

JOHN EYTON ALIAS REPYNGDON AND THE *SERMONES SUPER
EUANGELIA DOMINICALIA* ATTRIBUTED
TO PHILIP REPYNGDON

The sermons on the Gospel readings for Sundays, attributed to Philip Repyngdon, an Austin canon, were well known in England during the fifteenth century. They were the subject of two doctoral dissertations in 1984 and 1985, though neither has been published. I have not seen the work of J. R. Archer, ‘The preaching of Philip Repyngdon, bishop of Lincoln: a descriptive analysis of his Latin sermons’ (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, Calif., 1984), but I have had the opportunity to read S. N. Forde’s ‘Writings of a reformer: a look at sermon studies and bible studies through Repyngdon’s *Sermones super euangelia dominicalia*’ (unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 1985), who provides a description of the manuscripts and an analysis of the fifty-one sermons consistently found in the series, leaving out a further three not always included. Their authorship has been treated as settled since the sixteenth century, but the manuscript evidence has never been tested. It presents an alternative context.

The basic data on Philip Repyngdon’s career were brought together by A. B. Emden, and Dr Forde himself contributed a brief biography in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.¹ The salient points are that he was a canon of Leicester Abbey at the time of his ordination on the day before Trinity Sunday, 26 May 1369.² In 1382 he preached a sermon at Brackley, Northants, as a bachelor of theology, upholding as orthodox the teaching of John Wyclif on the eucharist, and again in Oxford a few weeks afterwards on the feast of Corpus Christi, 5 June.³ His defence of Wyclif’s position meant that he was suspended from preaching on 15 June of that year and summoned to appear before Archbishop Courtenay at Black Friars in London. The defence put forward by himself and Nicholas Hereford survives in the anti-Wycliffite *Fasciculi zizaniorum*.⁴ By the end of November he had abjured any heresies and was restored to his academic status. He incepted as a doctor of theology at Oxford in the same year. From 1394 he was Abbot of Leicester. After 1399 he had the favour of King Henry IV and in 1404 he was promoted to Bishop of Lincoln, in which office he remained until his resignation in 1419 was accepted by Pope Martin V in 1420. He retired on a generous pension and died in 1424. It was his wish to be buried outside the porch of the parish church of St Margaret in the Close at Lincoln, as appears from his will.⁵ He had been nominated a cardinal by Pope Gregory XII in 1408, during the schism, but this promotion was never

effective. One book given by him to Lincoln Cathedral can still be identified, now BL, Royal MS 8 G. iii, a copy of Petrus Aureolus, *Compendium super Bibliam*, with a lengthy inscription dated 6 February 1422[/₃].

One Latin letter is securely linked to Philip's name when he was Abbot of Leicester, a letter addressed to King Henry IV in 1401, which had some circulation, since it was available to be copied, for example, by the chronicler Adam of Usk and a generation later by Thomas Bekynton. With such a letter one cannot be certain that it was not drafted by a secretary, and it is not evidence of literary intentions.⁶ The usual reference works make no mention of a short treatise in English, a conventional exposition of the commandments, 'For als mykyl as euerlyke man whyls he lyffys in þis world', which is found as a booklet of ten leaves in BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A. xxiii, fols 107^r–115^v, with a Latin colophon, 'Explicuit mandata Christi secundum magistrum Philippum quondam abbatem de Leycestria'.⁷ This copy deals only with the first four commandments, while a second copy, unascrbed, in BL, Harley MS 2250, fols 88^r–90^v, ends at the start of the fourth commandment and has been treated as part of a larger work.⁸ The wording of the ascription makes one ask, Why 'quondam abbatem'? If the work was put out after 1404, Philip would have been referred to as Bishop of Lincoln, so we may perhaps guess that the exemplar dated from his time as abbot and that a copyist has supplied the word 'quondam', unaware of Philip's later career but knowing or at least supposing he was no longer Abbot of Leicester.

