“The praise of that I yeld for sacrifice”: Anne Lock and the Poetics of the Eucharist

BEN BURTON

St. Edmund Hall, University of Oxford

La Réforme a provoqué une crise linguistique, tout aussi importante que doctrinale et interprétative, en particulier au sujet de la signification de l'Eucharistie du point de vue des mots, des choses, et des signes. Cet article montre dans quelle mesure la poésie de dévotion d'Anne Vaughan Lock (c.1534 – c.1590) tient compte des différentes pressions de ces débats, exercées par la théologie sacramentelle calviniste sur la communauté divine anglaise de Genève. Dans sa Méditation sur le Psaume 51, Lock présente la séquence de son sonnet comme le seul vrai sacrifice de louange que les véritables fidèles offrent à Dieu. En soulignant la puissance affective de la sainte Cène, Lock vivifie la théologie calviniste en tant qu'une manière de ressentir, et un mode de méditation poétique.

In the preface to her translation of Calvin's sermons, the reformed writer Anne Lock (c.1534–c.1590) describes the taste and nourishment that is offered by the Word of God. For Lock, the Word is “medicine,” taken from the “storehouse of Gods holye testament” and administered by the “Apothecarie master John Calvine” in his sermons to be “tasted” by the reader.¹ Thirty years later, Lock would return to this imagery in her translation of Jean Taffin's Calvinist tract, *Of the Markes of the Children of God* (1590), which elaborates upon the taste and nourishment of the Word that is sealed and set forth by the “visible word” (*parole visible*) of the sacraments:

And thou shalt feele at the last that which is said to sicke men that have lost their tast, that thy appetite will come to thee by eating: And that the word of God, and the participating of the bread and wine in the holie supper shall be to thee more sweet, than honie to the mouth, as *David* saith.²

Lock's translation presents a zeugma, juxtaposing the “sweetness” of the Word of God, and the “sweetness” of the sacraments. Of course, the reference to Psalm 119:103 (“How swete are thy promises unto my mouth! *Yea*, more than honie unto my mouth”) introduces a scriptural precedent for the taste and nourishment of the Word that was reinforced by Calvinist exegesis.³ However, this precedent and Lock's elaboration introduce a relationship between Word and sacraments that demands more thorough examination. While literary critics often refer to both the

sacramentality and the desacramentalization of language in the early modern period, these studies only beg larger questions: how did early modern writers understand the relationship between Word and sacrament? Did this special relationship extend to language in general, as well as to literary texts? How can we connect these wider concerns—aesthetic, hermeneutic, and spiritual—to the political and religious controversies of the late sixteenth century?⁴

While literary critics and theorists have been exploring the problems inhering in the referential functions of language in general and epistemological crises of early modern Europe in particular, most lack, however, a theological awareness or framework for describing the changing contours of these crises. New Historicist literary critics in particular, who have highlighted the Lord's Supper as a challenge to the order of representation in the early modern period, can benefit from nuanced attention to the poetical and philosophical contexts of the sacramental controversy.⁵ This essay will consider how to approach the relationship between sacramental theology and literary culture, in order to develop an account of what I shall call a reformed "poetics" of the Eucharist, by focusing on three things. First, Calvinist theology is the starting point for godly writers like Anne Lock, providing contact between sacramental theology and poetic meditation. Following Calvin's commentary on Psalm 51, Lock presents her sonnet sequence as a means for bringing sinners to repentance, and as the true "hoste" or sacrifice of praise sought by God. Second, biblical exegesis furnishes Lock with a lexicon that binds sacramental theology and the language of scripture; specifically, the use of "taste" and "nourishment" to explain, describe, and celebrate the sacraments. The *Meditation* adopts Calvin's master images of taste and nourishment, to arouse readers to a worthy understanding of the Lord's Supper, grounded in a language of spiritual and physical suffering. Third, Lock stimulates an affective apprehension of the sacrament, developing the "affinitie" between spiritual and physical meaning at the heart of Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (1559). In her treatment of these three components of reformed literary practice, sacramental theology is brought to life as a way of feeling, and as a mode of poetic meditation.

Lock's Protestant credentials are well-established.⁶ Ever since Patrick Collinson presented her as a key member of the godly community, historians and students of literature have paid increasing attention to the woman described by one editor as "a prominent supporter of the Protestant cause and an active participant in the early reformed communities of the mid-sixteenth century."⁷ Among literary scholars, recent studies have emphasized her active role in the formation of godly communities in Geneva and England, and her substantial contribution to the literary culture of

the Reformation. Lock corresponded with the Scottish reformer John Knox; she translated Calvin's *Sermons on Isaiah 38* (1560), and Jean Taffin's Calvinist tract, *Of the Markes of the Children of God* (1590); and she wrote original poetry in Latin and English, including a *Meditation* on Psalm 51, a series of 21 sonnets, published along with her translation of Calvin's *Sermons*.⁸

While several studies have examined Lock's imagery in her poems and dedicatory epistles, demonstrating her skill as a writer, and her knowledge of and commitment to Calvinist theology, I want to deepen our understanding of Lock's writing and religion—to explore the theological pressures that inform her poetry, and uncover the aesthetic contours of her religious beliefs.⁹ The sacramental controversy transformed the role of language and representation in shaping devotional experience. Lock's sonnet sequence is a case study for the "poetics" of the Eucharist in early modern England, that is, the terms and techniques used by reformed and Catholic writers to explain, describe, and celebrate the Lord's Supper. This identifies keywords and metaphors in Lock's poetry that concentrate the hermeneutic and spiritual crises of theological debate, locating Lock's *Meditation* among the religious controversies of the mid-sixteenth century. As we shall see, terms of "taste" and "nourishment" in Sonnet 19 are informed by Lock's response to *Misere mei, Deus* as an expression of the spiritual and physical suffering of an unworthy communicant. The *Meditation* thus mediates between communal and personal expressions of belief, and offers a voice for felt experience that enlivens an official assertion of Calvinist doctrine. For Lock, the Eucharist—as word, sign, and thing—becomes an instrument for the performance of confessional identity and for the articulation of felt experience in godly worship.

In recent years, a number of critical studies have attempted to reconstruct the manner in which devotional poetry imitates the experience of communion and the mode of sacramental signification. However, while these studies make suggestive claims about the "sacramentality of language," they neglect to explore the poetic and spiritual implications of this thesis: namely, the points of connection, as well as rupture, between sacramental theology and early modern language and literature. Throughout this essay, Lock and Calvin are presented as literary figures working through thorny issues of representation. Yet it would be misleading to think of Calvin as theological "background" for the *Meditation*. Instead, I show how Lock translates Calvinist theology into performance. Lock's allusions to the Lord's Supper can thus be seen as an act of poetic devotion that complements and enlivens Calvin's affective apprehension of the Lord's Supper.

The first section of the essay explores how Lock announces an allegiance to Calvin's sacramental theology. The *Meditation* is shown to develop an official assertion of Calvinist doctrine, and to adopt images of taste and nourishment from the communion service in the Genevan Prayer Book, as well as from Calvin's theological treatise, *Institutio Christianae Religionis*. The next section examines how the literary form of Lock's sonnet sequence unites godly readers in praise and thanksgiving. I argue that the *Meditation*, in building upon Calvin's interpretation of Psalm 51, translates the psalmist's penitential narrative into a poetic "hoste" or "sacrifice" of "praise" which is the prelude to a worthy reception of the sacraments. Last, I show how Lock pits her sacrifice of praise against the Catholic Mass, and rouses godly readers with an exemplary act of poetic devotion. Taken as a whole, the essay explores the dialectic of aesthetic and spiritual crises that inform sacramental controversy.

I

Sonnet 19 of Anne Lock's *Meditation* accompanies her translation of Psalm 51:17 ("The sacrifice to God is a troubled sprite: a broken and an humbled hart, o god, thou wilt not despise"). It presents a striking comparison between the physical and spiritual welfare of the speaker:

My troubled sprite doth drede like him to be,
In whome tastlesse langour with lingring paine
Hath febled so the starved appetite,
That foode to late is offred all in vaine,
To holde in fainting corps the fleing sprite.¹⁰

With this network of subordinated clauses ("him...in whome...so...that..."), trochaic inversions ("tastlesse languor...lingring paine"), and the dense alliteration of lateral, sibilant, and velar sounds ("tastlesse languor...lingring"), Lock's poem lingers here like the speaker, who is "febled" for lack of "taste" and "foode." As is indicated by the alliterating participles "fainting corps" and "fleing sprite," the nineteenth sonnet compares a moment of physical and spiritual crisis; the near-tautology of adverbial phrases "to late" and "all in vaine" emphasizes the offering of that "foode" which would have sustained "corps" as well as "sprite." Indeed, the following lines of the sonnet appear to equate spiritual and physical suffering, as the second half of the extended simile echoes images of hunger in the first:

My pining soule for famine of thy grace
So feares alas the faintnesse of my faithe. (ll.9–10)

As a description of the speaker's "troubled sprite," this passage conjures familiar images of physical and spiritual suffering, as the "fainting corps" of the second quatrain is mirrored by the speaker's "faintnesse of...faith." However, Lock calls attention to particular theological issues at stake in her extended simile, which appears to equate, even as it compares, a "starved appetite" to the "famine" of the "soule."

