performance at any given point in its performance history? How do the late texts of the Chester Cycle—the manuscripts all considerably postdate the last known performance of this dramatic event—relate to what was performed? Like for York, we cannot assume that a late sixteenth-century copy accurately reflects what people in Chester saw and heard in the mid fifteenth century. Indeed, the Puritan Christopher Goodman’s list of “absurdities” which he claimed to have witnessed suggests that what was performed in the early 1570s does not map directly onto any of the surviving versions of the Chester play texts.<sup>29</sup> On the hand, there is one example from the Low Countries that shows that a long history without essential changes is possible, too. *Lanseloet van Denemerken* survives in an early fifteenth-century manuscript (ca. 1410) as well as in a late fifteenth-century print version (between 1486 and 1492) with only a few very minor alterations. The fact that John Clerke only makes annotations here and there suggests that the bulk of the texts of the York Corpus Christi Play had not changed beyond recognition between the time of their recording in the Register and the mid sixteenth century (if we assume he was an objective and conscientious observer). But even if that is the case, it tells us nothing more about earlier iterations of the York Corpus Christi Play. Texts may, therefore, reflect earlier and later performances reasonably accurately, but there is certainly no guarantee that they do so.

The situation for late medieval English preaching is somewhat similar to that of late medieval drama. It is again impossible to be certain how representative surviving sermons are of late medieval English preaching because of the selective and haphazard nature of the survival of our sources. For instance, given the popularity of saints in late medieval

England, sermons on saints must have been widespread, yet they survive but sparsely. (In fact, the same can be said for saints' plays.) One of the most copious sources for such sermons is the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, which survives in a London copy of ca. 1425.<sup>30</sup> The fact that it survives in a single copy suggests that it was not a popular compilation; although it is possible that other copies were so much used they did not stand the test of time. The chapters in this compilation are evidently intended to serve as an encyclopedia for preachers and could have been used as building blocks in many a sermon. In any case, the *Speculum Sacerdotale* helps us excavate what such sermons on saints' lives may have been like and constitutes an important source given how few sanctorale sermons have survived.

Linking sermons to specific places and dates is also fraught with difficulty. The sermons used in this study mainly date from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. (There seems to have been a lull in the production of vernacular sermons in mid fifteenth-century England; the only late fifteenth-century sermon collection to be included is a *De tempore* cycle, which survives, in various forms of completion, in seven manuscripts.<sup>31</sup>) But many of the earlier sermons had a long textual, and perhaps even performance, history: many of them are known to have been popular and influential, and many were clearly intended to be used as model sermons for other preachers. For example, *The Northern Homily Cycle* is the oldest sermon source to be included in my corpus, but while its earliest manuscripts date from the early fourteenth century, it continued to be copied until the mid fifteenth century. Whether and how it continued to be preached is less easy to ascertain.

The three English sermons preserved in Worcester Chapter Manuscript D. 10, probably composed in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century and copied more or less contemporaneously, were perhaps less influential.<sup>32</sup> However, the author of the first sermon, Hugh Legat, was a famous preacher, who was especially chosen to preach to the Benedictine General Chapter held at Northampton in 1420.<sup>33</sup> Clearly, his sermon style—while more authoritative and long-winded than that of many other preachers—was held in high esteem at the time. In fact, Alan J. Fletcher has suggested that this conservative social and religious tendency in Legat's sermons was not so much caused by the preacher's personality but is primarily due to the Benedictine background of his sermons.<sup>34</sup> As such, Legat's sermons may point to a particularly Benedictine style of preaching in late medieval England and Benedictine preaching seems to have been of some importance in late medieval England. The other two Worcester

sermons appear to have been preached at a religious institution to a mixed audience and have been included in the corpus as representatives of such preaching practices.

The sermons in British Library Royal 18 B. xxiii are from various authors, some known and some anonymous, and those that can be dated, however roughly, date from 1388 to 1414.<sup>35</sup> The manuscript dates to the middle of the fifteenth century, and some of the sermons seem to have run through various editions before they were included in this manuscript. Combined with differences in style and length of the sermons included in this volume, this suggests that these sermons give us a reasonably good sense of the diverse nature of English vernacular preaching from about 1388 to 1450 and possibly beyond.