Interest in him and in the sermons attributed to him has been dominated by the question of his Wycliffite sympathies.⁹ John Wyclif was still alive in 1382, when Philip Repyngdon preached at Oxford on his teachings in defiance of Archbishop Courtenay. He recanted, but the historical evidence has led scholars to think (as Forde expresses it in the *ODNB*) that 'he seems to have retained much sympathy for the doctrines he had ostensibly abandoned in 1382, and to have retained links with Lollard circles'. As bishop he made little effort to punish lollards, and he signally failed to act on the anathema issued by the Council of Constance in 1415, ordering not only the burning of Wyclif's books but the exhumation and burning of his remains, buried in the churchyard at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, in Philip's diocese. Yet in 1413 John Belgrave, an outspoken lollard in Leicester, hostile to Philip's own abbey, said that the bishop 'now acted contrary to his teachings in former days, when he had been accustomed to preach like the apostles, travelling around on foot'.¹⁰ Nonetheless episcopal correction was gentle. To quote Forde again, 'The apparent ambiguities of Repyngdon's position are less surprising when considered in the light of his *Sermones super euangelia dominicalia*'; and he seeks evidence of Wycliffite sympathies in the bulky and learned sermons so long accepted as Philip's. Yet the sermons are doctrinally orthodox, and doctrinal orthodoxy has been 'the paradigm for judging Wycliffism', as Forde has written elsewhere. 'None the less', he goes on, 'this paradigm is inadequate. It confuses and ignores the outlooks that the Wycliffites shared with their contemporaries', and he goes on to depict the sermons as a reflection of Wycliffite aspiration despite the absence of Wycliffite

teaching.¹¹ This surely comes from approaching the sermons through what is known of their accepted author in despite of what they actually say.

The sermons are judged by Forde to be intended for study in the university, not for *viva voce* delivery; he was able to pursue the numerous source-references that reflect the writer's heavy dependence on the books of others. He dates their composition to the years between 1382 and Philip Repyngdon's becoming Abbot of Leicester in 1394 (Forde, 'Writings of a reformer', I, 339). The reasons are not strong. The first term is based on the supposition that he had finished his university studies. The second depends on the inference that he was not yet abbot, founded only on remarks in the sermon on the epistle for the 20th Sunday after Trinity – one of the three non-core sermons – against prelates who became too close to the secular power. At first sight, this date-range may appear confirmed from evidence not cited, namely the presence of a copy of 'Repington super Ewangelia Dominicalia. Ex procuracione fratris T. Rome. ij^o f^o post transgredientes' in the library of Durham Cathedral priory when Br William of Appleby, librarian, made an inventory at Easter 1395. The records of the priory show that Br Thomas Rome studied at Durham College in Oxford from 1388 to 1390 and was bursar of the college during 1391–2 and 1394–6.¹² One cannot tell from the printed inventory, however, that this entry is one of a dozen added by the same hand, possibly Rome's own, and, although this one says nothing of his academic status, in the others he is styled 'sacre pagine professor', which points to a date in or after 1412/13 for the additions.

Several copies of the sermons described by Forde include what he calls an index, positioned either before or after the body of the work. Organized alphabetically, this refers to topics within the work, citing passages by sermon-number and the running letters in the margins that permit more precise reference to the discussion. In one copy, apparently unknown to Emden or to Forde, this index is followed by an ascription. The manuscript in question is now BL, Lansdowne MS 406, probably written early in the fifteenth century. Bound at the front, fols 1^r–17^v, the index now begins part way through the entries for the letter E. Sixteen leaves form one quire, with the implication that a quire has been lost from the front of the book, and fol. 17 is a singleton. At fol. 17^v, the table is followed by a colophon, 'Explicit liber sermonum dominicalium compositus a quodam priore Sancti Bartholomei Londoniis cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen. qd. Gossely(n). Nomen prioris Repoun'. The identity of Gosselyn who had supplied the name of the prior remains elusive. The same colophon is recorded elsewhere. In a letter to Thomas Hearne, dated 28 October 1727, Thomas Ward, of Barford, Warwickshire, in a list of books that he offered to lend, describes a manuscript, 'Euangeliorum narratio, uel Homiliae 53, &c., Fratres mendicant: p. 6, a thick folio interleaved with vellum, at the beginning of which is another (piece of a) book, concluding thus', and he quotes the colophon as above.¹³ The description closely fits Lansdowne MS 406, with the index appearing in a defective state at the front of the book; the interleaving with vellum refers to the make-up of the manuscript in large quires of paper, each quire with one bifolium of vellum on the outside and another

on the inside. Manuscripts that had belonged to Ward passed in several cases to his kinsman James West, and West's manuscripts in turn became a part of the Lansdowne collection, which was acquired by the British Museum in 1807. So this is the extant copy. In the auction-catalogue for the sale of the library of Dugdale's biographer William Hamper (1776–1831), by R. H. Evans, of Pall Mall, 21 July 1831, there is an entry, 'Liber sermonum dominicalium compositus a quodam priore [T. Gosselyn] Sancti Bartholomei London'.¹⁴ Square brackets are not medieval but must be editorial; is T. perhaps intended for T(este)? The sale-catalogue refers to Ward's owning a copy of this work, but Hamper cannot have owned Ward's book, which was already in the British Museum. It would appear that this was a second copy closely resembling Lansdowne MS 406, identifying the writer as Prior of St Bartholomew's and presumably including Gosselyn's identification of the prior as 'Repoun'. What may have been a third copy with the same ascription is attested by the will of John Hovingham (d. 1417), Archdeacon of Durham, who held benefices in Yorkshire, Durham, and elsewhere. He bequeathed a book of sermons 'quem composuit prior quondam sancti Bartholomei', which clearly echoes this ascription; one may even wonder whether 'prior quondam' and 'a quodam priore' point to a confused reading. Now Hovingham desired to be buried in St Bartholomew's if he died in London, so he may actually have known the prior. His will was proved before Bishop Philip Repyngdon himself at the Old Temple, London, on 15 December 1417.¹⁵