Lock's keywords here were not casually chosen. Indeed, taste and nourishment were critical terms in the sacramental controversy. Maggie Kilgour highlights the tension between physical and spiritual senses that characterized descriptions of taste and nourishment in the early modern period, and describes how "in order to delineate themselves as one religious body against another, the reformers defined themselves in terms of eating: as those who ate spiritually in opposition to the others who ate God literally."¹¹ The reformers promoted spiritual eating against the spectacle of Catholic cannibalism, in a strategy of self-definition against an alien other that Kilgour likens to colonialist discourse: "the construction of the savage cannibal as antithesis of civilized man."¹² This observation can help us to understand the popular polemical cries of the sacramental controversy; we shall soon hear Calvin's own attacks against the Catholic Mass-Priests, whom he brands the "butchers of Christ" (*Christi carnifices*). However, Kilgour's study oversimplifies the polemical distinction between spiritual and carnal eating; her analysis overlooks the ways in which terms of eating and drinking were contested among the various evangelical factions of the Protestant Reformation, as Zwinglians, Calvinists, and Lutherans accused each other of eating either in a cannibalistic or merely metaphorical manner.¹³ What is more, the key concepts of eating and drinking entailed an array of other terms, which enabled more nuanced distinctions to be made between opposing theological parties. For Lock and Calvin alike, taste and nourishment became the dominant descriptions of sacramental communication, while unworthy communicants were represented "without taste," or afflicted by "a stomach possessed wt evill humors." In the context of sacramental controversy, the spiritual and carnal sense of terms like taste and nourishment existed, not simply to depict a reformed consensus against a common Catholic enemy, but also as terms which were shared and fought over in an ongoing struggle among the Reformers themselves.

Lock's understanding of the Lord's Supper had been crystallized during a period of exile in Geneva, in which time she worshipped with the English refugees at the church of Marie la Nove, better known as the Auditoire, the lecture hall where John Calvin delivered many of his sermons and lectures.¹⁴ Her sonnet sequence draws upon this experience, as well as upon the representations of the sacraments from the Genevan Prayer Book (1556) and Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis*

(1559). These were texts to which Lock is likely to have had access, the latter in Latin, and which were published shortly before her translations and *Meditation*. These texts offer specific discursive pressures at work in the key terms of taste and nourishment, which Lock and Calvin use to describe and explain sacramental communication.¹⁵

During her exile in Geneva, from May 1557 until February 1559, Lock would have celebrated communion at least once a month, following the communion service in the *Forme of Praier and ministracion of the sacraments*, which had been recently printed for the English congregation in Geneva.¹⁶ Through regular contact with the Prayer Book and Calvin's *Institutio*, Lock encountered a theologically charged description of the Lord's Supper, grounded in terms of taste and nourishment. Both of these terms inform the plight of the speaker in Lock's *Meditation*, who "doth drede like him to be,"

In whome tastlesse languor with lingring paine
Hath febled so the starved appetite,
That foode to late is offred all in vaine (19:5–7)

Unlike any edition of the *Booke of Common Praier*, the Genevan Prayer Book attempts to clarify the mode of eating by describing sacramental communication as "nourishment unto everlasting life" (78). At the same time, the Prayer Book takes pains to distinguish sacramental "nourishment" from physical eating, exhorting communicants not "to seeke Christ bodely present...as if he were inclosed in the breade or wyne, or as yf these elements were tourned and changed into the substance, of his fleshe and blood" (74–5). The exhortation to communicants is accompanied by a note in the margin, which warns "Transubstantiation, Transelementation, Transmutation, and Transformation as the papistes use them are the doctrine of the diuells." Against the "bodely," and diabolical, understanding of the "papistes," the Prayer Book urges communicants that "the only way to dispose our soules to receive nourishment, reliefe, and quickening of his substance, is to lift up our mindes by faith above all thinges wordlye and sensible, and therby enter into heaven."

Calvin was worried enough about an adequate explanation for spiritual eating to have an entire chapter of the *Institutio Christianae Religionis* devoted to the Lord's Supper. Taste and nourishment undergird the description of sacramental communication in Book Four, Chapter Seventeen of the *Institutio*.¹⁷ Calvin emphasizes terms of taste and nourishment, contrasting them with biting, chewing, and swallowing, which he uses to caricature his opponents.¹⁸ In one of his many sideswipes at the papal Mass, Calvin brands Catholic priests the "butchers of Christ" (*Christi carnifices*), who worship the sacraments "as though the body of Chirst were

made present with presence of place, to be handled with handes, to be broosed with teethe, and swallowed wt mouth [*manibus attrectandum, atterendum dentibus, ore degultiendum sisteretur*]." A visceral parody of Catholic communion, Calvin offers a procession of participles (*attrectandum, atterendum, degultiendum*) that emphasize physical contact with, and consumption of, Christ, without the benefits of spiritual "nourishment" (4.17.12). In addition to the spectacle of Catholic cannibalism, Calvin also manipulates terms of "taste" (*gustare*) to represent unworthy communicants, a strategy that underscores Lock's reference to "tastlesse langour" in Sonnet 19. Although Calvin does not use the term "tasteless" in the *Institutio*, he frequently presents unworthy communicants as "hauing no taste," or "withoute the taste of faith [*absque fidei gustu*]" (4.17.33):

Surely the devil coulde by no readier way destroye men, than by so making them senselesse, that they coulde not perceive the taste and savour of such foode [*ne gustum et saporem talis alimenti perciperent*], wherewith it was the will of the moste good heavenly Father to fede them. (4.17.42)

Doctrinal controversy emerges at the level of discourse; the contrast between Calvinist doctrine and opposing parties is generated by a series of binary pairs in the *Institutio*: taste/no taste; nourishment/hunger.

Lock's sonnet sequence announces an allegiance to Calvinist theology, not with images of Catholic cannibalism, but by alluding to the "taste" that signifies, as it does for Calvin, a worthy understanding of the sacraments. The "drede" experienced by Lock's speaker at the prospect of a "tastlesse langour" resonates with Calvin's description of those "men," destroyed by the devil, who "coulde not perceive the taste and savour" of the sacraments. However, while they are the mark of Calvin's sacramental theology, taste and nourishment are not restricted to official assertions of doctrine. As Calvin explains, the communion service itself is also a mark of the true church, a time for the godly to confess their allegiance to God, to acknowledge the saving benefits of Christ's death, and to offer praise and thanks for spiritual sustenance.¹⁹ For Lock, poetical texts had a crucial role to play in the formation of godly worship. Her *Meditation* upon Psalm 51 offers a space for exploration of images of nourishment, in a mode that is at once intensely personal and, at the same time, bound to the communal expression of praise and thanksgiving.

II

"A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner: Written in Maner of a Paraphrase upon the 51. Psalme of David" comprises a twenty-one-sonnet paraphrase on Psalm 51, prefaced

by five introductory sonnets; the sequence offers godly readers a lively exposition of Calvinist doctrine and an exemplary model for devotion.²⁰ The *Meditation* is appended to Lock's translation, *Sermons of John Calvin, upon the songe that Ezechias made... conteyned in the 38. Chapter of Esay* (1560), an octavo volume that constitutes one of the earliest editions of Calvin's sermons in English.²¹ The prefatory sonnets, in the words of the title, express "the passioned minde of the penitent sinner," and explore the emotional and psychological state of the speaker who cries out for grace in Psalm 51. The sonnets develop this drama, and articulate the tribulations of the speaker's "troubled sprite" in a cycle of complaint, repentance, and hope. Throughout the sequence, Lock concentrates upon the repetition and elaboration of keywords in Psalm 51, announcing her allegiance to Calvin's theology, and enlivening his exegesis with a poetic performance of praise.²²

With scholarly consensus settling on Lock as author, the *Meditation* constitutes the first sonnet sequence in the English language; since Lock seems to have no predecessor in Italian or French, hers is also the first sequence in Europe written by a woman.²³ However, in adopting the sonnet for her meditation on Psalm 51, Lock engaged in a process, not of self-fashioning, but of group-fashioning.²⁴ Lock's sequence wrests the sonnet from its association with the Elizabethan aristocracy, and uses the genre to interrogate the politics of the Elizabethan Church from the perspective of an urban Protestant.²⁵ The *Meditation* thus becomes an exemplar for godly devotion, articulating a language of the self that is bound to communal worship and the experience of communion. Lock takes her place among a generation of godly writers who, by reforming genres like the sonnet and providing fresh gloss for the vernacular Scriptures, were conscious of trying to create a new consensual community.²⁶ The *Meditation* presents a Calvinist communion as the archetype for such consensus, as Lock's sonnet sequence offers readers a model for sacramental devotion, a sacrifice of praise for the crucifixion of Christ:²⁷

But thy swete sonne alone,
With one sufficing sacrifice for all
Appeaseth thee, and maketh the at one
With sinfull man, and hath repaire our fall.
That sacred hoste is ever in thine eyes.
The praise of that I yeld for sacrifice. (ll. 9–14)

A meditation upon Psalm 51:16 ("If thou haddest desired sacrifice, I wold have geuen thou delytest not in burnt offringes"), this sonnet explores several meanings of "sacrifice" at the heart of Calvin's sacramental theology, including an act of propitiation ("one sufficing sacrifice...appeaseth thee"), and an act of thanksgiving

("the praise...I yeld for sacrifice"). According to Calvin, the sacraments are not a sacrifice "propitiatorie, or of expiation" (*propitiatorium, sive expiationis*), but "the sacrifice of Thanksgiving" (literally, a *εὐχαριστικόν*) (4.18.10).²⁸ In "the sacrifice of Thanksgiving," Calvin explains, are contained "al our prayers, prayssinges, gevinges of thanks, & whatsoever we do to the worshipping of God." The *Meditation* enacts such a performance of praise, uniting godly readers in spiritual preparation for communion. During the course of Sonnet 18, the penitential narrative of Psalm 51 is brought to life in a poetic "sacrifice," an act of thanksgiving that comprises "al our prayers, prayssinges, gevinges of thanks."