Probably the most influential of all medieval English sermon collections, John Mirk's *Festial*, was composed in the late 1380s, but copied in numerous manuscripts throughout the fifteenth century and printed by Caxton in 1483. Its popularity in late medieval England is beyond doubt, though it is again much more difficult to pin down when and how this material was used for preaching.<sup>36</sup>

Like the plays, then, sermons are usually difficult to date and localize. This makes the matter of comparing plays and sermons fraught because in very few instances can a sermon and a play be closely related in time and place. In fact, the closest possible link is that Benedictine preaching may have had a direct impact on the conceivers and/or recipients of the York Corpus Christi Play: four English sermons from British Library MS Harley 2268 can tentatively be linked to St. Mary's in York and may have been composed by its abbot Thomas Spofford to be preached at various locations in York from 1414 to 1421<sup>37</sup>—a time when the York Corpus Christi Play was certainly being performed in some form, and was perhaps even developing its textual aspect, as noted above.

Nevertheless, given the popularity of some of the sermons in the corpus and the long textual history of others, it seems probable that the sermons included in the corpus, or sermons very like them, would have been known to playwrights, patrons, actors, and play audiences, and would have shaped their understanding of the sermon. Similarly, we hope that enough late medieval English religious plays have survived to give us a reasonable sense of how contemporary audiences and preachers perceived vernacular religious drama. Despite the caveats, then, we can try to determine important influences, parallels, and differences between these two performative genres and assess how and why they used their literariness for devotional purposes.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See Owst's chapter "Sermon and Drama."

<sup>2</sup> Fletcher, *Late Medieval*, pp. 273–74. Marianne G. Briscoe highlights the importance and fallibility of Owst's research in "Preaching."

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Kolve, p. 277, Bevington, "Discontinuity," p. 3, Davenport, pp. 40, 53, and Dillon, pp. 54–69.

<sup>4</sup> Briscoe, "The Relation," p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>7</sup> Briscoe, "Preaching," pp. 155, 160.

<sup>8</sup> Young, 2:542, 539. For the date of the Beverley play, see Axton, p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> This impression is also gained from various REED volumes, but again this may simply be because fewer early records survive. For a quick overview, see the chronological table in Beadle and Fletcher, pp. xix–xxi.

<sup>10</sup> Oldest surviving references and manuscript dates do not give a reliable date for the creation of a text or event, of course, and certainly for the so-called mystery plays most of the earliest references indicate a cycle which was already established to a degree.

<sup>11</sup> For preaching to the laity in the earlier Middle Ages, see also Amos.

<sup>12</sup> See Cross for an overview of Old English sermons and the fostering of preaching by Wulfstan and Ælfric (pp. 567–68). For the question of audience, see also Wright, esp. pp. 204–8.

<sup>13</sup> Cross, p. 462, and Carruthers, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Schroeder, pp. 251–52, 566. The translations are by the scholars cited, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>15</sup> Spencer, *English Preaching*, p. 202.

<sup>16</sup> Powicke and Cheney, pp. 900–901.

<sup>17</sup> The translation, with very minor changes, is taken from Spencer, *English Preaching*, p. 203.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>20</sup> Fletcher, *Late Medieval*, p. 163.

<sup>21</sup> Wenzel, *Latin*, p. 396.

<sup>22</sup> King, *York*, pp. 31–32.

<sup>23</sup> See also Gillespie and Ghosh, and Kelly and Perry, in particular.

<sup>24</sup> Symes, pp. 37–41.

<sup>25</sup> King, "Medieval English," pp. 541–42, and Symes, pp. 29–34.

<sup>26</sup> See, respectively, Craig, *English*, pp. 350–51, Marshall, Pettitt, p. 191, and Gibson, *The Theater*, pp. 111–12.

<sup>27</sup> Meg Twycross notes that spoken texts are referred to in the records by 1421–22 and that speaking verbs occur in the *Ordo Paginarum* ("The *Ordo Paginarum*," p. 111).



<sup>28</sup> For the latter view, see King, "Medieval English," pp. 539–52.

<sup>29</sup> King, "Manuscripts," 281.

<sup>30</sup> Weatherly, pp. xx–xxi.

<sup>31</sup> Morrison, pp. xxi, xli.

<sup>32</sup> Grisdale, p. xxiii. Grisdale dates the sermons more precisely to 1389–1404, but Fletcher notes that Legat's sermon in this volume seems to reflect knowledge of Arundel's Constitutions and was therefore probably written after 1409 (Grisdale, p. xxiii, and Fletcher, *Late Medieval*, p. 71).

<sup>33</sup> Grisdale, p. xii.

<sup>34</sup> Fletcher, *Late Medieval*, pp. 79–80.

<sup>35</sup> Ross, pp. xxxiv–xxxviii.

<sup>36</sup> Indeed, O'Mara notes the remarkable case of a lay reader in Nottinghamshire delivering a sermon from the *Festial* in the 1580s ("A Middle English Sermon," p. 184).

<sup>37</sup> O'Mara, *Four*, pp. 9–10.