In his work on *The Records of St Bartholomew's Priory* (London, 1921), I, 181–5, E. A. Webb had the facts at hand to identify the person. John Eyton, an Austin canon of Repton Priory, was elected Prior of St Bartholomew's in Smithfield, London, in 1391. On 22 March 1391 King Richard II signalled to Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, his assent to the election of 'John Eyton *alias* Repyngdon, canon of the Augustinian priory of Repyngdon in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, to be prior of St Bartholomew the great, of the same order' (*CalPat* 1388–1392, 386). The prior is named John Repyngdon in notarial instruments from 1392 and 1393 and again in deeds and a rental from St Bartholomew's hospital in 1403.¹⁶ The letters patent refer to him as John Eyton, when King Henry IV gave the canons of St Bartholomew *congé d'élire* to elect his successor as prior on 14 August 1404 and assented to their election of John Watford on 29 August (*CalPat* 1401–1405, 414, 417). John Eyton is not an unknown figure. He was author of a *Tractatus de usura*, composed in 1387, which is known from three manuscripts. The title of this work in two of the copies provided Emden with the sole evidence of his Oxford career: 'Incipit tractatus magistri Iohannis Eytone canonici de Repindona de usura quem composuit anno Domini 1387 tunc regens Oxonie in theologia.'¹⁷ In the third copy, BL, Harley MS 106, the writer is named as Mr John Repyngdon.¹⁸ Emden did not realize that he left Repton Priory to serve thirteen years as prior in the large house of his order in London. He was aware that Eyton received the dedication of a little tract composed by the London schoolmaster John Seward, *Compendium super modis significandi essentialibus et specibus partium singularium*, in which he is referred

to as combining the wisdom of Solomon and Cicero, but it is not clear in what circumstances this came about.¹⁹

Simon Forde has written to compare theological sources cited both by John Eyton alias Repyngdon in his *Tractatus de usura* and in the sermons attributed to Philip Repyngdon.²⁰ He observed that almost all the works referred to by John were also cited by Philip, for which no direct explanation is offered. Like Emden Forde makes no connection between John Eyton and the Prior of St Bartholomew's. On the other hand, Webb, who was fully aware of the two individuals, John and Philip, inferred that the first quire of Lansdowne MS 406 comprised the sermons of John Eyton, while the rest of the book was filled with the more familiar sermons of Philip Repyngdon. He evidently did not pay close attention to the text, or he would have realized that the text associated with John was not sermons but the index to the sermons following. Two possibilities present themselves. John Eyton alias Repyngdon may have compiled the index to Philip Repyngdon's sermons. Against this, it may be pointed out that the colophon ascribes the sermons themselves to the unnamed prior. And Gosselyn, whoever he was, explains that the prior's name was 'Repoun', one of the many forms of Repyngdon or Repton. The alternative possibility is more likely, namely that the sermons were composed by John Eyton alias Repyngdon. In other copies no longer extant the ascription to the Prior of St Bartholomew's may have appeared at the head of the sermons rather than as an *Explicit* at the end of the preceding index. In the extant manuscripts of the sermons the writer is invariably referred to simply as Repyngdon in a variety of spellings. So too in the more numerous attestations of copies of the sermons in wills and in library lists from the fifteenth century, the author is always just Repyngdon. The evidence is set out below:²¹

'Euangelice tube comminatio a seruo mnam domini sui quam ad usuram tradere debuerat, sed in sudario tanquam mortuam collocauit, dum illam in domini mensa debuit proposuisse ad ecclesie refeccionem, non inmerito debere auferri exemplariter resonantis [cf. Lc 19: 20-4]' (prologue: Forde, ii. 11), 'Domini aduentus tempus ab ecclesia solenniter celebratum quatuor septimanas in se continens' (introduction to Advent), 'Euangelium autem prime Dominice tale est: *Cum appropinquasset Iesus Ierosolimis, &c.*' [cf. Mt 21: 1] Euangelium autem istud in duobus Dominicis solet legi' (1 Adv).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 82 (s. xv), fols 1^r-246^v ['Expliciunt Repyndon super euangelia dominicalia']; 2nd fol. matches copy attested in Cambridge University Library, 1474 (UC3. 110).

Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 246/492 (s. xv), fols 1^r-189^v [begins and ends imperfect], owned by Walter Lyhert (d. 1472), Bishop of Norwich, and bequeathed by him to John Wilton, Rector of Great Massingham.

Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 198 (s. xv), fols 1^r-16^v ['Explicit tabula sermonum Repyndon?; index], fols 17^r-198^r [lacks prologue, sermons abridged; gift of Gerard Skipwith, d. 1502] (UC47. 125; recorded at Pembroke by John Bale, *Index scriptorum Britanniae*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson (Oxford, 1902), p. 324).

- Lincoln Cathedral, MS 10 (s. xv^l), fols 1^r–250^v [begins imperfect], fols 251^r–261^r [index].
- BL, Harley MS 106 (s. xv), fols 177^{vb}–180^{ra} [‘Repyngdon’ at top of pages, notes] (transcribed by Forde, ‘Writings of a reformer’, I, 163–8).
- BL, Lansdowne MS 406 (s. xv), fols 1^r–17^v [index begins imperfect in E, ‘Explicit liber sermonum dominicalium compositus a quodam priore Sancti Bartholomei Londoniis cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen. qd. Gossely(n) Nomen prioris Repoun’], fols 18^r–339^v.
- Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS lat. 367 (s. xv), fols 199^r–317^v [‘Explicit doctor Repyndon’; a ?reworked version].
- Bodl. MS Barlow 24 (*SC* 6470) (s. xv), fols 1^r–132^r [the same ?reworked version].
- Bodl. MS Laud Misc. 635 (s. xv), fols 1^r–396^r [‘Explicuit omelie Repyngton super euangelia dominicalia’], fols 396^v–404^r [index].
- Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 54 (s. xv^l), fols 1^r–380^v [a marginal note at fol. 209^r reads, ‘Nota contra opiniones lollardorum’]; with index at the front, fols i^r–xviii^v [anon.; given by Richard Fox (d. 1528), Bishop of Winchester].
- Oxford, Lincoln College, MS lat. 85 (s. xv^m), fols 1^r–279^v [‘Sermones magistri Repyngton canonici regularis’; ends imperfect], in library inventory, 1474, ‘Repyngdon in sermonibus dominicalibus ex dono magistri Thome Bornsley 2^o fo. libri *et diabolus*’ (UO38. 21) [given by Thomas Barnesley, d. 1454].
- Oxford, Trinity College, MS 79 (s. xv), fols 154^v–155^r [‘de ieiunio Repyndon’; brief excerpt] (transcribed by Forde, ‘Writings of a reformer’, I, 174f.).
- Worcester Cathedral, MS F. 121 (s. xv), fols 1^r–245^v [ends imperfect; ‘Sermones secundum Repyngton’].

Attested copies from institutions

- Cambridge, University Library, 1474, two copies, ‘Repyngdon cuius 2^m fo. *huius seculi*’ (UC3. 110, now Corpus Christi College, MS 82), ‘Sermones Repyngdon cuius 2^m fo. *misi*’ (UC3. 168).
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, bequeathed by John Tittleshall, 1458, ‘Waterton cuius 2^m fo. *odio b^o faco*’ precii vi marcarum’ (UC20. 2), a book which is variously entered in the annual borrowing records down to 1517 (MS 232, fols 18^r–123^r), initially under the title ‘Waterton’ but after 1467 as Repyngdon, ‘Sermones Rypiston cuius 2^m fo. *odio go faco*’ (fol. 122^v), ‘Repyngton’ (fol. 51^r, &c.), ‘Ryppington’ (fol. 69^v, etc.), ‘Ryplington’ (fol. 106^v, etc.), ‘Ryppynggalle’ (fol. 121^r) (as reported in the note on UC20. 2), and possibly the book seen by Leland, ‘Sermones dominicales autore Waterton’ (UC23. 1).
- Cambridge, Gonville Hall, bequeathed by Geoffrey Champeney, 1472, ‘meum Repyngton’ (UC114. 2); perhaps the copy at Gonville Hall described by Bale, *Index*, 324, ‘Pro festis dominicalibus li. I, *Euangelice tube comminatio a seruo nram domini sui*’.
- Cambridge, King’s College, c.1457, ‘Repyngton cuius 2^m fo. incipit *clementer operuit*’ (UC29. 62)