The *Meditation* enriches our appreciation of how the penitential Psalms were employed in godly life. Although literary scholars have examined Psalm 51 as a model for personal and political instruction, they have yet to consider the Psalm's particular significance for Calvinist communion.²⁹ For Lock, as for many godly readers, *Misere mei, deus* could be used to accompany and prepare believers for the service of the Lord's Supper. Following Calvin's commentary on Psalm 51, Lock takes up the language of *Misere Mei, Deus* in homage to a godly communion. Taking her lead from Calvin's commentary, Lock offers her sonnet sequence as a "hoste" or "sacrifice" of praise to God; the penitential narrative of Psalm 51 thus becomes an instrument for the performance of confessional identity, and for the articulation of a personal voice in communal worship. In the rest of this section, I examine selected sonnets from the *Meditation*, in which Lock attempts to instruct godly readers in the devotional experience of communion.

Lock's sonnet sequence reproduces the interpretive strategies of Calvin's exegesis, and enables godly readers to apply the *Misere mei, Deus* to the experience of sacramental communication. Taking up keywords from Psalm 51, the *Meditation* establishes a typological connection between the psalmist's penitential narrative and the plight of an unworthy communicant. In Sonnet 9, for example, a meditation on Psalm 51:7 ("Sprinkle me, Lorde, with hisope and I shalbe cleane: washe me and I shalbe whiter then snow"), Lock's speaker considers hyssop as a "figure" for the sacraments:

With swete Hysope besprinkle thou my sprite:
Not such hysope, nor so besprinkle me,
As law unperfect shade of perfect lyght
Did use as an apointed signe to be
Foresheving figure of thy grace beight. (9:1-5)

With the alliterating verbal phrase "besprinkle thou my sprite," this sonnet emphasizes a spiritual interpretation of "swete Hysope" and the sprinkling described in

Psalm 51:7. During the course of Sonnet 9, hyssop is implicated in a series of signifying relationships, as an “apointed signe” and a “foreshewing figure” for communion; in the progression from “unperfect shade” to “perfect lyght,” Lock presents hyssop as an Old Testament type, a sign which foreshows, and is fulfilled by, the antitypes of the Gospel. In presenting Psalm 51 to godly readers for typological interpretation, Lock follows Calvin’s commentary, who enlists *Misere mei, Deus* to illustrate the assurance of faith that is sealed by the sacraments.

Anne Lock may well have had access to Calvin’s *Commentarius in Librum Psalmorum*, first published in Latin in Geneva in 1557. In the commentary on Psalm 51, Lock would have found a precedent for applying the psalmist’s penitential narrative to the struggle of a worthy communicant.³⁰ According to Calvin, the psalmist’s reference to hyssop entails those “seales [*sigilla*] of gods grace” which all believers require to “shore by our faith... as oft as our minds waver.” Calvin stresses, however, that “ceremonies,” and the sacraments in particular, are only “effectual and ratified” if they are understood spiritually:

although there be no clensing too bee sought for elsewhere than in the bloud of Christ, yit notwithstanding forasmuch as the spiritual grace is neyther seene with eyes nor felt with handes, wee cannot (but by the helpe of outward signes [*externis signis*] with quyet mindes believe that God is at one with us.³¹

Calvin’s commentary identifies hyssop as an Old Testament type fulfilled by the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.³² In this reading, the psalmist’s call for hyssop testifies to the importance of the sacraments in godly worship, the “outward signes” presented to bodily senses, which “helpe” believers comprehend the operation of “spiritual grace.”³³

Lock introduces a personal voice within this framework of Calvin’s exegesis, and explores the plight of a “troubled sprite” who cannot, in Calvin’s words, “(but by the helpe of outward signes) with quyet mindes believe that God is at one with us”:

With death and bloodshed of thine only sonne,
The swete hysope, cleanse me defyled wyght.
Sprinkle my soule. (9:6–8)

The repetition of imperatives in the *Meditation* (“sprinkle thou my sprite,” “cleanse me defyled wyght,” “sprinkle my soule”) adopts the rhetoric of Psalm 51:7 (“sprinkle me, Lorde... washe me...”), emphasizing the speaker’s unworthiness, as well as his or her dependence upon the “helpe” of the sacraments. Lock’s reference to a “defyled wyght” also puns upon the psalmist’s imagery, evoking an acknowledgement of unworthiness, and desire for grace; the speaker is both a “defyled wyght/person,” and

"defyled wyght/white"—an image of impurity that looks to the spiritual cleansing of the sacraments, after which the speaker "shalbe whiter than the whitest snowe" (l.14). With a reference to the sacramental wine and the water of Baptism, "Bede-awd with droppes of mercy and of grace" (l.9), Lock's speaker looks forward to the "spiritual grace" that is presented in communion ("I shalbe cleane as cleansed of my synne" [l.10]), and acknowledges, in Calvin's words, that "there be no clensing too be sought for elsewhere than in the bloud of Christ." Psalm 51 thus becomes a text for spiritual preparation, a means of arousing readers to a worthy apprehension of the "helpe" offered in the Lord's Supper.

By connecting her sequence with Calvinist sacramental theology, Lock affirms the efficacy of sacred poetry, both in bringing the sinner to repentance, and as the true sacrifice of praise sought by God.³⁴ Taking her lead from Calvin's commentary, Lock opens up Psalm 51 as a text for instruction and imitation, and establishes her sonnet sequence as an exemplary "hoste"—a sacrifice of praise offered by a worthy communicant. Lock institutes this poetic "sacrifice" in Sonnet 18, in which the speaker returns to a description of "the bloud of Christ" as a "swete" sacrifice, distinguished from the "burnt offrings" (Ps. 51:16) of the old law:

But thy swete sonne alone,
With one sufficing sacrifice for all
Appeaseth thee, and maketh the at one
With sinfull man, and hath repaire our fall. (18:9–12)

At the start of this sonnet, the speaker rejects the propitiatory "sacrifices" of the Old Testament, the death "of gyltlesse beastes, to purge my guilt and blame" (l.7). Instead, the "savour" of "burnt offrings" (Ps. 51:16) is rendered obsolete by the "swete sonne alone." The efficacy of this "sacrifice" "alone" to "appease" God, and "repair" (a word which may evoke a sense of propitiation; "to make good") the effects of original sin, is reinforced by the potential rhyme in this final quatrain, where "alone" | "at one," which figures the transformation of the sinner to communion with God, may also be read as "alone" | "atone."³⁵ The word "sacrifice" is a focus for meditation here. Taking her lead from Calvin's commentary, Lock directs sinners toward the "sufficing sacrifice" of Christ, by which "the sinnes of the worlde" are "repaired":

Therefore that the sinner may obtene grace, first let him turne his mynde to the
Sacrifice of Christ, by which the sinnes of the worlde are purged. Afterward let
him call to him the holy Supper, and Baptisme too confirme his faith withal. (cc
204v; 248)

By representing Christ's Passion as a "sufficing sacrifice," the penitential narrative of Psalm 51 is adapted, through the course of Calvin's commentary, and in the course of Lock's sonnet, into a model for instruction and spiritual preparation that ought to culminate in communion.

The *Meditation* translates Calvin's exegesis into performance. The hortatory directive to communicants in Calvin's commentary ("let him turne his mynde....let him call to him the holy Supper...") thus becomes the condition for godly meditation in Sonnet 18. Lock engages godly readers in "prayers, prayings," and "gevings of thanks" for the "sufficing sacrifice" of Christ, and prepares believers for a worthy reception of the holy Supper. The "sufficing sacrifice" stands at a volte in this sonnet, where the speaker turns away from the propitiatory "sacrifice" of the opening lines, toward the "sacrifice" of praise that closes the poem:

That sacred hoste is ever in thine eyes.
The praise of that I yeld for sacrifice. (18:13–14)

At the start of the sonnet, the speaker opposed "prayer" to the propitiatory "sacrifices" of the old law: "Thy mercies praise, instede of sacrifice....I yeld to thee" (1.1–2). By the final couplet, however, the speaker has achieved a synthesis of these initially contrasting terms. Lock presents her sonnet sequence as the true sacrifice of praise sought by God, and enacts what Calvin argues is the appropriate devotional response of a worthy communicant. Calvin's exegesis is brought to life in Sonnet 18, and enacted as a poetic "hoste" or sacrifice.³⁶

Lock's poetic sacrifice emphasizes the felt experience of communion, enlivening the emotional apprehension of the sacrament in Calvin's theology. This affective response to the Lord's Supper reaches its peak in Sonnet 19, where Lock's striking account of a "fainting corps" and "fleing sprite" dramatizes the connections between spiritual and corporeal experience in an unworthy communicant. Through extensive wordplay and intricate conceits, Lock highlights the language of taste and nourishment in Calvin's work, emphasizing what Calvin calls the mysterious "affinitie" between bread and body, wine and blood, which communicants may experience but cannot understand. This is more than just a shared vocabulary: the *Meditation* adopts and enlivens the rhetorical and hermeneutic procedures which characterize Calvin's representation of the Lord's Supper in the *Institutio Christianae Religionis*. For Lock, as for Calvin, confessional identity emerges through reading and writing about the sacraments. These shared procedures inculcate in godly readers a worthy apprehension of the sacramental mystery; they also help to distinguish Lock's poetic 'hoste' or sacrifice of praise from the perceived abomination of the Catholic Mass. The complex allusions to taste and nourishment in Sonnet 19 may thus be read as a

devotional exercise in the correct understanding and worthy apprehension of the sacramental sign.