- Cambridge, Pembroke College, given by Richard Green, 1487, 'Ripyndon in sermonibus' (UC43. 79), 'Repindon de Sermon' (UC47. 169).
- Cambridge, Queens' College, 1472, 'sermones Rippindon cuius 2 fo. *lud ξ\et/umb^r 2^o*' (UC50. 180); seen by Leland, 'Sermones Repyngton' (UC52. 42).
- Cambridge, St Catharine's College, 1473, 'Sermones Repyngton cuius 2^m fo. *n're super eum*' (UC53. 63).
- Durham, 1395, added entry, not before 1412/13, 'Repington super Euangelia Dominicalia. Ex procuracione fratris T. Rome. ij^o fo. *post transgredientes*' (B. Botfield, *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral, at Various Periods, from the Conquest to the Dissolution*, Surtees Society 7 (1839), 52).
- Eton College, 'Homelias per annum, li. I, *Euangelice tube comminatio*' (so described by Bale, *Index*, 324).
- London, St Paul's Cathedral, seen by Leland, 'Sermones Repington' (*Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1715), IV, 48); Patrick Young, 1622, 'Sermones Kepyngton (*sic*), Initium *Euangelice tubæ comminatio a seruo minam domini sui et cæt. fol.*', and perhaps to be identified with an entry in 1458 inventory, 'sermones super euangelia 2^{do} folio *minaria claritas*' (BL, Cotton Ch. xiii. 11).
- Oxford, All Souls College, the gift of John Stokes (d. 1466), 'Rippington super dominicalia 2^o fo. *est colligatio impietatis*' (UO8. 27), 'Rippynton super dominicalia ex dono magistri Iohannis Stokes nuper officialis de arcubus, 2^o fo. *colligacio impietatis*' (UO12. 6).
- Oxford, Canterbury College, 1501, 'Repyngton super euangelia, 2^o fo. *demus in nostris*' (W. Pantin, *Canterbury College, Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society new ser. 6-8 (1947), I, 19, no. 35).
- Syon, three copies, 'Repyngton super Euangelia dominicalia 2^o fo. *quod contemptoribus*', given by Thomas Fishborn, d. 1428 (SS1. 1047), 'Repyngton super Euangelia dominicalia abbreviatus 2^o fo. *qui potentes*', given by Robert Denton, no date (SS1. 1048), 'Repyngton super Euangelia dominicalia cum tabula in fine 2^o fo. *est in*', given by John Steyke, d. 1513 (SS1. 1049).
- Wells Cathedral, seen by Leland, 'Repyngton super euangelia dominicalia' (*Collectanea*, IV, 156).
- Winchester College, 1428-9, added entry, c.1429-30, 'Repynton super euangelia dominicalia ex dono Edwardi Wyche, 2^o fo. *Sanauerunt cum de*' (SC335. 104).

Attested copies in private ownership

- John Hovingham (d. 1417), Archdeacon of Durham, a Yorkshire man but also Rector of Walgrave, Northants, etc., will dated 12 June 1417, desiring to be buried in St Bartholomew's church, if he should die in London, 'libellum sermonum quem composuit prior quondam sancti Bartholomei quem comparauit de Nicholao Hawe et est libellus in papiro' (A. W. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills 1280-1547* (Lincoln, 1888), pp. 125f.; biographical data in J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry V* (Cambridge, 1914), I, 91f.n.; M. Archer, *The Register of Bishop Philip Repyngdon, 1405-1419*, Lincoln Record Society 57, 58, 74 (1963-82), III, 205-10, at p. 208, surname misread as Honingham).
- William Cawood, canon of York (*BRUO* 2160), will, dated 3 February 1419/20,

proved 23 March 1419/20, 'Repyngton super euangelia ij fo. *i duos ordines*' (J. Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Surtees Society 4 (1836), pp. 395f.; S. H. Cavanaugh, 'A study of books privately owned in England, 1300–1450 (unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1974), 174f.).

John Leystofte, Vicar of St Stephen's Church, Norwich, will, dated 26 February 1461/2, 'librum meum uocatum Repyngton' (N. Ramsay and J. M. W. Willoughby, *Hospitals, Towns, and the Professions*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 14 (2009), p. 215).

Sir Richard Stokley, will, 1513, 'my booke of Sarmony of Rypplyngton' (I. Darlington, *London Consistory Court Wills: 1492–1547*, London Record Society 3 (1967), p. 5).

The complicating factor in all this is that John Eyton has the secondary surname Repyngdon. As a canon of Repton in Derbyshire he is unlikely to have used that surname, but it appears already in the record of his election as Prior of St Bartholomew's Priory, so we ought not to infer that he acquired the name in London. What seems most likely, therefore, is that he came to be known as Repyngdon during his years in Oxford. Indeed, he is likely to be the Mr John Repyngdon summoned with other masters in May 1388 to appear before the king and council on account of a serious affray between northerners and southerners at Oxford.²² Emden had not the information to connect the two names, but we have seen him named Repyngdon while prior and yet after his death he was named as John Eyton in the *congé* for the election of a successor. The two names both had currency.