In the Genevan Prayer Book and the *Institutio*, Calvin draws an analogy between corporeal sustenance and communion to illustrate how the Lord's Supper represents the promises of God to believers. In a catechism appended to the Prayer Book, for example, the analogy between sacramental "nourishment" and the physical consumption of bread becomes a mechanism for indoctrinating believers in the hermeneutic procedures of Calvinist theology. When the minister asks "what do the bread and wyne represent, in the lordes Supper?", the child is to respond:

This, that as our bodies are nourished therewith, so our sowles are susteyned, and nourished with the vertue of Christs body and bloode, not that they are inclosed in the breade and wyne, but we must seeke Christ in heaven in the glorie of his father. (155)³⁷

This figure is central to Calvin's description of the Lord's Supper, and is designed to counter what Calvin sees as the idolatrous worship of bread and wine in the Popish Mass. The *Institutio* enlists tropes of comparison to describe the mode of communion at length, including "similitude" (*similitudo*) and "proportionall relation" (*analogia*).³⁸ Such "familiar" figures, Calvin argues, "entreteth euen into the grossest myndes" (4.17.1), directing the faithful towards a worthy apprehension of the "hie mysteries which lie hidden in the Sacraments" (4.14.5):

from the corporall thynges whych are shewed in the Sacrament, we are by a certayne proportionall relation [*analogia*] guyded to spirituall thynges. So when bread is geuen us for a signe of the body of Christ, we ought by & by to conceive this similitude [*similitudo*]: As bread nourisheth [*alit*], susteineth, and mainteineth the life of our body: so the body of Christ is the onely meate [*cibum*] to quicken & geue lyfe to oure soule. (4.17.3)

Calvin's description oscillates between two types of resemblance: analogy, which distinguishes spiritual and carnal "nourishment," and *aemulatio*, which emphasizes the similarity of communion and the physical consumption of bread and wine. In the Genevan catechism we thus encounter a repetition of terms in either side of the analogy: "as our bodies are *nourished*...so our sowles are susteyned, and *nourished*..." (emphasis added), while in the *Institutio*, bodily nourishment is mirrored by the image of Christ as "the onely meate." Through Calvin's use of analogy and *aemulatio*, nourishment is neither equated with sacramental communication, nor does it arbitrarily stand for it; there is rather an Augustinian "likenesse" between these processes, or what Calvin calls "the affinitie [*affinitatem*] which the things signified haue with their signes": "If (sayeth he [Augustine]) the Sacramentes hadde

not a certaine likenesse of those thynges whereof they are Sacramentes, they should not be Sacramentes at all" (4.17.21).³⁹

Analogy and *aemulatio* are more than pedagogic devices in Calvin's theology; they are an expression (or more precisely, a recapitulation) of the mysterious means by which God accommodates or "tempreth [*attemperat*] himselfe to our capacitie" (4.14.3).⁴⁰ Calvin states that the sacraments are a special example of divine accommodation, since "[God] doth in them manifestlye shewe himselfe to vs, so much as it is geuen our dullnesse to knowe, and doth more expressly testifie his good will and loue towarde us tha[n] by hys worde" (4.14.6). However, while believers are assured that they are "nourished" with Christ in communion, they cannot know how the Holy Spirit does this or why this medium has been chosen.⁴¹ For Calvin, the interplay of analogy and *aemulatio* re-enacts this basic principle of divine accommodation. The inscrutable resemblance between corporeal and spiritual "nourishment" reminds godly readers that there can be no knowledge of God without mediation, no assurance of communion without the sacraments. Calvin retraces the mysterious affinity established by Christ with the words of institution, *hoc est corpus meum*: a divine act of naming which exemplifies what Derrida has called the movement of metaphor within language, founded on "an enigma, a secret narrative...a powerful asyndeton of dissimulated conjunction."⁴² At this point, the Lord's Supper exceeds all form of explanation, as Calvin himself confesses: "it is a hyer secrete than that it can be eyther comprehended with my witt, or vttered with my woordes: and, to speake it more plainly, I rather fele it, than I can vnderstand it [*experior magis quàm intelligam*]" (4.17.32). Calvin's aim is not to diminish the sacramental mysteries by explaining them away, but rather to highlight the assurance that proceeds from the Supper when it is apprehended by faith.⁴³ This appeal to the felt experience of communion—something Calvin can "fele", rather than "vnderstand"—marks the beginning of Anne Lock's affective representation of the Lord's Supper. Through the use of rhyme, alliteration, wordplay, and intricate conceits, Lock's sonnet sequence attempts to recreate the performance of penitence and praise in Calvinist communion. This affective apprehension of the sacraments is the subject of the closing section of this chapter, which moves to explore Sonnet 19.

III

Sonnet 19 of the *Meditation* explores the affinity between physical and spiritual meanings in Calvinist theology, and highlights the felt experience of sacramental devotion that emerges in the previous poem. The verbal phrase "I yeld," with its sug-

gestion of a sacrificial offering, links the last line of the eighteenth sonnet to the first line of the nineteenth, and introduces images of physical and spiritual sacrifice:

I yeld my self, I offer up my ghoste,
My slayne delightes, my dyeng hart to thee. (19:1–2)

The parallel verbal phrases, "I yeld" and "I offer," reinforce the speaker's act of sacrifice, although this near tautology may promote another sense of "yeld" — "to die or expire" — which prepares the way for the images of "tastlesse langour" that represent the speaker's "trobled sprite."⁴⁴ The personal sacrifice that the speaker describes ("my self...my ghoste, my slayne delightes, my dyeng hart") entails physical and spiritual offerings: the speaker's spirit ("my ghoste") and, as the participle "dyeng hart" suggests, the speaker's mortal body. These physical and spiritual sacrifices echo Calvin's description of sacramental devotion, in which the sacrificial altars of the Old Law are superseded by the "greater sacrifice" of a worthy communicant:

we are in soule and body hallowed to be a holy temple to the Lord [...] This kynde of sacrifice tendeth nothing at al to appease the wrath of God, nothing at al to obtain forgiveness of synnes, nothing at all to deserve righteousness: but is occupied only in magnifying & extolling of God. (4.18.16)

"Hallowed to be a holy temple," Calvin represents communicants "in soule and body" as the antitype of a sacrificial altar. Adopting Calvin's imagery, Lock's speaker presents penitence as a sacrifice of praise ("My slayne delightes"), which supersedes the propitiatory sacrifices of the Old Law ("cattell slayne" [18:5]), affirming "to God a trobled sprite is pleasing hoste." Highlighted in the opening rhyme of the sonnet ("my ghoste" | "hoste") the word "hoste" is a keyword for meditation here, a term which refers back to the sacrifice of Christ ("that sacred hoste") in Sonnet 18, and looks forward to the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving offered by worthy communicants before they receive the sacraments.

In her vision of poetic sacrifice, Lock attempts to reclaim the word "hoste" as a positive term in the godly experience of communion. For many reformed writers, the word was particularly controversial in a eucharistic context, where it usually designated a consecrated wafer, regarded as the body of Christ sacrificially offered in the Catholic Mass.⁴⁵ Between 1540 and 1580 (the two decades either side of Lock's sonnet sequence) the term generally appears in this sense, employed either by Catholic apologists or by Protestant polemicists attacking the adoration of the host, "a god of the papystes," in the Mass service.⁴⁶ Calvin, who holds perhaps the largest sway over Lock's understanding of sacramental worship and theology at this time, used the term with patent disgust during a lengthy attack upon the idolatrous

worship of communion wafers in the Mass: “They [Catholic priests] consecrate an host [*hostiam*], as they call it, which they may carie about in pompe, which they may shew foorth in a common gazing to be loked vpon, worshipped, and called vpon” (4.17.37). On the strength of Calvin’s example, it seems highly unlikely that Lock would use the term “hoste” to refer to the sacramental elements, particularly as objects of devotion.⁴⁷ However, Calvin’s anti-papal polemic does not preclude Lock from exploring other, positive meanings of the word in the devotional experience of communion.

The term “hoste” is absent from all major English translations of Psalm 51 composed prior to 1560, and Lock follows this trend, transliterating the Latin *sacrificium Deo* as “The sacrifice to God” in her prose paraphrase of Psalm 51:17.⁴⁸ Thomas Wyatt’s *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David* (1549) is the exception to this trend, however, and it seems probable that Lock’s use of the term as “a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving” in Sonnet 18 was influenced by Wyatt’s translation: “The sacrifice that the lorde lyketh moste | Is spirite contrite, lowe harte in humble wyse | Thou doste accepte, o God, for pleasaunt hoste.”⁴⁹ Wyatt’s translation suggests that “host” might be used to signify penitence as a sacrifice of praise, but could reformed writers refer to the “hoste” in this way in the context of communion? Although the positive meaning of host as “a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving” is marginalized by other, pejorative meanings in reformed discussion of the sacraments, the phrase does appear in this sense before and after the publication of Lock’s sonnet sequence. In *A defence of the true and catholike doctrine of the sacrament* (1550), Thomas Cranmer directed communicants to offer “spiritual oblatio[n]s, in the place of calues sheepe, goates and douves,” adding “these be the sacrifices of chrystian men, these hostes & oblations be acceptable to Christ,” an argument that reproduces the contrast of Old and New Testament sacrifices in Psalm 51:17.⁵⁰ The word appears again in John Jewel’s *Second tome of homilyes* (1563), which adapts Psalm 50 to exhort communicants to receive the sacraments with praise and thanksgiving:

Seyng then that the name and thyng it selfe, doth monishe vs of thanks, let us (as S. Paule saith) offer alwayes to God the *hoste or sacrifice of prayse by Chryste*, that is, the fruite of the lyppes whych confesse hys name. For as Dauid singeth: he that offereth to God thanks and prayse honoreth hym” [emphasis added].⁵¹

Declared by “all persones, vicars, or curates, euery Sondaie in their churches,” the *Second tome of homilyes* suggests that the term “hoste” might accompany communion in the Church of England, providing a positive emphasis upon the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving that is offered by worthy communicants.

Lock, who questioned her conformity to the Elizabethan church, also recovers the word "hoste" to describe penitence as a "sacrifice" of praise in godly communion.⁵² As Sonnet 19 progresses, Lock establishes her poetic "hoste" as a performance of the spiritual and physical depravity that godly communicants feel before they receive the sacraments. Over the course of five lines, the poem explores in detail the affinity between spiritual and physical suffering, as the speaker acknowledges his or her unworthiness before God ("My trobled sprite doth drede like him to be..."). As we have already seen, these lines appear to form an extended simile; however, this preliminary distinction between physical and spiritual suffering collapses during the course of the comparison. Instead, through wordplay involving taste, nourishment, illness, and poison, Lock attempts to recreate the dynamic experience of unworthiness, which cannot be separated into spiritual and physical meanings. Lock's linguistic invention is evident in her reference to "tastlesse langour," a description which, in the sense "unable to taste" combines several of the meanings Calvin attributes to the term, including a lack of physical sensation, as well as an inability to feel, and understand, the spiritual benefits of the sacraments.⁵³ Taking up Calvin's description of an unworthy communicant "without taste," Lock evokes both spiritual and physical maladies with "langour," which may include disease, emotional distress, and affliction of spirit.⁵⁴ This spectacle of spiritual and physical suffering is reinforced by the quasi-alliterative participle "lingring," which may refer to painful and protracted suffering, but also to the slow and tardy action of a poison.⁵⁵ In this way, Lock's poetic "hoste" comes to life in a language of suffering; the affinity of spiritual and physical experience becomes a vehicle for the worthy reception of the sacraments.

This intricate wordplay emphasizes the felt experience of godly worship. The speaker's "trobled sprite" enacts, during the course of Sonnet 19, the penitence of a worthy communicant, who longs for the assurance of grace that is sealed by the sacraments. The "trobled sprite" appears four times in the sonnet (lines 3, 4, 11, 12), on both sides of that simile which explores the affinity between a "starved appetite" and the "famine" of the speaker's soul—a further instance of *aemulatio* which equates the "trobled sprite" with a body "febled" and afflicted.⁵⁶ This image recurs in Calvin's representation of unworthy communicants, where the effects of the sacraments upon a sinful recipient are compared to the effects of food upon a weak or diseased stomach. Calvin alludes to Titus 1:15 ("Vnto the pure [are] all things pure, but vnto them that are defiled, and vnbeleying, [is] nothing pure, but even their mindes and consciences are defiled"), a sentiment that Calvin translates into an analogy with eating to explain the effects of communion:

For as bodily meate [*cibus corporalis*], when it fyndeth a stomach possessed wt evill humors, being it selfe also therby made evil and corrupted doth rather hurt than nourish: so thys spirituall meate [*cibus...spiritualis*], if it lighte upon a soule defiled with malice and noughtinesse, throweth it down hedlong wyth greater fal: verily not by ye fault of ye meate it selfe, but because to defiled and unbelieving men nothing is cleane, though otherwise it be never so muche sanctified by the blessing of the Lorde. (4.17.40)

While Calvin returns to analogy and *aemulatio*, emphasizing the mysterious affinity between “bodily meat” and “spiritual meat,” “stomach” and “soule,” Lock concentrates the interplay of spiritual and physical meanings in a single participle; “febled” here may refer to an infirm body, but also to a soul lacking moral strength.⁵⁷ Indeed, the *Meditation* intensifies the affinity of spiritual and physical suffering to the point where “fainting” has become the physical manifestation of the speaker’s “troubled sprite”; in this way, Lock reinforces the affective power of the Lord’s Supper to “shore by our faith,” without which, according to Calvin, “wee cannot...with quyet mindes believe that God is at one with us.”

Crying out for taste and nourishment, the speaker remains thirsty and famished. The “pining soule” of Sonnet 19, afflicted with “famine of ... grace,” stands at a turn in the poem, where simile gives way to the shared language of spiritual and physical longing.⁵⁸ In these repeated appeals for grace, as a gift of food or drink for a famished faith, the *Meditation* looks forward to the assurance of faith manifested by the Lord’s Supper, and offers readers an affective model for spiritual preparation. However, images of thirst and famine articulate a desire for grace that is unfulfilled in the sonnet sequence. Instead, Lock emphasizes that grace is freely given, a gift of taste and nourishment which cannot be earned by the speaker. The affinity of physical and spiritual suffering that is asserted in the soul’s “famine” for grace accords with other passages in the *Meditation*, in which the speaker’s desire for grace is described as a form of hunger after food, “to crave the crummes of all sufficing grace” (prefatory sonnet 5:3–4), or a thirsting after liquid, particularly wine:⁵⁹

Create a new pure hart within my brest:
Myne old can hold no liquour of thy grace.
My feble faith with heavy lode opprest
Staggring doth scarcely creepe a reeling pace,
And fallen it is to faint to rise againe. (12:5–9)

The complex syntax of this sonnet imitates the speaker’s failure to obtain grace without divine assistance. Participles and infinitives fix the speaker in an endless struggle under the “heavy lode” of unworthiness, while the main verb emphasizes

the impossibility of individual action: "My feble faith...doth scarcely creepe." Instead, the lexical parallels between this passage and Sonnet 19, each with their references to a "feble" or "febled" faith, and to a "faint" faith or "faintnesse of...faith," recall Calvin's interpretation of penitence, an act through which communicants "offer to [God] our owne vilenesse and (as I may so cal it) unworthinesse, that of his mercy he may make us worthy of him" (4.17.42). Indeed, the "faintnesse" of the speaker's "faith" concludes a long list of plosive alliteration in Sonnet 19, which underscores the speaker's physical and spiritual imperfection: "febled," "fainting," "fleing," "famine," "feares," "faintnesse." The experience of unworthiness is articulated as a dependence upon the taste and nourishment of the sacraments, a hunger and thirst for the "outward sign" of "spiritual grace" that is only assuaged by the mercy of God.

Reformed theologians were competing for a theory of language and representation that could best express the mysterious operation of the sacramental sign. For Calvin, as we have seen, analogy and *aemulatio* emphasize the affinity between corporeal nourishment and communion, and help to propagate the hermeneutic procedures of godly sacramental theology. Calvin's explanation lays the groundwork for godly communion, which ought to culminate in a public act of worship, 'that is, publicly & altogether with one mouth ope[n]ly to confesse, yt al our affiance & saluation is reposed in the death of ye Lord: yt we may glorifye him wt our confessio[n], & may by our exa[m]ple exhorte other to geue glory to him' (4.17.37). In sonnets 18 and 19 of her *Meditation*, Anne Lock gives voice to this affective apprehension of the Lord's Supper. Her poetic sacrifice enacts and fulfils Calvin's call to 'glorifye [God] wt...confession', instructing and exhorting godly readers, uniting them in a shared performance of praise and thanksgiving. In the final lines of Sonnet 19, Lock turns to rhyme in an attempt to express the subjective hopes and fears of a prospective communicant:

My pining soule for famine of thy grace
So feares alas the faintnesse of my faithe.
I offer up my trobled sprite: alas,
My trobled sprite refuse not in thy wrathe. (19:9–12)

The dissonant music of spiritual desperation is evoked in a series of half-rhymes, "grace" | "alas," "faithe" | "wrathe"; an appropriate expression of the speaker's "drede" that his or her unworthiness will be "refused" by God; that, without "grace," the speaker shall be left with despair ("alas...alas"), and for the "faintness of...faith" they shall meet with "wrathe." With this gesture, the penitential narrative comes full circle; Lock's speaker continues, in the words of the second sonnet, to "groape about for grace" (1.11), offering themselves in praise of the "greater sacrifice" of com-

munion: "Such offering likes thee, ne wilt thou despise | The broken humbled hart in angry wise" (ll.13–14). In this final couplet, the speaker turns from "offringes" of praise, to meditate upon the possibility of grace. However, the resolution of a full-rhyme is tempered still by the speaker's negative expression: "ne wilt thou despise... in angry wise." The offer of grace thus remains at the limit of the poem's articulation, beyond the sonnet sequence; Lock's *Meditation* aspires for the solace of communion, a moment that exists at the limit of language and representation.