Negative evidence has only limited value, but, if these sermons are to be detached from Philip Repyngdon, Abbot of Leicester, it is worth noting that the late fifteenth-century catalogue of the library at Leicester Abbey records copies there of books by canons of Leicester in this period, such as Geoffrey Salow's *Lucerna conscientiae* and Henry Knighton's Chronicle, but there is no mention of Repyngdon's *Sermones*, nor does Philip Repyngdon figure as a donor of books to the abbey.²³

So far as I have been able to discover, the first to associate Philip Repyngdon with these sermons was John Bale during the 1540s. In his notebook he created an entry, 'Philippus Repyngton episcopus Lincolniensis scripsit Homelias per annum, li. I, *Euangelice tube comminatio*', citing first the copy he had seen at Eton College, followed by those seen in Cambridge, at Pembroke College, 'Aliud opus sermonum, li. I, *Dominici aduentus tempus quat.*', not realizing that it was the same work without the prologue, and at Gonville Hall.²⁴ The two Cambridge copies are still in the libraries of the same colleges. He added, 'Hic ecclesiam est persecutus', for which his source was no doubt the Carmelite *Fasciculi zizaniarum*, which he knew as the work of Thomas Netter.²⁵ This note cannot date from before 1548. More than a decade earlier Leland had seen copies of the sermons in several places, but he always records the author simply as Repyngdon and he was cautious of making the connection with Philip Repyngdon: in the Wycliffite connection he says that Peter Stokes 'scripsit contra \Philippum/ Repyngdunum,

\canonicum Oxonii hereseos accusatum anno Domini MCCCLXXXII quo tempore et Nicolaus Henoforthus, alias Herford, accusatus fuit. Sed an hic sit Repingdunus, qui omelias in euangelia dominicalia scripsit, non possum certo pronunciare/' (he wrote against \Philip/ Repingdon, \a canon accused of heresy at Oxford in 1382, at the same time as Nicholas Hereford was accused, but I cannot say for certain whether or not this was the Repingdon who wrote homilies on the Sunday Gospels/').²⁶ The alterations show that Leland was adding information and thinking about what connects with what. Peter Stokes's writing against Philip Repyngdon was mentioned by Bale, *Anglorum Heliades* (1536–9), BL, Harley MS 3838, fols 85^v–86^r, where he named Philip Repyngdon alongside Nicholas Hereford but did not specifically refer to the accusation at Oxford in 1382. Bale must have got this from the *Fasciculi*, which Leland did not consult directly. When Leland came to write his own entry for Philip Repyngdon, he was less cautious, saying, 'ad scribendum se totum contulit multaque non infeliciter commentatus est, e quibus extant in euangelia lucubrationes' ('he turned wholeheartedly to writing, producing many useful commentaries; those on the Gospels are extant').²⁷ This was written about 1544. In this connection, he cites Bale, 'Balaeus in collectaneis suis meminit Philippi Rhependuni canonici, haereseos accusati anno Domini MCCCLXXXII.' Quite where Bale says this has not emerged, but it is clear that Bale knew about Philip Repyngdon and his Wycliffite trouble from the *Fasciculi*, that Leland picked up the connection from Bale, and used it only with hesitation. Bale (as always) was less cautious. Bale appears also to have seen the epitaph of Bishop Repyngdon on his tomb, quoting four lines of hexameters without saying where the bishop was buried, though it was presumably at Lincoln. Given the prominence of Bishop Repyngdon against the relative obscurity and the double name of John Eyton alias Repyngdon, it is hardly surprising that Bale and Leland attributed the sermons of Repyngdon to his contemporary. Neither of them knew of the existence of John Eyton alias Repyngdon, though Bale appears to have overlooked his name in Merton College, MS 68, from which he noted several other works.²⁸ In our own time MS Lansdowne 406 was very likely overlooked because the catalogue of the Lansdowne manuscripts enters the work as the sermons of 'Johannes Repoun [Repynton?]', albeit indexed under 'Repynton'. The supporting evidence from the sale of Hamper's books is certainly out of the way, and it is fortunate that Webb made the connection with Wylie's reference to Hovingham's will, which supplies the only direct association with St Bartholomew's. It is the case, however, that in BL, Harley MS 106 we find a copy of John Eyton's *Tractatus de usura* and what are referred to as *notabilia* from the sermons of Repyngdon which do not, in fact, match the sermons as we know them. This may be more than coincidence. Considering also the presence in the same volume of excerpts from *Florarium Bartholomei*, the work of John Mirfield (d. 1407), clerk and tenant of St Bartholomew's Priory and chaplain to the hospital, one may wonder whether this book, a large miscellany, may even have belonged to a library at the priory, but it contains no direct evidence of its provenance.²⁹ It may be meaningful that the parable of the talents, with its

positive view of *usura*, should feature in the first sentence of the Repyngdon sermons, a link with John's *Tractatus de usura*, which is hostile to those who lend money at interest.