This essay has attempted to combine two approaches that need to be included in a "poetics" of the Eucharist: a study of the theological pressures that inform representations of the Lord's Supper in poetic texts, such as Anne Lock's *Meditation*, and a "literary" reading which highlights the poetic contours of ostensibly non-literary texts, including the Genevan Prayer Book, and Calvin's theological treatises. Scholars of language and literature are only beginning to excavate the dialectic of theological and linguistic crises which underscores the sacramental controversy; we now need to examine more carefully the aesthetic as well as spiritual contours of reading and writing about the Lord's Supper. In the end, one might conclude that the vicious polemic and intricate arguments of sixteenth-century theology are of little consequence for literary criticism. And yet, as Brian Cummings has observed, "to make such a conclusion is to attempt to withdraw to some place beyond language from which to judge the vanities of the controversy."⁶⁰ If we have learnt anything, it is that the terms and techniques used by early modern writers to explain, describe, and celebrate the sacramental sign cannot be taken for granted within the terms of (post) modern critical theory. Contemporary scholars of language and literature have tended to reduce the sacramental controversy (however reverently) to a cipher for the linguistic crises of the period; if that project has one flaw, it is that the meta-language of literary criticism is already implicated in the theological controversy that surrounds the sacramental sign.

Anne Lock's sonnet sequence participated in the formation of an English godly community during a time of crisis, and attempted not only to describe, but also to stimulate, a worthy apprehension of the Lord's Supper. Her allegiance to Calvin's theology resonates with the discursive pressures of the sacramental controversy, and may reflect her own experience of the religious and political uncertainty that surrounded her return to London from exile in Geneva during the summer of 1559.⁶¹ Thirty years later, Lock would return to the sacraments—and to writing—during another period of turmoil for the godly community in England. Written at a time when English puritans faced fierce persecution following the Martin Marprelate scandal of 1588–89, her translation of Jean Taffin's *Of the Markes of the Children of*

God offered consolation to her readers and emphasized the assurance of election that is offered to the godly by the "seales and sure pledges" of the sacraments.⁶² Lock's complex allegiances during these turbulent decades demand closer analysis, and underscore the political as well as spiritual significance of her allusions to the Lord's Supper. This paper has highlighted the terms and techniques that define Lock's representation of the sacrament, and that helped to propagate the rhetorical and spiritual characteristics of godly worship. However, these terms and techniques only bear meaning within the common language that underlies the sacramental controversy. In the search for a reformed "poetics" of the Eucharist, the *Meditation* reminds us that this controversy carried readers and writers in unexpected, and even unacknowledged, directions. For Lock, this journey leads towards the mysterious operation of the sacrament, into a lexicon of taste and nourishment that is run through with the competing claims of reformed and Catholic theologians. In the poetry of the Eucharist, language emerges as a shared and contested medium, which writers and readers negotiate, but never master.

Notes

1. John Calvin, *Sermons of John Calvin, Upon the Songe that Ezechias made after he had bene sicke, and afflicted by the hand of God* (London: John Daye, 1560). *The Collected Works of Anne Vaughan Lock*, ed. Susan Felch (Arizona: Renaissance English Text Society, 1999), p. 5, ll. 45, 57, 59. All references are to this edition, incorporated in the text.
2. Jean Taffin, *Of the Markes of the Children of God, and of their Comforts and Afflictions*, trans. Anne Lock (London: Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Man, 1590). *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, p. 115, ll. 425–29. Lock's translation preserves the structure of the French, in which the coordination of clauses ("la parole de Dieu & la communication au pain & au vin de la Sainte Cene") establishes Word and Sacrament as the subjects of the final verbal phrase, "seront plus doux que mile en la bouche, comme en parle David." See Jean Taffin, *Des Marques des Enfans de Dieu, et des consolations en leurs afflictions*, 4^e ed. (Samur: Thomas Portan, 1601), p. 104.
3. *Bible and Holy Scriptures* (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560), fol. 262r. All references are to this edition, incorporated in the text. In his commentary on Psalm 119:66 ("Teach me good iudgement and knowledge: for I haue beleueed thy commandements"), Calvin comments on the appropriateness of the Hebrew טעם as a representation of a worthy response to the Word of God: "For inasmuch as Tagnam among the hebrewes signifieth too taste [*gustare*]: the nowne that is derived thereof is properly taken for a taste [*gustu*], and yit notwithstanding is put over too the mynd. And there is no dowt but David desyreth too have some discretion in iudgement together with knowledge given unto him... the gift of perfect taste and understanding [*nempe sani gustus*]

- & intelligētiæ].” The English translation is taken from *The Psalmes of David and others. With M. Iohn Calvins Commentaries*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: Thomas East and Henry Middleton, 1571) fol. 169r–v (sig. Yyy.i.). While I have quoted from the English text, I have also included references to the first Latin edition, which Lock may have consulted during her time in Geneva. See *In Librum Psalmorum, Iohannis Caluini Commentarius* (Geneva: Oliva Roberti Stephani, 1557), p. 542.
4. See, for example, Deborah Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 107, 168, 197–98, 213–14, 227, 249; Theresa Di Pasquale, *Literature and Sacrament: The Sacred and the Secular in John Donne* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1999) esp. pp. 1–26; Gary Kuchar, *Divine Subjection: the rhetoric of sacramental devotion in early modern England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2005), esp. pp. 2, 19, 34.
 5. See, for example, Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), esp. chapters 3 and 5. For a critique of New Historicist engagement with sacramental theology, see David Aers, “New Historicism and the Eucharist,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.2 (2003), pp. 241–59; Sarah Beckwith, “Stephen Greenblatt’s *Hamlet* and the Forms of Oblivion,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.2 (2003), pp. 261–80.
 6. Patrick Collinson, “The Role of Women in the English Reformation Illustrated by the Life and Friendships of Anne Lock,” in *Godly People: essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Ambledon, 1983), pp. 273–87; for additions to Lock’s biography, *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, pp. xvi–xxxvi.
 7. Susan M. Felch, “‘Deir Sister’: The Letters of John Knox to Anne Vaughan Lock,” *Renaissance and Reformation* 19.4 (1995), pp. 47–68 (47).
 8. The political importance of Lock’s Taffin translation, which was disseminated among persecuted Protestants, is described by Micheline White in “Renaissance Englishwomen and Religious Translations: The Case of Anne Lock’s *Of the Markes of the Children of God* (1590)” *English Literary Renaissance* 29.3 (1999), pp. 375–400. Susan Felch has demonstrated the significance of the Knox-Lock letters in the life and career of each correspondent; see Felch, “Deir Sister,” pp. 47–68; and “The Rhetoric of Biblical Authority: John Knox and the Question of Women,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26.4 (1995), pp. 805–22 (810, 816). The influence of Lock’s sonnet sequence upon future generations of Protestant women’s writing has been the subject of several studies, including Margaret Hannay, “‘Unlock my lipps’: the *Misere mei Deus* of Anne Vaughan Lok and Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke,” in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. Jean R. Brink, *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies* 23 (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1993), pp. 19–36; and Susanne Woods, “Anne Lock and Aemelia Lanyer: A Tradition of Protestant Women Speaking,” in *Form and Reform in Renaissance England: Essays in Honour of Barbara Kiefer Lewalski*, ed. Amy Boesky and Mary Crane (London: Associated University Presses, 2000), pp. 171–184.

9. For studies of the imagery of Lock's sonnet sequence, see Susanne Woods, "The Body Penitent: A 1560 Calvinist Sonnet Sequence," *American Notes and Queries* 5 (1992), pp. 137–140; and Christopher Warley, "An Englishe box': Calvinism and Commodities in Anne Lock's *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*," *Spenser Studies* 15 (2001), pp. 205–41.
10. Anne Lock, *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner: Written in Maner of a Paraphrase upon the 51. Psalme of David*, "[Sonnet] 19" ll. 4–8, in *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, pp. 70–71. All references are to this edition, incorporated in the text.
11. Maggie Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 82–3. "Taste" and "nourishment" were already prominent images in late medieval poetry and theology; see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 27–8, 37. For an introduction to taste and nourishment in reformed theology, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 5 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971–1989), vol. 4, pp. 195–203. Bryan Spinks summarizes the terminology of the continental Reformers, and examines the reception of this lexicon, including taste and nourishment, in England: see *Sacraments, ceremonies and the Stuart Divines: sacramental theology and liturgy in England and Scotland 1603–1662* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), esp. chapter 1. Frank Lestringant presents a detailed overview of images of cannibalism in the sacramental controversy in his "Catholiques et cannibals. Le thème du cannibalisme dans le discours protestant au temps des guerres de religion," in *Pratiques et discours alimentaires à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin and Robert Sauzert, (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1982), pp. 233–45. For a discussion of images of eating in Calvin's sacramental theology, see Thomas Davis, *The Clearest Promises of God: The Development of Calvin's Eucharistic Teaching* (New York: AMS, 1995), pp. 168ff.
12. Kilgour, p. 83.
13. Kilgour acknowledges that her account is "a very general study...and so ignores the significant differences among the Protestant positions" (p. 264, n. 1). On the controversies over "carnal" and "spiritual," as well as "literal" and "metaphorical" eating within Zwinglian and Lutheran theology, see Ulrich Zwingli, *Eine klare Unterrichtung vom Nachtmal Christi* (1526) in *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Emil Egli et al., 14 vols. (Berlin, Leipzig, Zurich: C. A. Schwetsche and M Heinsius Nachfolger, 1905–1963), vol. 4, pp. 773–862; Ulrich Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper," trans. and ed. G W Bromiley, in Baillie, gen. ed., *Library of Christian Classics*, 26 vols. (London: SCM, 1953–1966), vol. 24, pp. 185–238; and Martin Luther, *Kurtz bekentis D. Mart. Luthers, vom heiligen Sacrament* (1544), in *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, 68 vols. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1883–1999), vol. 54, pp. 141–167; Martin Luther, "A Brief Confession Concerning the Holy Sacraments," trans. Martin Lehman, in Helmut Lehman, gen. ed., *Luther's Works* 55 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959–1971), vol. 38, pp. 287–319. Calvin's account, which claims to mediate Zwinglian and Lutheran views, is explored more fully in this chapter. For a summary of Zwinglian, Lutheran,

- and Calvinist positions, see Alister McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 174–194; and Spinks, pp. 3–19.
14. For an overview of the beliefs and practices of the English exiles at Geneva, see Dan G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: the History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555–1560*, Studies in Church History 9 (New York: Peter Lang, 1999). As Danner rightly acknowledges, the eucharistic theology of the Genevan exiles was neither uniform nor univocal. Danner further notes that exiles such as William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Sampson “reveal little cognizance of the continuity or discontinuity within the Continental reformed tradition and the different nuances of its eucharistic thought” (128). However, Lock’s correspondence with Knox, her translation of Calvin’s sermons, and her sonnet sequence, indicate a deep interest in Calvinist theology that includes Calvin’s commentary on the sacraments. For further literary studies of Lock’s engagement with Calvinism, see Woods, “The Body Penitent,” pp. 137–140; and Warley, pp. 205–41.
 15. It is likely Lock had seen Calvin’s *Institutio* soon after it was published in Geneva on August 16, 1559, although she was in Frankfurt in March, and had returned to England by mid-June. Knox assumed Lock would have access to the volume, as he wrote to Lock in November 1559, asking her to send a copy to Edinburgh. See David Laing, *The Works of John Knox*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: T. G. Stephenson, 1846–1864), vol. 6, p. 101. Little attention has been paid to the production and reception of Calvin’s sacramental theology in the sixteenth century. However, recent studies have shed light on Calvin’s methods of exegesis, as well as the images that organized his writing. For an overview, see Richard Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. vii–x; Paul Helm, *John Calvin’s Ideas* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. i–v. For a summary of the reception of Calvin’s work in England, see Charles Cremeans, “The Reception of Calvinistic Thought in England,” in *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949), pp. 1–122; Francis Higman, “Calvin’s Works in Translation,” in *Calvinism in Europe*, ed. Pettegree et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 82–99; and Andrew Pettegree, “The Reception of Calvinism in Britain,” in *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex*, ed. Wilhelm Neuser and Brian Armstrong (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997), pp. 267–87.
 16. *The forme of Praier and ministration of the sacraments* (Geneva: Iohn Crespin, 1556). All references are to this edition, incorporated in the text. The communion service was to be ministered “once a monthe, or so oft as the Congregation shall thinke expedient”; see p. 71 (E4r).
 17. The verb “to taste” (*gusto*, -are, -avi, -atum) occurs ten times in chapter 17; the verb “to nourish” (*alo*, -ere, -ui, -(i)tum) along with its cognates (*alimentus*, -a, -um), occurs almost twenty times.
 18. Calvin’s understanding of the sacrament develops dialectically, through dialogue with theological critics and opponents; see B. A. Gerrish, “John Calvin and the Reformed Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper,” in *Calvin’s Ecclesiology: Sacraments and*

- Deacons*, ed. Richard C. Gamble (New York and London: Garland, 1992), pp. 227–41, (228). Calvin himself explains that the "great mysterie" of the Lord's Supper requires "diligent declaration," and hopes that his own efforts will serve to "vndoe those knottes wherwith Satan hath endeavored to snare the worlde." See John Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion*, trans. Thomas Norton (London: Reinolde Wolfe, 1561), 4.17.1. Norton's translation was not published until a year after Lock's *Meditations*. While I have quoted from the English text, I have also included references to the first Latin edition, which Lock may have consulted (see note 14 above). See John Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (Geneva: Oliva Roberti Stephani, 1559), p. 502.
19. See Calvin, *Institutio*, 4.17.7. The Genevan Prayer Book similarly urges the congregation to "consider...that this sacrament is a singular medicine for all poore sicke creatures, comfortable helps to weake soules, and that our lord requireth no other worthines on our parte, but that we vnfaynedly acknowledge our noghtines, and imperfectionn," and exhorts communicants to "receiue Christ, where he dwelleth vndoubtedlye verie God, and verie man, in the incomprehensible glorie of his father, to whome be all praise, honor and glorye now and euer. Amen." (74). Lock would later make explicit the political consequences of godly communion in her translation of Jean Taffin's tract, *Of the Markes of the Children of God* (1590). Lock's translation celebrates sacramental nourishment as an assurance of godly election, and this treatise was disseminated widely among persecuted Protestants in England. There is not room here to develop the political consequences of the translation.
 20. *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, p. liii; the following description is adapted from pp. liii–lvi.
 21. One or more of Calvin's works were published almost every year between 1548 and 1634. STC lists an earlier sermon translation, *Certaine homilies...containing profitable admonitions for this time* (Rome [i.e. Wesel?]: [J. Lambrecht?], 1553). However, the *Sermons* appear to be among the earliest English translation published in England, appearing in the same year as an anonymous translations *Tvvo Godly and notable sermons preached by the excellent and famous Clarke, master Ihon Caluyne, in the yere 1555* (London: Wyllyam Seres, [?1560]). For an overview of the publication of Calvin's work in English, see Higman, pp. 82–99.
 22. The Psalms were already firmly established as a model for imitation in Calvinist devotion; see Barbara Pitkin, "Imitation of David: David as a Paradigm for Faith in Calvin's Exegesis of the Psalms," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24.4 (1993), pp. 843–63.
 23. For work on Lock as the author of the *Meditation*, see Thomas Roche, *Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequences* (New York: AMS, 1989), pp. 155–157; Michael R. G. Spiller, *Development of the Sonnet* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 92–3; Woods, "The Body Penitent," pp. 137–40; and Susan Felch, "Curing the Soul: Anne Lock's Authorial Medicine," *Reformation* 2 (1997), pp. 7–38, (22–23). Michael Spiller has outlined the literary influences for Lock's sequence, citing Thomas Wyatt's *Certaine Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David* (London: wydowe of Iohn Herforde, 1549), and several sonnets by Henry Howard, which appeared in Richard Tottel's "Miscel-

- lany" or *Songes and Sonettes* (London: Richardum Tottel, 1557). See Spiller, "A literary 'first': the sonnet sequence of Anne Locke (1560)," *Renaissance Studies* 11.1 (1997), pp. 41–55.
24. Felch, "Curing the Soul," pp. 7–38 (20).
 25. Warley, pp. 205–41 (215).
 26. Felch, "Curing the Soul," pp. 7–38 (20).
 27. The Genevan Prayer Book also presents Christ's crucifixion as a focus for devotion during communion: "some place of the scriptures is also read, which doth lyuely set forth the death of Christ, to theintene that our eyes and sense may not onely be occupiede in these outwarde signes of bread and wyne, which are called the visible woorde: but that our hartes and myndes also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the lordes death, which is by this holy sacrament representede" (78).
 28. Calvin's definition distinguishes godly communion from the propitiatory character of the Catholic Mass. Unlike the Catholic service, which Calvin presents as a blood-thirsty ritual, presided over by "butchers of Christ" (4.18.14), the Eucharist is a sacrifice of "thankesgeving [*sacrificium gratiarum*] & rehearsal [*actio atque commemoratio*] of the fleshe of Christ whiche he offered for us, and of his blood whiche the same hath shed for us" (4.18.10).
 29. For an overview of the penitential Psalms in reformed worship. see Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535–1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), especially pp. 43–79, which considers the production and reception of Thomas Wyatt's *Certayne Psalmes* (1549). Wyatt scholarship has developed our account of the penitential Psalms in English literary culture; see Alexandra Halasz, "Wyatt's David," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 30 (1988), pp. 320–44, and Elizabeth Heale, *Wyatt, Surrey and Early Tudor Poetry* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 154–72. Michael Spiller has suggested that Lock adopted the mode of poetic meditation from Wyatt: see Spiller, "A literary 'first,'" pp. 41–55. However, work remains to be done to compare the poetics of the *Meditation* to Wyatt's *Certayne Psalmes*.
 30. For a note on the text, see n. 3 above.
 31. Calvin, *Commentaries*, fol. 204r. For the Latin text, see *Commentarius*, p. 248. Subsequent references are to these editions (CC), incorporated in the text.
 32. Calvin is restrained in his identification of types. His reading of the Psalm attempts to preserve the literal-historical sense (David), while identifying the literal-prophetic referent (Christ); see John L. Thompson, "Calvin as a biblical interpreter," in *Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*, ed. Donald McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2004), pp. 58–73, 67–70; and David L. Puckett, *John Calvin's Exegesis of the Old Testament* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), pp. 105–32. However, Calvin's reference to the sacramental "seal" in his analysis of hyssop may have influenced Theodore Beza's brief commentary upon Psalm 51, which commends the "sacrifices which are made and offered by faith," an allusion to the sacraments by which "forgivenessse of sinnes" is "sealed [*obsignaretur*] in the hearts of believers." See