The realization that the sermons are not explicitly ascribed to Philip Repyngdon removes them and their doctrinal orthodoxy from the debate about the lingering Wycliffite sympathies of the Bishop of Lincoln. Without them he remains an Oxford Wycliffite who kept his head down for the remainder of a long and unremarkable clerical career. All evidence of his learning has gone. Reassigned to John Eyton, with whose *Tractatus de usura* the sermons were already known to share sources, they build up the body of his work to the point where he becomes a writer worthy of attention, someone whose thinking must be deduced from his writing and not induced from his biography. In relation to his career there are no clues to help date the sermons, but their character makes it more likely that they were composed during his Oxford years rather than at Repton or at Smithfield. Yet the inclusion of his office as Prior of St Bartholomew's in some colophons is a sign that this connection, close to the centre of the London book trade, may have helped widen the circulation of these sermons.

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NOTES

Grateful thanks to Professor Anne Hudson for her comments on drafts of this article.

¹ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* (Oxford, 1957–9), 1565–7.

² R. A. Wilson, *The Second Register of Bishop Robert de Stretton AD 1360–1385*, Collections for a history of Staffordshire new ser. 8 (1905), 225. Two canons of Leicester in the diocese of Lincoln were ordained priest on this day by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.

³ *Fasciculi zizaniorum*, ed. W. W. Shirley, Rolls Series 5 (London, 1858), pp. 296f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 319–28.

⁵ E. F. Jacob, *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–1443*, Canterbury and York Society 42, 45, 46, 47 (1938–47), II, 286; on this document K. B. Macfarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 217–19, comments: 'it contains all three of the Lollard characteristics: his own sinfulness, his putrid body to be food for worms, the pompless funeral', but he cancels any significance by comparing similar wording in wills made by King Henry IV and Archbishop Chichele.

⁶ The letter has been edited from different manuscripts by G. Williams, *Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, Rolls Series 56 (1872), I, 151–4, by C. J. Given-Wilson, *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, OMT (1997), 136–43, and by D. R. Carlson, *The Deposition of Richard II* (Toronto, 2007), 87–94.

⁷ I am indebted to Dr A. I. Doyle and Professor Anne Hudson for information about this work. The copy in MS Vespasian A. xxiii is now bound at the back of a fourteenth-century copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth (J. C. Crick, *The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, III: *A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989), 159f.).

⁸ Harley MS 2250, fols 88^r–93^v, 95^v–108^r, is entered by P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-list of Middle*

English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance (Toronto, 1974), 63, as 'related' to the anonymous *Memoriale credentium*, but he does not include MS Vespasian A. xxiii.

⁹ Fuller discussion in his thesis, Forde, 'Writings of a reformer', I, 29–43.

¹⁰ Evidence collected by James Crompton, 'Leicestershire lollards', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 44 (1968–9), 11–44 (at pp. 15, 29–33) has been influential; M. Aston, 'Lollards and images', in *Lollards and Reformers* (London, 1984), 135–92 (at p. 144); A. M. Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), 77.

¹¹ 'Social outlook and preaching in a Wycliffite *sermones dominicales* collection', in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor* (London, 1991), pp. 179–91 (at p. 190).

¹² A. J. Piper, 'Biographical register of Durham Cathedral priory (1083–1539)', in *The Durham Liber vitae*, ed. David and Lynda Rollason (London, 2007), III, 129–436, at pp. 302–4.

¹³ *Hearne's Remarks and Collections*, 11 vols, Oxford Historical Society (1885–1918), IX, 362n., from Bodl. MS Hearne Letters 11, nos. 55–6, fol. 100^v. No. 56 is a list of nine printed pamphlets and five manuscripts in Ward's hands.

¹⁴ *Catalogue of the Valuable Library, Autographs, and MSS. of the Late Wm Hamper* (1831) [copies in BL, Bodleian, CUL, and Society of Antiquaries], lot 498.

¹⁵ M. Archer, *The Register of Bishop Philip Repyngdon, 1405–1419*, Lincoln Record Society 57, 58, 74 (1963–82), III, 205–10, at p. 208. The will uses the word *libellus*, despite the great bulk of the work; it uses the same word for a copy of Bartholomaeus de S. Concordio OP, *Summa de casibus conscientiae* (Kaeppli 436).

¹⁶ PRO E328/430, E328/17/viii; N. J. M. Kerling, *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital: A Calendar* (London, 1973), 67 (deeds, nos. 621, 622), 163 (rental, no. 165).

¹⁷ Oxford, Merton College, MS 112 (s. xv), fols 60^r–65^r; Merton College, MS 68 (s. xv), fols 113^r–117^v (ends imperfect). Both books came by bequest of a former fellow, Hammond Haydock, d. 1465 (*BRUO*, 894).

¹⁸ BL, Harley MS 106 (s. xv), fols 75^r–82^v ['Explicit tractatus de usura a mag(istro) Iohanne Repington compilatus'].

¹⁹ Emden's source was V. H. Galbraith, 'John Seward and his circle', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 1 (1941–3), 85–104, at pp. 87, 92, 94. Galbraith refers to Eyton as canon of Repton, which, if it comes from the manuscript, Edinburgh University Library, MS 136, fols 1^r–10^v, would imply a date no later than 1391, out of line with the dates associated with other dedications. Galbraith's only other source for information on Eyton was F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College* (Oxford, 1931), p. 205, who provided the single date 1387 from the *Tractatus de usura*, and he cannot have known the connection with the Smithfield priory, for that would have been relevant to his depicting Seward's London circle. He dated Seward's manuscript c.1418–22, and he saw Eyton as belonging to an early layer of dedications to fellow scholars as distinct from Seward's later dedications to public figures such as Edward (d. 1415), Duke of York, and King Henry V himself. Philip Repyngdon as Bishop of Lincoln was another of Seward's dedicatees. Without having the means to explain Eyton's appearance, Galbraith dates the earlier layer to the latter part of Henry IV's reign after Eyton's death.

²⁰ Forde, 'Writings of a reformer', I, 283–4, and at greater length in 'Theological sources cited by two canons from Repton: Philip Repyngdon and John Eyton', in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, ed. A. M. Hudson and M. Wilks, *Studies in Church History, Subsidia* 5 (1987), pp. 419–28. John was a canon of Repton, Philip took his surname from the place.

²¹ Alphanumeric references such as UC3, UO38, SS1 identify entries in medieval booklists printed in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.

²² Emden, *BRUO*, 1565, s.n. Repyngdon, John, citing PRO C47/127/1 (a file of forty items), which is an obsolete reference; he cites the same documents with the same reference under Nicholas Peshale (*BRUO* 1469), Simon Southery (1734), John Taylor (1850), etc. The modern references are C245/19/52–3 and 55–6, writs of *Scire facias*, dated 22 and 29 May 1388, by which the chancellor and ‘nearly thirty leading masters’ were summoned (J. I. Catto, ‘Wyclif and Wyclifism at Oxford, 1356–1430’, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, 8 vols (Oxford, 1984–92), II, 175–261 (at p. 231 n. 181)).

²³ The catalogue, compiled in the 1490s, was edited with notes and index by T. Webber, *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons* (London, 1998), 104–399.

²⁴ John Bale’s notebook (1548–53), Bodl. MS Selden Supra 64, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, (alphabetized as) *Index Britanniae scriptorum* (Oxford, 1902), p. 324. This is then the basis of his entry in his *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae catalogus* (Basel 1557–9), I, 501.

²⁵ John Bale, *Anglorum Heliades* (BL, Harley MS 3838), s.n.; John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae summarium* (‘Ipswich’ [Wesel], 1548), fol. 192^v.

²⁶ John Leland, *De uiris illustribus*, ed. J. P. Carley (Toronto, 2010), p. 496. Words between \ and / are added in the manuscript.

²⁷ John Leland, *De uiris illustribus*, ed. Carley, p. 682.

²⁸ Bale, *Index*, pp. 262 (John Waldeby from MS 68, arts 23–5), 264 (John Wykeham, art. 19), 384 (Robert Alyngton, art. 9), and 449 (Thomas Palmer, named in the titulus of art. 5, and to whom Bale has also assigned arts 6–7); Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College, Oxford* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 282–6.

²⁹ John Mirfield, *Florarium Bartholomei*, part edited by P. H. S. Hartley and H. R. Aldridge, *Johannes de Mirfield of St Bartholomew’s Hospital, Smithfield: His Life and Works* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 114–64. The work has a more limited circulation than Repyngdon’s sermons, but excerpts represent a higher proportion of the copies listed in Sharpe, *Latin Writers*, p. 284, among them BL, Harley MS 106, fols 129^r–(135). Mirfield’s *Breniarium Bartholomei* (written no later than 1387), part edited by Hartley and Aldridge, pp. 46–94, appears to have had less circulation.