- Beza's *Psalmorum Davidis et Aliorum Prophetarum, Libri Quinque* (London: Thomas Vautrollier 1580), p.213, and *The Psalmes of David, Truly Opened and explained by Paraphrasis*, trans. Anthonie Gilbie (London: John Harrison and Henry Milton, 1580), pp. 127–28.
33. Calvin's commentary supports his general definition of the sacramental sign: "a testimony of God's favour toward us, confirmed by an outward signe [externo signo], with a mutuall testifieng of our godliness towarde him" (4.14.1). For the "symbiotic relationships between Calvin's theology and his exegesis, see Elsie McKee, "Some reflections on relating Calvin's exegesis and theology," in *Biblical Hermeneutics in historical perspective: studies in honour of Karlfried Froehlich*, ed. Mark Burrows and Paul Rorem (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), pp. 215–26.
34. See Hannay, pp. 19–36, 29.
35. See *OED* "repair" v2; 5.b. The possible pun on "atone" is also noted by Felch, ed., *Collected Works*, p. 238.
36. For some modern readers, Lock's fidelity to Calvin's exegesis is an "obvious weakness" in her work. "Psalm 51 is not a highly metaphorical text," Spiller argues, "and when it does offer [Lock] a trope, her inclination is to do with it what Calvin would have done in a sermon: 'open' the text at length" (Spiller, "A literary 'first,'" pp. 53–54). My own reading emphasizes how Lock complements and enlivens Calvin's commentary through poetic performance. See also Roland Greene, "Anne Lock's *Meditation: Invention Versus Dilation and the Founding of Puritan Poetics*," in *Form and Reform in Renaissance England*: pp. 153–170.
37. Adopted by the Marian exiles, and appended to the Genevan Prayer Book, Calvin's catechism was also reprinted in England in the same year as Lock's translations and sonnet sequence. See *The catechisme or maner to teache children the Christen religion [sic]* (London: Ihon Kingston, 1560).
38. See, for example, the following analogies: 4.14.5 (sacraments and seals); 4.14.9 (Holy Spirit and bodily senses); 4.17.10, 4.17.16, 4.17.21 (sacramental sign and Christ signified). For a summary of prominent analogies in the *Institutio*, see *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles and ed. John T McNeill, 2 vols., Library of Christian Classics 20–21 (London: SCM, 1960), vol. 21, p. 1636.
39. For an overview of Calvin's "self-confessed" debt to Augustine, see Battles trans. and McNeill ed., vol. 20, pp. lvii–lix; G. R. Evans considers the importance of analogy and affinity in Calvin's hermeneutics in "Calvin on Signs: An Augustinian Dilemma," in Gamble, ed., pp. 153–64, esp. 159–60; Josep. Fitzner assesses the impact of Augustine on Calvin's sacramental theology in "The Augustinian Roots of Calvin's Eucharistic Thought," in Gamble, ed., pp. 165–95. Calvin refers to Augustine by name sixteen times in his discussion of the sacraments (4.14.1–26), and a further eighteen times in his discussion of the Lord's Supper (4.17.6–48).
40. See Helm, pp. 185–97, esp. 195–96. For a summary of the principle of divine accommodation in Calvin's thought, see Ford Lewis Battles "God was Accommodating Himself to Human Capacity," *Interpretation* 31 (1977), pp. 19–38. Thomas Davis con-

- siders the Lord's Supper as a specific example of divine accommodation in Calvin's theology; see Davis, pp. 79, 119, 124, 153.
41. Davis, p.177.
 42. "...d'une 'énigme', d'un récit secret...d'une puissante asyndète ou conjonction déro-bée." Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy," in *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982), p. 243. The French text is taken from "la mythologie blanche: la métaphore dans le texte philosophique," in *Marges de la Philosophie* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1972), p. 290.
 43. Davis, p. 124.
 44. See *OED* "yeld" v; 14.c.
 45. See, for example, Thomas Harding's *Reioindre to M. Iewels replie against the sacrifice of the Masse* (Louanii: Ioannem Foulherum, 1567), where the communion wafer is "not onely a memorie, an example, a similitude, a figure, or resemblance of Christes body... but the selfe same hoste in substance, that Christe offered to cleanse vs, which is the substance of his owne body and bloud" (fol.192v).
 46. This pithy definition is taken from John Bales's contents page for *The First Examination of Anne Askewe Lately Martyred in Smythfelde, by the Romysh Popes Vpholders, with Elucydacyon of Iohan Bale* (Wesel: D. van der Straten, 1546). Polemical debate about the sacraments reached a peak shortly after the publication of Lock's sonnet sequence, notably between John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, and Thomas Harding, professor at Douai. This controversy attracted many participants from England and abroad, and was halted only by the death first of Jewel in 1571, and then of Harding in the following year. For an overview, see Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan age: a survey of printed sources* (London: Scolar Press, 1977), pp. 1–15.
 47. This reading runs counter to Susan Felch's gloss of the term in Sonnet 19 as an "allusion to the Eucharistic bread." See *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, p. 238.
 48. The Gallican and Hebrew (Vulgate) Psalters of St. Jerome use "sacrificium" in their translations of Psalm 51:17, while the *Biblia Sacra* (1528) and *Hebraica Biblia* (1534–35) employ "sacrificia." These terms are transliterated as "sacrifyce" and "sacrifyces" in almost all major English Psalters published between 1530 and 1559 (with the exception of Miles Coverdale's *Paraphrasis upon all the Psalmes of David* (1539), which opts for "oblaycyons"); for an overview of these translations, see Susan Felch, "The Vulgate as Reformation Bible: the Sonnet Sequence of Anne Lock," in *The Bible as Book: the Reformation*, ed. Orlaith O'Sullivan, (London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 65–88 (Appendix A, pp. 78–88).
 49. Wyatt, C8v; see Spiller, "A literary 'first'," pp. 41–55 (47). To this example might be added William Cecil's preface to Catherine Parr's devotional tract, *The Lamentacion of a Sinner* (London: Edwarde Whitchurche, 1547), in which Cecil exhorts Christian readers "with our intercession in holynes and pureness of lyfe, [to] offer our selves to the heauenly father an vndefiled *host*: to whom be eternall prayse and glorye through all the yearth, without ende" [no pagination; my emphasis]. Cecil's exhortation al-

- ludes to Psalm 50:14 ("Offre vnto God praise, & paie thy vowes vnto the moste High), while the emphasis upon a pure and "vndefiled host" may also recall Psalm 51:17.
50. *A Defence of the True and Catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of our Sauour Christ* (London: Reginald Wolfe, 1550): "So long as the lawe did raigne, god suffered dum beasts to be offered vnto him, but now that we be spiritual, we must offer spiritual oblatio~s, in the place of calues, sheepe, goates and douse. We must kyll diuelish pryde, furious anger, insatiable couetousnes, filthy lucre, stinking lechery, deadly hatred & malice, foxy wiliness, wolusih rauening & deuouring, and al other vnreasonable lustes and desires of the fleshe. And as many as belonge to Christe, muste crucifie & kyll these for Christs sake, as Christ crucified himselfe for their sakes. These be the sacrifices of chrystian men, *these hostes & oblations* be acceptable to Christ" (109r).
 51. *The second tome of homelyes* (London: Richarde Jugge, and John Cawood, 1563), fol. 2018v–2019r (i.e., 218v–219r).
 52. Hints of Lock's non-conformity may be gleaned from her biography; see Collinson, pp. 273–87 (esp. 281–82); Felch, "Deir Sister," pp. 47–68 (49) *ad passim*; *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, pp. xxvii–xxxv. Felch repeatedly describes Lock as a "nonconformist," and highlights Lock's reservations about the religious services set out in the new Elizabethan *Book of Common Prayer*. However, it is unclear when, if ever, Lock refused to attend religious services in England. For a possible instance of Lock's non-conformity, see note 61 below.
 53. Lock's use of the participle *tasteless* in the sense "unable to taste" antedates the earliest entry in the *OED* by more than 30 years. *OED* a. 1, lists first use in 1591. See *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, p. 238.
 54. See *OED* n. 1, 2, and 3, respectively. See *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, p. 238.
 55. See *OED* ppl. a; 1b. See *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, p. 238.
 56. See *OED* "troubled" ppl. a; 2.
 57. Lock's use of the participle "febled" antedates the *OED* entry by six years, see *OED* ppl. a; 2.
 58. Lock's description of spiritual "famine" antedates entries in the *OED* by over 80 years; see "famine" *OED* 2 *transf.*
 59. Lock's image is derived from the plight of the Syro-Phoenician woman in Matt. 15:21–28, and Mark 7:24–30; see *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, p. 237. The same image features in the 1549, 1552, and 1559 editions of the *Booke of Common Praier*, as A Prayer of Humble Access for communicants proceeding to the sacraments: "Wee be not woorthy so muche as to gather the crümes under thy table." See, for example, *The booke of common praier* (London: Richardi Iugge & Iohannis Cawood, 1559), M8v.
 60. Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 14.
 61. Although her letters have not survived, Lock's correspondence with John Knox suggests she questioned her conformity to the Elizabethan Church and refused to attend official services after returning to Cheapside in the summer of 1559; see Felch, "Deir

Sister,” pp. 47–68 (55). In a letter dated 15 October, Knox urged Lock to shun the imperfect religious settlement made in England, exclaiming “we ought not to justifie with our presence such a mangle as now is commaunded in your kirks.” Lock appears to have shared his opinion, and defended her position to others, as Knox goes on to note: “Ye conceale not the cause why ye assist not to their assemblie, which I thinke ye do not”. See Laing, ed., vol. 6, pp. 83–85. On the evidence of Knox’s letter, Lock was, as Patrick Collinson puts it, “the very first documented Protestant separatist from the Elizabethan church” (*ODNB*).

62. See *Collected Works*, ed. Felch, p. 100, l. 174.